

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Society has suffered the loss of five active members since the April meeting. Granville Stanley Hall of Worcester, who was elected to membership in October 1888, and was for thirty years a member of the Council, died in Worcester, April 24; George Leander Shepley of Providence, R. I., who was elected to membership in April 1920, died at Providence on August 3; Frank Farnum Dresser of Worcester, a member since October, 1909, died at Worcester on September 9; Lawrence Park of Groton, who was elected in October, 1916, died at Groton on September 27; and Henry Farr DePuy of Easton, Md., who was elected a member in April, 1917, died October 14, near Montreal, Canada. Brief memoirs of these members will be prepared for the published Proceedings. No deaths of foreign members have been reported.

Owing to the increase in membership voted a year ago there are now twenty-eight vacancies in the active or resident list. The Council has been conservative in recommending candidates to fill the vacancies occasioned by this increase and has taken time to consider their qualifications, with a view also to their geographical distribution, that the Society may be widely as well as worthily represented throughout the country. It presents today for your favorable consideration the names of sixteen candidates, several of them from States hitherto with small representation in the Society, leaving twelve vacancies for future action.

The new stack was completed early in the summer and one-half of its cost has already been paid. Several of the most crowded collections have since been moved into it, notably the newspapers, which in their new and

extended arrangement make an impressive display of the importance and size of the collection. Some two thousand volumes which had been stored in the basement, practically useless for consultation, are now properly placed on the shelves and, as one views the present arrangement, one wonders how the collection was housed in the old stack, even with the aid of the basement storage. It has seemed advisable to discontinue binding several of the bulky newspapers, in order to reserve the space for important files of the last century which are frequently offered. It is an open question whether it is not more economical to await the offering of bound files of contemporary newspapers, rather than to collect and bind them annually. The library has recently acquired a file of eighteen years of an important western newspaper, at a price about one-eighth of what the binding alone would have cost the Society.

Of the books, only the Government publications, which will occupy the whole of the ground floor of the addition, and the periodicals, which will occupy the second floor, have as yet been moved. Other changes will be made as soon as possible and meanwhile the basement is being cleared of its somewhat dangerous accumulation of unpacked boxes and the fire hazard reduced to its lowest terms.

In order to provide for the additional heating made necessary by the building of the extension, the boilers have been fitted with "Craigulators," an appliance for the economical combustion of fuel and the chimney has been built up seven feet. With these improvements it is anticipated that the old boilers will be able to meet the call upon them without a very great increase in the coal bill.

The completion of the addition has made possible an improvement of the southern end of the grounds. The evergreen trees have been replanted, giving them more room for growth, the land has been graded, trees and shrubs have been set out near the building, the

lawn is rapidly getting into fine condition and the whole estate is attractive and a credit to the Society.

The total cost of these improvements has been \$94,860.79, of which all but about \$24,000 has been paid. The members themselves have given \$59,278, and certain public spirited citizens of Worcester have shown their appreciation of the importance of the library by contributing \$8,950. To them the Council desires to acknowledge and express the Society's obligation and gratitude. The Society's library is one of the great institutions of the city, attracting visitors from near and far, and it is pleasant to have such substantial evidence that its worth is realized.

On December 1st one-half the bill for the stack, \$23,600, will become due and that sum, unless previously raised, must then be borrowed or paid from the Society's invested funds, in either case seriously impairing the income available for the work of the Society. It would be gratifying to the Council to have every member of the Society a contributor to this building and any sum, no matter how small, from members who have not yet given will be much appreciated.

Tables and chairs, for use in the several studies which have been provided in the addition, have been ordered but are yet to be delivered and the conversion of the present book-lift into a passenger elevator is a work which should not be long delayed.

In addition to the immediate need of raising sufficient money to pay the debt and finish the work so well begun, the Council would suggest the desirability of a substantial increase of the Endowment Fund and, if the Society concurs in this opinion, it might be appropriate to ask the Council to consider means to accomplish it.

During a visit to Bermuda last winter the writer was so fortunate as to secure for this library a considerable number of copies of the earliest newspapers published in those islands. The papers obtained include "The Bermuda Gazette" which was established in 1784 and continued until 1824; "The Bermudian"

which had a brief existence from 1819 to 1823 and "The Royal Gazette" which was first published in 1828 and has been in continuous existence ever since. The early numbers of "The Bermuda Gazette" are badly damaged by dampness but the rest of the papers are in fair order. The Bermuda Library has a bound file of twenty-two of the forty-one volumes of "The Bermuda Gazette" and a nearly perfect bound file of "The Royal Gazette" up to 1885, thus covering a full century. Since that date the file is not so complete, is mostly unbound and has consequently suffered much damage by insects and dampness, the constant enemies of books and papers in tropical and semi-tropical climates.

The history of the Bermuda press for the first hundred years presents several points of interest. A brief account of it was first published in the "Bermuda Almanac" for 1893 and from that article and from notes made last winter the following account is derived.

Although Bermuda was settled as early as 1612, it was among the latest of the English colonies in the western hemisphere to establish a printing press. It was not until 1771 that the matter was seriously considered, in which year the Assembly passed a resolution that the House "would give every encouragement to a capable person to come out from England and establish a proper press." Nothing came of this, however, and ten years later, on March 22, 1781, when Mr. Henry Tucker announced in the House of Assembly that a subscription had been started to establish a press, the House again announced its willingness to forward the enterprise, but it was not until March 28, 1783, that the practical action was taken of voting an issue of treasury certificates to the amount of £450 for this purpose. As a result of this action probably, Mr. Joseph Stockdale came from England to St. George's and there began the publication of the first Bermuda newspaper, entitled "The Bermuda Gazette

and Weekly Advertiser," the first number of which appeared on January 17, 1784. The paper was crown folio, four pages, three columns to a page, published weekly, price 20 shillings per annum or sixpence a single number. Owing to the difficulty of procuring a constant supply of paper, it was frequently necessary to reduce the size of the sheet, sometimes for several months but usually for a few numbers only. The first number exhibited on the first page: "The definitive Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America," signed at Paris on September 3, 1783; and displayed the following: "Postscript. The Printer begs leave to return his hearty and unfeigned thanks to the gentlemen of Bermuda for the very flattering encouragement he has received since his arrival amongst them; his poor endeavors shall be exerted to merit their future esteem, and he flatters himself he shall contribute a little to keep up a spirit of harmony and innocent entertainment, industriously avoiding even a hint by which any worthy individual may in the least be prejudiced." Stockdale continued to publish the paper until his death in 1806, when he was succeeded by his three daughters, Frances, Priscilla and Sarah Stockdale. On September 28, 1816, the press was removed to Hamilton and the management of the paper was transferred to Charles Rollins Beach, who married Miss Sarah Stockdale; at the same time the caption was changed to "Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser," with the motto "Free and Loyal," and this notice, "Edited Printed and Published by Charles Rollins Beach, Printer to the Colony." With the issue of October 6, 1821, the sub-title was dropped and thereafter it was known simply as "Bermuda Gazette." Beach continued its publication until May 22, 1824, when he sold the establishment to a number of merchants, emigrated to the United States and died, it is said, at Buffalo, N. Y. The new owners continued the paper for a few months under the management of

J. W. Judkins, the first number, dated May 29, 1824, having the following: "Notice. A Half-Sheet of 3 or 6 columns will continue to be regularly issued each Saturday until more assistance can be procured and other arrangements made." This venture seems to have been unsuccessful, the last number published by Judkins being dated August 21, 1824. No copy of the paper for the remainder of 1824 or for 1825 is known, but a volume for 1826 in the Bermuda Library begins with January 28, the caption being: "The Bermuda Gazette. New Series. Vol. ii. No. 23. Edited, Printed and Published by James S. Atwood. Hamilton." The new series began, therefore, with August 28, 1824, being a direct continuation of the original journal. The only known copy of this paper after 1826, is a single number, dated Monday, September 12, 1831, in the Bermuda Library and bearing the following title: "Bermuda Gazette and Commercial Advertiser. Vol. 48. No. 8." It contains this notice: "Price Six Dollars per annum. Printed & Published weekly by Jackson & L'Estrange-St. George. Office of Publication, York Street, St. George's." The number of volumes makes this a continuation of the original Bermuda Gazette, but whether the original press had been moved back to St. George's or a new one established is unknown.

Several years before this, however, a second press had been set up in Bermuda. A difficulty having arisen in 1809, between Governor Hodgson and the people of Bermuda, which led to the publication in the Gazette of libellous attacks upon the Governor, he sent to Halifax to induce Mr. Edmund Ward to come to Bermuda to become "King's Printer." Mr. Ward accepted the invitation and established at Hamilton the "Royal Gazette," which he continued until 1816, when he in turn becoming involved in a quarrel with the government, returned to Halifax leaving the field to Mr. Beach, who again became

"Printer to the Colony." No copy of Mr. Ward's paper was found in the islands.

The third paper published in Bermuda was "The Bermudian. A Commercial Political, and Literary Journal." The first number known is "No. 12. Vol. 1, Wednesday, July 7, 1819," showing the first number appeared on April 21. The colophon is: "Bermuda: Printed by Alex. Holmes. St. George's." No copy of this newspaper was known before last winter, in fact it is not named in the article on the press in the "Bermuda Almanac." The file now in this library was obtained by the writer, through the merest chance, from the owner of the papers and, as a result, the library acquired 115 numbers of this hitherto unknown newspaper, covering the years 1819 to 1822, four of the five years of its publication, and also 89 numbers of the Bermuda Gazette for the same years, many of them unique copies, and both lots in unusually good condition considering that they had been unbound for over one hundred years in a destructive climate. The last number of the "Bermudian" known is dated December 5, 1822, and from an item in the Bermuda Gazette it is learned that its publication was discontinued on April 9, 1823, leaving the Gazette the only newspaper in the islands.

"The Royal Gazette. Bermuda Commercial and General Advertiser and Recorder" was first issued on January 8, 1828, by David Ross Lee, Commissary General of the Colony, but with the third number the management was assumed by his son, Donald McPhee Lee, who returned from Halifax for this purpose, arriving on the 11th of January. He continued his labors on this paper to within a fortnight of his death, which occurred on February 11, 1883, a period of fifty-five years, an extraordinary record which has seldom, if ever, been equalled. He was succeeded by his son, Gregory Vose Lee. In January, 1900, the paper became a bi-weekly and in 1910 a tri-weekly. In 1922 it

was amalgamated with the "Daily Colonist" and since then has been a daily.

In 1833 "The Bermudian" was revived by a Mr. Jenkins, with the sub-title: "A Commercial, Literary, and Political Weekly Journal." Mr. Jenkins sold his press in 1835 and went to China as a missionary, and the paper passed into the hands of Messrs A. & J. W. Washington. The only copy known to the writer is in this Library, dated: "Hamilton, Bermuda, Saturday, July 16, 1842. No. 29. Vol. (blank)," and carries the following notice: "Published every Saturday at their Printing Office, Second Street, Hamilton. \$5 per annum or 24 shillings." One of the Washingtons continued the paper until his death in 1860, when it passed into the hands of his widow, who carried it on, as well as the general business of a printing office, until 1878, when it ceased to exist.

"The Bermuda Herald" was first published on September 19, 1844, by Mr. William Martin, who was succeeded in 1846 by Mr. Robert Ward who, having published two years later a severe stricture on the Assembly, was sued for libel and, after trial in the Court of General Assize, was sentenced to pay a fine of £50 and costs and to twenty days imprisonment. Public sentiment, however, was with the editor and the paper was continued by Mr. Ward until 1857. No copy has been found.

"The Bermuda Advocate," first published by Mr. W. S. Scobell on September 9, 1863, probably did not long continue since Mr. Scobell began the publication of "The Chronicle" at St. George's in July, 1865. No copy of the Advocate has been located. "The Chronicle" was purchased later by Messrs. Kempe and Childers and removed to Hamilton, where it was conducted by Mr. James Kempe (Childers having removed from Bermuda) until 1871, when it was purchased by Mr. Samuel Parker, senior member of Messrs. Parker and Company, and the name changed to "The Bermuda Times," the first number of which

was issued on August 1, 1871. The firm of Parker and Company was dissolved on January 1, 1875, and a new firm, Messrs. Parker, conducted the paper until November 1, 1881, when the firm became Parker Bros. The only copy of this paper located by the writer is owned by this Society and is number 35, volume iv, dated April 3, 1875, Pembroke, which is the name of the parish which includes the city of Hamilton. The name of the paper was changed on some unknown date to "The Times and Advocate. On June 10, 1882, Mr. John J. Parker established the "Home and People's Journal," which was consolidated with the "Times and Advocate" on April 1, 1883, under the name of "Bermuda Times and People's Journal." How long it continued has not been learned. No copy has been located.

"The Mirror," a bi-weekly sheet of modest size was first published on December 26, 1863, by Mr. George A. Lee. It is said to have been a creditable production but to have had only a brief existence.

On July, 1866, the "Bermuda Colonist" was published at St. George's by Mr. Charles Brady and was conducted by him until October, 1869, as a bi-weekly. It was then purchased by Messrs. S. S. Toddings and Bro., who enlarged it, converted it into a weekly and continued its publication until May, 1882, when Mr. S. S. Toddings became sole proprietor by purchasing the interest of his brother. The paper was removed to Hamilton in 1886 and in 1891 was converted into a semi-weekly, published every Wednesday and Saturday. In 1909 it became a daily and in 1922 was consolidated with the "Royal Gazette" and continues under the title: "Royal Gazette and Colonist Daily."

The "New Era" was first issued at Hamilton on Sept. 26, 1881 as a weekly, by Mr. A. L. Spedon, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, but was discontinued in 1884 by reason of Mr. Spedon's death.

The "Mid Ocean," a weekly, edited by Mr. S. S. Toddings, made its first appearance at Hamilton, on May 23, 1899, and is still being published.

On June 28, 1899 "The Recorder" was first published by a Mr. Bushnell, but the writer has no information of it nor of how long it continued, Mr. Bushnell is now connected with the "Royal Gazette."

In 1817, Charles Rollins Beach, the editor of the "Bermuda Gazette," published a small quarto journal of four pages, which perhaps should be classed as a magazine rather than as a newspaper, entitled "The Ladies Library." The Bermuda Library has one volume of this journal beginning with No. 5, Oct. 1, 1817 and ending with No. 53, September 2, 1818. The volume has title page and index, and is probably all that was published.

Of publications other than newspapers produced by the Bermuda press in the first hundred years of its existence, the period which this report is intended to cover, the list is not a long one. In the minutes of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly, February 5, 1784, it was resolved: "that as the Islands of Bermuda have now the advantage of a Printing Press established within them that the conductor thereof be directed to strike, on fit paper for the purpose, three hundred copies of the oaths appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and declaration for the use of the public." The writer has neither seen nor heard of any existing copy of this oath. If printed it must have been the first product of the Bermuda press aside from the newspaper, which antedates it by a few weeks only, and perhaps may equal in rarity the much sought for "Freeman's Oath" of New England. The first printed "Official Proclamation," signed by William Browne and countersigned by Henry Tucker, Jr., Secretary, calling an adjourned session of the House of Assembly for March 1, 1784, is mentioned in the article on the press in the 1893 Almanac but it is not stated whether it was published as a separate sheet or,

as is most likely, was merely an advertisement in the Gazette.

