

*Some Books of
Early New England Provenance
in the 1823 Library of Alleghany College*

BY EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

IN 1823, appealing to the Germans of Pennsylvania for funds to establish a Professorship in German Literature, Timothy Alden, the president of Alleghany College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, stated: "The Library, a most useful and indispensable appendage to any such institution, through the munificence of Winthrop, Bentley, Thomas, and many other benefactors, comprising books in thirty different languages, is the first, except one, as to the excellence of the selection and in point of value, belonging to any collegiate institution in the United States."¹ The *Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii Alleghaniensis*, compiled by Alden and printed at Meadville in 1823, confirms the amazing statement that at the end of the first quarter of the 19th century a library existed not far from Lake Erie in quality surpassed only by that of Harvard College as an "appendage" to a teaching institution. It is probably also correct to say that among non-teaching institutions only the Library Company of Philadelphia and Jefferson's collection at the Library of Congress were better.

It is surprising that for well over a century so important an aggregation of books has been so little known. Searching for books from Franklin's library, I stumbled upon it. To my amazement it produced, not books from Franklin's

¹ Timothy Alden, *A Letter addressed to the Germans of Pennsylvania* [Meadville, 1823], 8. I have used the original spelling of Alleghany throughout; after 1833 it was changed to Allegheny.

library, but a wealth of New England provenance. To the best of my knowledge this unusual library has not been extensively known to or used by historians or bibliographers.² My purpose is not here to make an exhaustive report on its resources, but rather by selective example to arouse the curiosity of those who will plumb its various depths.

It was a knowledgeable and enterprising bookman who was responsible for the transportation of these book-bones of the revered of New England to a frontier college. Timothy Alden, a direct descendant of John and Priscilla, had graduated from Harvard in 1794. He gave his commencement oration in Syriac which, since President Willard was unable to understand it, had to be translated into English before the thesis was given official approval. After being ordained Alden spent almost ten, poverty-stricken years in Portsmouth, forced to keep school to supplement his paltry salary as a junior pastor. In 1808 he came to Boston, continued to teach while he was librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and made his first mark in the field of books by compiling the Society's catalogue. He moved on and afield. For a while he was the head of a boarding school in Newark, New Jersey; he went west in 1812 to help puff the lands of the Holland Purchase; he wrote the first catalogue of the library of the New-York Historical Society; and in 1815 he came to Meadville, where a cousin had been an early landholder, to found Allegheny College. Until 1831 he spent most of his time and energy in promoting his college and teaching there.³

² As an example I might cite the fact that I. Bernard Cohen, *Some Early Tools of American Science* (Cambridge, 1950), 182, states that Greenwood and John Winthrop used 'sGravesande's *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy* for their lectures without knowing that Winthrop's copy of the 1726 edition was at Allegheny. I should note, however, that Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., *Early American Science, Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Williamsburg, 1955), 79, mentions the existence of some volumes from Winthrop's library at Meadville.

³ Ernest Ashton Smith, *Allegheny—A Century of Education, 1815-1915* (Meadville, 1916), 4-15.

It was probably fortunate for Alden and Alleghany that the period of his greatest activity on behalf of the new institution coincided with one of the intellectual dips in the history of Harvard. In 1806, when Webber, after quite a political campaign, was chosen president, an old graduate, the Rev. William Bentley of Salem (A.B. 1777) summed up the situation in pungent words: "The president lately elected is of narrow education. The professor of Divinity has no elocution, the professor of Oriental Languages has no Oriental literature. The tutors are youths; the college is in deep distress." In 1818 Bentley, an ardent Jeffersonian, who had been active in both the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society, but who had never been honored by his Federalist-tinged alma mater with a doctorate, was made a trustee of Alleghany College. In his will, written on May 8, 1819, he left "all my German books, New England printed books, manuscripts and cabinet, with my paintings and engravings, to the American Antiquarian Society" and "all my classical and theological books, dictionaries, lexicons and Bibles to the College at Meadville, Pennsylvania." Harvard made Bentley a Doctor of Divinity on September 25, 1819; he died on December 29 of that year.⁴

Alden asked Isaiah Thomas to represent the interests not only of his own Society but also of the Pennsylvania college in the sorting of Bentley's books. He also suggested that Thomas try to raise some money in Massachusetts for the building of the college's main structure, to be named Bentley Hall. To this Thomas replied early in 1820:

I am fearful, however, that this project will not have so favourable a reception as I and you may wish—my reason for this fear, arises from what I have heard, viz. that the good people of Salem, and the government of a neighbouring university and also some other literary institutions, are not pleased that the Dr. did not remember them in his will,

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29-34.

and that his Library and Cabinet are to be divided, between your College and the Am. Antiqⁿ. Society.⁵

Some months later Thomas expressed his disappointment in the legacy: the German books were more numerous than he had expected, but there were fewer New England books and no newspapers. He did agree, nonetheless, that the legacies to the two institutions were "very valuable."⁶ Bentley's heirs sold the rest of his collection for their own benefit at auction in June, 1820.⁷

Alden's earlier book-scouting and money-raising for his college had not been marked by glowing success. Some book-sellers in anticipation of textbook orders had made token contributions. The eminent John Adams, retired, in November, 1815, had given the infant library four copies of the second and third volumes of the London edition of his *Defence of the American Constitution*, which were most flatteringly valued at twenty dollars.⁸ On the other hand, Isaiah Thomas, stimulated no doubt by the Bentley bequest and delighting in the chagrin of his older neighbors, promised Alden "to leave by will, or forward to you during my life, a selection from my Book stock, to the amount of 400 or 500 dollars, for your College Library."⁹ Thomas made up his mind more quickly than his letter gave expectations of. On May 10, 1820 he sent Alleghany his donation of 422 volumes valued at six hundred dollars, and a pair of globes appraised at fifty dollars.¹⁰

The best was yet to come. In 1817 at the inauguration of the college, a few months after it was chartered, Alden

⁵ Isaiah Thomas to Timothy Alden, Feb. 3, 1820, Alleghany College Archives.

⁶ Isaiah Thomas to Timothy Alden, May 8, 1820, Alleghany College Archives.

⁷ *Catalogue of that part of the late Dr. Bentley's Library, not bequeathed to literary institutions, to be sold by auction, on Wednesday and Thursday, June 14 and 15, 1820* [Salem, 1820]; George L. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues* (New York, 1937), 188.

⁸ List of Contributors to Alleghany College, Alleghany College Archives.

⁹ As in note 5.

¹⁰ List of Isaiah Thomas's Donation, Alleghany College Archives.

bestowed honorary degrees upon four distinguished gentlemen among whom was Judge James Winthrop of Cambridge. James, the son of John Winthrop, the eminent scientist and Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, had graduated from Harvard in 1769. He served as the college librarian from 1772 to 1787, then became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, but remained a bookman all his life. Having inherited most, if not all, his father's library, he added to it extensively. His will, written on June 24, 1818, echoed a plaint often expressed by bibliophiles: "As none of my relatives has any particular taste for books and I am loth to admit the idea, that my whole labor and expense in making the collection will be lost, I give and dispose of it as follows . . ." The disposition stated that all the English poetry, novels and sermons should be divided between Mrs. Harriet Peck and the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, and all the rest go to Allegheny College. Early in the autumn of 1822 three tons of books, which were shipped in wagons by way of Albany and Buffalo, arrived in Meadville.¹¹ Bentley's bequest had come to something over seven hundred volumes; Winthrop's was over thirty-one hundred volumes. Temporarily, the books were stored in the county office, moved in 1826 to the new Court House, and four years later to the finally finished Bentley Hall, the cornerstone of which contained "a piece of Plymouth Rock, marble from Dido's Temple in Carthage, mortar from the Tomb of Vergil, [and] a portion of brick from the Tower of Babel."¹²

Bentley's books were such as that scholar and critic of "modern" education felt would be most useful to a new college. Although the thoughtful minister of Salem was a political liberal, he was a cultural conservative. Harvard had never been so distinguished as it had been in "the old

¹¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, 43-47.

