

*Under the Exchange: The Unprofitable
Business of Michael Perry, a
Seventeenth-Century Boston Bookseller*

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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BOSTON booksellers clustered around the Town House, where the Old State House now stands. Here, at street level, was the merchants' exchange; above them stood not only the Courts, but also the Armory and the Public Library; below them lay a once-New, preliterate World. In this symbolic situation, American goods, arriving from Roxbury Neck along Cornhill Street, met European credit, ascending along King Street from the harbor. The centrality of the Town House was not just geographical and commercial, however, but social and even intellectual. At either end of town lay traditionally rival areas, whose younger male inhabitants bonded in a ritual brawl once a year on Guy Fawkes Day.¹ In the North End, at Second Church, twinkled the liberal wit of the Mathers; in the South End, at Third Church, glared the systematic learning of Samuel Willard. Bos-

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1. Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1959), p. 29.

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ton's printers worked in those intellectual extremes, but the booksellers occupied the center, near First Church, the pulpit of the moderate Benjamin Wadsworth. Their imprints located them 'under the Exchange' or 'near the Old Meeting House,' on either side of Cornhill Street. Here, the Artillery Company and the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives assembled for annual election sermons; here, since 1679, the Boston ministry by turns had delivered lectures every market day (Thursday). These discourses provided regular jobs for the booksellers in the vicinity.

Michael Perry was baptized in First Church on February 15, 1666, but never became a member.² Following an apprenticeship to the prominent merchant and bookseller John Usher,³ he set up business under the stairs at the west end of the Exchange in 1694. On July 12, he had married the widow of the wealthy Robert Breck, Joanna, whom John Dunton, the eccentric English bookseller who visited Boston in 1686, called 'the Flower of Boston.' She brought Perry not just beauty, but the wealth he needed to set up shop; and she carried on as a bookseller in her own right after his death. The premises had just been vacated by the bookseller Samuel Phillips, who moved into a large brick shop across the way, measuring twenty feet by twelve. In 1699, Perry entered into partnerships with Nicholas Buttolph and with his cousin Benjamin Eliot, who continued in business at the same premises until 1703, when he moved into 'greatly enlarged accommodations' measuring nine feet eight inches by four feet one and one-half inches.⁴ Perry's first apprentice was Judge Sewall's son Sam, who contracted chilblains in the tiny shop and had to quit.⁵ Unfortunately, Perry enjoyed only a brief career, and his sole importance for book

2. Records of the First Church of Boston, 1630-1868, ed. R. D. Pierce, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 39 (1961): 344.

3. Cf. a deposition by Michael Perry, stating that he was living with Usher in 1690, Massachusetts State Archives, Mass. Archives Series, 8: 87; George Emery Littlefield, *Early Boston Booksellers, 1642-1711* (Boston: Club of Odd Volumes, 1900), pp. 170-79, at p. 72, supposes that Perry was apprenticed to Samuel Phillips, his predecessor in his shop.

4. Littlefield, *Early Boston Booksellers*, pp. 188-89.

5. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), pp. 321 and 327.

history came at the end of it: he died intestate and insolvent in 1700, aged 34; and therefore the Suffolk Probate Court, at the request of his widow, ordered a detailed inventory of his estate.

The inventory has been printed three times to date, with varying degrees of accuracy, most usefully by Worthington C. Ford, who identifies many of the entries and supplements their information with transcripts of letters and invoices of books sent from London in 1674–85 to Perry's former master, John Usher.⁶ These documents are our only direct evidence for the operation of colonial American bookselling in the seventeenth century, apart from scattered advertisements. Ford used them mostly to illustrate the variety and intellectual interest of the books available to seventeenth-century Bostonians, without much considering the commercial forces that produced them and brought them over. Stephen Botein and Stephen Foster have cited Ford's data to explore the place of the English book in American culture, but they reach surprisingly different conclusions.

Botein, in common with most American historians, assumes that the majority of the books in America were English-printed, and that American printing is thus a supplement to make up for temporary shortages, or to furnish texts of local interest such as the colonial laws.⁷ In this model, the colonial press is equated in principle with the British provincial press and operates within the parameters set by the so-called 'topping booksellers' of London through the sharebook system, familiar from the work of Cyprian Blagden, Graham Pollard, and Terry Belanger.⁸ Sharebooks were copyrights, typically of steady sellers, held by a more or less numerous group of partners who bought and sold their shares at

6. Worthington Chauncey Ford, *The Boston Book Market, 1679–1700* (Boston: Club of Odd Volumes, 1917), pp. 163–82. First printed in *John Dunton's Letters from New England*, ed. W. T. Whitmore (Boston: Prince Society, 1867), pp. 314–19; and again in Littlefield, *Early Boston Booksellers*.

7. Stephen Botein, 'The Anglo-American Book Trade Before 1776,' in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. W. L. Joyce et al. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), pp. [48]–82.

8. Cyprian Blagden, 'Booksellers' Trade Sales, 1718–1768,' 5 *Library* 5 (1951): 243–57; Terry Belanger, 'Booksellers' Trade Sales, 1718–1768,' 5 *Library* 30 (1975): 281–302; Graham Pollard, 'The English Market for Printed Books,' *Publishing History* 4 (1978): 7–48.

trade auctions. By this arrangement, they monopolized the supply of the most valuable properties, spread the capital needed to keep them in print, and maintained prices. The system canonized the stock available for resale to American booksellers, Botein argues, while denying them the discounts that would have allowed their market to expand and thrive. In time, other arrangements, notably the dumping of remainders on the American market, ensured a cheaper supply of books and maintained the 'anglicization' of colonial culture down to 1776 and for some time beyond.

Stephen Foster objects that our earliest documents, including Perry's inventory, contradict Botein's initial assumption.⁹ The Usher invoices show that English books arrived in 'dribbles and drabbles' of from twenty to fifty copies at a time. The English wholesalers who appear in the Usher invoices, Robert Boulter and Richard Chiswell, held their properties in partnerships known as 'congers,' which absorbed most of their own production, leaving only small and insignificant numbers available for export. And the American trade responded by printing new titles or reprinting the London properties most in demand. Perry's stock, unlike that of an English provincial bookseller, contains quantities of locally printed items, which outnumber imports by ten to one.¹⁰ In seventeenth-century New England, Foster concludes, the general reading public perforce read colonial authors and colonial editions, so that English books and English ideas never threatened 'the unity of the Puritan enterprise.'

Thus, for Botein, the London monopoly operated to depress trade by keeping prices high; whereas for Foster, it worked to restrict production and distribution; in either case, with radically different cultural consequences. Botein's thesis is general, but focused on the eighteenth century; Foster's thesis is apparently lim-

9. Stephen Foster, 'The Godly in Transit,' in *Seventeenth-Century New England* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1984), pp. 185-238, esp. 219-32.