"The Bermuda Almanac" was first advertised in 1789. It was in sheet form and was published annually during the life of the "Bermuda Gazette." It was evidently continued in the same form, by the publishers of the "Royal Gazette" as late as 1859, and, probably much longer, but no copy is now known in the islands, nor elsewhere, so far as the writer is informed. In the advertisement of this Almanac on January 29, 1791, it is thus described: "A new and neat edition of the Bermuda Sheet Almanac for the year 1791. Printed on superior paper. This Almanack contains a list of the Governor, Council and Assembly; Officers of the Courts of Chancery, Admiralty, King's Bench and Common Pleas; Justices of the Peace; Officers of Government; Masters and Wardens of the Ports; the Royal Family; Duties on Imports; Lords of the Admiralty; List of the Flag Officers of his Majesty's Fleet; a Table of Pilots' Fees; Table of the price of Gold current in Bermuda, &c."

A pocket almanac was first advertised for 1797, but no copy is known and apparently no other pocket or book almanac was published until 1845, when the present series was established by the proprietors of the "Royal Gazette," of which series the Bermuda Library has the volume for 1856 and a complete file from 1861.

Other productions of the Bermuda press, advertised between 1784 and 1826, are: "An Act Passed last Session by the General Assembly of Bermuda." December 18, 1874, "Printed for J. Stockdale Price 1s. 2d." This notice is followed by: "And in a few days will be published several other Acts of Assembly." Mr. Winslow M. Bell of Denver, Colorado, claims to have a volume of these Acts.

"An Act for the Establishment and Regulation of the Militia." is advertised March 14, 1789. A copy is in the Bermuda Library.

"Report of a Judgment in a Court of Admiralty of England" is noticed January 5, 1793. No copy known.

"The Acts of the General Assembly" is advertised August 3, 1799. A copy is owned by Mr. Winslow M. Bell.

"Description of the Eruption of the Souffrir Mountain at St. Vincent." Advertised June 30, 1812. No copy known.

"The Rudiments of Music." Advertised March 22, 1817. No copy known.

"The New Definition of Signals." Advertised March 22, 1817. No copy known. It is probable that several of these were broadsides.

The titles of the foregoing list were learned from the file of the "Bermuda Gazette" in the Bermuda Library which ends in 1826. A thorough search of the files of the Bermuda newspapers since that date will doubtless reveal other publications, and perhaps inquiry at the Colonial Offices, London, or elsewhere in England, will yield titles now unknown. It is claimed that the Bermudas themselves have been thoroughly ransacked, but the results of the writer's search for newspapers last winter induce the belief that some of these now unknown publications may yet be found there, especially since several gentlemen claim to have seen one or more copies of the sheet almanac in the possession of now forgotten owners.

WALDO LINCOLN,
For the Council

CHECK LIST OF BERMUDA NEWSPAPERS

Since writing this report the Society has obtained by exchange with the Bermuda Library its duplicates of the "Royal Gazette," covering the years 1850 to 1882. The following is a list of the Bermuda newspapers in the Society's Library, for one hundred years after the establishment of a press in Bermuda, preceded by a brief statement of the files in the Bermuda Library for the same period. The arrangement is chronological.

The Bermuda Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, St. George's, 1784-1831?

Weekly. Established, Jan. 17, 1784, by Joseph Stockdale.

Bermuda Library has Jan. 17-Dec. 25, 1784; July 25, 1785; Jan. 7-Dec. 30, 1786; Jan. 10-Dec. 26, 1789; Jan. 1, 1791-Dec. 27, 1794; Jan. 2, 1796-Dec. 28, 1799; Mar. 5, 19, 1803; Jan. 14-Dec. 15, 1804, scattering; Jan. 2-Dec. 31, 1808; Jan. 13-Sept. 29, 1810; Jan. 4, 1812-Dec. 25, 1813; Jan. 4, 1817-Dec. 29, 1821; Oct. 5-Dec. 14, 1822; Jan. 3-Aug. 21, 1824; Jan. 28-Dec. 9, 1826; Sept. 12, 1831.

A. A. S. has Mar. 27, Apr. 17, May 1, 8, 22, June 5, 26, July 3-31, Aug. 21, Sept. 18-Dec. 25, 1784, (all mutilated); Jan. 1, 22, Feb. 5, 12, Mar. 26, 1785; June 17, Dec. 16, 23, 1786; Apr. 21, May 26, June 16-July 7, Oct. 13, Dec. 29, Sup. July 7, 1787; Dec. 6-20, 1788; Jan. 3, 31, Feb. 14, 21, May 2, 9, June 13, July 25-Aug. 22, Sept. 12-26, 1789; Jan. 14, Feb. 4-Mar. 18, Apr. 1, 29, May 6, 20, June 17-Aug. 26, Sept. 23, 30, Oct. 28-Nov. 11, 25, Dec. 2, 16, Sup. July 29, 1797; May 17, 1806; Oct. 15, Nov. 12, 1808; May 29-June 12, July 3, 17, 31, Aug. 21-Dec. 18, Sup. Dec. 18, 1819; Dec. 16, 1820; Jan. 6, Mar. 3-May 12, 26-June 9, 23-July 7, 21-Aug. 18, Sept. 1, 15, Oct. 6, 13, 27, Nov. 3, 17, 1821; Jan. 5-Mar. 16, Apr. 6-27, May 11, 25-June 15, Aug. 10, 17, 31, Sept. 7, 21-Nov. 16, 30-Dec. 14, 1822.

The Ladies Library, Hamilton, 1817-1818?

Weekly. Established Sept. 3, 1817 by Charles Rollins Beach.

Bermuda Library has Oct. 1, 1817-Sept. 2, 1818, lacking 9 numbers.

The Bermudian, St. George's, 1819-1823.

Weekly. Established Apr. 21, 1819 by Alexander Holmes.

Bermuda Library has Apr. 19, Sept. 13, 1820.

A. A. S. has July 7, Oct. 13-Dec. 29, Sup. Nov. 27, 1819; Jan. 5, 12, Apr. 12-26, May 10, 17, June 14-Sept. 6,

Sept. 20-Oct. 25, Nov. 8-Dec. 20, Sup. May 6, Aug. 9, Nov. 25, 1820; Jan. 24-June 27, 1821; Jan. 2-June 12, 26, July 10-31, Aug. 28, Sept. 4, 18-Oct. 9, Nov. 13-Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1822.

The Royal Gazette, Hamilton, 1828-1883+

Weekly. Established Jan. 8, 1828 by David Ross Lee.

Bermuda Library has Jan. 11-Dec. 20, 1830; Jan. 24., 1832-Dec. 24, 1883.

A. A. S. has Apr. 19, 1836-Oct. 9, 1849, scattering file; Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1850, complete; Jan. 6, 1852-Dec. 29, 1863 (Missing: Aug. 31, 1852; Jan. 8, Dec. 24, 1861; Jan. 28, May 6, June 17, Aug. 26, Dec. 2, 30, 1862); July 5, 26, Aug. 9, Nov. 8, Supplement July 5, 1864; Jan. 3, 1865-Dec. 27, 1882 (Missing: Jan. 3, Dec. 2, 12, 26, 1871; Apr. 11, June 6, Dec. 27, 1876; Jan. 7, Apr. 29, June 24, 1879).

The Bermudian, Hamilton, 1833-1878.

Weekly. Established 1833 by Mr. Jenkins.

A. A. S. has July 16, 1842.

The Mirror, Hamilton, 1863-1868?

Weekly. Established Dec. 26, 1863 by George A. Lee.

Bermuda Library has Jan. 13, 1864.

A. A. S. has Oct. 28, 1868, fragment.

The Bermuda Colonist, St. George's, 1866-1883+

Bi-Weekly until 1869, then weekly. Established July, 1866 by Charles Brady.

Bermuda Library has Jan. 5, 1876-Dec. 31, 1879.

A. A. S. has Oct. 24, 1868, fragment; Aug. 20, 1873; Mar. 31, 1875.

The Bermuda Times, Pembroke, 1871-1883+

Weekly. Established Aug. 1, 1871 by Parker (Samuel) & Co.

A. A. S. has Apr. 3, 1875.

The New Era or Home Journal, Hamilton, 1881-1884.

Weekly. Established Sept. 26, 1881 by A. L. Spedon.

Bermuda Library has Sept. 6, 1881-Dec. 24, 1884, lacking 3 numbers.

OBITUARIES

HENRY FARR DEPUY

Henry Farr DePuy, son of Aaron Remer and Esther (Farr) DePuy of Bath, N. Y., was born, April 12, 1859, at Bath, and died, October 14, 1924, at his summer camp at the Shawinigan Club, near Montreal, Canada. He entered Union College in 1880 and was graduated in 1883, after a three years course, with the degrees of A.B. and C.E. He then was engaged in laying out a railroad in North Carolina, after which he went to Pittsburgh in the employ of the Westinghouse Company, but after two years accepted a position with the Babcock & Wilcox Company, with whom he remained until his retirement from business in 1906, being first in charge of the Philadelphia office and then, after two years, General Manager in the New York office. He married, first, in 1890, Miss Mary North Raymond of Cleveland, Ohio, who died in 1918, and second, Blanche Halleck, who survives him. After retiring from business he removed to Easton, Talbot County, Md., which he thereafter made his home. He was much interested in fishing and yachting, being a member of the Chesapeake Bay Yacht Club, and of the Laurentian and Shawinigan Clubs of Canada.

Mr. DePuy was an enthusiastic collector of Americana and accumulated a valuable library, a large portion of which was sold in November 1919, soon after his removal from New York. He was an accurate and scholarly bibliographer and a keen student of early American printing. In 1917 he published a "Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the Indians" and at the time of his death he was

engaged in compiling a bibliography of Bradford's New York imprints. He was a member of the New York Historical Society, the American Historical Association, and the New York Library Association, as well as several social clubs in New York. He was elected to this Society in April 1917. He contributed to the Proceedings, in April, 1920, a paper entitled "Some Early Account of the Establishment of Jesuit Missions in America"; and in April, 1921, an article on "Some Letters of Andrew Jackson."

The provisions of his will promise to make him the greatest benefactor of this Society, save Stephen Salisbury, Junior, since its foundation. Under clause 7 of said will a trust is established, the income of which is payable to Dr. DePuy's sister during her life and "from and after her death" the will provides "said trust shall cease and determine and thereupon said funds shall vest in and be paid to The American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., to be held by it absolutely. It is my wish, however, and I request, that said Society preserve the corpus of said fund and permit the income therefrom to be expended by its Librarian in the purchase of books and manuscripts relating to the history of America." While it is impossible as yet to determine the value of this fund there is reason to believe that it will approximate one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

W. L.

FRANK FARNUM DRESSER

Frank Farnum Dresser died in Worcester, September 9, 1924. He was born in Southbridge, Mass., October 10, 1872, the son of George Kelly and Maria Louisa (Farnum) Dresser. He prepared for college at the Southbridge High School, was graduated from Harvard in 1894 and after two years at the Harvard Law School received the master of arts degree in 1897.

He was then admitted to the bar, and entered the law office of Hopkins, Bacon and Smith, which firm later became the well known Worcester firm of Smith, Gage and Dresser. Of a strongly legal mind, he progressed rapidly in his profession, specializing in law relating to business and industries. Because of his profound knowledge in this branch of the law, he was chosen general counsel of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts. In later life he became much interested in legislation regarding labor and industrial matters, and was a delegate from Worcester to the Constitutional Convention of 1917. He was the author of many articles on economic questions in periodicals and in 1902 published a book entitled "The Employers' Liability Act."

Mr. Dresser was prominently associated with the leading organizations of Worcester, being a trustee of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, Memorial Hospital and Worcester Art Museum. He was a member of many clubs in Worcester and Boston and was influential in all important civic movements. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in October 1909 and was of frequent assistance to the Society in administrative matters. He married August 10, 1904 Josephine Rose Lincoln, daughter of Waldo Lincoln. He was survived by his wife and four children.

C. S. B.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL

Granville Stanley Hall was born at Ashfield, Mass., February 1, 1846, the son of Granville Bascom and Abigail (Beals) Hall, and died, April 24, 1924, at Worcester. He was ninth in descent from John Hall who came from England to Charlestown, Mass., in 1630, and from Elder William Brewster of the Mayflower, and through his mother was descended from

John Alden, also of the Mayflower. His early life was passed on his father's farm and, at the age of seventeen, he entered Williams College where he was graduated in 1867, sufficiently high in his class to become a member of the Phi Beta Kappa. Intending to enter the ministry he attended Union Theological Seminary for a year at the end of which time, though not licensed or ordained, he preached for nine weeks at Coudersport, Penn. Finding that philosophy had a greater interest for him than theology, on the advice of Henry Ward Beecher and with the assistance of Henry W. Sage, he went to Germany where he remained three years at Berlin attending lectures on theology, psychology and allied subjects. Returning to America in 1871, he became for a year and a half a tutor in a private family in New York, after which he accepted a professorship in modern languages at Antioch College, where he remained until 1876, when he resigned, intending to renew his studies in Germany, but delayed his departure for a year by becoming a lecturer on English at Harvard, where he received the degree of Ph.D. in 1878. He then went to Germany where he passed three years in Leipzig and Berlin, studying psychology, physiology and education. While in Berlin he married in September 1879, his first wife, Miss Cornelia M. Fisher, a Boston lady whom he first knew while at Antioch College. On his return to the United States he delivered a course of lectures on education in Boston under the auspices of Harvard University, and was appointed lecturer on Contemporary German Philosophy at Cambridge. After delivering a course of lectures at Johns Hopkins University he was appointed in 1882 Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy at that institution, which position he held until called in May 1888, to the presidency of Clark University. In the interval previous to the opening of the new university in 1889, Mr. Hall passed a year in Europe studying foreign educational institutions.

Clark University was established, with the approval of Jonas G. Clark, its founder, as a graduate school with five departments, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and psychology, and with a force of teachers then unsurpassed in the country in their respective fields, but with an uncertain income largely dependent upon annual contributions by its founder. It struggled under difficult circumstances for four years, when Mr. Clark, owing to an unfortunate disagreement between founder, president and faculty, withheld further financial aid. Many of the faculty were induced by offers of higher salaries to resign and for the following eight years the University continued its existence under most adverse conditions, the courage and constancy of Mr. Hall alone saving it from absolute disaster. With the death of Mr. Clark in 1900, whose will gave to the University the bulk of his estate, which, though less than expected, was sufficient to save the institution from extinction, Mr. Hall, partially relieved from the strain under which he had been laboring so long, was able to devote himself more completely to his favorite studies, and under him the University took a high rank in its chosen fields. He was a persistent student and a prolific writer. Previous to assuming the presidency of Clark he published four books only, but after 1900 he brought out nine important works. In 1889 he founded the "American Journal of Psychology"; in 1893 "The Pedagogical Seminary"; in 1915 "The Journal of Religious Psychology"; and in 1917 "The Journal of Applied Psychology," of all of which he was editor and to all a constant contributor; besides furnishing many articles to other publications. In 1920 Mr. Hall resigned as President of the University and thereafter devoted his whole time to writing and research. His first wife died in 1890 and he married Miss Florence Smith, who survives him as does a son by his first wife.