¹² *Ibid.*, 34, 47-48.

days." In 1805 he wrote in his diary: "The Character for Learning in New England is by no means preserved. From the MNSS. which I have seen, the Libraries I have visited & the records I have examined of the studies of our Old Ministers, I am convinced that in regard to the knowledge of their own time they were higher than we are."¹³ Morison wrote of those earlier days: "A Puritan Minister must be able to expound the Sacred Scriptures from the original Hebrew and Greek, and be cognizant of what the Church Fathers, the scholastic Philosophers, and the Reformers had written, in Greek and Latin."¹⁴ Bentley was. His library was strong in the classics and linguistics.

Whenever Bentley went to Boston or Cambridge he visited the college library or private libraries of note (they were not what they used to be was his usual complaint), and went from bookstore to bookstore, most of the time unimpressed with the shoddy wares they had to offer. When Welles of Boston in 1806 imported a selection of German classical and critical works, he became enthusiastic and opined that this was "the first importation of the kind in America."¹⁵ To his friends, the sea captains of Salem, he entrusted orders for books to be bought in Goteborg, St. Petersburg and Mokha. He was like a magnet. His congregants and acquaintances knew him as a book-lover, and they brought him treasures from old attics and from the stalls of Calcutta and Bombay.¹⁶ Bentley acquired books with an understanding of what he was getting.

¹³ William Bentley, *The Diary* (Salem, 1905-14), III, 189.

¹⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, 1936), 3.

¹⁵ Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 247.

¹⁶ Typical entries to be found in the *Diary* are: "Sai[le]d Capt. Hodges for Gotheburg. I gave him papers to get a Lexicon Laponicum or Bergman's Sciagraphia & late works: Cronstedt, or Linneus' works, or Dahl's wealth of Sweden or Celsius' Library of Upsal," I, 62; and "Capt. [Henry] Prince who has returned from the Mediterranean from Naples, Messina & Marseilles, has brought me several valuable books which discover kind attention," III, 185.

In many ways James Winthrop's library supplemented that of Bentley. It, too, was strong in the classics and particularly strong in linguistics. In addition to the academic languages, Winthrop seems to have dipped into Russian and Chinese. He owned a good collection of travel books and voyages. And, of course, he had much of his father's scientific collection to which he added. We know less about the manner in which he increased his collection than we do about Bentley's, for no Winthrop diary has survived, but the Salem minister was a good friend and occasionally mentions the judge. In 1791 he had the pleasure of examining "the remains of the Library of Judge Winthrop, late Professor, & his large collection of pamphlets", the entry certainly confusing the father and son.¹⁷ And in 1813, recording a visit from James Winthrop, Bentley continued, "Judge Winthrop had added to his rich Library, the French Encyclopaedia (this was a copy of the first edition of the Diderot *Encyclopédie*), & he had collected a most valuable Library in general Literature."¹⁸ Except for the libraries of John Adams and John Quincy Adams, there could have been few private collections in New England comparable in size and quality to that of Winthrop.

The best that can be said of the Thomas gift was that it contained good texts for a college library, but it is obvious that it was no more than a selection from stock of a bit of the most popular with an admixture of remainders. The two authors most heavily represented were Oliver Goldsmith and Isaac Watts. While the lot did not have the distinction of the Bentley and Winthrop collections, it was probably more practically useful. There was a taste of everything: medicine, military science, cookery, fiction, history, manners, Shakespeare, Bunyan and Hume, and a considerable

¹⁷ Bentley, *op. cit.*, I, 277.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 181.

amount of contemporary theology. Even more miscellaneous were small gifts received from individuals during the early days of the college. Many of Alden's friends sent a volume or a dozen volumes to the struggling institution of learning. Some publishers, the Congress of the United States, and authors, such as Hannah Adams, Thaddeus M. Harris, David Hosack, and Eleazer Williams, sent copies of their own publications. When Alden catalogued the library in 1823 it consisted of over 5,500 volumes.

The best contemporary appraisal of Alleghany's collection comes from one of the country's most sophisticated book experts. Thanking Alden for a copy of the catalogue, Thomas Jefferson wrote on February 14, 1824 to congratulate the college on its "good fortune of having become the objects of donations so liberal." "That of Dr. Bentley is truly valuable for its classical riches," he continued, "but Mr. Winthrop's is inappreciable for the variety of the branches of science to which it extends, and for the rare and precious works it possesses in each branch. I had not expected there was such a private collection in the U. S. We are just commencing the establishment of an University in Virginia but cannot flatter ourselves with the hope of such donations as have been bestowed on you."¹⁹

The chief interest of Alleghany's old library today lies not so much in its distinction as a 19th-century collegiate collection or in the intrinsic value of individual books as in the chains of ownership which link to make the volumes the largest book relic of the culture of early New England now outside that region. Before going on to speak of provenances, it would be well to mention a few of the surprising rarities, for bookmen making censuses have usually overlooked the small chest of treasures at Meadville. In a group of not otherwise very exciting STC books are two mathematical

¹⁹ Thomas Jefferson to Timothy Alden, Feb. 14, 1824, Alleghany College Archives.

works of note, Henry Briggs's *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, London, 1624, and the English translation, *Logarithmicall Arithmeticke*, London, 1631. There are somewhat more Wing titles, but one of the most unusual is Huyghens's *Conjectures concerning the Inhabitants of the Planets*, Glasgow, 1672. The thirty-five folio volumes of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, Paris and Neuchâtel, 1751-80, have already been mentioned. One would not expect, but finds, the first edition of a criminological classic, Beccaria's *Dei Delitte e delle Pene*, Monaco, 1769. It would be expected that the Americana would be more plentiful, and it is. There is a very fine copy of Claesse's *Morning and Evening-Prayer . . . Translated into the Mahaque Indian Language*, New York, 1715, Thomas Church's *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War*, Boston, 1716, and *A Conference of His Excellency the Governour, with the Sachems and Chief Men of the Eastern Indians*, Boston, 1717. In addition, there is what seems to be a virtually complete collection of the Indian translations with unpronounceable titles of Alden's friend, the half-breed missionary to the Oneidas, Eleazar Williams. To make this hit-or-miss selection brief, I shall mention but one more work, a superb copy in original boards, uncut, of Marchand's *Voyages Autour du Monde*, Paris, 1798-1800, complete with atlas.

As I wrote, speaking of books in the Library Company which had belonged to famous Englishmen: "A provenance is at once a cachet of excellence and a sentimental link in a cultural chain which binds one age to another."²⁰ The most exciting feature of the old library at Alleghany College lies in the distinguished early pedigrees of so many of the books which later came into the hands of Bentley and Winthrop. The cachet of excellence was the ownership of individual

²⁰ Edwin Wolf, 2nd, "Some Books of Early English Provenance in the Library Company of Philadelphia," *The Book Collector*, ix (1960), 275.

volumes by successive generations of New Englanders. The sentimental link was with Harvard, for nowhere outside the Boston area exists a larger accumulation of volumes which had once belonged to 17th- and early 18th-century Harvard students, tutors and professors.

It has long been known that a small remnant of the library of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut is in the New York Society Library,²¹ and there are books of other early Winthrops at the Massachusetts Historical Society and at Harvard. Arthur O. Norton, who listed all the books formerly owned by 17th-century Harvard students which he could find, something over 250 volumes in all, found one which had belonged to Adam Winthrop (A.B. 1694) and two with ownership inscriptions of John Winthrop (A.B. 1700).²² It is natural that the Hollisian Professor John, and hence his son James, should have had more. The volume with the oldest pedigree of American interest at Alleghany is Vives's work on rhetoric, *De ratione dicendi*, Louvain, 1533, which had belonged to Adam Winthrop of Groton, the father of John, the first governor of Massachusetts and the first of his name to come to America. It had belonged in 1560 to one Daniel Wythipoll, was given to Winthrop of Groton by Henry Foljambe, from some Winthrop came into the hands of Robert Hale (A.B. 1721),²³ and—such are the quirks of fate—was acquired by Bentley, who undoubtedly recognizing its provenance, gave it to his friend James Winthrop. Surely, this is one of the earliest surviving books to have landed on the shores of New England.

²¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Pronaos* (New York, 1936), 130-131.

²² Arthur O. Norton, "Harvard Text-Books and Reference Books of the Seventeenth Century," *Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVIII (1935), 419, 434.

²³ Robert Hale, 1703-1767, left a library worth £40, John Langdon Sibley and Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1873-1962), VI, 483-487 (hereafter referred to as Sibley or Shipton). I have not included biographical sketches of the Harvard owners, merely given their birth and death dates to place them and hence their ownership of books chronologically.

Since I am not a New England expert—not a Shipton, or Morison, or Riley—and since I worked quickly far from the great manuscript sources, I cannot claim to have sorted out properly all the men bearing the same name, for example, Adam Winthrop (A.B. 1668), Adam (A.B. 1694), Adam (A.B. 1724), *et al.*²⁴ It is apparent, however, that John Winthrop, the Hollisian Professor, inherited a number of volumes which had belonged to his Winthrop forebears.²⁵ A *Biblia Sacra*, Amsterdam, 1669, bears the dated signatures of Adam, 1690, Adam, 1720, and John, 1726, which would seem to indicate that this Latin Bible was used successively by father, older son and younger son, the last being the scientist-in-cocoon. An indication of an early—to us, precocious—exposure to the study of Greek is Pasor's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, London, 1650, which after having been on August 1, 1661 in the hands of John Harriman (A.B. 1667),²⁶ came into the possession of Adam Winthrop (presumably the A.B. 1694) ten years before he graduated from Harvard. Also at Allegheny are his Hesiod, Cambridge, 1672, with his ownership date, March 28, 1690, and a Hebrew textbook, Bythner's *Lyra Prophetica*, London, 1679, with a 1691 dated signature. Other books which came to John Winthrop from his father Adam were a handsome folio edition of Pliny's *Historia mundi naturalis*, Frankfurt, 1582, and Aristotle's *De Caelo*, Frankfurt, 1601, both of which the elder Winthrop bought while in college, for his signatures are dated January 28, 1691/2. His post-collegiate acquisitions included Bulstrode

²⁴ Adam Winthrop II, 1647-1700, Sibley, II, 247-249; Adam III, 1676-1743, Shipton, IV, 209-214; Adam IV, 1706-1744, Shipton, VII, 446-447. Adam III left only a library of 152 books at his death.

²⁵ John Winthrop, 1714-1779, Shipton, IX, 240-264. A minor error must be corrected. Shipton says that William inherited John's library and gave it to Allegheny; of course, it was James. A great deal has been written about John Winthrop and his scientific accomplishments, *see* Bell, *op. cit.*, 78-79, for a brief bibliography.

²⁶ John Harriman, 1648-1705, Sibley, II, 216-221. This book came into his hands when he first went to the grammar school at New Haven under Jeremiah Peck. Norton, *op. cit.*, 427, locates one other book which belonged to Harriman.

Whitlocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, London, 1682, and Chamberlayne's bestselling *Anglia Notitia: or the Present State of England*, London, 1700. It is worth noting that "modern" history books in English rarely were found in an undergraduate's library. Classics, yes; current events, no!

Of course, scores of the books carry the signatures of Professor John and his son, Judge James, and occasionally notes recording their gift or purchase. At Alleghany these are far too numerous to list. However, it is interesting, in view of John Winthrop's career as a scientist, to mention the copy of Euclid, Cambridge, 1655, which had been used in college successively by Penn Townsend (A.B. 1693),²⁷ Joseph Green (A.B. 1695 or 1721),²⁸ Samuel Checkley (A.B. 1715),²⁹ Jonathan Townsend (A.B. 1716),³⁰ John Sparhawk (A.B. 1731),³¹ later minister at Salem, and in which young Winthrop wrote, "Began to recite it Sept. 22, 1731." In the library were, to be sure, all the mature astronomer's pamphlets on comets and the two transits of Venus, including the rare *Cogitata de Cometis*, London, 1767, a separate from the Royal Society's *Transactions*.³² One of the copies of his *Two Lectures on the Parallax and Distance of the Sun*, Boston, 1769, is full of the author's manuscript corrections, additions and other changes. There are copious manuscript annotations (never analyzed, as far as I know, by any

²⁷ Penn Townsend, 1674-1706, Shipton, IV, 173. A Terence owned by him is listed by Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁸ Joseph Green, 1675-1715, Shipton, IV, 229; or Joseph Green, 1701-1770, Shipton, VI, 385-387. A book from the latter's library is described by Matt B. Jones, "Some Bibliographical Notes on Cotton Mather's 'The Accomplished Singer,'" *Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVIII (1935), 191-192.

²⁹ Samuel Checkley, 1696-1769, Shipton, IV, 74-78.

³⁰ Jonathan Townsend, 1697-1762, Shipton, IV, 150-153.

³¹ John Sparhawk, 1713-1755, Shipton, VIII, 100-106. (Could this be an earlier John Sparhawk (A.B. 1689)?)

³² Shipton, IX, 264, records only 3 copies: Boston Athenaeum, Harvard and Yale. There is none listed in the British Museum Catalogue.

writer on early American science) in a number of his books: Dunthorne's *Practical Astronomy of the Moon*, London, 1739; Whiston's *Praelectiones Astronomicae*, Cambridge, 1707, which in 1715 had belonged to James Allen (A.B. 1717); the same author's *Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematick Philosophy More easily Demonstrated*, London, 1716, which had come to Winthrop from his predecessor in the Hollisian chair, the erratic mathematician Isaac Greenwood (A.B. 1721);³³ and Maskelyne's *Instructions Relative to the Observations of the Ensuing Transit of the Planet Venus*, London, 1768. The importance of these notes will have to be determined by Dr. I. Bernard Cohen or some other competent historian of science.

Leaving the Winthrops, let us look back to some of the other early owners of note. Henry Dunster emigrated to Massachusetts in 1640, and was almost immediately selected as the first president of Harvard College, which office he held until 1654.³⁴ Perhaps, the first sporting book owned by an American was Dunster's copy of Oppian's *De Venatione [et] de Piscatu*, Leyden, 1597, which ended up in James Winthrop's possession. Bently owned another volume from the president's library, the 1606 Orleans collected edition of Homer's works, a more complete and earlier edition than either of the two Homers recorded by Norton.³⁵ It had been given to Dunster by Joseph Swinnock, who was Chaplain of New College, Oxford, in 1649 and was in the Harvard class of 1651 but did not receive his degree.³⁶ Dunster in turn

³³ Isaac Greenwood, 1702-1745, Shipton, vi, 471-482.

³⁴ Henry Dunster, 1609-1659?, DAB, v, 524. Other volumes which belonged to Dunster are a Spenser at Yale, described by Charles M. Andrews, *Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, xxviii (1935), 357-359, his Euclid, Garthwait's *Evangelicall Harmonie*, and Ramus's *Arithmetica*, listed by Norton, *op. cit.*, 404-405, 406, 423-424, and his Godwyn's *Romanae Historiae Anthologia*, mentioned, *ibid.*, 407.

³⁵ Norton, *op. cit.*, 410, records a *Clavis Homerica*, 1673, and an *Iliad*, 1672.

³⁶ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), I, 300.

gave the Homer to Simon Bradstreet, either the Governor³⁷ or his son Simon (A.B. 1660), minister at New London,³⁸ and it was handed down to Simon III (A.B. 1693),³⁹ minister at Charlestown, and to his son Simon IV (A.B. 1728),⁴⁰ minister at Marblehead.