10. For some other English provincial stocks, see also John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1985), pp. 75-80 and 125-29. Unfortunately, none of these booksellers lived in a town such as Norwich or Exeter, whose commerce and population were comparable to Boston's.

ited to the seventeenth century, but he never explains when or why London books eventually became more common. In my opinion, congers and sharebooks kept standard properties in print, making wholesaling and a backlist possible. That such monopolies restricted trade seems clear, yet Botein and Foster exaggerate their impact. The failure of the colonies to communicate their needs and the endemic difficulties of credit must have been as important as the inelasticity of London supply.¹¹ Neither scholar considers the older, even more tightly controlled London monopolies, such as the Queen's/King's printer's patent in Bibles, service books, and proclamations or the exclusive property of the Stationers' Company in almanacs, law books, schoolbooks, and psalms, known as the English stock; monopolies that, far from constricting, provided staples of the American trade, and on which American printing only exceptionally (if invariably, in psalms and almanacs) infringed.¹² New books, moreover, were not monopolized either by the sharebook system or by congers: their sheets might be freely exchanged for those of other booksellers, or distributed by trade subscription before publication. Hence the colonial bookseller's stock fell into various categories, subject to different conditions of production and distribution, and these must be considered separately, not in a lump.

Foster's argument, however, raises some vital questions. He must be right that colonial-printed copies regularly outnumbered imports in colonial stocks; Elizabeth Carroll Reilly has found confirming evidence as late as 1770 in the Knox Papers.¹³ And colonial imprints unquestionably were cheaper. But must we conclude, with Foster, that the colonial press was meeting a need that the

11. Cf. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), chap. 11.

12. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 63 and 92-94; for lists of items that were in the English stock in 1692 and 1695, see John Johnson and Strickland Gibson, *Print and Privilege at Oxford to the Year 1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1946), pp. 175-77, and the Stationers' Company, *Transcript of the Registers . . . from 1640-1708* (London, 1913-14), 3: 457-61, and cf. a broadside price list of ca. 1695, reproduced in Blagden, p. 187.

13. I refer to a draft of a chapter on Knox in her Ph.D. thesis, in progress, which she generously allowed me to read.

London trade was unable to satisfy? or that English books were consumed by a small elite, whereas the productions of Willard and the Mathers reached out to the broad masses? And can Botein's estimate of the power and prestige of English printing still be sustained, in view of its numerical unimportance? These are the issues I will explore in the context of Perry's inventory and its associated documents, particularly some unpublished records of his debtors and creditors.¹⁴

Perry was one of the smaller Boston booksellers, even though he published editions of the Bay Psalm Book and the Massachusetts laws. The strongest indication of this, apart from the mere size of his shop, is his investment in bookbinding, for binders were usually the poorest members of the trade. The inventory lists turkey leather, calf, sheep, both plain and red, and forel, or unsplit sheepskin, for covers of various strength and luxury; pasteboard and 'scale' or scabard, a kind of oak veneer used for stiffening covers; vermilion and sap green for sprinkling edges; leaf brass for gilding; painted paper (also used for wallpaper) for wrappers; pack-thread; and 261 pairs of clasps for Bibles. These articles, together with Perry's bookbinding tools (worth 15s.), are valued at nearly £20, though his entire stock of American printing was only worth about £65. British printing and even British blank books, we may note from the Usher invoices, arrived in the colonies bound, so that Perry's investment only gave a return on American sheets.¹⁵ These were not limited to the sheets that Perry himself printed, for he might bind the productions of other booksellers, taking their sheets in payment. Reilly provides later parallels from Jeremiah Condry's accounts.¹⁶ £20 was thus Perry's working capital, considered merely from the bookselling side of his business.

It is also observable, though no one so far has observed it, that

14. I have used the microfilm of the Suffolk Co. Probate Register, 14: 287 (Boston Public Library, call. no. *F72 .S9 .M43), checked against the original documents in the Massachusetts Judicial Archives, Suffolk Co. Probate Records Series, Docket 2600.

15. Cf. Ford, *Boston Book Market*, pp. 108-51, where most of the titles are annotated 'Ca[lf]', or 'sh[ee]p', or 'b[oun]d', and only occasionally 'st[itched].'

16. Elizabeth Carroll Reilly, 'The Wages of Piety,' in *Printing and Society in Early America*, pp. [83]-131.

Perry could never have carried on a bindery in his tiny, damp shop below the stairs of the Exchange. He also leased a house nearby in Pond Ward, south of Summer Street.¹⁷ The inventory assigns no value to either of these premises, because he leased them; and it does not distinguish the books in the bindery from those in the shop. Thus the bindery is virtually invisible and only emerges when we consider that the shop could not have had the 'Garretts,' chamber, and kitchen mentioned in the inventory. Hence we may picture Perry's simple home: the bindery itself; a bedroom, which poor Mrs. Perry shared with quantities of hornbooks, ink powder, spectacles, and parchment; an attic stuffed with unbound sheets and assorted stationery; and a kitchen, which also contained a bed for an apprentice or servant. Perry's circumstances were too modest for a slave or a horse, the usual indexes of prosperity.

The insolvency proceedings dragged on for five years or more.¹⁸ The record of the Court's final distribution is now lost, but the estate could hardly have paid out more than fifteen shillings in the pound. At least half of the thirty customers who owed Perry money at his death (Appendix B) were from Boston and vicinity. They included merchants, a magistrate, farmers, a brewer, three women, and seven members of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, but no ministers and no Harvard graduates.¹⁹ Ten other customers lived at some distance from Boston, in an area of 135 miles from north to south, and over 100 miles westward: Francis Pope of Newport, Rhode Island, George Vaughan of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Ebenezer Gilbert of Hartford, Connecticut, among them. Altogether they owed Perry nearly £100; his assets were worth only £334, about a third of it in books.

His largest creditors were all Boston merchants: John Usher, Capt. Benjamin Gillam, Nicholas Roberts & Co., and Joseph

17. Thwing Index (Massachusetts Historical Society).

18. Cf. a writ attaching the goods of William Haskell of Middleboro, dated January 1, 1704/5; Massachusetts Historical Society, Miscellaneous Bound Papers.

19. The only possible minister or Harvard graduate is Samuel Shepard, minister of Woodbridge, N.J. (A.B. 1685); but I suppose that Perry's customer was Samuel Shepard of Haverhill, Mass. (d. 1707), a blacksmith. The sole Boston magistrate was Simmon Stoddard, a member of the Provincial Council.

Coysgarne (see Appendix B);²⁰ and they in turn shipped fish, meat, and pipe staves to London, Lisbon or the Caribbean, taking sugar, wine and, or course, books in return.²¹ Perry's business was too small to generate a return in goods, credit, or currency that would have been acceptable in London, so that he had to rely on such general merchants for his stock. Nor could he furnish the assortment of learned, recent publications that a minister would require. Ministers like John Wise, in Chebacco (now Essex), Increase Mather, in Boston, Thomas Shepard, in Cambridge, and John Allin, in Woodbridge, New Jersey, imported their books by special order directly through Usher.²² This basic division of the colonial trade into general merchants and bookseller-stationers continued well into the eighteenth century. Daniel Henchman, characterized by Isaiah Thomas as 'the most eminent and enterprising bookseller that appeared in Boston, or, indeed, in all British America before the year 1775,' did not deal directly with London until 1724.²³ Not until the late 1730s was the transition of his business to general merchandising fully achieved by his son-in-law Thomas Hancock.