He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from University of Michigan, 1888, from Williams, 1889,

and from Johns Hopkins, 1902. He was fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and member of the American Psychological Association, American Philosophical Society, National Academy of Science and Massachusetts Historical Society. He was elected to this Society in October, 1888, and was a member of the Council from 1891 to 1921 when he declined longer service. He contributed the following papers to the Society's Proceedings: in October, 1890, "Boy Life in a Massachusetts Country Town, Thirty Years Ago"; in April, 1894, "American College Text Books and Teaching in Logic"; in October, 1898, "Induction into Adolescence"; and in October, 1900, "Student Customs."

W. L.

LAWRENCE PARK

Lawrence Park died at his home in Groton, Mass., September 28, 1924, after a long illness. He was sixth in descent from William Park, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, who emigrated to America in 1756. He was the only child of John Gray and Elizabeth Bigelow (Lawrence) Park and was born December 16, 1873 at Worcester, where his father was at that time Superintendent of the State Hospital. He was educated in private schools in Worcester and entered Harvard College in 1892, where he remained four years but did not complete his course. After passing a year in study in the School of Drawing and Painting of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, he became a draftsman in the office of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, architects, of Boston, where he remained until 1901, when he formed a partnership as architect with Robert R. Kendall, under the firm name of Park & Kendall. This partnership was dissolved in 1910, and thereafter he continued alone in the practice of his profession. But its business side did not interest him and after

1914 he devoted his time almost wholly to the study of colonial art, especially to portraiture, in which he became an expert and, at the time of his death, a recognized authority. He also became interested in genealogy and prepared an account of his ancestor William Park and his descendants, which was published in 1909 in "The Parke Families of Massachusetts." He also prepared a very accurate history of Major Thomas Savage and his descendants to the eighth generation, which was reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* in 1914. In the preparation of this work his attention was called to the Savage family portraits, many reproductions of them being included in the reprint. He prepared a study of Joseph Badger, with a list of his works, for the *Massachusetts Historical Society* in 1917 and, in October, 1922, he contributed to the *Proceedings of this Society*, a valuable paper on Joseph Blackburn, with an exhaustive catalogue of his works. He made two excursions south to Virginia and South Carolina, in connection with a work sponsored by Miss Helen C. Frick, in a search for portraits by Gilbert Stuart and others, and had practically finished, at his death, a complete catalogue of Stuart's work, which is now in the hands of a New York publisher. He was a member of numerous historical societies, and became a member of this Society in October, 1916. He married November 16, 1905, Maria Davis Motley, who, with three of their four children, survives him.

W. L.

GEORGE LEANDER SHEPLEY

George Leander Shepley of Providence, R. I., son of John and Sarah Elizabeth (Huntress) Shepley, was born October 11, 1854, at Dover, N. H. and died, August 3, 1924, at his summer home at Warwick Neck, R. I. His father, a native of Manchester,

England, emigrated when young to Philadelphia and, after his marriage, lived at Dover until 1856, when he removed to Providence. George Shepley received his education in the public schools of that city and, at the age of eighteen, became an insurance broker in which he continued during his whole life. In 1879 he formed a partnership with James O. Starkweather and the firm, Starkweather & Shepley, afterwards incorporated, finally controlled one of the largest insurance businesses in the world, with offices in New York, Chicago and Boston, and correspondents in the principal cities of America and Europe. Besides being president of that company he was president of the Rhode Island Insurance Company and the Shepley Land Company and a director in many of the important manufacturing and financial corporations of Rhode Island. In 1897 he served on the personal staff of Governor Dyer and, on February 18, 1892, he was elected by the legislature Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island, in place of Charles D. Kimball who became Governor by the death of Governor Gregory. He married, September 15, 1880, Carolyn Lisbeth Peck, who died in 1912, by whom he had two daughters, one of whom survives him.

During the later years of his life, he became an enthusiastic collector of Rhode Island books, a subject in which he had always been interested. He gathered a library of Rhode Island prints, books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts and relics that rivalled even the libraries of the Rhode Island Historical Society and the Rider Collection at Brown University. In 1921 he erected a building on Benefit Street for his treasures, which became one of the most interesting of Providence show-places. Because of his interest in this literature, he was granted the honorary degree of A. M. by Brown University in 1921. He was elected to this Society in April, 1920.

W. L.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1924, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1924 the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building and land	\$266,517.09
Public Funds	58,607.65
Railroad and Street Railway Bonds	82,154.27
Miscellaneous Bonds	148,802.50
Railroad and Street Railway shares	24,193.90
Bank shares	8,389.00
Miscellaneous shares	24,357.65
Mortgages	11,600.00
Savings Bank Deposit	9,000.00
Cash on deposit	493.63
	\$634,115.69

Which sum includes unexpended income

amounting to	\$669.76	
Bills payable	15,000.00	15,669.76
		\$618,445.93
Less Library Building and land		266,517.09
Capital bearing interest		\$351,928.84

The following securities were paid or sold during the year:

- \$25,000 U. S. Government 4¼'s, 1938
- 2,000 Bethlehem Steel Co. 7's (called for payment)
- 5 shares Cape & Vineyard Elec. Co.
- 16 shares Old South Building Ass'n. pfd.

The following securities were bought during the year:

- \$7,000 Great Northern Power Co. 5's, 1935
- 10 shares Haverhill Elec. Co.
- 4 shares New England Tel. & Tel. Co.
- 33 shares Worcester Gas Light Co., common

The Principal Account has been increased by receipt of \$100.00 for Life Memberships; \$500.00 from Charles H. Taylor and \$50.00 from Albert C. Bates as Special Gifts; \$251.00 by sale of duplicates; \$75.49 from James Lyman Whitney Estate; and the following amounts totalling \$24,400.00 were credited to the Building Fund:

Leonard Wheeler	\$750.00
Victor H. Paltsits	50.00
William G. Mather	3,000.00
T. Hovey Gage	500.00
Theodore T. Ellis	1,000.00
Clarence W. Bowen	4,000.00
Frank R. Batchelder	50.00
George F. Fuller	1,000.00
George I. Alden	200.00
Charles L. Allen	200.00
Forrest W. Taylor	1,000.00
Harry W. Goddard	500.00
Samuel V. Hoffman	500.00
John W. Farwell	500.00
James B. Wilbur	1,000.00
Waldo Lincoln	1,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross	1,000.00
Charles H. Taylor	500.00
Arthur Lord	100.00
Francis R. Hart	1,000.00
William V. Kellen	1,000.00
Henry W. Cunningham	1,000.00
Charles L. Nichols	1,000.00
Francis H. Dewey	1,000.00
Charles G. Washburn	1,000.00
Alfred Johnson	50.00
George A. Plimpton	500.00
Samuel L. Munson	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$24,400.00

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1923 (less unexpended income for 1923)		\$606,184.81
Library Building Fund (from Building Fund) ..		48,254.07
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1923		
George L. Kittredge Life Membership	\$50.00	
Henry C. Kittredge Life Membership	50.00	
Income added to principal		
Special Gifts Fund	\$23.35	
Purchasing Fund99	
James Lyman Whitney Fund	53.50	
Andrew McF. Davis Fund	418.31	
Building Fund	372.62	
		868.77
Gifts to Special Gifts Fund	550.00	
Sales of Duplicates to Purchasing Fund	251.00	
James Lyman Whitney Estate	75.49	
Building Fund	40,400.00	
Profit & Loss		
Bethlehem Steel Co. 7's (Bonds called for payment)	50.00	
U. S. Government 4 $\frac{1}{4}$'s 1938 (profit by sale)	1,763.96	
Cape & Vineyard Electric Co. (profit by sale)	309.19	
American Tel. & Tel. (sale of rights)	452.85	44,821.26
		<hr/>
		\$699,260.14
Expended from Purchasing Fund	\$850.00	
Expended from Special Gifts Fund	644.50	
Expended from Building Fund	39,147.48	
Expended from Centennial Fund (Minwax Co.)	3,756.00	
Expended from Profit & Loss (Clason Architec- tural Metal Works)	5,350.59	
Expended from Profit & Loss (to Building Fund)	1,000.00	
Expended from Profit & Loss (loss on sale of Old South Bldg. Association stock)	65.64	50,814.21
		<hr/>
		\$648,445.93

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended income 1923	\$576.66	
Income from Investments	21,075.70	
Assessments	270.00	
Sales of Publications	183.18	22,105.54
		<hr/>
		\$670,551.47

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	\$368.77	
Incidental Expense.....	572.44	
Salaries.....	8,791.99	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone.....	2,042.12	
Office Expense.....	567.81	
Supplies.....	480.50	
Books.....	3,549.40	
Publishing.....	2,667.00	
Binding.....	1,023.65	
Care of Grounds.....	116.55	
Extra Service.....	755.55	21,435.78
		<u>\$649,115.69</u>
Bills Payable.....		15,000.00
		<u>\$634,115.69</u>

ASSETS

Real Estate.....	\$266,517.09	
Mortgages.....	11,600.00	
Bonds.....	289,564.42	
Stocks.....	56,940.55	
Savings Bank Deposit.....	9,000.00	
Cash on Deposit.....	493.63	
		<u>\$634,115.69</u>
Unexpended Balance Oct. 1, 1924.....		669.76
Principal Oct. 1, 1924.....		<u>\$633,445.93</u>

OCT. 1, 1924

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1923	Income 1923	Expended 1923	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00		\$57.50	\$57.50	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00		431.25	431.25	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00		28.75	28.75	
4-Collection and Research	17,000.00		977.50	967.81	\$9.69
5-I. and E. L. Davis.....	23,000.00		1,322.50	1,322.50	
6-John and Eliza Davis..	4,900.00		281.75	281.75	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00		276.00	276.00	
8-George E. Ellis.....	17,500.00		1,006.25	1,006.25	
9-Librarian's and General	35,000.00		2,012.50	1,868.72	143.78
10-Haven.....	1,500.00		86.25	86.25	
12-Life Membership.....	4,450.00		251.56	251.56	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00		402.50	402.50	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91		1,840.06	1,840.06	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39	\$576.66	6,000.01	6,326.94	249.73

18-Tenney.....	5,000.00	\$287.50	\$287.50	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00	57.50	57.50	
22-Special Gifts.....	429.99	23.35	23.35	
23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00	115.00	115.00	
24-Purchasing.....	70.41	.99	.99	
25-Charles F. Washburn..	5,000.00	287.50	287.50	
26-Centennial.....	32,950.58	1,948.02	1,734.52	213.50
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00	172.50	172.50	
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00	287.50	287.50	
29-James Lyman Whitney	1,046.75	53.50	53.50	
30-Samuel A. Green.....	5,000.00	287.50	287.50	
31-Andrew McF. Davis..	7,693.51	418.31	418.31	
32-Nathaniel Paine.....	38,134.42	2,242.71	2,189.65	53.06
33-Building.....	10,365.81	372.62	372.62	

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
United States of America	4¼	Nov., 1942	\$3,000	\$3,000.00
United States of America	4¼	Oct., 1952	10,000	10,000.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	5½	Aug., 1929	10,000	9,625.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	5½	Feb., 1937	3,000	2,928.75
City of Bergen.....	8	Nov., 1945	3,000	2,940.00
City of Montreal.....	5	Nov., 1930	3,000	2,797.50
City of Winnipeg.....	6	Oct., 1946	4,000	3,970.00
Province of British Columbia.....	5	Jan., 1925	4,000	3,885.00
Province of Ontario.....	5½	Jan., 1937	2,000	2,040.00
Toronto Harbor Commissioners.....	4½	Sept., 1953	16,000	13,550.40
Dutch East Indies.....	6	Mar., 1962	4,000	3,871.00

\$58,607.65

RAILROADS:

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....	4	Oct., 1995	4,000	3,096.75
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	Apr., 1937	8,000	7,960.00
Boston & Maine.....	3½	Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00

Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	4	July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	5	May, 1951	4,800	4,152.02
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	6	Oct., 1934	1,000	940.00
Chicago, Indiana & Southern	4	Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul	4½	June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Illinois Central	3½	July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central	5	Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern	4	May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
New York Central	5	Oct., 2013	5,000	4,725.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford	6	Jan., 1948	2,500	2,369.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford	4	May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
New York, New Haven, & Hartford	3½	Jan., 1956	50	50.00
Northern Pacific	6	July, 2047	2,000	1,930.00
Old Colony	4	Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Pere Marquette	4	July, 1956	5,000	} 5,000.00
Pere Marquette	5	July, 1956	500	
Southern Indiana	4	Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern	5	June, 1942	2,000	2,000.00
Worcester Consolidated	7	July, 1926	1,000	1,000.00

\$82,154.27

MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Adirondack Power & Light Corporation	6	Mar., 1950	6,000	5,175.00
Alabama Power Co.	5	June, 1951	5,000	4,475.00
American Telephone & Telegraph Company	4	July, 1929	13,000	12,440.00
Appalachian Power Co.	5	June, 1941	6,000	5,460.00
Bethlehem Steel Company	7	Oct., 1935	13,000	12,212.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Company	5	Jan., 1939	1,000	800.00
Cedars Rapids Mfg. & Pr. Co.	5	Jan., 1953	5,000	4,800.00
Congress Hotel Company	6	Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00

Consumers Power Com- pany.....5	Jan., 1936	6,000	5,335.00
Detroit Edison Com- pany.....5	Jan., 1933	5,000	4,925.00
Detroit Edison Com- pany.....5	July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Duquesne Light Com- pany.....6	July, 1949	11,000	9,750.00
Ellicott Square Com- pany.....5	Mar., 1935	6,500	6,110.00
Empire District Electric Company.....8	Nov., 1949	4,000	3,930.00
Fort Worth Power & Light Company.....5	Aug., 1931	5,000	4,281.25
Great Northern Power Company.....5	Feb., 1935	7,000	6,720.00
Montreal Light, Heat & Power Company....5	Apr., 1933	5,000	4,650.00
Nebraska Power Com- pany.....5	June, 1949	5,000	4,000.00
Niagara Falls Power Company.....6	Nov., 1950	4,000	3,500.00
Northern States Power Company.....5	Apr., 1941	5,000	4,300.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company.5	May, 1952	5,000	4,725.00
Seattle Electric Com- pany.....5	Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Company ...6	July, 1950	8,000	8,000.00
Southern California Edison Company....5	Nov., 1939	1,000	920.00
Southern California Edison Company....6	Feb., 1944	10,000	8,975.00
Southern Power Com- pany.....5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00
Terre Haute Traction & Light Company.....5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00
United States Rubber Company.....5	Jan., 1947	2,000	1,743.75