We know how Bentley secured some of the Bradstreet volumes. In April, 1787, he dined with the Marblehead Bradstreet's son-in-law, Dr. Isaac Story, and in exchange for Brown's *Sermons* in four volumes, he received nine old tomes, which he listed in his diary. Most of these can be identified at Alleghany: Aeschines's *Socratici Dialogi Tres* (in Greek), Leeuwarden, 1718; St. Clement's *Ad Corinthios epistolae duae* (in Greek), Cambridge, 1718; *Spicilegium SS. Patrum* (Vol. I only), Oxford, 1714; Heliodorus's *Aethiopicorum Libri X* [Heidelberg], 1596; Buxtorf's *Synagoga Iudaica*, Hanover, 1604; Aelianus's *De Animalium natura* (in Greek), Geneva, 1611; and Seneca's *Philosophi Operum, Tomus Secundus*, without a title-page. Others said by Bentley in 1787 to be still in Story's possession ended up in his: St. Cyrillus's *Opera* (in Greek), Paris, 1631, and Lodowijk de Dieu's *Manuale et Sententiae*, Utrecht, 1711. "These books," Bentley wrote, "are the remains of the old Library of the family of Govner Bradstreet, & his Son [it should be: grandson] Minister at Charlestown, & his G. Son M. at Marblehead."

Almost all of these bear the signature of Simon of Marblehead, dated from 1732 to 1742. A few have earlier family

³⁷ Simon Bradstreet I, 1603-1697, DAB, II, 579-580.

³⁸ Simon Bradstreet II, 1640-1683, Sibley, II, 54-57. In 1666 he lost his books by the burning of his father's house at Andover.

³⁹ Simon Bradstreet III, 1671-1741, Shipton, IV, 154-157. Judge Sewall gave testimony to his erudition, and John Eliot reported that "it was said of him here was a man who could whistle Greek." A book which belonged to him is listed by Norton, *op. cit.*, 408.

⁴⁰ Simon Bradstreet IV, 1709-1771, Shipton, VIII, 364-368. The inventory of his large library occupies eight folio pages in the Essex Probate Records. "It was very scholarly and theological, but included literary works of Milton, Dryden, and Young." Norton, *op. cit.*, 394, records one book which belonged to him.

inscriptions, such as the odd volume of Seneca which Simon II received as a gift on September 13, 1667, from Richard Hubbard (A.B. 1653), his brother Samuel's classmate and his sister Sarah's husband;⁴¹ and the Cyrillus for which Simon of Charlestown paid 15/9 on May 18, 1723, and which his son "a Patre honorando haeriditat" on May 12, 1742. One other volume, which came into the Winthrop collection, Aristophanes's *Facetissimi Comoediae undecim* [Antwerp, 1600], had belonged in 1708 to Simon III's cousin Dudley (A.B. 1698), the amorous minister of Groton.⁴²

A sound work of early Protestant theology, Ursinus's *Semme of Christian Religion*, London, 1617, went through a number of New England hands. The first owner of record was the lieutenant-governor's brother, William Bellingham of Rowley,⁴³ who gave it to his nephew Samuel Bellingham (A.B. 1642),⁴⁴ a member of the first class of Harvard. In 1661 it was in the possession of his younger half-brother John (A.B. 1661).⁴⁵ The last 17th-century owner, Andrew Bordman, wrote his name in the volume in 1692. Bordman, a saddler and the son of the cook and steward of the college, succeeded his uncle Aaron as steward in 1703, and later married the sister of President Wadsworth.⁴⁶

Andrew Bordman was not a student at Harvard, but his son Andrew (A.B. 1719) was.⁴⁷ Which of the two owned the copy of Maestlin's *Epitome Astronomiae*, Tubingen, 1624, I

⁴¹ Richard Hubbard, 1631?-1681, Sibley, I, 342-343.

⁴² Dudley Bradstreet, 1678-1714. Shipton, IV, 394-398. Norton, *op. cit.*, 389, 390, 425, 427, locates four books which he owned.

⁴³ William Bellingham, d. 1650. James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England* (Boston, 1860-62), I, 162. He gave his estate to his nephew Samuel.

⁴⁴ Samuel Bellingham, birth and death dates unknown, Sibley, I, 63-64. Norton, *op. cit.*, 414 and 426, records two books which he owned, noting that Scallinger's *De Subtilitate* contains the earliest dated signature of a Harvard student in his list.

⁴⁵ John Bellingham, 1644?-1672?, Sibley, II, 73-74. Keckermann's *Systema Logicae*, noted by Norton, *op. cit.*, 414, also belonged successively to the two brothers.

⁴⁶ Andrew Bordman, 1670-1747, Morison, *op. cit.*, I, 55n.

⁴⁷ Andrew Bordman, 1701-1769, Shipton, VI, 295-296.

cannot tell. This curious border-line scientific text which walked a tight-rope between the Middle Ages and Copernicus, is a most interesting Harvard association item. Before it came into Bordman's hands, it had belonged to Thomas Brattle (A.B. 1676),⁴⁸ who observed the great comet of 1680 through the telescope given Harvard by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and whose observations were mentioned by Newton in his *Principia*. It was fitting that the volume which had been used by New England's first important astronomical observer should have come into the possession of a worthy successor, John Winthrop. [It should be noted, too, that Winthrop's copy of Whiston's *Astronomical Principles*, London, 1717, had belonged to Thomas Brattle's nephew William (A.B. 1722), the celebrated "Brigadier Brattle."⁴⁹]

The trail of provenance is a fascinating one. One of the books that Bentley bought early in life, a Graeco-Latin New Testament, bound with a Hebrew Old Testament, both printed at Amsterdam in 1639, has one of the oldest and most sentimental pedigrees. It bears the 1686 dated signature of Samuel Danforth and a long note by Bentley to the effect that this was Samuel Danforth the Harvard Fellow of 1643,⁵⁰ from whom it was passed on to Samuel Cheever, who came to New England in 1637 and, after teaching elsewhere, was Master of the Boston Latin School from 1670 to 1708.⁵¹ From him it passed to Nathaniel Williams (A.B. 1693)⁵² and then to John Lovell (A.B. 1728),⁵³

⁴⁸ Thomas Brattle, 1658-1713, Sibley, II, 489-498. Norton, *op. cit.*, 398, 408, 413, 416, 429, locates five books which had belonged to Brattle.

⁴⁹ William Brattle, 1706-1776, Shipton, VII, 10-23.

⁵⁰ Bentley was wrong. It could not have been Samuel Danforth (A.B. 1643) who died in 1674, Sibley, I, 88-92; but must have been Samuel Danforth (A.B. 1683), 1666-1727, Sibley, III, 243-249. Norton, *op. cit.*, 413, 433, lists two books which had been owned by the 1683 graduate.

⁵¹ Ezekiel Cheever, 1616-1708, Morison, *The Puritan Presence*, 99-101.

⁵² Nathaniel Williams, 1675-1738, Shipton, IV, 182-186. Norton, *op. cit.*, 387, 409, 415, locates three books he owned.

⁵³ John Lovell, 1710-1778, Shipton, VIII, 441-446.

both masters at the school. Bentley said that it was "sold among the Books of Master Lovell" and purchased by him while he was a preceptor in the Boston School, which would have been 1777-80. How many young Bostonians may have been read to in Latin, Greek or Hebrew from this volume!