Perry's holdings of English books are thus not representative of the dealings of a merchant at Usher's level; and Usher, in turn, would have few or no American imprints, which were worthless for exchange in London. Usher indeed sent 190 copies of the 1672

20. Report of the commissioners for insolvency, Docket 2600 (above, n. 14). For John Usher, see Littlefield, *Early Boston Booksellers*; Capt. Benjamin Davis (d. 1704) was a founder of the Brattle Street Church and a member (1673) of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston. Nicholas Roberts (d. 1710) was a Boston merchant; Joseph Coysgarne (occasionally spelled Coysgaine or Coysgame), a Huguenot merchant operated briefly in Boston in partnership with Peter Signac, ca. 1699-1703. Cf. Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (1885, repr. Baltimore, 1966), 2: 214 and the Thwing Index.

21. William T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945); William T. Baxter, 'Daniel Henchman, a Colonial Bookseller,' *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 70 (1934): 1-30.

22. Ford, *Boston Book Market*, pp. 81, and 108-20, for these accounts. Ford (p. 24) wrongly identifies John Allen as the bookseller, who did not come over from England until 1686, though the account (p. 81) is dated 1679.

23. Account of Thomas Cox, in Henchman ledger I (1712-ca. 1735), fol. 234; the original ledgers are now in the New England Historic Genealogical society and the Boston Public Library; the author has used the microfilm at the American Antiquarian Society.

edition of the Massachusetts laws to Richard Chiswell of London in 1674, for 'nouelties,' as he put it; but Chiswell did not ask for them, and probably Usher had found them unsaleable even in Massachusetts, where his seven-year copyright was running out.²⁴ There are three other Boston booksellers at Perry's level—that is, they often share imprints, and they are occasionally mentioned as bookbinders: Nicholas Boone, and Perry's partners, Benjamin Eliot and Nicholas Buttolph. When two of them club together to publish a title, such as Samuel Willard's *Man of War*, we may infer that they split the edition between them. This practice, and the occasional sale of American sheets in London, might somewhat moderate the disproportion of American to English copies in the overall stock of such books in Boston. And booksellers like Elkanah Pembroke or James Gray, who appear in only a single imprint or none at all, might have stocked far fewer American books than Perry.

All the titles with three or more copies in Perry's inventory are described in Appendix A, which should account for the books that he either printed himself or acquired in multiple imported copies. I omit the ninety-nine other titles of which Perry had a copy or two, which tend to be older publications assessed much below their original price; I suppose they represent remainders that the London trade dumped on the colonial market, or perhaps second-hand colonial copies. Their inclusion would swell the count of London editions, particularly in the miscellaneous category I call 'other books.' Indeed, there are only two American-printed books among them, a Connecticut election sermon worth tuppence, and Samuel Lee's *Joy of Faith*, which was also issued in London.

The identification of English and American editions is generally straightforward, though the inventory does not, of course, supply imprints. When there is a choice, I assign any titles in quires or sheets to Boston presses, for London books came bound or at least stitched; and I assume that a title worth a shilling or more is prob-

24. Chiswell notes that these Bibles were 'very much cheaper than . . . the true English prints,' Ford, *Boston Book Market*, p. 13.

ably of London printing. Since Boston printing greatly outnumbers London printing, we may suppose that the very numerous schoolbooks used for instruction in English were printed in Boston, though sometimes no record of their editions survives outside of Perry's inventory. In a few cases, Perry might have acquired his copies from Amsterdam, Dublin, or Edinburgh, but direct access to these markets was forbidden by the Navigation Act of 1663. Usher imported his Amsterdam-printed English Bibles through Chiswell in London;²⁵ and the export of Scottish books to the colonies only dates from the 1740s.²⁶

Foster assumes, logically enough, that the larger the number of copies in Perry's stock, the better he expected the title to sell; but actually matters were more complicated. The numbers of steady sellers like the Bible or schoolbooks are purely accidental, being determined by the state of the stock at Perry's death. My editing of the inventory may have eliminated a popular title that was temporarily in short supply, and the exceptionally high numbers of *Shorter Catechisms* may merely mean that Perry had recently replenished his stock. As for unique editions, the numbers and state of Perry's stock often suggest slow sales: it is not altogether good that Perry still had eighty-nine copies of Cotton Mather's *Early Religion Urged* after six years; and the majority of Perry's American books were in sheets or quires, unbound — the raw material for his bindery, perhaps, but as yet unsuited for sale in his shop.

An annual supply of twenty to fifty English books, moreover, compares rather better with an American edition than Foster would indicate. The edition, after all, needed time to sell, and the older titles in Perry's stock go back from three to six years. In a four-year period, something like 80–200 English copies would arrive and sell out, or their importation would not have continued. John Usher was not the only Boston merchant who imported

25. Ford, *Boston Book Market*, p. 85.

26. William McDougall, 'Scottish Books for America in the Mid-18th Century,' in *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, U.K.: St. Paul's Bibliographies and Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1990), pp. 21–46.

books, moreover: Perry ran up as large or larger accounts with three other Boston merchants. Between them, they could easily have supplied 320–800 copies of a popular title in the time it took a single Boston edition to exhaust itself. Foster's estimate of 1,000 copies per edition may be accepted, though Perry's editions, to judge by his stock, were often no larger than 500.²⁷ To take Willard's *Man of War* once more as an example, it looks as though Eliot and Perry each took 250 copies, about 100 of which Perry had sold by his death. The point, however, is that even an edition of 500 copies was an ample supply for a city of some 1,300 families and 7,000 souls.

Such numbers can only indicate possibilities, of course, since the documentation is so fragmentary and accidental. They need to be assessed against the larger picture of colonial culture. Students of the book trade in colonial Philadelphia or Williamsburg or Charleston should find few surprises in Perry's inventory. The late Edwin Wolf spoke truly in his Lyell lectures when he claimed that the books of colonial Philadelphia were typical of other colonial cities as well.²⁸ The alterity of New England has always fascinated and disturbed historians, but in future it may well be that we will labor to explain why—for all the cultural differences that separated their owners—colonial libraries were so unexpectedly uniform. The explanation that leaps to hand is that the London trade was in fact very little concerned to cater to colonial tastes.

Perry's stock does not entirely conform to Wolf's proposed norms, of course. There are no almanacs, for Perry died in July, when his supply must have been exhausted. His divinity is decidedly sectarian: no Quaker titles; for Catholics, only one copy

27. Press-runs tend to be quantified in multiples of a ream of paper (500 sheets). I would put less weight than Foster on the 1,700 copies printed of the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), a vanity publication, or the 1,800 ballad versions reportedly printed and sold in a year of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*, a white whale. What Cotton Mather might consider a reasonable edition size, when he and his friends paid for it, would also differ from the sober calculations of a bookseller who did not have money to burn.

28. Edwin Wolf II, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen, and Booksellers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and see Richard Beale Davis, *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979).

of the *Imitatio Christi*; for Anglicans, six copies of the Book of Common Prayer, and one of Jeremy Taylor's *Contemplations of the State of Man*, which was ever popular with the Puritans as well. English law books are practically absent: no Dalton's *Country Justice*, Care's *English Liberties*, Coke on Littleton; no blank forms, except for ninety-six quires of bills of lading. Indeed, apart from the Massachusetts *Acts and Laws*, Perry's only legal title was a copy of Charles Molloy's *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, a great favorite in the colonies. Three hundred of Perry's 304 copies of the Massachusetts *Acts and Laws* were in quires; it must have sold very slowly, as indeed, Usher's edition did. Merchants like John Usher or Samuel Sewall had a wider variety of legal titles, but retailers like Perry could not afford them. Magistrates as well as ministers, I suppose, supplied their needs by special order, as John Adams did fifty years later.