\$148,802.50

STOCKS	PAR VALUE	BOOK VALUE	
55 American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$5,500	\$5,345.00	
11 Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe R.R. (Pref.)	1,100	687.00	
6 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. (Com.).....	600	420.00	
3 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. (Pref.).....	300	210.00	
9 Boston & Albany R. R.....	900	1,080.00	
50 Boston & Maine R. R. (Pref.).....	5,000	5,000.00	
6 Chicago & Eastern Ill. Ry. Co. (Com.)	600	66.90	
4 Chicago & Eastern Ill. Ry. Co. (Pref.)	400	120.00	
7 Fall River Gas Works Co.....	700	1,097.88	
6 Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00	
8 Fitchburg Gas & Electric Light Co.....	400	490.65	
5 Great Northern Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	500	320.00	
50 Haverhill Electric Co.....	1,250	1,550.00	
13 Insurance Co. of North America.....	130	377.00	
5 Lawrence Gas Co.....	500	488.04	
50 Massachusetts Gas Co. (Pref.).....	5,000	3,785.00	
15 National Shawmut Bank.....	1,500	3,075.00	
10 New England Tel. & Tel. Co.....	1,000	990.50	
9 New London Northern Ry Co.....	900	810.00	
78 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	7,800	8,620.00	
30 Norton Co. (Pref.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
35 Northern R. R.....	3,500	3,350.00	
15 Pennsylvania R. R. Co.....	750	510.00	
3 Pullman Co.....	300	309.00	
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00	
5 United States Envelope Co. (Pref.)....	500	475.00	
16 Webster & Atlas Nat'l Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00	
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,914.00	
10 Worcester Electric Light Co.....	1,000	1,922.00	
169 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	4,225	3,826.38	
7 Worcester Gas Light Co. (Pref.).....	700	701.20	
			\$56,940.55
MORTGAGE LOANS			
J. Burwick.....		2,100.00	
L. L. Mellen.....		1,500.00	
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....		8,000.00	
			\$11,600.00
REAL ESTATE			
Library Building with land.....			\$266,517.09

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1924, have been

examined by Harry I. Spencer, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HOMER GAGE, *Auditors.*

October 1, 1924.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1924

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1924, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) HARRY I. SPENCER,
Accountant

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy).....	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy).....	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, (legacy).....	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	200
	Edward Everett, Boston.....	100
	George Folsom, Worcester.....	100
	John Green, Worcester.....	100
	James Lenox, New York.....	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester.....	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge.....	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester.....	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester.....	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston.....	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy).....	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence.....	100

	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.....	\$500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg.....	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	100
1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury.....	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy).....	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly (legacy).....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy).....	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy).....	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester.....	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy).....	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington.....	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco.....	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York (legacy).....	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy).....	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston.....	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester.....	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester.....	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester.....	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven.....	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati.....	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester.....	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence.....	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester.....	2,500

	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	\$1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester.....	1,000
	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy).....	490
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia.....	100
	William Lawrence, Boston.....	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	150
	Samuel A. Green, Boston.....	100
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland.....	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven.....	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston.....	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York.....	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit.....	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston.....	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville.....	1,000
	Daniel Merriman, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy).....	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco (legacy).....	5,000
1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy).....	5,000
1920	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	6,000
	David H. Fanning, Worcester.....	5,000
	Clarence W. Bowen, New York.....	500
	Arthur P. Rugg, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel L. Munson, Albany.....	1,000
1921	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	250
	T. Hovey Gage, Worcester.....	500
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York.....	1,000
	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	500
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Homer Gage, Worcester.....	500
	William H. Taft, Washington.....	100
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	100
	George A. Gaskill, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	500
	James B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vt.....	500
	Leonard Wheeler, Worcester.....	250
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	100
	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	500
	George A. Plimpton, New York.....	250

	Clarence W. Bowen, New York	\$500
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	750
	Nathaniel Paine, Worcester (legacy)	38,123
	John W. Farwell, Boston	1,000
1922	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York	500
	Samuel Utley, Worcester	300
	Homer Gage, Worcester	2,500
	Clarence S. Brigham, Worcester	200
	Henry H. Edes, Cambridge	250
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia	100
	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston	500
	I. N. Phelps Stokes, New York	100
	John W. Farwell, Boston	1,000
	Fred N. Robinson, Cambridge	100
	John Woodbury, Boston	250
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston	750
1923	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston	1,000
	John M. Merriam, Framingham	500
	Charles H. Taylor, Boston	250
	Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia	100
	Albert Matthews, Boston	100
	James B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vt.	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit	100
	Charles Evans, Chicago	100
	Henry R. Wagner, Berkeley	100
	George A. Plimpton, New York	250
	Harold Murdock, Boston	100
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester	500
	Arthur P. Rugg, Worcester	300
	Frank F. Dresser, Worcester	100
	Samuel L. Munson, Albany	1,000
	Shepherd Knapp, Worcester	100
	William T. Forbes, Worcester	103
	Albert Shaw, New York	100
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester	1,000
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	250
	Francis R. Hart, Boston	250
	A. George Bullock, Worcester	2,000
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven	500
	Clarence S. Brigham, Worcester	300
	Alfred L. Aiken, Worcester	1,000
	Homer Gage, Worcester	2,000
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester	2,000
1924	Leonard Wheeler, Worcester	750
	William G. Mather, Cleveland	3,000
	T. Hovey Gage, Worcester	500
	Theodore T. Ellis, Worcester	1,000

Clarence W. Bowen, Woodstock	\$4,000
George F. Fuller, Worcester	1,000
George I. Alden, Worcester	200
Charles L. Allen, Worcester	200
Forrest W. Taylor, Worcester	1,000
Harry W. Goddard, Worcester	500
Charles H. Taylor, Boston	500
Samuel V. Hoffman, New York	500
John W. Farwell, Boston	500
James B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vt.	1,000
Waldo Lincoln, Worcester	1,000
Grenville H. Norcross, Boston	1,000
Arthur Lord, Boston	100
William V. Kellen, Boston	1,000
Henry W. Cunningham, Boston	1,000
Charles L. Nichols, Worcester	1,000
Francis H. Dewey, Worcester	1,000
Charles G. Washburn, Worcester	1,000
Francis R. Hart, Boston	1,000
Samuel L. Munson, Albany	1,000
George A. Plimpton, New York	500

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN

BY far the most important feature of the year has been the completion of the addition to the library stack. This work was finished early in June and during the summer the process of moving the books into the new building, with much consequent rearrangement of all the collections, has been begun. Three large sections of the library—the newspapers, the government documents and the periodicals—have already been shelved in the new stack, and other collections will be moved during the coming fall and winter.

The lack of shelf room for newspapers has been the most disturbing factor in the library for several years, and this collection was therefore the first to be rearranged. About 1200 bulky volumes, including fifty year files of such important papers as the New York Tribune, Albany Journal and Philadelphia Public Ledger, had been stored in the basement for the past four years, piled up like cordwood and quite inaccessible for study. Another 800 volumes, comprising the binding of the last half dozen years, had been similarly stored for want of shelving space. These two lots were cleared from the basement floor, and placed with the regular collection, which was then arranged, in alphabetical order by States, on the two upper floors of both stacks. At present the newspapers from Alabama to Maryland occupy the fourth floor of the new stack, those of Massachusetts the fourth floor of the old stack, those from Michigan to New York the fifth floor of the new stack, and those from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin, with the papers of Canada, West Indies, Mexico and South America, the

fifth floor of the old stack. The total number of newspaper shelves in both stacks is 8,232, and the total linear length of these shelves amount to three and six-tenths miles. The present number of volumes in the newspaper collection, which includes bound volumes, unbound volumes and portfolios, is 12,350.

The collection of American periodicals has been moved into the third floor of the new stack, where it fills nearly the entire capacity of that floor. This is one of the most important collections in the library, numbering 16,350 volumes, bound and unbound. Most of the periodicals antedate 1880, but there are good files of the historical and literary magazines since that date. The primary strength of the collection, however, is in the early period, that prior to 1820. For the period previous to 1800, its strength is shown in the comparative table given in William Beer's recent "Checklist of American Periodicals, 1741-1800," where this Library is credited with seventy out of the ninety-eight known periodicals of the eighteenth century. The collection has been much used by scholars during the past year, and especially by Professor William Graham, of Cleveland, whose work on English and American Literary Periodicals is now in course of publication. More attention will be paid during the coming two or three years to filling in the gaps in the nineteenth century files.

Another collection which has been moved during the summer is the file of U. S. Government documents, which now occupies the entire lower floor of the new stack, thus giving an opportunity for expansion which was much needed.

During the next few weeks, the collections of psalmody, hymnology, institutional reports, and directories will be rearranged on the third floor of the old stack; the Spanish-Americana and Civil War collections will be moved to the second floor of the new stack; and the local history will then take all of the six alcoves around the rotunda reading-room. The

moving of books takes time and strength, but the satisfaction of having at last a place to shelve our increasing collection, more than atones for all the labor. The present linear shelf length of the entire library is nearly eleven miles.

The accessions to the Library during the past year expressed in tabular form, total as follows:

Bound volumes	3741
Pamphlets	11,156
Engravings, broadsides and miscellaneous	8,723
Unbound newspapers	13,363

The total number of bound volumes now in the Library is 152,226, and of pamphlets 234,832.

There has been a gratifying continuance of gifts from members who always seem to have the Library in mind. Chief-Justice Rugg, President Lincoln, Mr. Charles G. Washburn, Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Mr. Henry W. Cunningham, Mr. Grenville H. Norcross, Rev. Herbert E. Lombard and Mr. Nathaniel T. Kidder are always sending us material of value intended to fill in and complete our files. Mr. James B. Wilbur, in addition to presenting us with occasional rare pamphlets, has kindly allowed us to select any titles which we needed from his Vermont duplicates. In this way we obtained eleven new titles, including the 1798 Vermont Acts and Laws, and the 1804 Journal of the Vermont House.

A large and valuable series of pamphlets has come to the Society by the will of Roger Foster of New York, who died February 22, 1924. These pamphlets were collected by his grandfather, Alfred Dwight Foster, and his great grandfather Dwight Foster, both of whom lived in Worcester County and were long members of the American Antiquarian Society. There were many rare pamphlets which we needed and probably could not otherwise have secured, among them the following:

Narrative of the Captivity of Mary Rowlandson, Boston, 1771.

John Trumbull, *Progress of Dullness*, New Haven, 1773.

Observations on the American Revolution, Providence, 1780.

Joel Barlow, *Prospect of Peace*, a Poetical Composition, New Haven, 1788.

John Jay, *Address to the People of New York*, New York, 1788.

Fauchet, *Éloge Civique de Benjamin Franklin*, Paris, 1790.

Thomas Evans, *Address to People of Virginia*, Richmond, 1798.

There were many other titles of extreme rarity acquired during the year. From an English book-dealer's catalogue we obtained the 1734 broadside "Specimen by William Caslon, Letter-Founder, in Chiswell-Street, London," the second issue of the earliest English specimen sheet. Since we already possessed the earliest English specimen in book form, that issued by William Caslon in 1763, this was an item that we had always desired. From a New York auction room was secured the first American work on architecture, Abraham Swan's "Collection of Designs in Architecture," Philadelphia, 1775. This book contained copper-plates engraved by John Norman and was dedicated to John Hancock and the members of the Continental Congress. It is so rare that although copies have recently been located in New York libraries, Hildeburn in his "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania" was able to cite only a fragment of the first ten pages.

Quite the rarest pamphlet given during the year, and the only perfect copy so far located, is "The History of the Fight of Captain John Lovell, which took place on the Eighth day of May, 1725, in Fryeburgh, Maine," printed at Fryeburg by Elijah Russel, 1799, and donated to the Library by Mr. Charles H. Taylor. Both of the Boston 1725 editions of Lovewell's Fight are in the Society's library, but this Maine edition contains additional material and Russel's preface gives an interesting account of Fryeburg and of the establishment of a printing-press in that town.

A tract long sought for by the Society and one which in spite of its Worcester interest strangely never came our way, is "General Gage's Instructions, of 22d

February 1775, to Captain Brown and Ensign D'Berniere, to take a sketch of the roads, passes, heights, &c. from Boston to Worcester," printed at Boston by J. Gill, 1779. This interesting contemporaneous account of British operations previous to the blockade of Boston came to the Society through exchange with the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whose kindness we are much indebted.

Through exchange with the University of Chicago, the Library has obtained a large collection of material relating to Mexico, and the various countries of South America and Central America. It contains about 1400 volumes and 4400 pamphlets, mostly dating in the last forty years, and consisting of legislative documents, statistical annuals, and official governmental publications. Included also are about 12,000 newspapers, chiefly the *Diario Oficial* or *Gaceta Oficial* of the different South American countries. These are nearly all of recent date, although there is a notable exception in a file of one thousand numbers of the *Diario de Mexico* from 1837 to 1844. Taken as a whole, the collection is one of great value and usefulness.

A large number of desirable volumes of newspapers have been obtained, especially in the period of the early nineteenth century, where our collection by comparison is rather weak. Among the longer files noted are the following:

- HALLOWELL, AMERICAN ADVOCATE, 1810.
- PORTLAND, EASTERN ARGUS, 1809.
- PORTLAND, RIVERSIDE ECHO, 1870.
- PORTLAND TRANSCRIPT, 1840.
- WINDSOR, VERMONT JOURNAL, 1798-1809.
- BOSTON INVESTIGATOR, 1841-1899.
- BOSTON, AMERICAN CABINET, 1851.
- BOSTON, COMMONWEALTH, 1852.
- BOSTON, LADIES' ENTERPRISE, 1855-1856.
- CONCORD FREEMAN, 1843-1846.
- LOWELL, STAR OF BETHLEHEM, 1841, 1844-46.
- NEW LONDON, BEE, 1798-1799.
- NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, JOURNAL, 1814-1816.
- NEW YORK, STATESMAN, 1812.

NEW YORK, PATRON OF INDUSTRY, 1820-1821.
NEW YORK, CONSTELLATION, 1831-1833.
NEW YORK, SPIRIT OF THE TIMES, 1837-1838.
NEW YORK, TRAVELER, 1859.
BROOKLYN, LONG ISLAND STAR, 1818-1820.
ITHACA, DEMOCRAT, 1874-1889.
KINGSTON, CAMPAIGN REPUBLICAN, 1852.
PHILADELPHIA, ATKINSON'S POST, 1839.
PHILADELPHIA, DOLLAR NEWSPAPER, 1847-1856.
BETHANIA, PALLADIUM, 1832-1833.
LANCASTER, FREE PRESS, 1821-1823.
COLUMBIA SPY, 1833-1834.
FREDERICKTOWN HERALD, 1802-1810.
NEW ORLEANS, WEEKLY PICAYUNE, 1841-1842.
DENVER REPUBLICAN, 1896-1913.
BERMUDA GAZETTE, 1784-1789, 1797, 1819-1822.
BERMUDA, BERMUDIAN, 1819-1822.
BERMUDA, ROYAL GAZETTE, 1836-59, 1862-69.
MEXICO, DIARIO DE MEXICO, 1837-1844.