Morison tells us that "At the end of the seventeenth century the two largest private libraries in Boston (he could have said in America) were those of Increase and Cotton Mather.⁵⁴ A fire in 1676 destroyed all but ten per cent of Increase's original library, but he promptly started building up his collection again.⁵⁵ Cotton in 1700 said he owned between two and three thousand volumes.⁵⁶ Some came down to the humorous poet Mather Byles (A.B. 1725) and were dispersed when his library was sold at auction in 1790.⁵⁷ Bentley in 1804 saw another section of the collection in the hands of Samuel Mather's daughter, Hannah Mather Crocker, and noted that "I find it diminishes."⁵⁸ It was presumably what remained in Mrs. Crocker's hands which Isaiah Thomas secured for the American Antiquarian Society in 1814. This is the largest group of Mather books now extant, but, as Tuttle and the provenance of volumes at Allegheny show, a number went out of the hands of the family earlier in driblets.⁵⁹

The signature of Increase Mather (A.B. 1656 and President 1685-1701)—usually "Crescentius Matherus"—is found in seven works: Estienne's *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum* [Paris, 1567], with Increase's signature dated 1666,

⁵⁴ Morison, *op. cit.*, 139.

⁵⁵ Increase Mather, 1639-1723. The best study of Mather's library is in Julius Herbert Tuttle, "The Libraries of the Mathers," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., xx (1911), 269-356. Mather left half of his library to Cotton Mather, one-quarter to Mather Byles, and the other quarter to Samuel Mather, of Witney, England.

⁵⁶ Cotton Mather, 1662-1728. Tuttle, *supra*; Morison, *op. cit.*, 139, from Mather's *Diary*.

⁵⁷ McKay, *op. cit.*, 139n. Tuttle, *op. cit.*, 297, notes that Byles's collection consisted of 232 folios, 180 quartos, 1,394 octaves and 24 smaller sizes.

⁵⁸ Bentley, *Diary*, III, 104.

⁵⁹ Tuttle, *op. cit.*, compiled a catalogue of Mather books at the Antiquarian Society and elsewhere but he did not know of the Allegheny volumes.

i.e. before the burning of his first library; Eunapius Sardinianus's *De Vitis Philosophorum* [Geneva], 1596, later owned by Cotton Mather (A.B. 1678) in 1674 and by his son Samuel (A.B. 1723)⁶⁰ in 1761; *Poetae Graeci Veteres Carminis Heroici Scriptores* (in Greek), Orleans, 1606; Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorum Leges CCLXI*, Zurich, 1655, with a note to the effect that it had been purchased at London on May 30, 1689; Martini's *Lexicon Philologicum, praecipue, Etymologicum*, Bremen, 1623, and Spanheim's *Introductio ad Chronologiam et Historiam Sacram*, Leyden, 1683, both with Samuel Mather's signature; and Thomas Doolittle's *Plain Method of Cathecizing*, London, 1700, which also bears the name of Mather Byles and later came into the possession of Timothy Alden. It should be noted that another edition of Estienne's *Dictionarium* [Geneva], 1603, had belonged in 1613 to Daniel Maude,⁶¹ a Cambridge-educated schoolmaster, who came to Boston in 1635 with Richard Mather, and was the first master of Boston Latin School.

From Cotton Mather's library, in addition to the Eunapius, came Pindar's *Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmi* [Geneva], 1612, and Hugo Grotius's *Poemata Collecta*, London, 1639, with his signature dated 1683 and 169? respectively. Natale Conti's extremely popular handbook to classical literature, *Mythologiae*, n.p., 1636, bears only an inscription, "Donum C Matheri S.T.D.," so it may merely have passed through the learned divine's hands. It is perfectly possible that some of the older volumes which were inherited by and bear only the names of Samuel Mather, Cotton's son, and of Mather Byles, who was brought up by his grandfather Increase and uncle Cotton, had belonged to the older Mathers.

⁶⁰ Samuel Mather, 1706-1785, Shipton, vii, 216-236. His library was supposed to have been kept intact for the next parson produced by the family, but went instead to Hannah Crocker.

⁶¹ Daniel Maude, *d.1655*, Savage, *op. cit.*, iii, 178; Morison, *op. cit.*, 98-99.

Another volume which found its way onto the shelves of Samuel Mather is of major bibliographical importance, but not because of its text, which is an imperfect copy, lacking the title, of Halloix's *Anthologica poetica greco-latina*, Douai, 1617. Inside the front cover is the printed book-label, dated 1657, of Elnathan Chauncy (A.B. 1661),⁶² the son of Harvard's president. Elnathan Chauncy has hitherto achieved fame in the cultural history of New England because of the survival of his manuscript commonplace book, illustrating the literary taste of a mid-17th century Harvard student. His dated book-label, not heretofore recorded, has the distinction of being the second earliest surviving book-label of a Harvard student and the second or third earliest dated label printed in America.⁶³

The roster of Harvard owners of volumes at Allegheny reads like an early *Who's Who*: Josiah Flynt (A.B. 1664),⁶⁴ almanac writer; Joseph Browne (A.B. 1666)⁶⁵ of Charlestown, who left a library worth over £200; Samuel Sewall (A.B. 1671),⁶⁶ witchcraft judge and diarist; Benjamin Wadsworth (A.B. 1690),⁶⁷ president of Harvard; Paul Dudley (A.B. 1690),⁶⁸ the distinguished jurist, and many others. Sometimes it is possible to trace some of the books through Bentley's diary. Of Nehemiah Walter (A.B. 1684),⁶⁹ the colleague of and successor to the "Apostle" Eliot at Roxbury, Bentley wrote after a visit to that town, "Having been with the army at Louisburg, he had acquainted himself

⁶² Elnathan Chauncy, 1639?-1678, Sibley, II, 80-81. For a discussion of the commonplace book, see Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 124-132.

⁶³ Edward Naumburg, Jr., "A Seventeenth Century Book-Label Problem," *The New Colophon*, II, pt. 5 (1949), 41-53.

⁶⁴ Josiah Flynt, 1645-1680, Sibley, II, 150-153.

⁶⁵ Joseph Browne, 1646?-1678, Sibley, II, 206-209, where the disposition of his books, according to his will, is given.

⁶⁶ Samuel Sewall, 1652-1730, Sibley, II, 345-360.

⁶⁷ Benjamin Wadsworth, 1670-1737, Shipton, IV, 83-91.

⁶⁸ Paul Dudley, 1675-1751, Shipton, IV, 42-54.

⁶⁹ Nehemiah Walter, 1663-1750, Sibley, III, 294-301.

with the French language & made a free use of the French preachers, particularly Bourdeau and Claude. He had in his Collection above 50 volumes of French sermons, when French was hardly known in the Country."⁷⁰ Did Bentley on the occasion of his visit carry off the four-volume set of Claude's *Oeuvres Posthumes*, Amsterdam, 1688, which, bearing Walter's signature, ended up in his collection?

Volumes which had once been in Harvard College Library wandered out, too. Some were sold as duplicates, some exchanged or given, and others, one must assume, simply abstracted and retained. A number came into the possession of Bentley, the Winthrops and Alden. One of the earliest major gifts of books to Harvard dates from 1682 when a handsome donation from Sir John Maynard arrived at Cambridge.⁷¹ A fine set, two volumes bound in four, of Plutarch's works, Paris, 1624, bears Maynard's stamp. This was eventually sold, as were other books which Winthrop bought, at a duplicate sale at Francis Amory's rooms in Boston in 1815.⁷² Only the strayed sheep survived the fire of 1764, and, needless to say, books which were in Harvard's old library are not common. There is a surprisingly large number of them at Alleghany.

A Collection of sundry statutes, frequent in use, London, 1636, bears the inscription, "Belonging to Harvard College Library 1687." The old Harvard shelf-mark on title-pages is an indication of some volumes' provenance when such obvious signs as bookplates and notes are not present. Selden's *De Iure Naturali et Gentium Iuxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*, London, 1640, was 16.2.8, with the last number repeated on the fore-edges, an indication that Harvard's

⁷⁰ Bentley, *Diary*, II, 449.

⁷¹ Thomas Goddard Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730* (New Haven, 1920), 134.