When London and Boston competed, they battled over staple fare, signalled by asterisks and daggers in Appendix A. Here, indeed, Boston printing is generally a supplement, furnishing the peculiar primers, psalters, psalm books, and laws that New England culture required; but they were occasionally reprinted in England, Scotland, or later, New York and Philadelphia, when the New England presses failed. Perry's stock of English-printed popular literature — two chapbooks, and some small-format Bibles — is strikingly limited; merchants like Usher probably distributed a broader assortment of these perennials to town and country stores, and peddlers like James Gray hawked them around the countryside.

As for the 'other books,' as I call them, both London and Boston imprints appear in unique editions, or single years only, and are heard of no more. Such constantly changing novelties are, of course, important in their own right: they may have brought customers in to browse who then departed, as usual, with a *New England Psalter* or a *Bay Psalm Book*. But their market was brief and limited. London printings of 'other' books, I suppose, were purchased by the tradesmen, merchants, and sea captains who wished

to be *au courant* with British culture. Samuel Sewall addressed this audience in his *Epitome of English Orthography*, a very elementary treatise of which Perry had 100 copies. Sewall wrote, as he tells us in the preface, 'for the Benefit of my Countrymen who retain a Smattering of the *Latine* and *Greek* Tongues,' but who have been 'dismissed from School, some to *Clerkship*, others to *Merchandize* or *Trade*.' He believed there were many such: their numbers roughly corresponded to the 250 weekly copies of a colonial newspaper, of which they and the colony's ministers and magistrates were the first readers.

Despite their cheapness, the market for 'other' Boston imprints was primarily urban. The tradesmen, sea captains, and merchants who owed Perry money are only the upper stratum of his custom, distributed over an anomalously wide area; we learn nothing from the insolvency proceedings of the many more numerous and less wealthy customers who paid cash, and who therefore surely resided in Boston. The sale of colonial imprints (apart from almanacs) was thus more intensely civic and localized than the sale of English books. We naturally assume that their cheapness recommended them to humbler purses, but it is only an assumption. Popular literature, like oral literature, is relentlessly conservative, and small libraries (including parish libraries) inclined to a few costly but socially venerated titles—the Bible, of course, a commentary on the Bible, or Fox's *Book of Martyrs* are what we should expect, not an assortment of recent publications, however cheap.

Lastly, there are the schoolbooks, where London and Boston divide the market. Most of Perry's Bibles probably were destined for grammar schools in duodecimo, and in 24mo for dame schools. He had none of the quarto Bibles that served for family reading, and only a single folio Bible, suitable for serious Congregationalist study and annotation or perhaps an Anglican lectern. His English-printed schoolbooks were for grammar schools, and for boys.²⁹ In 1700, there were only fifteen grammar schools in New England,

29. Thus, the inventory lists blank copybooks as a matter of course 'for boys,' and the title of Culmann's *Sententiae pueriles* implies the same limitation.

six of them in the Boston area.³⁰ This represents a cohort of perhaps forty or fifty Boston boys a year, so that the 'dribbles and drabbles' of such books imported annually from London were doubtless adequate. Perry had twenty or thirty times as many schoolbooks for the children who attended 'dame' or 'petty' schools, and these were all printed in America. In this rather special case, Foster's thesis makes sense, and indeed suggests certain reservations about the prevalence of a classical education in the colonies.³¹

Foster, however, expressly excludes schoolbooks, Bibles, psalm books, and almanacs from his analysis, which is limited to books 'with something resembling a mental content,' or that presented 'an imaginative rendering of doctrine.'³² He observes that American presses invariably reprinted the most frequently imported titles of this description, and argues that London was therefore unable to meet colonial demand. The same phenomenon, of course, is also observable in Scotch and Irish 'piracies,' yet in all these cases, the demand for titles that *were* reprinted originates in London, not in Boston, Edinburgh, or Dublin. Products of intellectual distinction certainly originated from the colonial press, but they were rarely reprinted in England and they almost never became steady sellers, even in the colonies. The typical long-term productions of the colonial press were serials: newspapers, almanacs, sessions acts; the Boston trade had no proper backlist before the *Boston Catalogue* of 1804. Down to this period, colonial printers were unable to wrest a niche for their 'piracies' from the London trade;

30. Robert Middlekauff, *Ancient and Axioms: Secondary Education in Revolutionary New England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963; repr. Salem, N.H.: Ayer Company, 1988), esp. p. 8 n.: Boston, Cambridge, Roxbury, Watertown, Charlestown, Dorchester, Salem, Ipswich, Hadley, Bristol (now in R.I.) and Plymouth, in Massachusetts; New Haven, Hartford, Fairfield and New London, in Connecticut. Ten other Massachusetts towns had schools but 'failed to supply grammar masters for varying periods . . . between 1700 and 1720' (p. 34 n.).

31. 'Anyone who went to school (and . . . most did) began the learning process through Latin authors, unless he was an apprentice or a black' (Davis, *Colonial Southern Bookshelf*, p. 100, cited approvingly by Wolf, *Book Culture*, p. 47). For assumptions about the numbers attending grammar school, see *contra*, Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 19-37.

32. Foster, 'Godly in Transit,' pp. 221 and 228.

as in Edinburgh and Dublin, 'piracies' remained sporadic, brief intrusions in the steady current of London production. Of the devotional works in Perry's stock, on which Foster places such emphasis, only Flavel's *Token for Mourners* reached more than two colonial editions.

Congers and sharebooks, I suspect, were most effective in controlling the exchange of sheets, the usual method of 'publication' in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, but these limitations could hardly have affected Boston booksellers, whose sheets had little market value in London except as 'nouelties.' Indeed, none of the titles in Perry's stock, or for that matter in Usher's, belonged to Richard Chiswell's conger, as Foster's thesis demands.³³ The schoolbooks, psalm books, and Bibles that formed the staple of Perry's business were vested in the English stock of the Stationers' Company and the Bible patentees. These monopolies indeed made them costly.³⁴ An American-printed reader like the *Shorter Catechism* cost only a third as much as one printed in London, and this sufficiently accounts for its preponderance at the dame-school level. At a more advanced level, however, in grammar schools, the market was much more restricted: here the long purse of the London trade took its toll. Boston might pass off 500 copies of Cotton Mather's latest sermon; but the trade was not prepared to wait ten years to sell a comparable number of copies of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Even on the imperfect evidence of Perry's inventory, then, Botein and Foster's models both require adjustment. The stream of English steady sellers must, in time, have overwhelmed the occasional, feverish colonial 'piracies,' as David D. Hall argues, supporting Botein.³⁵ Foster's model better explains the sale of school-

33. These are listed in 'A Catalogue of Mr. Richard Royston's Copies,' appended to the 1703 ed. of William Cave's *Antiquitates Christianae*; see further Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Blagden (eds.), *The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 76-100; and cf. their list of conger copies entered in the Stationers' Register, 1688-1707 (pp. [203]-08), none of which appear in Perry's or Usher's lists either.