Of these files, the most notable are the early Bermuda papers, received through the gift of Mr. Waldo Lincoln, and described in the Report of the Council. The Ithaca Democrat was presented by Professor Charles H. Hull of Cornell, several important files were given by Mr. Charles H. Taylor, and the remarkable file of the Boston Investigator was secured through the kindness of Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed, whose constant thoughtfulness of this Library is deeply appreciated.

The Charles H. Taylor Collection of American Printing and Journalism has grown largely during the year, through the donations of its founder and the watchfulness of one of the most able of the country's booksellers, Mr. P. K. Foley of Boston. Almost weekly large packages of material arrive, containing books and pamphlets on printing, journalism, advertising and paper-making, unusual issues of newspapers and periodicals, rare imprints and biographical material relating to editors and printers. All of this material is filed where it is ready for immediate use. That the collection is becoming known and valued is

shown by the frequent letters of inquiry we receive concerning it and by the number of persons who come here expressly to consult it. Several times during the year it has proved of help to writers upon journalism, among others to Mr. Carl L. Cannon, of the New York Public Library, whose *Bibliography of Journalism*, issued in 1924, is a monumental work, representing a vast amount of labor, and a book which will be of great value to this Library.

Mr. Taylor's donations have not been confined to journalistic material. He has presented two large collections of manuscripts—one the correspondence of Lee & Shepard of Boston, from 1862 to 1888, containing thousands of letters from authors, bookbuyers and booksellers who had dealings with that well known firm of publishers; and the other a collection of papers relating to the Norwich & Worcester Railroad, 1832-1860, formed by John A. Rockwell, one of the early Presidents of the road. Also from Mr. Taylor came a remarkable set of the magazine, "The Lowell Offering," with its continuation "The New England Offering," uncut and with original covers.

The collection of almanacs has received but few additions, except for a few New Jersey and Pennsylvania issues. We watch the sales carefully, but the collection is so nearly complete that it is seldom we find an almanac that we lack, and then more likely a scarce and early issue for which we are generally outbid. The price of almanacs, due to their value in showing statistical information, serving as examples of printing and possessing occasional literary merit, has much increased in recent years, and there are many buyers among libraries and collectors.

In the collection of engravings and views a notable addition was a series of negatives and prints of Worcester County views, nearly one thousand in number, and taken about twenty-five years ago. We were enabled to obtain this collection through the generosity of a member of the Council, Mr. Washburn.

To the bookplate collection the only accession worthy of note was the gift of 485 plates from Miss Clara E. Billings of Worcester. Our bookplates are somewhat like our almanacs, in that we lack few of those offered to us. In the Coutant Sale held recently in New York, we needed scarcely a dozen of all the early American plates there sold, and fortunately a few of these were secured.

The Library has been considerably used during the year for the study of American biography. At least two students of family history have each spent a fortnight in examining the collection of directories, resulting in the finding of many names not included in their records. Many queries have come to us from writers who were preparing Memorials, or gathering the materials for Biographies. A few years ago we picked at up auction a series of nineteen volumes of scrapbooks prepared by Alfred S. Roe, and in which were pasted several thousand obituary clippings dating from 1879 to 1908. This collection Mr. Roe had entitled "A Dictionary of Contemporary Biography." Its value was so apparent that we have made a complete alphabetical index, containing ten thousand names, thus making this biographical material of immediate use. Since the New York Times Index, begun in 1913, lists all records of deaths of more than local importance, we now have a good index to American biographies for nearly the last half century.

In connection with the present meeting, an exhibit of material relating to Benjamin Franklin has been arranged in the cases on the balcony floor. All of the printed and manuscript items in the exhibit come from the collections owned by this Library. The bibliography of Benjamin Franklin is so large, as is shown in Paul Leicester Ford's work on the subject and in William J. Campbell's "Franklin Imprints," that only a selection of the more important and the scarcer titles can be made. Of Franklin's own works, those separate

items of which he is accredited as the author, the following titles are exhibited:

Poor Richard Almanacs, issues of 1734, 1748, 1758.
 Letter to a Friend in the Country, Phila., 1735
 Some Observations on the Proceedings against Mr. Hemphill, 2ed. Phila.
 1735
 Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-places, Phila., 1744
 Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, Phila., 1749
 Pocket Almanac for 1753, Phila.
 Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Phila., 1754
 New Experiments on Electricity, London, 1754-1760
 Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Boston, 1755
 Some Account of the Success of Inoculation, London, 1759
 Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1759
 Interest of Great Britian considered, Boston, 1760
 Of the Stilling of Waves by means of Oil, London, 1774
 Experiments on Electricity, London, 1774
 Remarks upon Navigation from Newfoundland, Boston, 1790
 Way to Wealth, Worcester, 1790

The following Franklin imprints, all printed at Philadelphia, are shown:

Three Letters from G. Whitefield, 1740
 Continuation of Mr. Whitefield's Journal, 1740
 Extract of a Letter from Carthagera, 1741
 General Magazine, nos. 1-6, 1741
 Protestation presented to the Synod, 1741
 The Querists, part III, 1741
 Remarks upon a Protestation, by G. Tennent, 1741
 Sermon upon Justification, by G. Tennent, 1741
 Kurzer Catechismus, 1742
 Soul Saving Gospel Truths, by Increase Mather, 1743
 The Examiner, by Philalethes, 1743
 Cicero's Cato Major, 1744
 The Shorter Catechism, 1745
 Treatise on defensive War, by W. Currie, 1748
 Letter from Mr. Whitefield to a Reverend Divine, 1748
 Collection of works of T. Chalkley, 1749
 Paper Money of Delaware and Pennsylvania

Of works relating to the life of Franklin, there are:

Eloge Civique de Benjamin Franklin, by Fauchet, Paris, 1790
 Elogium on Franklin, by W. Smith, Phila., 1792
 Works of Franklin, 2 vols., London, 1793

Works of Franklin, New York, 1794
 Life of Franklin, written by himself, Salem, 1796
 Life of Franklin, by M. L. Weems, Baltimore, 1815

The following titles are of a miscellaneous nature:

History of the Quakers, by W. Sewel, Phila., 1728
 Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks, by W. Smith, Phila., 1764
 Examination of Franklin on Repeal of Stamp Act, Boston, 1766
 Dignity of Man. Discourse by N. Emmons (Franklin Library) Providence, 1787
 Catalogue of Books in Franklin Library
 Early Bookplates of Franklin Library.

Examples of Franklin's newspapers, the "New England Courant" and the "Pennsylvania Gazette," are shown. The Library has excellent files of the "American Weekly Mercury" and the "Pennsylvania Gazette," and in the latter file are several broadsides and poetical addresses of great rarity. There are the "New Year Verses" of January 1, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1749, and 1752, and such broadsides as "Letter to B. G. from one of the Members of Assembly of Province of New Jersey," by W. J. 1739; "Philadelphia, May 7, 1741. Extract of a Letter from one of the Officers, who went from the Place, Dated, before Carthage April 3, 1741"; and a "Message to the Governor from the Assembly" 1742. The first two of these titles seem to be hitherto unrecorded.

There are several presentation or association books connected with Franklin in the Library. The "Cato Major," considered the finest production of Franklin's press, is a presentation copy to Thomas Clap, President of Yale, with the inscription "Thomas Clap. Dono D. Benj. Franklin, 1746," in Clap's handwriting. An anonymous tract "Some Thoughts on Education, with a Poem to the House of Representatives" New York 1752, has the inscription "The Gift of Benj. Franklin, Esq. to J. Winthrop"; also Franklin's own "Account of the new invented Pennsylvania Fire-places," Philadelphia, 1744, with the inscription "The gift of Mr. B. Franklin to J. W." In the latter instance the

name is cut off by binding, but the recipient of the book was John Winthrop, Librarian of Harvard College and a friend of Franklin.

Our copy of the "Antigua Gazette," of April 12, 1755, printed in the West Indies by Benjamin Mecom, Franklin's nephew, bears the name "Benjamin Franklin, Esq.," being evidently the copy sent by the publisher to his uncle.

Here are also two of Franklin's tracts, "Of the Stilling of Waves by means of Oil," and "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," both London 1774, which were presented to the Library by Josiah Flag, who was Franklin's grand-nephew and was employed by him as clerk in 1786.

Among the autograph letters exhibited are the following: letter from Franklin to his friend Alexander G. Frobisher, June 6, 1753, describing in detail his views upon religion and earthly awards; letter from Franklin to Sir William Johnson, August 11, 1755, referring to financial support for Johnson's campaign and to the need of a Union of the Colonies; letter from Franklin to Hon. Thomas Cushing, dated at London, April 2, 1774, relating to his representing Massachusetts at the English Parliament, and the attitude of England toward the colonies; and a long letter of thirteen folio pages, February 26, 1778, from John Holt, editor of the New York Journal, to William Goddard, editor of the Maryland Journal, discussing the character of Benjamin Franklin, and the possibility of preventing him having too great influence in American affairs.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

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Rice, Theodore H.	Turner, William G. A.
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Sargent, Mrs. Helen W.	Wattles, Gurdon W.
Sargent, Winthrop	Wesby, Joseph S.
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Michigan Historical Commission.
Michigan Society Sons of American Revolution.
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Worcester Historical Society.
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THE DATE OF FRANKLIN'S KITE EXPERIMENT

BY ALEXANDER MCADIE

WHEN Benjamin Franklin entered the hall of the French Academy, the members rose as a mark of their high appreciation. Indeed no one in France was accorded a more gracious recognition than the Quaker philosopher and statesman from the British colonies then in revolt. Turgot's oft quoted line "*Eripuit fulmen coelo sceptrumque tyrannis*," sounding like a line from Virgil, was considered eminently appropriate. Yet the philosopher did not tear the lightning from high heaven; nor as a statesman did he tear scepters from the heads of the King of England, the King of France and the King of Prussia; for all of these wore their crowns many years after Franklin left Europe. Balzac's characterization of Franklin that "he invented the lightning rod, the hoax, and the republic" is partly appropriate and partly inaccurate, for canards and republics antedate any Philadelphia printer. True the man who originated and circulated the Edict of the King of Prussia; also a fictitious supplement to the Boston Chronicle telling of 945 scalps of men, women and children taken by the Indians; this man *was* something of a genius in inventive imagination, even if the pleasant practice of fooling the people was in vogue before his time.

As early as November 7, 1749, or about three years after he had first seen a Leyden jar, Franklin reached the conclusion that lightning was a manifestation of electricity. He was then forty-three years old. In Letter V of his Experiments, he gives at length his

conclusions. In sections 9, 10 and 11, he confuses phosphorescence with electricity while advancing views as to the electrical origin of clouds. In paragraph 33 of the same letter, Franklin advances the concussion theory of rain and may be regarded as the first of a long line of would-be rainmakers, who seek to connect explosive waves with precipitation. I mention this matter here because he unquestionably had noticed the rain gushes after near lightning flashes. He says,

"The concussion or jerk given to the air, contributes also to shake down the water not only from those clouds, but from others near them. Hence the sudden fall of rain immediately after flashes of lightning."

In paragraph 40, he also explains the aurora as "electrical fire." Furthermore in Franklin's *Additional Papers to Peter Collinson*, dated Philadelphia, July 29, 1750, he says (p. 64, 5th Edition, London, 1774),

"Now if the fire of electricity and that of lightning be the same, as I have endeavored to show at large, in a former paper, this pasteboard tube and these scales may represent electrified clouds."

Estimating what an electrical cloud of 10,000 acres would do he is led to the conception of a lightning rod.

"I say, if these things are so, may not the knowledge of this power of points be of use to mankind, in preserving houses, churches, ships, etc. from the stroke of lightning, by directing us to fix on the highest part of those edifices upright rods of iron, made sharp as a needle and gilt to prevent rusting Would not these pointed rods probably draw the electrical fire silently out of a cloud before it came nigh enough to strike and thereby secure us from that most sudden and terrible mischief?" This precedes the letter about the kite, two years.

In a letter to C. C. Esq. (Cadwallader Colder) at New York, 1751, Franklin says,

"The greatest known effects of common lightning may I think without much difficulty be exceeded in this way [he means by increasing the number of Leyden jars] which a few years since could not have been believed and even now may

seem to many a little extravagant to suppose. So we are got beyond the skill of Rabelais's devils of two years old, who he humorously says had only learnt to thunder and lighten a little round the head of a cabbage."

On May 20, 1752, the Abbé Mazeas wrote to Franklin an account of certain experiments made at St. Germain and Marly to test the conjectures of Mr. Franklin upon the analogy of thunder and electricity.

This confirmation of his views probably did not reach Franklin until the end of June, 1752. These were the first experiments which actually demonstrated that thunder clouds acted as electrified bodies. The tests do not seem, however, to have been carried out during *severe* thunderstorms. The storms of 10th May 2:20 p. m. and 18th May between 2 and 3 p. m., appear to have been feeble showers. The matter seems to have rested there. In England, although the necessary apparatus was installed, the weather was uncommonly cool and damp; and at London during the whole summer there was but one thunderstorm, and then the rain wet the apparatus and no sparks could be obtained. But a Mr. Canton at Spital-square about 5 p. m. July 21, 1752, got some feeble sparks, four or five per minute; but they soon ceased. A Dr. Bevis at St. Johns Gate, observed nearly the same phenomena as Mr. Canton.

And now we come to Franklin's first definite pronouncement of the kite experiment. It is letter XI in the Observations, from Benjamin Franklin, Esq., of Philadelphia to Peter Collinson, Esq. F. R. S., London. The date is October 19, 1752, but given in the Phil. Trans. 1672, p. 565, as Philadelphia, October 1, 1752. Professor A. Lawrence Rotch has shown ("Science," September 21, 1906, and Proc. Am. Antiquarian Soc., Vol. 18 pp. 118-123) that a lightning rod was erected on Franklin's house, in September 1752; and that Franklin had prepared material for Poor Richard's Almanac for 1753, probably not later than October 1752.

The letter XI referring to the kite is as follows: A copy of the letter obtained by Professor Rotch differs in several important points and these differences are in brackets.