⁷² McKay, *op. cit.*, 178. Through the kindness of Mr. William A. Jackson, I was informed of the Harvard books at Alleghany sold in 1815.

books were shelved fore-edges out. An imperfect copy of Melancthon's *De Singulis articulis doctrinae Christianae* (Wittenberg, ca. 1550?) was 13.3.7(?)². That standard geography, Heylyn's *Cosmography*, London, 1670, bears a note by one Simon Grant, "Emit: Sept. 87 ex Mr. Tho. Sistons," no shelf-mark, but the Harvard College Library bookplate. One of the well-regarded mathematical textbooks of the day was Jonas Moore's *New Systeme of the Mathematicks*, London, 1681. A stray second volume of this work has the shelf-mark 19.4.20, a 1712 signature of Thomas Colledge (Coolidge?), and two sophomoric notes by Solomon Lombard (A.B. 1723)⁷³: "Solomon Lombard took this book out of ye Library in ye year 1680 one year before it was printed," and "Solomon Lombard took this Book out of ye Library anno 1722—& return'd Anno 1990." There are still some years wanting for a test of Lombard's prophetic powers.

Not all the Harvard books can be mentioned here, but a few more should be. One of Harvard's greatest benefactors was Thomas Hollis.⁷⁴ Most of the books which he gave the library were destroyed in the fire of 1764, after which a part of the loss was made good by his nephew, also Thomas, known as "the Republican" because of his liberal views.⁷⁵ Two works, the gift of the elder Hollis to Harvard, are now at Allegheny. The *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, Paris, 1718-24, in nine volumes, has an inscription, "Mr. Thos. Hollis of London Mercht. gave to Harvard College Library the History of ye Royal French Academy of Sciences, from the Year 1716 to 1730 in 16 vols. Quto. Recd. Sept. 16, 1733." Did Professor Winthrop "borrow" part of the set, or were they at some time sold as duplicates? The other Hollis gift is the first volume of Samuel Clarke's

⁷³ Solomon Lombard, 1702-1781, Shipton, vii, 200-206.

⁷⁴ Thomas Hollis, Wright, *op. cit.*, 181-183.

⁷⁵ Thomas Hollis, 1720-1774, DNB, xxvii, 176.

Sermons, London, 1730. In 1734 the influential clergyman Charles Chauncy owned the last nine volumes of the set, and some time thereafter he noted in Volume I, "This Volume of Clarke, & the Polyglot Pentateuch fol. Walton, exchanged by Corporation for Harleian Library, 8vo. 4 vol. & Thom. Corneille's Works. 12mo. 5 vol."

Less has been written about the 18th century books owned by Harvard men than those of the earlier century. Of course, the library of Thomas Prince (A.B. 1707),⁷⁶ the prince of all early New England book collectors, is well known. He left his life-time's accumulation of books to Old South Church, where it remained for over a century, until the still large, but definitely diminished, collection was moved to the Boston Public Library. One of the strays, Walton's *Introductio Ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium*, London, 1655, bearing Prince's name and the 1718 printed book-label, came into Winthrop's hands. *Sic transit possessio librorum!*

There are more than enough books of 18th century graduates to warrant a more detailed study of them, but space prohibits an excursive discourse. I must be selective. Cotton Mather considered Ovid too racy for the young men of his day, but a copy of his *Heroidum Epistolae*, Cambridge, 1694, was owned in 1719 by Stephen Sewall, Jr. (A.B. 1721),⁷⁷ later chief justice, and in 1733 by Thomas Barnard (A.B. 1732),⁷⁸ later minister at Salem. In his copy of the London 1734 edition of the same work, a young owner wrote the following jingle: "Winwood Serjeant/This book doth be Long/si quis fruatur/it doth him much rong/si quis invenit/and ritors it agayne/dabo pecuniam/for taking payne."

⁷⁶ Thomas Prince, 1687-1758, Shipton, v, 341-368; Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting* (New York, 1941), 1-14.

⁷⁷ Stephen Sewall, Jr., 1702-1760, Shipton, vi, 561-567.

⁷⁸ Thomas Barnard, 1716-1776, Shipton, ix, 120-129. It is interesting, in view of this provenance, to note that it was Judge Sewall who persuaded Barnard to go to the First Church of Salem in 1755.

Apparently, Master Serjeant sensed the icy stare of Mather on his back.

Charles Chauncy (A.B. 1721)⁷⁹ became the most influential clergyman of Boston and an active participant in several theological controversies on which he wrote extensively. Twelve works of patristic literature and English theology, which he owned, are at Alleghany. There is no record of the sale of Chauncy's library in McKay's *American Book Auction Catalogues*, but in 1812 Bentley wrote reminiscently that part of his collection had come "From the sale of Dr. Chauncy's and many of them cost only 6 cents a volume & hard sale at that."⁸⁰ It should be mentioned that the Alleghany copy of Chauncy's own *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*, Boston, 1743, is that given by the author in 1745 to his step-daughter Rebecca Townsend, who became John Winthrop's first wife.

Edward Bass (A.B. 1744),⁸¹ who received his D.D. at the University of Pennsylvania and became Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, in 1745 owned Roscius's *Romanorum Antiquitatum Libri Decem*, Basle, 1583. In 1804 Bentley wrote in his diary that he had received from Newburyport a catalogue of Bishop Bass's library which was to be sold at the end of May. "The Catalogue," he continued, "contained 46 folio & 240 volumes besides including all sorts found in his hands. This would not be a considerable library in Europe, but it is greater than is commonly found among our most eminent divines in America & is more of a Theological cast than any I have seen excepting the library of the Mathers, Dr. Mather Byles, Chauncey & Cooper, or, in other words, that I have seen out of Boston, no one excepted."⁸²

⁷⁹ Charles Chauncy, 1705-1787, Shipton, vi, 439-467.

⁸⁰ Bentley, *Diary*, iv, 112.

⁸¹ Edward Bass, 1726-1803, Shipton, xi, 340-359.

⁸² Bentley, *Diary*, iii, 87. The sale is not recorded by McKay.

Bentley omitted Jonathan Mayhew (A.B. 1744)⁸³, Bass's classmate, whose library certainly must have been noteworthy. Mayhew was an author of high repute, a staunch upholder of civil liberty and a harbinger of the Revolution, and minister of the West Church, Boston. He was a friend and correspondent of Thomas Hollis, "the Republican,"⁸⁴ and other distinguished Englishmen. Two volumes, which ended up in Winthrop's possession, were sent to Mayhew by Hollis. Lockman's *History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants*, London, 1760, merely bears that constant sender-of-books-to-friends Hollis's appropriate motto, "VT SPARGAM"; in his friend Webb's *Account of a Copper Table . . . Discovered in the Year 1732, near Heraclea*, London, 1760, Hollis wrote, "To Jonathan Mayhew D.D. of Boston in New England, learned, ingenuous [*sic*], active."

Two volumes, the first Italian Protestant Bible, Geneva, 1607, and Minucius Felix's *Octavius*, Cambridge, 1712, which had been Mayhew's and bear his signature, in 1768 came into the possession of Simeon Howard (A.B. 1753).⁸⁵ Howard, who had been a tutor at Harvard, succeeded Mayhew at the West Church in 1768, married his widow, and apparently took over his library. Toland's *Anglia Libera: or The Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England explain'd and asserted*, London, 1701, bears Howard's name, but is a likely book to have been sent Mayhew by Hollis. It is possible that a number of other books at Alleghany with Howard's signature dated 1768 had originally been Mayhew's. Howard died in 1804. Accordingly to Bentley, when Winthrop visited him on July 23, 1813, he "mentioned having seen the remains of Dr. Mayhew's Library much of which he purchased."⁸⁶

⁸³ Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-1766, Shipton, xi, 440-472.

⁸⁴ Bernhard Knollenberg (ed.), "Thomas Hollis and Jonathan Mayhew Their Correspondence, 1759-1766", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXIX (1956), 102-193.