34. Ford, *Boston Book Market*, p. 48, argues for their cheapness, but does not substantiate his opinion.

35. David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), pp. 47-49.

books, where London and the colonies divided the market, but Foster's explanation is mistaken, and meant in any case for very different properties. Britain retained control of Bibles, of technical literature like law books or navigation books, and of chapbooks right down to the Revolution. British imports thus constituted the most widely owned titles, and the ones that, by any reckoning, contributed most to colonial knowledge and imagination.

The numbers of colonial editions in Perry's stock begin to be meaningful when they are restored to their contexts of production, distribution, and above all, bankruptcy, which all of the commentators on the inventory ignore. Perry is named in twenty-two imprints, but in five of these merely as a distributor ('sold by M. Perry'). Here, even if he had Nicholas Buttolph's sheets in his attic, they would not appear in his inventory, because they were not Perry's property. He and his partners supplied the paper for the seventeen other items, which were therefore said to be 'printed for' them. Of the titles that he probably undertook on his own account or in partnership, five have no imprint, have lost their title pages, or have perished utterly.³⁶ Five of the twenty-two titles in which he invested do not appear in the inventory: two election sermons, Cotton Mather's *Johannes in Eremo*, and Samuel Willard's *Law Established by the Gospel* (1694) and his *Truly Blessed Man*.³⁷

Even when an edition was 'printed for' him, however, Perry did not necessarily assume the entire risk. Thus the Province took 200 copies of the Massachusetts laws (1699, 1700) and all of Samuel Torrey's and Samuel Willard's election sermons of 1694 and 1695. Cotton Mather's friends financed *Johannes in Eremo* and, seemingly, his *Good Man Making a Good End* as well. Since the appraisers of Perry's estate did not consider a single copy of Willard's *Truly*

36. These are the Session laws for March 1699 (Evans 917) and Increase Mather's, *Good Man Making a Good End*, both adespota; Samuel Sewall's, *Epitome* and Cotton Mather's, *Remarkable Judgments*, which have lost their title pages; and the *Lamentation of Mary Hooper*. I have not counted the American schoolbooks, which are more or less incomparable, and which are likely to have been published 'by the booksellers,' as they were in England.

37. These are Evans 711-12, 724 (which includes 725 and 727), 739, and 965. Evans 724 has the ambiguous imprint 'for and sold by M. Perry,' but in fact appeared by subvention.

Blessed Man (1700) to be Perry's property, its sponsors must have taken the entire impression of this recent title, a substantial (653 pages) series of sermons on Psalm 32.

The printed sheets themselves, as we have seen, might be exchanged for services or for the properties of other booksellers. Perry had only twenty copies of John William's *Warnings to the Unclean* (1699), but it is scarcely credible that he had nearly sold out an impression of 500–1,000 copies in a single year. Either the author and his friends had absorbed a good part of the edition, or Perry had exchanged quantities of its sheets for other properties, like Nicholas Buttolph's 450 copies in sheets of Stubbs on conscience. If an edition appeared at Perry's expense, he would customarily allow the author fifty free copies for the manuscript; other parts of the edition went to pay for the binder's or the printer's services.³⁸ It is surprising that Bartholomew Green and John Allen, who did all of Perry's printing after 1694, do not appear among his creditors. In a currency-poor economy, such an instant and complete balancing of accounts could only have been effected in sheets. The real size of a colonial edition is distorted by a kind of value-added tax, which does not apply to English imprints.

When we set aside the government printing and the editions printed for the author or his friends, the remainder of Perry's production is mostly topical or practical: Judge Sewall on spelling for tradesmen; Increase Mather's two execution sermons on the scandalously impenitent Sarah Threadneedle; the adventures of Élie Neau among the Papists; the curious bereavement of Mary Hooper; funeral sermons on John Baily; the fearful, fresh, yet hopeful judgments of God on New Englanders and their offspring, retailed by Cotton Mather. Doctrinal or devotional offerings like Samuel Willard's *Spiritual Desertions* are unusual.

Perry certainly published some of these titles at his own expense: he and Eliot 'entreated' Cotton Mather for the manuscript of the

38. Rollo G. Silver, 'Publishing in Boston, 1726–1757,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 66 (1956): 17–50, at pp. 19 and 28. The author's 'payment' was generous, since an English publisher would surely have given nothing.

Family Well-ordered, for example, a Thursday lecture. Other arrangements divided the risk of publication. The Artillery Company perhaps took what they wanted of Willard's *Man of War* from Eliot, and Perry overprinted an issue of his own, paying for the paper but getting the print for nothing. In a market crammed with vanity publications, such ventures tempted fate. Perry's death and insolvency froze his assets for five years, and in the meantime, his partners' shares sold off, new editions of his steadier sellers, like Stubbs, might be published, and the topical became ever staler. The Boston Fire of 1711 devoured what was left. No wonder, then, that many of his more marketable titles are of absolute rarity today.

Not that the market in general controlled their production and reception. Oral publication sufficed for the vast majority of colonial sermons, especially the congregations' regular Sunday fare; parents had carefully examined these portions of doctrine with their families, and they rarely appeared in print. Bostonians overwhelmingly preferred to print discourses that were external to the ordinary business of their churches, delivered to uncovenanted audiences or on historic occasions: meetings, lectures, executions, elections, funerals, and weddings. The audiences, families, friends of the preacher, or the preacher himself, often encouraged their publication with subventions.³⁹ That—and not extensive popular demand—is why Willard and the Mathers accounted for such a high proportion of colonial editions. Their sponsors bought into the editions and distributed copies *gratis*.⁴⁰

39. Thomas James Holmes, *Cotton Mather* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), suggests how widespread the private publication of Mather's works was: the author himself paid for nos. 34, 47, 50, 67, 71, 78, 127, 132, 134, 144-45, 149, 227, 235, 240, 269, 320, 322, 375, 396, 405, 411, 447, and 455; Edward Bromfield for nos. 8, 111, 136, and 229; Sir Henry Ashurst for no. 88; Eliakim Hutchinson for no. 18; Samuel Mather for no. 408; Samuel Penhallow for no. 273; Thomas Prince for no. 435; Madam Saltonstall for no. 318; Samuel Sewall for nos. 334 and 389; John Winthrop for nos. 14 and 53; relatives of the deceased for nos. 13, 29, 113, 166, 222, 420, and 448; and various pious private groups, including one headed by Obadiah Gill (a shipwright and minor bookseller, for obvious reasons), for nos. 9, 28, 48, 55, 68, 80, 138, 156, 159, 169, 188, 202, 218, 221-22, 243, 248, 281-82, 311, 317, 322, 330, 337, 381, 385, 406, 410, 446, 456-57, and 462; and these are just the instances for which we have documentation. I ignore publications financed by the church and state, and various subscriptions, all unsuccessful.

40. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, p. 45f.