"As frequent mention is made in (the) public papers from Europe of the success of the Philadelphia experiment for drawing the electric fire from clouds by means of pointed rods of iron erected on high buildings &c. it may be agreeable to the curious to be informed that the same experiment has succeeded in Philadelphia though made in a different and more easy manner which is (any one may try) as follows:

Make a small cross of two light strips of cedar, the arms so long as to reach to the four corners of a large thin silk handkerchief when extended; tie the corners of the handkerchief to the extremities of the cross, so you have the body of a kite; which being properly accomodated with a tail, loop and string, will rise in the air like those made of paper; but this being of silk is fitter to bear the wet and wind of a thunder-gust without tearing. To the top of the upright stick of the cross is to be fixed a very sharp pointed wire rising a foot or more above the wood. To the end of the twine, next the hand, is to be tied a silk ribbon (riband) and where the silk and twine join, a key may be fastened. This kite is to be raised when a thunder-gust appears to be coming on (which is very frequent in this country) and the person who holds the string must stand within a door or window or under some cover so that the silk ribbon (riband) may not be wet; and care must be taken that the twine does not touch the frame of the door or window. As soon as any of the thunder clouds come over the kite, the pointed wire will draw the electric fire from them and the kite with all the twine will be electrified, and the loose filaments of the twine will stand out every way and be attracted by an approaching finger. (And¹) when the rain has wet the kite and twine so that it can conduct the electric fire freely you will find it stream out plentifully from the key on the approach to your knuckle. At this key the phial may be charged; and from electric fire thus obtained spirits may be kindled and all the other electric experiments be performed which are usually done by the help of a rubbed glass globe or tube, and thereby the sameness of the electric matter with that of lightning completely demonstrated. (I was pleased to hear of the success of my experiments in France and that they begin to erect points upon their buildings. We had before placed them upon our academy and state-house spires).

¹Not in Professor Rotch's Copy.

In nearly all the biographies the letter appears in the abridged form. The closing paragraph so generally omitted is important, for while it throws no light on the actual date of the kite experiment, it does claim a priority in the erection of lightning rods.

Now the impression is general that the kite was flown in June 1752.² Most biographers say that experiments were made by Franklin on June 6, 1752. Priestly, who followed closely Franklin's experiments, is probably the chief authority for placing the kite flights in June or early summer of 1752. But I do not find a definite date in Priestly's "History of Electricity." In the "Life of Franklin" by Dr. Stuber, we are told of the experiment but without date other than "summer of 1752." Mr. William S. Mason of Evanston, Ill., has been kind enough to quote for me from "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin" in 3 volumes, London 1806, that portion given by Dr. Stuber; but as will be seen the account is in general terms; and what is rather surprising, explanatory and apologetic. While Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of the clouds by means of a common kite.

Then follows a description evidently based on letter XI given above.

"With this apparatus on the appearance of a thunder gust approaching, he went out into the commons accompanied by his son, to whom alone, he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shade to avoid the rain—his kite was raised—a thunder cloud passed over it, no sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success, when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of his string to move toward an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment. On this experiment depended the fate of his theory, etc."

²The "Britannica," for example gives this date.

Franklin himself would have been the first to criticise the above. Why should one go to the common if he desired to fly a kite where none could see and comment; and why should one who had made an estimate of what we may call the killing power of lightning, wish to expose his own son to probable death or at any rate intense shock. And again, "he placed himself under a shade"—if this means that Franklin stood under a tree to escape rain, it contraverts Franklin's own previously published warning that it was very dangerous to stand under trees during a thunder storm. Dr. Stuber knew Franklin intimately and it is said got the story of the kite from him. Concerning this I append an interesting letter from Mr. George Simpson Eddy of New York City.

Now as we have seen, Franklin clearly had in mind the identification of lightning and electricity as early as November 1749. He reasoned from the general similarity, from the noise, from the melting of metal, and even entertained the idea that with a sufficient number of Leyden jars in circuit, he could produce a spark rivalling the lightning flash.³

Dr. I. Minis Hays writes (See Appendix) that he has always been under the impression the kite experiments were made in June 1752; but so far as he knows, there is no definite information on this point. The American Antiquarian Society has a complete file of the Pennsylvania Gazette and Mr. C. S. Brigham has been good enough to have search made for some reference to the experiment (See Appendix). There is none in the summer of 1752, and not until the issue of October 19, 1752, is there a news item, worded exactly as Franklin's letter to Collinson of same date. It seems to the writer quite improbable that a man so astute as Franklin and so keenly aware of the importance of this

³I may say that there is now (1924) at Pittsfield, Mass., a laboratory building, in which imitation lightning is produced. I refer to the General Electric Company and Mr. F. W. Peek's experiments. A generator giving a voltage of two million volts charges a condenser. The current is of the order of ten thousand amperes.

particular experiment, would have failed to publish a note, however, brief, and preliminary, in the Gazette. What is perhaps still more significant, E. Kinnersley, who was the chief expositor of the newly-discovered electric fire, and who was in close correspondence with Franklin (Franklin borrowed his "brimstone globe" March 2, 1752, and used it in making experiments in the spring of 1752) gave several public lectures, in which there is no mention of the kite experiment. In the Pennsylvania Gazette of September 14, 1752, there is an account of Kinnersley's lecture at the State House. And again in the issue of September 21, September 28, and October 19. It would also seem that, once assured of the results, Franklin would have wasted no time in communicating with Peter Collinson to have the paper laid before the Royal Society. It is significant that the letter to Collinson and the same letter in the Gazette, bear the dates October 1 and October 19.

Now for the experiment itself, or rather the description. What internal evidence is there as to the authenticity of it?

First: We may say without being challenged, the kite was not flown during a *severe* thunderstorm, or even during a moderate thunderstorm. There would have been no Franklin, Senior or Junior, left to describe what took place. It is an extremely hazardous, one may say, foolhardy thing to do. He who flies a kite in a thunderstorm may survive; but he will always remember certain occurrences. There are numerous cases of boys being killed. Even where kites are flown professionally, with every precaution, fatalities occur. It happens that the writer has several times tried to repeat the kite experiment. The results which Franklin describes are not those occurring during a thunderstorm; but do agree with results which one may get with a kite flown to a moderate elevation, on almost any day, even in clear weather.

Second: It is equally certain that the kite was not flown on a clear day, for here would have been a capital discovery, namely that electricity could be drawn (to use the popular term) from the sky on a clear day. Franklin would have made much of that; for it is the more important though less dramatic discovery.

Third: The kite experiment apparently was not repeated. Franklin's conception, or perhaps the interpretation put upon the experiment and generally accepted, was that a cloud was a reservoir of electricity and the kite string a conductor. On the contrary, it appears to have been purely induction, not conduction. Had the kite string been wet enough to act as a conductor, the fibres would not have stood out.

It may have been frictional electricity; and throughout this period, Franklin always speaks of gusts; and certain electrical manifestations occur only with these gusts. Again Franklin *conceived* experiments, described them and tried them out later, as in his experiment in 1753 when he found clouds to be negatively electrified; and then later found they were sometimes positively electrified. He did not, however, in these subsequent experiments make use of a kite. He used the insulated lightning rod. It is a curious thing that he makes no mention of a kite after October 1752. In September 1752, he erected an iron rod on his house; and found many contradictory phenomena during thunderstorms, but in his letter to Peter Collinson, dated September 1753, he does not refer to the kite among all these. His pointed rod was out of order in the winter of 1752; so that it was not until April 1753 that he got results. He does specifically mention on *June 6* a gust that continued from 5 to 7 p. m. But note this is June 6, 1753 and possibly this date has been wrongly thought to be the date of the kite flight.

The conclusions are then

1: Franklin himself does not give a definite date when a kite was flown.

2: It seems doubtful that the kite was flown in June or early summer 1752.

3: If flown, the date was probably not far in advance of the end of September 1753.

4: The whole tenor of the letter of October 1 (19) 1752, indicates not so much an experiment actually performed as one projected and the results anticipated. For actually the phenomena are quite different. Franklin does not say in the concluding paragraph that he actually charged a phial, etc. Only that it may be charged.

APPENDIX

From Joseph Priestley, "The history and present state of electricity." 3d ed. London, 1775, vol. I, p. 216-217.

The Doctor, after having published his method of verifying his hypothesis concerning the sameness of electricity with the matter lightning, was waiting for the erection of a spire in Philadelphia to carry his views into execution; not imagining that a pointed rod of a moderate height, could answer the purpose; when it occurred to him, that, by means of a common kite, he could have a readier and better access to the regions of thunder than by any spire whatever. Preparing, therefore, a large silk handkerchief, and two cross sticks, of a proper length, on which to extend it, he took the opportunity of the first approaching thunderstorm to take a walk into a field, in which there was a shed convenient for his purpose. But dreading the ridicule which too commonly attends unsuccessful attempts in science, he communicated his intended experiment to nobody but his son, who assisted him in raising the kite.

The kite being raised, a considerable time elapsed before there was any appearance of its being electrified. One very promising cloud had passed over it without any effect; when, at

length, just as he was beginning to despair of his contrivance, he observed some loose threads of the hempen string to stand erect, and to avoid one another, just as if they had been suspended on a common conductor. Struck with this promising appearance, he immediately presented his knuckle to the key, and (let the reader judge of the exquisite pleasure he must have felt at that moment) the discovery was complete. He perceived a very evident electric spark. Others succeeded, even before the string was wet, so as to put the matter past all dispute, and when the rain had wetted the string, he collected electric fire very copiously. This happened in June 1752, a month after the electricians in France had verified the same theory, but before he had heard of anything that they had done.

In the *Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* for April, 1906, there is an article by Dr. Edwin J. Houston, "Franklin as a Man of Science and an Inventor," which contains a discussion of the electrical kite.

From the *Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*. In three volumes. (Life by Dr. Stuber. London, 1806, vol. 1, ff. 108.)

It was not until the summer of 1752, that he was enabled to complete his grand and unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he had originally proposed, was, to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a sentry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this, would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when a key, the knuckle, or other conductor was presented to it. Philadelphia, at this time afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. While Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by fastening two cross sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To the upright stick was affixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of

hemp, except the lower end which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the commons, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shade, to avoid the rain—his kite was raised—a thunder-cloud passed over it—no sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success, when, suddenly, he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment. On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he succeeded, his name would rank high among those who had improved science; if he failed, he must inevitably be subjected to the derision of mankind, or, what is worse, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, silly projector. The anxiety with which he looked for the result of his experiment, may be easily conceived. Doubts and despair had begun to prevail, when the fact was ascertained in so clear a manner that even the most incredulous could no longer withhold their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made which are usually performed with electricity.

From Benjamin Franklin, "New Experiments and Observations on Electricity made at Philadelphia in America." 2d ed., London: Printed and sold by D. Henry, and R. Cave, 1754, p. 108.

LETTER XI. From Benjamin Franklin, Esq., at Philadelphia.

As you tell me our friend *Cave* is about to add some later experiments to my pamphlet, with the *Errata*, I send a copy of a letter from Dr. *Colden* which may help to fill a few pages; also my kite experiment in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: to which I have nothing new to add, except the following experiment towards discovering more of the qualities of the electric fluid.

OTHER TITLES CONSULTED:

- Benjamin Franklin, *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity* . . . 3d ed., London, 1760.
- Benjamin Franklin, *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* . . . London, 1759. (Letter to Franklin from Mr. Kinnersley, March 12, 1761) p. 387.
- Ueber Luftelektricität, 1746-1753. No. 11 of *Neudriucke von Schriften und Karten über meteorologie und erdmagnetismus*, ed. by Dr. G. Hellmann.
- Benjamin Wilson, *Further Observations upon Lightning* . . . London, 1774.
- Giuseppe Toaldo, *Dell' Uso de Conduttori Metallici* . . . Vencie, 1774.
- Della maniera di preservare gli edificj dal fulmine* . . . Venice, 1772.
- l'Abbé Nollet, *Lettres sur l'Electricité* . . . 3 vols. Paris, 1774. Vol. 1, p. 148
- l'Abbé Nollet, *Essai sur l'Electricité des Corps* . . . Paris, 1754.
- The Pictorial Life of Benjamin Franklin, Printer* . . . Dill and Collins, Philadelphia, 1923. "Franklin making his kite experiment." Picture.
- Richard Anderson, *The Lightning Rod*. London, 1882.
- Royal Society of London—*Transactions*. Vol. 47.
- Abbott Lawrence Rotch, *Did Benjamin Franklin fly his electrical kite before he invented the lightning rod?* *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, vol. 18, pp. 118-123, Worcester, 1906.
- The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1756, p. 378n., Vol. 26

LETTER FROM WILLIAM S. MASON, EVANSTON, ILL.

December 22, 1923.

Alexander McAdie, Director,
Blue Hill Observatory,
Readville, Massachusetts.

DEAR SIR:

Your inquiry relative to Dr. Franklin's kite experiments has given us an interesting problem to locate the Doctor's own description of his experiments with the kite.

The general opinion seems to hold that these experiments were made in June, 1752; and in a note of Dr. Franklin's to Collinson he says "I send a copy of a letter from Dr. Colden which may help to fill a few pages; also my kite experiments in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*." We have no numbers of the year 1752 of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* here in our library, and our Miss Lapham visited the Wisconsin State Historical Society library expecting to find a complete file. However, we were disappointed in this as their file was only about one-half complete for the year 1752. I believe the Antiquarian Society has a complete file.

It may be interesting to read Franklin's Autobiography beginning at page 183 et seq., Everyman's Edition. This relates entertainingly although only in general, of his electrical experiments.

In a letter to Cadwallader Colden, Dr. Franklin speaks of experiments made on June 6, 1752. Dr. Colden to Benjamin Franklin on October 29, 1752 in a postscript says, "This having lain by me some days for an opportunity to send it I have in that time seen in the News papers the Account of the Electrical Kite. I hope a more perfect & particular account will be published in a manner to preserve it better & give it more credit than it can obtain from a common News paper, etc."

It may be of interest to you to read some of Dr. Franklin's letters to E. Kinnersley and the replies thereto during the years 1752 to 1754. No mention is made in the bibliography of Dr. Edwin J. Houston's work on "Franklin as A Man of Science and An Inventor." This is a rather technical and very thorough piece of work. We have an extra copy and shall be glad to send it on if you would care for it.

Were not some experiments made at the Blue Hill Observatory in 1891 or 1892 relating to atmospheric disturbances? I recollect reading something to that effect only recently.

I am enclosing some brief excerpts from Priestley and Dr. Stuber's work on Franklin. Stuber seems to have copied largely from Priestley. You will also find a brief bibliography on works relating to Dr. Franklin and electricity.

To sum up briefly, I believe Dr. Franklin made the experiment in the spring of 1752, and that his own description of it

may be found in the Pennsylvania Gazette and probably in the proceedings of the Royal Society of London.

Yours very truly,
WM. MASON

LETTER FROM GEORGE SIMPSON EDDY, NEW YORK CITY

December 15, 1923.