⁸⁵ Simeon Howard, 1733-1804.

⁸⁶ Bentley, *Diary*, iv, 181.

Another friend and recipient of books from Hollis was Andrew Eliot (A.B. 1737),⁸⁷ minister of the New North Church, Boston, who as a Fellow of Harvard helped to restore the library after the fire. When his son John's books were sold at Boston in 1813, the catalogue called attention to the "many rare and curious volumes" sent by Hollis to the father, remarking that many were "in the most superb bindings",⁸⁸ presumably the red morocco with special tools used by Hollis as gift bindings. None of these is at Allegheny, but Cooper's *Life of Socrates*, London, 1750, has a presentation inscription, "Andrew Eliot from T. H. Esq."

Bentley was disappointed in the Eliot sale catalogue, guessing that John Eliot had not "added fifty Volumes to his father's Library" except for pamphlets. "Not a political work is in the whole Collection," he complained, "& not one splendid edition of any Classic. Not a Lexicon of any Language beyond those of the Schools & not a Theological Work of the present Generation. No Collation of the Old or New Testament. No Polyglott, No Ecclesiastical History, & no Collection of History. Nothing like a system upon any one point in the whole Catalogue, & a total absence appears of the modern Literature of Europe."⁸⁹ Nonetheless, Bentley secured at the sale Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*, The Hague, 1686, which had belonged in 1740, before Eliot got it, to Joshua Gee (A.B. 1717),⁹⁰ the Harvard librarian who wrote the catalogue of 1723. And Winthrop bought Gassendi's *Institutio Astronomica*, London, 1683, and Baccaria's *Dei Delitti e delle Pene*, Monaco, 1764.

There is not always an indication of the recipient in the books sent by Hollis. Some of the most interesting of the

⁸⁷ Andrew Eliot, 1718-1778, Shipton, x, 128-161.

⁸⁸ McKay, *op. cit.*, 157.

⁸⁹ Bentley, *Diary*, iv, 168 and 170.

⁹⁰ Joshua Gee, 1696-1748, Shipton, vi, 175-183. Gee's father, with Cotton Mather's help, began the gathering of a choice library when he decided that the young boy was to be destined for the ministry.

Hollis gifts to his American friends at Alleghany are among these. One of his favorite presents was *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, attributed to Hubert Languet.⁹¹ In the Winthrop collection is an edition of London, 1648, with Hollis's initials and the usual motto, "VT SPARGAM." In the Winthrop copy of *An Exact Collection Of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, Ordinances*, London, 1643, appears the contemporary signature of J. Elwes, and a note of Hollis: "J. Elwes is Sir Jacob Elwes. If T. H. mistakes not; he was one of the Members of the H. of Commons who had the honor to be imprisoned by Charles I for his attachment to Liberty & to Laws." In Prynne's *Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes*, London, 1643, "the Republican" wrote: "This book is of inestimable value to all lovers of LIBERTY, being a Magazine or Storehouse on that most precious subject; containing citations from authors innumerable of all Nations & periods in defence of the rights of Mankind, & of the British People in particular."

Similar sentiments, sometimes epigrammatically expressed, appear in William Petyt's *Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted*, London, 1680, Sir William Temple's *Works*, London, 1727, and a few other volumes. Hollis seems to have confused Benjamin Franklin and his friend James Ralph the pamphleteer, for in Ralph's *Of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments*, London, 1744, he noted "By the late motley, but very ingenious Mr. Benjamin Ralph," under which he added a characteristic motto, "Sanctus amor Patriae dat Animum." It may well have been to John Winthrop that Hollis sent *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, London, 1761, with the *Rules and Orders* of the Society, and it is also probable that the American scientist was the recipient of an earlier volume

⁹¹ Caroline Robbins, "Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, v (1951), 5-23, 181-196, where there is a full discussion of the books Hollis sent as gifts.

containing the rules of the Royal Society, of 1752, the Society of Antiquaries and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, both of 1759, to which Hollis appended a long note:

It is probable, that two such Societies, as the Royal Society for promoting natural knowledge, and the Society for promoting Arts and Commerce, might be established at this time in various of our Colonies, especially at Boston; with great and mutual advantage to them, and to the Mother Country.

By such institutions Commerce would be encreased, Knowledge extended, Manners softened, The Good united. Bad men and ignorants abashed and kept under, and the learned every where known and protected.

The experience of later times has fully proved, that those ingenuous Societies flourish with the greatest vigor and the happiest effect, which are conducted by the fewest and most simple rules; which know how, upon occasion, to act according to the spirit of their Institution, rather than the dead letter of their laws; and whose decisions are BY BALLOT.⁹² The Hollis books at Alleghany deserve further study.

One of the most specialized collections of books broken up during the lifetimes of James Winthrop, Bentley and Alden was that of Stephen Sewall (A.B. 1761).⁹³ The year of his graduation he succeeded the convert Judah Monis as instructor in Hebrew, served as librarian in 1762-63, and in 1764 became the first Hancock Professor in Hebrew and Oriental Languages. Sewall wrote a Hebrew grammar, published at Boston in 1763 and reprinted in 1802 and 1806. He was, according to James Winthrop's friend, the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, the "finest classical scholar and most learned in Hebrew and oriental languages" that Harvard produced. It was Sewall who delivered the funeral oration on John Winthrop on May 8, 1779, and James Winthrop's copy of the pamphlet was presented to him by the author. Furthermore, he taught Timothy Alden, to whom he sold several of his books and gave in 1795 a manuscript he composed on "The Quantity of Greek Vowels."

Of the fourteen works at Alleghany which had once belonged to Sewall, all but one are on the subject of Hebrew

⁹² This had apparently been suggested to Mayhew, see Knollenberg, *op. cit.*, 112-115.

⁹³ Stephen Sewall, 1734-1804, DAB, xvi, 612.

or cognate languages. According to Sewall's notes, most of them he received as gifts in 1761-64. John Mascarene (A.B. 1741),⁹⁴ who had written on pot-ash production in the colonies, gave him Schickard's *Horologium Ebraeum*, London, 1722, and a manuscript of Nicholas Burton's *Compendium Hebraeae Grammaticae*, which Sewall bound up with a work of his own, "A Compendious Syriac Grammar." Cooper's *Domus Mosaicae clavis*, London, 1673, came as a present from one of Sewall's students, Joseph Taylor (A.B. 1765), described by his teacher not very flatteringly as "iuvenis eximiae indolis." On July 21, 1796 Bentley paid two guineas for Sewall's copy of Castell's two-volume *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, London, 1669.⁹⁵ Two years later the ardent Salem book collector, recording the purchase of another book, wrote, "I shall sink under an unsupportable weight of debt."⁹⁶

John Winthrop, as one of the leading scientists of America, not only bought books, but was given them, as can be seen from volumes at Alleghany. Old Governor Jonathan Belcher had recommended him to Franklin in 1754.⁹⁷ Thereafter, a cordial relationship developed between the two men of like interests. Possibly the first tangible sign of the friendship was a copy of Franklin's *Supplemental Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Part II*, London, 1753, in which Winthrop wrote, "The gift of the ingenious Author." Over the years other books followed. When Franklin sent from England copies of *Some Account of the Success of Inoculation for the Small-Pox*, London, 1759, he remembered Winthrop, and a copy came, "From Dr. Franklin," addressed "For

⁹⁴ John Mascarene, 1722-1779; Shipton, xi, 35-39. McKay, *op. cit.*, 62, notes that in 1760 the catalogue of the books of Judah Monis could be seen at Mascarene's house. Possibly, many of Sewall's Hebrew books, acquired in the early 1760s, came from that source.

⁹⁵ Annotation in book; Bentley was then on a trip to Boston.

⁹⁶ Bentley, *Diary*, II, 272.