Sermons are usually undedicated and few of them, to judge from surviving copies, were formally presented to distinguished public figures or the author's peers, 'well bound' in calf or turkey, or 'very neatly' in kid.⁴¹ Like nineteenth-century religious tracts (a few would be reprinted in the nineteenth century for this purpose), most, one imagines, were stitched or in painted paper wrappers. They rarely survive in this condition today, however, because they were rebound in tract volumes or used for waste paper after reading (like magazines). A few copies survive in their original sheep over scabard, and these, I think, may well have been purchased, but they are hardly common. Clifford K. Shipton rightly celebrates Judge Sewall's 'inexhaustible pocketful of printed sermons which [he] spread broadcast over the colony,'⁴² yet even he met his match in Cotton Mather, who shamelessly enlisted the help of the entire Provincial legislature in the good work. Their resources were incomparably larger than a colonial bookseller's; indeed, sponsors seem to have regarded bookselling as a desperate last resort. In 1704, we find Sewall dispensing a remainder of five dozen copies of Willard's *Fear of an Oath* (1701) among the Boston booksellers, including a dozen copies to Nicholas Boone, for whom they were ostensibly printed.⁴³

Depending on the distance between donor and recipient, such gifts might carry various messages of respect, affection, condescension, or reproach. One would give much to know what passed through the mind of Joseph Sewall's sweetheart when the Judge gave her Cotton Mather's *Adversus Libertinos*, for example.⁴⁴ Others, like the unregenerate sailors on whom Cotton Mather lavished his good advice, were fiercely resentful.⁴⁵ Evidence of actual purchase is hard to come by, but to judge by bindings, the boughten

41. *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, pp. 390, 687, and 767.

42. Sibley's, *Harvard Graduates*, 4 (1933): 249.

43. *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, p. [495]. In 1713-17, Henschman credited Joanna Perry for some copies of Willard's, *Truly Blessed Man*, printed for her husband in 1700 (Henschman ledger 1, fols. 17 and 90). These must represent a similar kickback, since no copies of this work appeared in her husband's inventory. Note, too, that Willard was still 'in print' after seventeen years.

44. *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, p. 709.

45. Holmes, *Cotton Mather*, no. 340.

copies usually went to children. In suspiciously fine original sheep—an inexpensive and rather fragile binding—they are often adorned with childish inscriptions, such as ‘Benjamin French his Book god give him grace.’⁴⁶ The hand is Benjamin’s, but he speaks in anxious and elderly accents. English books may have had a relatively restricted circulation, but at least their numbers responded to a genuine, unmediated need and interest.

The colonial production of print, in short, was initiated by the magistrates, the church, private groups, authors, and occasionally by the booksellers. The closest English analogy to Puritan publishing is probably the program of the Quakers, who, however, centralized the supply of their publications, instead of printing them locally. Pennsylvania, of course, was a proprietary colony, but there seems no reason why the New England Company could not have provided a similar program of publications—the Eliot tracts and the Andros tracts, indeed, are close parallels. Foster draws a pathetic picture of print-starved, working-class Puritans, driven by the ideology of the Reformation to develop something to read that their society was unable to supply except by local imprints. The hunger for reading was easily satisfied by rereading the same book, however, and the socially sanctioned object for this purpose was the Bible, not the productions of Willard and the Mathers. Their sermons circulated to record religious or social obligations—like Gideon Bibles in motels, or twenty-liter drums of kerosene among the Melanesians—not to convey knowledge or to stir imagination.⁴⁷ The monotonous generality of Perry’s stock, and the mediocrity of his custom, should reassure us that his inventory adequately represents this culture, and its dependence on the English trade.

46. This example is taken from Houghton Library *AC6.M4208.703d; the formula is common. Other Houghton copies with childish signatures are *AC6.W6618.700f; *AC6.W6618.699s; *AC6.W6395.670meb; and *AC6.Sh472S.1692.

47. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991). In Thomas’s analysis, a presentation copy is a totally different object from one acquired by purchase, since they come ‘entangled’ with different social contexts. A Melanesian object may become entangled in a European museum, and a European object (like drums of kerosene) in Melanesian society. A book historian must constantly undo and reknit the severed ends of objects entangled in Imprint programs, American Studies, and Rare Book Rooms.

APPENDIX A

LONDON IMPRINTS

Prices in sterling

* = also reprinted in colonial America

SCHOOLBOOKS

[14] *Æsop's fables* (English & Latin) / ed. C. Hoole (2s.)

19 *Institutio Graecæ grammatices* / William Camden (18d.)

Cf. Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 340. This is the most widely used Greek grammar; Richard Busby's is also possible, though Mather Byles's copy, cited by Ms. Holmes, seems to be an 18th-century abridgment.

[18] *Catonis Disticha* / ed. C. Hoole (10d.)

Includes the *Dicta septem sapientium* / Seven Sages and the *Sententiæ* (English & Latin) of Publilius Syrus.

7 *De officiis* / Marcus Tullius Cicero (16d.)

8 *Epistolæ* (Selections) / Marcus Tullius Cicero; ed. J. Sturm (6d.)

6 *Orationes* (Selections) / Marcus Tullius Cicero (18d.)

A Harvard copy of the 1700 ed. has the signature of Samuel Plaisted (A.B. 1715) dated 1710/11.

5 *Janua linguarum* / Johann Amos Comenius (6d.)

5 *Janua trilinguis* / Johann Amos Comenius (3s.)

Note: The original entry in the inventory is quoted in a note, if the title is difficult to recognize from this description. When the number of copies is bracketed, it represents a total of two or more entries in the inventory; I have added the date of editions, if the evidence permits the date to be so limited, and supply the unit price in parentheses at the end of the entry.

'Edition' is here used as a technical term, meaning a unique setting of type, whatever the bookseller may claim on his title page; 'issue' is a part of such an edition, with variant date or publisher. This definition is not used in Wing, so that the separate issues of L'Estrange's *History of the Plot* (1679) in 1679, 1680 and 1689 are all described as 'editions.' In a sense used here, frequent *editions* imply large markets and readership; multiple *issues* imply inadequate capitalization and slow sales.

- [14] *School colloquies* / Maturin Cordier; ed. C. Hoole (2s.)
- 43 * *Sententiae pueriles* / Leonhard Culmann; ed. C. Hoole (8d.)
- 11 * Ὀνομαστικὸν βραχὺ = *Nomenclatura brevis* / Francis Gregory (1s.)
- 14 *Lillies rules construed* / William Hayne
2Wing L2268, etc.; bound with William Lily's *Short introduction of grammar* (16d.)
- [74] *The common accidence examined and explained* / Charles Hoole (8d.)
'Accidence': Hoole's (2Wing H2674, etc.) seems the likeliest text. A Harvard copy of the 1657 edition of Hoole belonged to Elisha and Middlecott Cooke, both of whom attended Boston Latin: it is bound with Hoole's *Terminationes et exempla declinationum & conjugationum*, and a separate edition of his translation of Lily's *Propria quæ maribus*, in contemporary sheep, as issued. The quarto accidences imported by Usher in 1685 (Ford, p. 149) must be John Brinsley's (2Wing B4699-4703), though the last quarto ed. was in 1669. Brinsley went out of print with a 15th ed. in 1687, and Usher's valuation is less than half Perry's.
- [74] *Terminationes et exempla declinationum & conjugationum* / Charles Hoole
Bound with his *Common accidence examined*, as issued (8d.); post-Restoration editions include his translation of Lily's *Propria quæ maribus*.
- [43] *Brevissima institutio grammatices* / William Lily
Bound, as issued, with his *Short introduction of grammar* (1s.-16d.)
- [43] *Short introduction of grammar* / William Lily (1s.-16d.)
Bound, as issued, with Lily's *Brevissima institutio grammatices*; includes 14 copies @ 16d. 'with construing books,' i.e. *Lillies rules construed*, by William Hayne (a Clark Library copy dated 1678 and a Harvard copy dated 1685-87 are so bound).
- 4 *Metamorphoses* / Ovid (2s.)
Harvard has a copy of the 1684 ed., with the signature of Joshua Moody (A.B. 1707)
- 5 *Tristia* / Ovid; ed. Jan Minell (8d.)
Harvard has a copy of the 1697 ed., with the signature of John Tufts (A.B. 1708) dated 1702.
- 12 * *England's perfect schoolmaster* / Nathaniel Strong (1s.)
- 7 *Virgil / variorum* (1s.)
- 20 *Complete English scholar* / Edward Young, schoolmaster (10d.)