Prof. Alexander McAdie, Director,
Harvard University,
Blue Hill Observatory,
Readville, Mass.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MCADIE:

Since writing you last I have examined Parton's *Life of Franklin*. In Vol. I of that work you will find considerable information about Franklin's electrical experiments. On page 295 Parton says, with regard to the kite flying experiment, "We owe our knowledge of what occurred on that memorable afternoon, to two persons who heard Franklin tell the story, namely, Dr. Stuber of Philadelphia and the English Dr. Priestley." As I told you in my last letter, I do not possess Dr. Priestley's *History of Electricity*, but I have an edition of the *Life and Essays of Dr. Franklin* published in the *Republic of Letters*, a journal which was published in New York in the year 1834. This *Life* begins in No. 2 of that journal, page 171. On page 180 begins the continuation of Franklin's *Life* written by Stuber, who is described as "one of the Doctor's intimate friends." On page 181 is to be found Stuber's description of the kite flying experiment. He does not give the exact date, simply stating that it took place in the summer of 1752. Stuber's description seems to imply that rain fell during the period of the experiment but is not explicit upon that point. Possibly Dr. Priestley's account of the experiment may be fuller.

Stuber's *Life of Franklin* was first printed in the *Columbian Magazine* published at Philadelphia 1790-1791 (see Smyth, Vol. I, page 25). A part of Stuber's *Biography* which fitted on to the *Autobiography* was first printed in the *Works of Franklin* edited by Benjamin Vaughan and published at London in 1793, and "this continuation by Stuber has been

that used in most of the popular editions of the autobiography" (see P. L. Ford's Bibliography of Benjamin Franklin, page 181). Parton, Vol. 1, page 289, says (referring to the spring of 1752), "nearly three years have rolled away since he had suggested in his private diary a mode of ascertaining whether lightning and electricity were really the same." I do not know what Parton meant by "private diary." I think that he must have been referring to the paper written by Franklin in 1749 entitled "Opinions and Conjectures, concerning the Properties and Effects of the Electrical Matter, arising from Experiments and Observations, made at Philadelphia, 1749."

With my kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

GEO. SIMPSON EDDY

P. S. In Spark's edition of the Works of Franklin, V. 173, you will find that part of Stuber's continuation relating to the electrical experiments. On p. 179 of same Volume, Sparks says, "Dr. Priestley in his History of Electricity, published in the year 1767, gives a full account of Franklin's experiments and discoveries."

LETTER FROM I. MINIS HAYS, PHILADELPHIA

December 14th, 1923.

Mr. Alexander McAdie, Director,
Blue Hill Observatory,
Readville, Massachusetts.

DEAR MR. McADIE

I am in receipt of yours of the 12th inst. and I am sorry that I cannot give you the definite information you desire. I have always been under the impression that Franklin's kite experiments were made in the month of June, 1752, and tradition is that he flew it on a vacant lot about 10th and Chestnut Streets, but then again, so far as I know, there is no definite information on this point.

Regretting that I can give you nothing more satisfactory, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

I. MINIS HAYS

LETTER FROM CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
WORCESTER, MASS.

December 11, 1923

Mr. Alexander G. McAdie,
Readville, Mass.

DEAR MR. McADIE:

We have a full file of Franklin's paper, "The Pennsylvania Gazette," and there is no reference in the summer and fall of 1752 to the kite-flying incident except in the issue of Oct. 19, 1752, where there is a news item with reference to the recent experiment in Philadelphia. This is exactly alike in wording to Franklin's letter to Collinson, printed in his "Experiments." I suppose that the files of the Philadelphia newspapers have been gone over dozens of times for references to Franklin's experiments, but nothing has been found regarding them.

You probably know that under date of Sept. 14, 1752 (Pennsylvania Gazette), there is an elaborate description of Ebenezer Kinnersley's experiments on the "newly discovered electrical fire," which he performed at the State House several times in the fall of 1752. There are references to this also in the issue of Sept. 21, Sept. 28 and Oct. 19, but none of them refer to Franklin, nor do any of them mention the experiment of kite-flying.

It would seem as if that in some of the Philadelphia manuscript diaries of the 18th century, preserved in Philadelphia, there might be references to the kite-flying, and perhaps also in some of the printed correspondence of the period, but so many people are interested in this problem that one would think that such citations would have been brought to light.

You probably have seen the pamphlet by Kinnersley entitled "A Course of experiments in electricity," Philadelphia 1764, a copy of which is in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Yours very truly,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,
Librarian

LETTER FROM WILLIAM DUANE, BOSTON, MASS.

Dr. Alexander McAdie,
Harvard University,
Readville, Mass.

MY DEAR MCADIE:

In reply to your letter in regard to Franklin's experiment with the kite, I do not know the exact date. As the men whom you mention know a great deal more about history than I do, I probably could make no valuable suggestions.

From my twenty years experience with the Philadelphia climate, it seems to me unlikely that a thunder storm would occur about October 19th. Would not a summer date be more probable on this account? You know much more about weather than I do.

I have an autograph letter of Franklin's in which he states some of his ideas about storms. Perhaps you would like to see it some time.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM DUANE

ADDENDA

Mr. George Simpson Eddy has been kind enough to trace the history of the newspaper account of which Cadwallader Colden spoke in his letter to Franklin of October 29, 1752. He writes:

"I have discovered one such account in the New York Gazette review in the Weekly Post Boy, October 23, 1752. This account was copied word for word from that in the Pennsylvania Gazette, October 19, 1752, altho the latter journal is given no credit."

"The New York Historical Society has the following issues of the New York Mercury (published by Hugh Gaine) but in none of these have I found any mention of the kite experiment—Aug. 31; Oct. 2; Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27; Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25; all 1752. I have examined the Pennsylvania Gazette from May 7 to Dec. 26, 1752, and have found no reference to the famous experiment except the account in the issue of Oct. 19. Of the

issues of the Post Boy, the N. Y. Historical Society has all save those of Sept. 7 and 10, I have looked through all the others numbers from June 1 to Dec. 25, 1752, without results; except that I found some interesting "ads" of Kinnersley's lectures in New York, and, in the issue of Oct. 2, 1752, a long account of the experiment by Dalibard, Le Monnier, and De Lor, copied from the Gentleman's Magazine of June, 1752."

Mr. Eddy comments further on Dr. Stuber, particularly concerning the age of Dr. Stuber. This will be the subject of later investigation.

Dr. Fred E. Brasch, Washington, D. C., has kindly sent a copy of an article by Professor John Winthrop in the Boston Chronicle, Monday, July 11, 1768. This is in defense of the erection of lightning rods. The kite experiment is not mentioned, but detailed description of the damage done to Hollis Hall in the severe storm of July 2, is given.

A letter has been received from Mrs. James Southard Ellis of Philadelphia with a long extract from the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine for June, 1790. In this extract is an account of Franklin's letter to M. Duborg on the Art of Swimming in which Franklin states that when he was a boy he amused himself one day by flying a paper kite:

"I found that lying on my back and holding the stick in my hand I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. * * * I have never since that time practiced this singular mode of swimming tho I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The Packet boat however is still preferable."

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY

BY GEORGE SIMPSON EDDY

IT IS probable that Franklin acquired the larger part of his library after 1757.

On Nov. 3, 1772, he wrote to his son William, from London, saying: "I am almost settled in my new apartment; but removing and sorting my papers, and placing my books and things has been a troublesome job. I am amaz'd to see how books have grown upon me since my return to England. I brought none with me, and have now a roomful; many collected in Germany, Holland and France; *and consisting chiefly of such as contain knowledge that may hereafter be useful to America.*" (Italics by G. S. E.)

On May 30, 1787, in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Mecom, he described his library as being a room 16 feet wide by 30½ feet long, with four windows and one door, and lined with books to the ceiling.

On July 13, 1787, Manasseh Cutler was in Philadelphia, and called upon the Doctor; in his Diary he gives an interesting account of his visit. Among other things he says: "After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with bookshelves filled with books; besides there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America."

In his Will, dated July 17, 1788, Franklin provided: "With regard to my books, those I had in France and

those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, *and a catalogue made of them*, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows: My 'History of the Academy of Sciences,' in 60 or 70 volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honour to be President. My collection in folio of 'Les Arts et les Metiers,' I give to the American Philosophical Society, established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same 'Arts et Metiers,' I give to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, William Bache, I do hereby give to him; and such as shall be marked with the name of Jonathan Williams, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin." (Italics by G. S. E.)

By a codicil, dated June 23, 1789, he added the following bequest of books: "I give to William Hewson, who is my godson, my new quarto Bible, Oxford edition, to be for his family Bible, and also the botanic description of the plants in the Emperor's garden at Vienna, in-folio, with coloured cuts. And to Thomas Hewson I give a set of Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians, handsomely bound."

It should be noted that Franklin did not say in his will that he had *already* marked the names of the various legatees of books upon the catalogue; he merely said "such and so many of my books as I *shall* mark on the said catalogue with the name of" etc.

The only papers connected with Franklin's estate, which are now to be found in the office of the Register of Wills, in Philadelphia, are the Will itself, and the Inventory and Appraisement; the latter is dated April 26th. 1790, and is signed by David Rittenhouse, Robert Aitken and John Patton. The Inventory of the library is short: being as follows:

"Average Estimate of the Library.

351 Folios at 2s.	£35- 2- 0
150 Topographical Pamphlets at 2d.	1- 5- 0
767 Quartos	at 1s. 2d. 44-14-10
1548 Octavos	" 10d. 69- 6- 0
1260 Duodecimos	" 6d. 31-10- 0
200 do Stitched	" 3d. 2-10- 0

No. Vols. 4276

184-7-10"

I have not been able to find any trace of the catalogue which Franklin mentioned in his Will.

The books bequeathed to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, to the Library Company, and to the Academy of Arts and Sciences, are still in the possession of those societies. I have not discovered what became of the books specifically given to the two Hewsons. It is possible that the Doctor never carried out his intention of marking the catalogue with the names of the legatees.

It has always been assumed that the greater part of the Doctor's library came into the possession of Temple Franklin, as legatee. Temple went to England in the fall of 1790, and, so far as I can learn, he never returned to this country. He died in Paris, in 1823, hopelessly insolvent.

Paul Leicester Ford, in the Introduction to his "Franklin Bibliography," says that Temple carried the Doctor's own writings and a *part* of the library, to England; that the books were hypothecated there and later brought back to America, only to be scattered; and that the books and manuscripts not taken to England were left with a friend in Philadelphia. Ford also said that the fragments of the library, after division and theft, came into the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, that Society has only 121 volumes of pamphlets from Franklin's library, regarding which I shall speak later on.

In the "Historical Magazine," for April 1866, (X, 123), is a note, as follows:

"DR. FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY. On the fly-leaf of an English book, printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which has lately come into my possession, is the following account of the manner in which Dr. Franklin's library was dispersed:

"Dr. Franklin bequeathed his library to his grandson, W. Temple Franklin, who took the books to London. There they were pledged for the repayment of money borrowed by Temple Franklin to extricate his friend Robert Morris, Jr. from arrest. The money not having been repaid, a great part of the books were sent to Philadelphia to N. G. Dufief to be sold. N. G. Dufief opened a store for the purpose in South Fourth near Walnut St. and there I bought this and other books.'" The foregoing note is signed "D," the signature being, apparently, that of the contributor to the Historical Magazine, and not that of the writer of the memorandum in the book.

I may say that it is difficult for me to believe that Temple Franklin took any *large* part of his grandfather's library to England.

In the Collection of Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress, is a letter from George Fox of Philadelphia to Temple Franklin, dated June 2, 1797, relating to the efforts of Fox to collect for Temple the amount due upon the bond of one Cantwell Jones, originally payable to Robert Morris, Jr. and by the latter assigned to Temple Franklin. In this letter Fox says: "this I have reason to believe has been done, from the last conversation I have had with Milligan, as well as from Mr. Robert Morris Junr. calling upon me since breakfast this morning, and stating his having received a very pressing letter from Jones respecting his bond, which they both unite in believing discharged, as Morris says he remitted you certain drafts or notes, with particular direction that their proceeds should be applied to the discharge of that particular bond, but

which you appear, in the Acct. Current inclosed to Morris, to have passed to his credit *on account of your grandfather's library sold him*, which he contends ought not to have been done, as you offered a credit upon the last installment due from him until it should be perfectly convenient for him to discharge it." (Italics by G. S. E.)

Diligent search has failed to turn up any further information regarding the purchase of Dr. Franklin's library by Robert Morris, Jr.

In the "Aurora General Advertiser," of Philadelphia, issue of Oct. 14, 1801, appeared the following advertisement:

THE FRANKLIN LIBRARY

N. G. Dufief, Bookseller

Voltaire's Head, No. 68 South Fourth Street

Has the honor of informing the Lovers of Literature, that he has just added to his numerous collection of books in various languages, a considerable part of the select and valuable Library of the celebrated Philosopher and Statesman, the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin."

The "Aurora" of Oct. 26, 1801 contained an editorial, in part as follows:

"A fragment of the library of Dr. Franklin has, by some means not yet explained, been lately on sale in this city; a great portion of it has been scattered over different parts of the continent; some part, however, has been preserved by a branch of the family, from whom we have obtained the perusal of several volumes, containing the Doctor's annotations in his own handwriting, on various political tracts which he had collected.

I think it likely that William Duane was the writer of the editorial just quoted.

The Library of Congress possesses several letters passing between Dufief and Thomas Jefferson, regarding the library of Franklin. I shall quote from some of these, because of their interest. On October 22, 1801, Dufief wrote to Jefferson: "J'ai ajouté depuis peu à ma Collection la portion de la Bibliothèque du Dr.

B. Franklin, leguée par lui à son petit-fils Temple Franklin. Sans l'enthousiasme de nos Concitoyens à faire l'acquisition de ses livres, j'aurois accompli mon dessein de vous en envoyer le catalogue manuscrit; mais en ayant une fois annoncé la vente dans les papiers publics, il ne m'a pas été possible de me refuser à l'empressement général à se les procurer. Il s'est trouvé parmi ces livres la fameuse lettre de Trasibule à Leucippe en Manuscript, peut-être plus correcte & plus complète que les Editions imprimées, ce dont je n'ai pu m'assurer, n'en ayant aucune pour en faire la comparaison. J'ai pensé que vous me feriez l'honneur de l'accepter; cela m'a enhardi à mettre cet ouvrage parmi vos livres. Les livres suivants sont les principaux ouvrages qui me restent de cette Bibliothèque;

The Parliamentary history in 24 V. 8° neatly b ^d in calf	30 dollars
“ Lords' Protests from 1242-1767. 2 V. do	2 “
“ “ “ during the Amer. war do	1 “
The Journal of the House of Commons 15 V. folio (not complete)	40 “
Debates of do 22 V. 8°	18 “

On Nov. 1, 1801, Jefferson wrote to Dufief—
 “Among the books mentioned in the letter of Oct. 22 with which you favored me, is one only which I would wish to acquire: it is the Parliamentary history, 24 vols. 8vo. price 30 D. Should it not be disposed of before you receive this, I will thank you to send it . . . accept my thanks for the lettres de Trasybule à Leucippe, and my best wishes for your health and happiness.” Dufief sent the Parliamentary History to Jefferson.