⁹⁷ Belcher to Franklin, Apr. 26, 1754, Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (eds.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, 1959-63), v, 267.

Mr. Winthrop the Professor." On July 2, 1768, Franklin wrote his Harvard friend about scientific work being done by John Bird who had recently published his results. "I send it you herewith," he added.⁹⁸ In the Winthrop collection is an author's presentation copy of Bird's *Method of Dividing Astronomical Instruments*, London, 1767. When Priestley's *Directions for Impregnating Water with Fixed Air*, London, 1772, was published, a copy of that, too, was sent to New England "For Dr. Winthrop from B [Franklin]". The inscription has been cruelly cropped, but the hand is unmistakably Franklin's.⁹⁹

All of Franklin's correspondence with Winthrop has not survived, so we do not know under what circumstances a copy of the Commissioners of Longitude's *Tables for Correcting the Apparent Distance of the Moon and a Star from the Effects of Refraction and Parallax*, Cambridge, 1772, came into the professor's hands. It may well have come in a box with some scientific instruments from Martin, ordered through Franklin.¹⁰⁰ Possibly, the Pennsylvania agent suggested that Winthrop might be interested in leafing through it, and then be so kind as to send it on to its destination. The volume contains an inscription in Franklin's hand, "For the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia From the University of Cambridge." With scholarly irresponsibility Winthrop incorporated the volume into his own library.

Since Franklin, while he was in England, did continue to send his colleague in science various publications as they came out, it seems reasonable to assume that his *Of the Stilling of Waves by means of Oil*, London, 1774, was a gift, although it bears no inscription. The very important

⁹⁸ Albert Henry Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1907), v, 136.

⁹⁹ Franklin to Winthrop, July 25, 1773, speaking of Priestley, "I expect him soon in town, when I shall communicate to him your Remarks on his last Book, for which I am sure he will feel himself much obliged to you," Smyth, *op. cit.*, vi, 107.

¹⁰⁰ Cohen, *op. cit.*, 160.

astronomical work, Tobias Mayer's *Tabulae Motuum Solis et Lunae*, London, 1770, Winthrop acknowledged on the title-page as "The gift of Dr. Franklin to JW—1778." How many other books were sent in this manner, unmarked by donor or recipient, we do not know. Hitherto unpublished letters from Franklin to Winthrop may provide clues in the future.

Winthrop seems to have gotten books from everywhere. While he was in Nova Scotia on his trip to observe the transit of Venus in 1761, he was presented with a copy of Hales's *Treatise on Ventilators*, London, 1758, by "His Affectionate Kinsman & Most Obliged Humble Servant Jonathan Belcher." Belcher (A.B. 1728)¹⁰¹ was Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, the son of the Governor of Massachusetts who had recommended Winthrop to Franklin. Two years later Belcher gave him copies of *The Perpetual Acts* and *The Temporary Acts* of his province, Halifax, 1767, which he had edited.

Bentley, too, attracted gifts from colleagues. Grotius's *Annotationes in Vetus & Novum Testamentum*, London, 1727, was given to him by John Appleton (A.B. 1757) "from the Books of his venerable Father Minister of Cambridge NE." This was Nathaniel Appleton (A.B. 1712),¹⁰² whose copy of Hammond's *Practical Catechism*, London, 1715, Bentley also got. The wife of Col. Benjamin Pickman,¹⁰³ one of the leading citizens of Salem, gave her minister in 1783, the year he came to East Church, a handsome three-volume Bible, Amsterdam, 1610, which contained the family records, 1699–1718, of Thomas Barton,¹⁰⁴ physician, colonel and

¹⁰¹ Jonathan Belcher, 1710–1776, Shipton, VIII, 343–364. It is interesting that at Winthrop's urging Belcher gave Harvard a pair of globes, and later two volumes of Nova Scotia laws.

¹⁰² Nathaniel Appleton, 1693–1784, Shipton, v, 599–609.

¹⁰³ She died in 1786, Bentley, *Diary*, I, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Barton, 1680–1751, Savage, *op. cit.*, I, 134.

town clerk of Salem. From John Perkins,¹⁰⁵ also a physician and a member of the Royal Society, came William King's *Essay on the Original Evil*, Cambridge, 1739, and from him also presumably the second volume of Shaw's *New Practices of Physic*, London, 1728. In 1804 Bentley visited Perkins's grave and, remarking that he had been a friend of Franklin, commented, "I possess several valuable books from his donation."¹⁰⁶

It is obviously impossible to mention all the persons who gave or from whom were bought books now at Allegheny. Christoph Daniel Ebeling,¹⁰⁷ the author of a multi-volume account of America, to whom Bentley supplied information, sent him books. One book bears the bookplate of Nathaniel Bowditch,¹⁰⁸ the famed Salem author of navigational guides. On December 6, 1789 Bentley said he was "Employed upon a Catalogue of Curwen's Books at R. Ward's."¹⁰⁹ In a copy of Martin Folkes's *Table of English Silver Coins*, London, 1745—Samuel Curwen (A.B. 1735)¹¹⁰ had a notable numismatic collection—James Winthrop noted "Bo't for 10/ from Mr. Curwen's library at Salem 7 Feb. 1791." This sale is not recorded in McKay's bibliography of book auctions, but that of the library of Samuel Webber (A.B. 1784),¹¹¹ the president of Harvard, which took place on Sept. 4, 1810, is. There Winthrop secured four very diverse works. We do not know how the library of Francis Dana (A.B. 1762)¹¹² was dispersed. Dana, who had been sent to Europe with

¹⁰⁵ John Perkins, 1696-1781, Labaree and Bell, *op. cit.*, IV, 267.

¹⁰⁶ Bentley, *Diary*, III, 106-107.

¹⁰⁷ Christoph Daniel Ebeling, 1741-1817, see William Lane Coolidge (ed.), "Letters of Christoph Daniel Ebeling to Rev. William Bentley," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., XXXV (1926), 272-451.

¹⁰⁸ Nathaniel Bowditch, 1773-1838, DAB, II, 496-498.

¹⁰⁹ Bentley, *Diary*, I, 132.

¹¹⁰ Samuel Curwen, 1715-1802, Shipton, IX, 511-529.

¹¹¹ Samuel Webber, 1759-1810, McKay, *op. cit.*, 151.

¹¹² Francis Dana, 1743-1811, DAB, V, 52-54.

John Adams as secretary of the legation at the end of 1779 and who went in 1781 to St. Petersburg to propose a treaty between Catherine and the United States, died in 1811. Unquestionably, James Winthrop after his death saw an opportunity to obtain a good many unusual works which could only have been obtained by one who had spent years abroad. He did get a number of Dana books, almost all of them bearing his armorial bookplate and many carrying records of purchases in Paris or St. Petersburg from 1780 to 1783.

I end my incomplete survey of association books at Alleghany with some Philadelphia nostalgia. While books of New England origin are in the great majority, a few individual donors gave the college books which had been in Philadelphia hands. There are a number which had once belonged to James Logan's son, James II.¹¹³ There are a few which had been owned by Charles Thomson,¹¹⁴ schoolmaster, Indian expert, long-time secretary of Congress, and biblical scholar. But, closest to home, was a copy of the first volume of Trenchard's *Cato's Letters*, London, 1733, still carrying a fragment of the bookplate of the Union Library. This book was sold in 1769 at the first duplicate sale of the Library Company of Philadelphia when the Union Library and its collection was taken over en bloc.

Alleghany Library, now aware of its holdings, expects to publish a catalogue in which all its early holdings will be listed with their provenances. It should be an exciting reference work for students of New England culture.

¹¹³ James Logan II, 1728-1803, was the son of the great book collector of the same name. The younger Logan used an armorial bookplate; his father had none.

¹¹⁴ Charles Thomson, 1729-1824, DAB, xviii, 481-482. Probably all the books given to Alleghany by his nephew John Thomson had belonged to Charles.

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