BIBLES, PSALTERS, ETC.

- [18] Bible (12mo); with the Bay Psalm Book (3-4s., in various bindings).
With 'N:E: Psalms,' presumably in a European ed., since
Bibles were ordered and delivered bound.
- 11 Bible (24mo) (4s.)
4 Bible (Latin) (6s.)
3 New Testament (16d.)
8 New Testament (Latin) (18d.)
5 * Metrical Psalms / Tate and Brady (1s.)
[6] * Book of Common Prayer (not separately priced; in various bindings)

GOOD BOOKS

- 16 * *Call to the unconverted* / Richard Baxter (10d.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1717, 1731.
- 4 * *Navigation spiritualized* / John Flavel (18d.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1726.
- 23 * *Saint indeed* / John Flavel (10d.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1726; also reprinted in Scotland before
1701.
- 12 * *Token for mourners* / John Flavel (10d.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1707, 1725, 1729 and 1730.
- [17] * *Great concern* / Edward Pearce (1s.)
'Pearce on death': reprinted in Boston, 1705, 1711; also re-
printed in Ireland before 1701. One other (secondhand?)
copy (not counted here) is appraised at 3d.
- [13] * *Great assize* / Samuel Smith (1s.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1727; also reprinted in Scotland before
1701.
- 11 * *Christ's certain and sudden appearance to Judgment* / Thomas Vin-
cent (15d.)
Reprinted in Boston, 1718; Phila., 1740; not reprinted in
London after 1695.

STEADY SELLERS

- 3 * *Pilgrim's progress* / John Bunyan (1s.)
Also printed in Boston, 1681; the relatively high price and
low quantity, however, suggest a London ed.
- [26] *Mariner's new calendar* / Nathaniel Colson (18d.-2s.)
Includes 8 copies @ 2s. 'with practice,' i.e. Richard Nor-

wood's *Seaman's practice*; a NYPL copy is so bound, and four editions were so issued in 1710-13. See Thomas R. Adams, *Non-cartographical Maritime Works Published by Mount and Page* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1985), no. 72.

- 5 *Fortunatus* (8d.)
Chapbook.
- 14 *Epitome of navigation* / Henry Gellibrand (18d.)
- 4 *Geodesia* / John Love. 1688 (8d.)
Reprinted in 8 London editions, 1715-71.
- 8 *Seaman's practice* / Richard Norwood.
Bound with Nathaniel Colson's *Mariner's new calendar* (2s.)
- 13 *Sea charts* (3s.)
Probably John Seller's or John Thornton's.
- 3 *Seven wise masters of Rome* / Seven Sages (English) (8d.)
Chapbook. Cf. also *Catonis Disticha*, under SCHOOLBOOKS above.
- 8 *Compleat compting-house* / John Vernon (15d.)
- 8 *Mariner's compass rectified* / Andrew Wakely (2s.)
- 3 *Whole duty of a woman* (2s.)
Compiled in part from *The ladies calling*, by Richard Allestree; an 8th London edition appeared in 1735.
- 3 *Systema agriculturae* / John Worlidge (3s.)

OTHER BOOKS

- 18 *Sermon preach'd before the . . . House of Commons . . . 16 Apr. 1696* / Samuel Barton. 1696 (1d.)
Not in the *Term Catalogues*; hence selected by a London wholesaler.
- [35] *Helps for faith and patience* / James Burdwood. 1693 (1s.)
- [5] *Last legacy* / Henry Care. 1688 (3d.)
Only one copy survives (Bodleian).
- 7 *Looking-glass for persecutors* / Samuel Clarke [1599-1683] (3d.)
2 eds., 1674 and 1675 (1s.)
- 30 *Collection of papers relating to the present juncture of affairs*. 1688 (1d.)
Pt. 1 of 12 pts.; printed in 3 eds., 1688; collected and reissued in 1689.
- 3 *God the guide of youth* / Timothy Cruso. 1695 (3s.)
- 3 Πλανηλογια = *Succinct . . . discourse of . . . mental errors* / John Flavel. 1691 (2s.)
- 17 *Life in God's favour* / Oliver Heywood. 1679 (3d.)

- 5 *History of the life, bloody reign, and death of Queen Mary.* 1682 (3d.)
3 eds., 1682; no doubt an episode of anti-Catholic hysteria.
- 11 *History of the Plot / Sir Roger L'Estrange.* 1679 (3s.)
Reissued with cancel t.p.'s in 1680 and 1689.
- 7 *Immoderate mourning / John Owen, chaplain.* 1680 (3d.)
Not in the *Term Catalogues*.
- 4 *Meditations on the fall and rising of St. Peter / Edward Reynolds.*
1677 (6d.)
'Fall and rising of St. Peter.'
- 3 *Of the day of grace / John Shower.* 1694 (6d.)
Two issues, with variant imprints: London; and Worcester.
- 5 *Thanksgiving sermon... April 16. 1696 / William Stephens.* 1696 (1d.)
- 18] Πουμνη φυλακίων = *Pastor's charge / Samuel Stoddon.* 1694 (8d.)
Not in the *Term Catalogues*.
- 8 *God, a Christian's choice / Samuel Winney.* 1675 (2d.)
- 5 *Apology for Congregational divines / [Samuel Young].* 1698 (3d.)

BOSTON IMPRINTS

Except as noted, printed by B. Green and J. Allen for M. Perry

† = also printed or reprinted in England

SCHOOLBOOKS

[690] †Hornbooks: 222 gilt (1d.) & 468 plain (½d.)

No colonial editions are otherwise documented. Samuel Sewall imported 12 doz. from London in 1700 (his *Letter-book*, 6 *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* 1 [1886]: 248). Unless that was an exceptionally small order, the numbers in Perry's stock seem too large for London printing.

[856] †*New England primer* (2d.)

The earliest surviving edition, enlarged with the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter catechism*, is dated 1727; in this form it was already being advertised in 1691. Includes 300 copies in quires (1d.)

[124] *New England psalter* (9d.)

'Psalters with Proverbs', 'Psalters': the Psalms and Proverbs, in the Authorized Version; printed as a reader for children. First printed in Boston, 1682 (Evans 311 [adv.] = 2Wing

- B2551A [a ghost]); the earliest surviving edition is dated 1730. Includes 25 copies in quires (5d.)
- [1428] †*Shorter catechism* / Westminster Assembly (1643–1652) (1d.)
Presumably the 1699 ed., of which only one imperfect copy survives (AAS); f. S. Phillips.
- 31 †*Shorter catechism, with Scripture proofs* / Westminster Assembly (1643–1652) (2d.)
Eds. appeared in 1693 (sb. B. Harris) and 1698 (adespoton)

PSALTERS

- [304] †*Bay Psalm Book*. 1698 (18d.–2/6, in various bindings)
'Psalm books': includes 225 copies in quires (10d.). There was also an ed. f. S. Phillips, 1695.

LAW BOOKS

- [304] †*Acts and laws; with the Charter of 1692* / Massachusetts (Colony). 1699[–1700] (1s.)
'Law books': 4 copies stitched; the rest in quires. Two items, continuously paged: Evans 867/8 (f. M. Perry & B. Eliot) and Evans 917 (adespoton). Perry and Eliot submitted their bill of £20 on Jan. 24, 1699/1700 for the first item, delivering 200 bound copies—50 free, and 150 at cost; and Joanna Perry as executrix and Eliot submitted a bill of £6 3s. for the second item on Nov. 18, 1700, of which the Province allowed £6. Massachusetts State Archives, Executive Council Series 3 (1698–1703): pp. 90 and 168; the Province still owed Perry's estate £1 5s. 8d. at his death (below, Appendix B).

GOOD BOOKS

- [373] †*Call to delaying sinners* / Thomas Doolittle. 1700 (6d.)
Includes 200 copies in quires (3d.); f. B. Eliot. Only one imperfect copy survives (AAS). Reprinted Boston, 1726; 14th ed., London, 1750.
- [486] †*Conscience the best friend upon earth* / Henry Stubbs [1606?–1678] (4d.)
2 eds., dated 1699 and 1700, both printed by B. Green and J. Allen for Nicholas Buttolph; only one copy of the 1699 ed. survives (JCB). Includes 450 copies in sheets (1d.). Reprinted Boston, 1714; not reprinted in London after 1702.

OTHER BOOKS

- 32 *Thirty important cases* / Cambridge Association of ministers. 1699 (1d.)
sb. the booksellers.
- 100 [*Epitome of English orthography*. 1697] (1d.)
The only surviving copy (AAS) has no t.p.; the mutilated signature at the end of the pref. may be read: [S. S]ema[ll].
- 6 †*Sion in distress* / Benjamin Keach. 1683 (3d.)
The price suggests this Boston ed., of which there are two issues, f. S. Phillips, or f. T. Baker; not reprinted in London after 1692.
- 9 [*Lamentation of Mary Hooper*. ca. 1694?] (1d.)
For Mary H., see O. E. Monnette, *First Settlers of Piscataway, N.J.*, 5: 829; her two sons died of mushroom poisoning in Aug. 1693. No copy survives, so it is impossible to say whether this is by Mary H. (as Shipton and Mooney suppose) or about her; and given the presence of the title in Perry's stock, Shipton and Mooney's New York imprint is implausible.
- 36 *Christian thank-offering* / Cotton Mather. 1696 (1d.)
Only one copy survives (JCB).
- [89] *Early religion urged* / Cotton Mather. 1694 (2d.)
- [223] *Family well-ordered* / Cotton Mather. 1699 (5d.)
Includes 23 copies listed as 'Duty of Parents and Children' (a paraphrase of the running-titles), and 150 copies in quires (1d.); f. M. Perry & B. Eliot.
- [51] *Good man making a good end* / Cotton Mather. 1698 (4d.)
'Mr. Bailys life': includes 17 copies bound with 'old Mr. Mathers sermon,' i.e. *David serving his generation* (6d.)
- 152 [*Remarkable judgments of God* / Cotton Mather. 1697] (1d.)
Reprinted in the *Magnalia* under title *Terribilia Dei*, but the only surviving copy (Harvard) has no t.p.
- [59] *Warning to the flocks* / [Cotton Mather]. 1700 (½d.)
f. the booksellers.
- 17 *David serving his generation* / Increase Mather. 1698
Bound with Cotton Mather's *Good man making a good end* (6d.); adespoton.
- [61] *Folly of sinning* / Increase Mather. 1699 (5d.)
f. M. Perry & N. Buttolph.
- [34] †*Order of the Gospel* / Increase Mather. 1700 (6d.)

Includes 9 copies listed under the running-title as 'Order of churches', and 25 copies in quires (3d.); two issues, f. Nicholas Buttolph, or f. B. Eliot.

[268] [*Presen*]t from a farr country [to the] people of New England / Élie Neau. 1698 (1d.)

'French Lettr.': the words 'French Letter' are prominent on the t.p. Neau was a New York Huguenot who had been captured in the Caribbean and imprisoned for his recusancy by French authorities; Cotton Mather prints his account with a translation and comment. 2 copies survive (AAS, JCB), one wanting the t.p. and much else.

[147] *Man of war* / Samuel Willard. 1699 (2d.)

2 issues, f. B. Eliot, or f. M. Perry.

[140] *Morality not to be relied on for life* / Samuel Willard. 1700 (2d.)
f. B. Eliot.

[30] *Peril of the times displayed* / Samuel Willard. 1700 (6d.)
sb. B. Eliot.

[224] *Spiritual desertions discovered and remedied* / Samuel Willard. 1699 (6d.)

Includes 125 copies in quires (3d.); f. M. Perry & B. Eliot.

20 *Warnings to the unclean* / John Williams. 1699 (2d.)

APPENDIX B

<i>Account of Perry's creditors, Mar. 18, 1701</i>	£	s.	d.
Capt. Gilbert Bant	8	5	0
Capt. Benjamin Gillam	65	4	10
Gabriel Bernon	3	18	0
Andrew Faneuil	3	10	9
Samuel Keeling & Co.	36	19	1 ½
John Borland	6	8	9
Samuel Baker	13	10	0
Peter Barbour		15	8
Nicholas Roberts & Co.	78	13	0
Joseph Coysgarne	102	0	11 ½
David Jeffries	5	10	8
Benjamin Eliot	21	3	9
Stephen Minot	38	12	8 ¾
William Vaughan, Esq.	19	14	7
John Usher, Esq.	61	0	3
John Nelson	20	0	0
Francis Foxcroft	29	12	0
Duncan Campbell	3	18	7
Total:	518	18	7 [¾]

<i>Account of Debts received, April 1702</i>	£	s.	d.
John Cutler	2	4	10
Samuel Sheppard	16	16	6
The Province, by Capt. Southack	1	5	8
Ebenezer Gilbert	3	0	0
Benjamin Davis		13	6
Richard Gerrish	4	15	0
Jose Appleton	2	6	1
Thomas Holland	1	2	0
Samuel Prince	1	9	10
Seth Pope	2	12	4
Simeon Stoddard	6	0	0
Waterhouse Fernly	1	18	0
Francis Pope		4	0
Mr. Whetcombe		2	6
Captain Belcher	2	0	0
Total:	46	10	3

<i>Accounts receivable ('many of which debts being doubtful')</i>	£	s.	d.
Elizabeth Gidding	2	3	3
Charles Storey	3	14	8
James Meinzeis	6	10	10
John Noble	1	7	4
Elizabeth Redford	3	0	0
James Cornish	3	4	3
Ebenezer Gilbert	2	1	6
Samuel Shrimpton	1	7	7
John Haskett	4	13	0
Sampson Sheafe	2	18	4
John Houlden	2	15	6
Tamazin Harris	3	0	0
Robert Eliot	10	1	9
Francis Pope		4	0
John Pratt		9	0
Samuel Lockwood		12	0
Benjamin Pemberton	3	1	1
George Vaughan		14	4
Total:	51	18	5

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