On Nov. 9, 1802, Dufief wrote to Jefferson—
 “Mr. Duane m'a témoigné quelque désir d'acheter environ 2000 volumes qui me restent de la Bibliothèque du Dr. Franklin; il se trouve parmi ces livres plusieurs manuscrits, & quelques ouvrages apostillés de la propre main du Dr. Si ce Monsieur ne faisait pas cette acquisition que je lui faciliterai en les évaluant au plus bas prix possible, & que vous desiriez parcourir le Nouveau Catalogue que je viens de dresser, je vous l'enverrai dès que vous me l'ordonnerez.”

On Jan. 31, 1803, Dufief wrote to Jefferson, saying—
“Je vous envoie le catalogue des livres qui me restent de la Bibliothèque du Dr. Franklin. Lorsque vous l’aurez parcouru, je vous prie de le faire remettre au Bibliothécaire du Congrès, à qui je propose, dans la croyance qu’il pourrait être autorisé à la faire, l’achat de la Collection en tout, ou en partie. On m’a suggéré cette idée à laquelle j’aurais sans doute pensé, si je m’étais rappelé que le Congrès avait destiné une certaine somme pour l’acquisition d’une bibliothèque. Quel plus digne usage de cet argent, Monsieur, que de l’employer à racheter les livres d’un des Fondateurs de la République Américaine & d’un grand homme! Ce n’est point un esprit de spéculation qui me fait tenir ce langage, car outre que ces livres conviennent à une bibliothèque nationale, étant en grande partie sur la *politique*, la *legislation* & les affaires d’Amérique, je les laisserais à un prix si raisonnable qu’on ne pourrait nullement m’accuser d’une chose pareille. Si je ne réussissais pas dans une *négociation* dont je désire ardemment le succès, il me resterait une ressource pour m’en défaire, ce serait de les vendre à l’encan, votre choix fait de ceux qui pourraient vous convenir. Je suis pleinement convaincu que l’enthousiasme de nos concitoyens & le nom de Franklin ne rendissent cette manière d’en disposer avantageuse pour moi; cependant pour vous parler avec franchise, je me sens une grande repugnance à le faire; elle ne pourrait céder qu’à une nécessité impérieuse, & à l’embarras où me jettent ces livres dans le petit local très reserré qui j’habite. Non, Monsieur, quoique Libraire, je ne vendrais jamais publiquement que malgré moi, les livres de Gallilée, de Newton & de Franklin.

“J’ai cru vous faire plaisir & vous donner une preuve non équivoque de ma profonde estime en joignant au catalogue deux petits ouvrages sur la Révolution américaine, rendu inestimables par les notes posthumes de votre illustre coopérateur dans le grand & glorieux oeuvre de l’indépendance. Lisez-les, communiquez-

les, si vous le desirez, à vos amis, & ensuite renvoyez-moi le volume qui les contient, par la même voie dont je me sers pour vous le faire parvenir.”

Writing to Jefferson on Feb. 1, 1803, Dufief said— “Monsieur le Lieutenant Colonel Williams qui connaît parfaitement tous les livres du Dr. Franklin (de l'amitié & de la confiance duquel il jouissait pendant sa vie) s'est offert de constater, en cas d'acquisition de la part du Committee, que tous ceux qui seraient envoyés à Washington faisaient partie de sa Bibliothèque.”

On Feb. 4, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Senator Baldwin the following letter— “Mr. Dufief a bookseller of Philadelphia who possesses Dr. Franklin's library, has inclosed me the catalogue, with a desire that I would put it into the hands of the Committee charged with governing a library for Congress, with an offer of the whole or any part of it at what he says shall be moderate prices. My dealings with him give me confidence that his prices would be moderate. Without presuming on the answer of the committee to this proposition, I have ventured to mark with a pencil a few particular books which I imagine are worthy of their acquisition if they are not already in the library. A return of the catalogue is asked when you have made of it the use which you may desire.”

Jefferson wrote to Dufief on Feb. 4, 1803, saying— “I received from you some days ago the three volumes of les Moralistes Anciennes, and last night your letter of Jan. 31 with Doct^r. Franklin's catalogue which I have this morning sent to the chairman of the library-committee of Congress. I observe in it the following books

“Athenai Deipnosophistorium F^o fol
Philostratus works from the Greek fol
Durham's Physico and Astrotheology 8 vo
which I will ask the favor of you to send me with those you are about forwarding me. To this I should certainly add the volume inclosed in your letter, contain-

ing two small pamphlets with copious marginal notes by Dr. F., but that from the binding, and the desire expressed to have it returned, I conclude you wish to preserve it for yourself as a relic of a saint."

To the letter last above quoted Dufief replied on the 14th. of February, saying—"Vous verrez par le Certificat ci-joint que je n'ai pu recevoir q'aujourd'hui la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré le 4. Je vous envoie cette pièce, d'abord, pour me justifier du soupçon de manquer d'exactitude à votre égard, vous qui donnez dans la place éminente que vous occupez, un exemple si glorieux, & en même tems si rare, d'une régularité à laquelle rien n'échappe; & ensuite pour que si vous le jugiez à propos, l'on pût faire des recherches dans le Bureau de la poste de Washington, au sujet d'une négligence qui pourrait être quelquefois fatale au service public . . . Aussitôt la lecture de votre lettre, j'ai fait mettre à part les trois ouvrages de votre choix. Je vous les adresserai à la première occasion favorable, avec la philosophie d'Epicure en Latin, par Gassendi. J'augmenterai cet envoi d'un petit Helvetius, en 10 vols., qui me serait parvenu de New York depuis un mois, si la Navigation de notre rivière n'eut été interceptée par les Glaces. J'ai cru sentir en lisant votre lettre que vous seriez charmé de posséder les seules *Reliques* littéraires qui nous restent probablement de l'immortel Franklin, *Saint* bien plus grand qu'aucun de ceux du Calendrier du peuple le plus dévot, puisqu'il a contribué par ses *miracles* à fonder une Nation où Dieu est adoré suivant la Conscience, & où ses interprètes ne sont que ce qu'ils devraient être partout de simples ministres de la Religion; veuillez donc les accepter malgré le désir religieux de les garder qu'elles m'avaient inspiré; & pour que vous ayez un *reliquaire* complet, j'y joindrai un ouvrage en 3 vols., intitulé *Miscellanies of America*, où se trouvent dans le 1^{er} Tome plusieurs notes marginales au crayon & à la plume, que je crois être du même grand homme. C'est une offrande que je vous

fais & qui vous est du puisque vous êtes l'ami & l'un des collaborateurs de l'illustre mort. Aucun Grec ne fut surpris de voir Philoctète posséder les armes d'Hercule."

On Mar. 1, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Dufief as follows—"I communicated your *manuscript catalogue* to the committee of Congress charged with the purchase of books, and they have returned it to me with information that they had already exhausted their funds, and that therefore it was unnecessary for them to take the subject into consideration. *It is now reinclosed to you with the assurances of my esteem & respect.*" (Italics by G. S. E.)

There is a letter of May 5, 1803, from Jefferson to Dufief, in which he says—"I find that I omitted in due time to make you my acknowledgments for the precious reliques of Doct^r. Franklin, which you were so obliging as to spare from your particular collection. Not only the intrinsic value of whatever came from him, but my particular affection for him, extend the measure of my obligation to you for this kindness."

So much for the correspondence between Dufief and Jefferson. As is well known, Congress, in 1815, purchased Jefferson's library. Before I had discovered the Jefferson-Dufief letters, I had written to the Library of Congress, asking whether it possessed any books from Franklin's library, and had been told that, so far as was then known, that Library had no such books. Upon the discovery of the Dufief-Jefferson correspondence, I enlisted the interest of Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Congressional Library; Mr. Fitzpatrick, assisted by Messrs. Ashley and Martel of the Library staff, has discovered that the Library still has the following volumes which Jefferson acquired from the Franklin library through Dufief: *Athenaei dipnosphistarum*, Venice, 1556; *Parliamentary History* 1106-1660, 24 vols.; the manuscript *Trasybule à Leucippe*; and the volumes of pamphlets which I am about to

describe. The other books which Jefferson acquired from Dufief have not been found, and the supposition is that they were destroyed in the fire of 1851 which burned about 4000 of the Jefferson books.

As to the volumes of pamphlets—with his letter of Jan. 31, 1803, Dufief sent to Jefferson "deux petits ouvrages sur la Révolution américaine, rendus inestimable par les notes posthumes" of Franklin; these, he said, were bound in one volume. As will be remembered, Jefferson expressed a desire to acquire these precious relics, and Dufief thereupon presented them to him. As Dufief did not give the titles of the pamphlets, it at first seemed impossible to identify them; but upon examining the 1815 printed catalogue of the Library of Congress (which is said to contain only the books bought from Jefferson), I found listed therein the following item—"Reflections Moral and Political on Great Britain and her Colonies, with manuscript notes by Dr. Franklin, 1770, octavo." Suspecting that this was the volume referred to by Dufief, I sent the title to Mr. Fitzpatrick, who soon discovered it. Two pamphlets are bound together in an old English binding of red morocco, gold tooled; the waste sheets of the binding bear the watermark date of 1800; the pamphlets are numbered "No. 5" and "No. 6", which, to my mind indicates that they were once bound up with other pamphlets in a volume of the collection of pamphlets that Franklin had, of which collection 148 volumes were acquired from William Duane by The Philadelphia Athenaeum, Duane having doubtless bought them at the Dufief sale. These two pamphlets are of the greatest interest to scholars, because of Dr. Franklin's marginal annotations. The first, which is entitled "Reflections Moral and Political on Great Britain and her Colonies," London: Printed for T. Becket and Co. MDCCLXX," (by Matthew Wheelock), is a pamphlet paginated (6), 66; and is an octavo. Thirty-four pages of this are copiously annotated in ink in Franklin's hand. The

annotations are of extraordinary value and interest. A few of them are as follows:

(1) "This author supposes the Colonists want a new Parliament in order to have the Duties taken off. He is mistaken. They did petition; they were *not heard*, and they will petition no more. They have taken their measures. Keep up your Duties, if you please; they will not pay them, because they will not use the commodities. And because they think you use them ill in laying such Duties, they will manufacture for themselves. They now find they will gain & save infinitely more by your continuing the Duties, than they should by your repealing them."

(2) "*British Empire*, a very vague expression. All these writers (almost all) confound themselves & readers with the idea that the British Empire is but one State; not considering or knowing that it consists of many States under one Sovereign. As of Great Britain (formerly two, England & Scotland, Ireland, Guernsey & Jersey) every Colony, Hanover, Zell, &c."

(3) "It is great impudence or folly in a man to suppose that because he is an Englishman, every American owes him allegiance. If every Englishman is not a sovereign over every American, neither can he communicate such sovereignty to another by chusing him Parliament man."

The second pamphlet in this precious volume is entitled "Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government. Occasioned by the late Disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies." Written in the Year 1766. London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, MDCCLXIX.", (by Allan Ramsay). This is a pamphlet of 64 pages, 41 of which bear annotations in ink in Franklin's hand. The following is one of Franklin's marginal notes therein:

"When an American says he has a right to all the privileges of a British subject, he does not call himself a

British subject, he is an American subject of the King; the Charters say they shall be entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen as if *they had been born within* the Realm. But they were and are *without* the Realm, therefore not British subjects; & tho' within the King's Dominions, because they voluntarily agreed to be his subjects when they took his Charters, and have created those Dominions for him, yet they are not within the dominion of Parliament which has no authority but *within* the Realm."

It will be remembered that, with the little volume containing the pamphlets above mentioned, Dufief sent to Jefferson "to complete the reliquary," a work in three volumes entitled "Miscellanies of America." This title was obviously a binder's title. At first these volumes could not be found in the Library of Congress, and I despaired of locating them. But one day I found, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the manuscript catalogue of Jefferson's library, in that sage's own hand. Running through that interesting volume I found entered therein, "Miscellanies on America, 3 vols. 8° viz. Further Examination of American Measures, 1776," and eight other titles. This information was immediately forwarded to Mr. Fitzpatrick, with the result that the three volumes were discovered in the Library of Congress. They had been rebound after coming to that Library, and are now to be found in volumes 7, 8 and 9 of Colonial Pamphlets. The contents of the volumes are as follows:

VOLUME 7

(1) A Further Examination of our Present American Measures and of the Reasons and the Principles on which they are founded. By the Author of Considerations on the Measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies in North America. . . . Bath . . . MDCCLXXVI. (By Matthew Robinson); not annotated.

(2) A Series of Answers to certain Popular Objections against separating from the Rebellious Colonies, and discarding them entirely; being the Concluding Tract of the Dean

of Gloucester, on the subject of American Affairs. Gloucester . . . MDCCLXXVI. (By Josiah Tucker); This has annotations by Dr. Franklin on 13 pages.

(3) Considerations on the Mode and Terms of a Treaty of Peace with America. London . . . MDCCLXXVIII. 30 p. Has annotation by Franklin on page 27.

VOLUME 8

(1) Peace the Best Policy or Reflections upon the Appearance of a Foreign War, the Present State of Affairs at Home and the Commission for Granting Pardons in America. In a Letter to a Friend by Matt. Robinson M. London: . . . MDCCLXXVII; in this pamphlet pages 99 and 100 have been removed and manuscript copies thereof, in Franklin's autograph, inserted.

(2) The Memorial of Common-Sense upon the Present Crisis between Great Britain and America . . . London . . . MDCCLXXVIII. No annotations.

(3) An Humble Address and Earnest Appeal to those respectable personages in Great-Britain and Ireland, who by their great and permanent interest in landed property . . . are the ablest to judge, and the fittest to decide, whether a connection with, or a separation from the Continental Colonies of America, be most for the National Advantage . . . By Josiah Tucker D.D. Gloucester, MDCCLXXV. No annotations.

(4) Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation. By William Pulteney, 4th ed. London, MDCCLXXVIII. No annotations.

(5) A Prospect of the Consequence of the Present Conduct of Great Britain towards America. London: 1776. No annotations.

VOLUME 9

(1) A Memorial most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe on the Present State of Affairs between the Old and New World. London; 1780, (By Thomas Pownall) No annotations.

(2) A Translation of the Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe upon the Present State of Affairs between the Old and the New World, into Common Sense and intelligible English. London; MDCCLXXXI. (Thomas Pownall) No annotations.

(3) Anticipation, containing the substance of His Majestys' Speech to both H . . . s of P . . . l . . . t, on the Opening of

the approaching Session . . . 5th ed. corrected. London; 1778. No annotations.

(4) A Letter to the Earl of Chatham concerning his Speech and Motion in the House of Lords, on the memorable 30th of May: with some Observations on the Speeches of . . . to which are subjoined Reflections on His Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, and an Index to Peace with America. London; MDCCLXXVII. No annotations.

(5) The Annals of Administration. Containing the genuine history of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Colonius her Son. A biographical fragment. Written about the Year 1575. Inscribed by the Proprietor of the authentic papers, to Edmund Burke, Esq. London, MDCCLXXV. No annotations.

All three of these volumes contain on the first fly leaf preceding the title page, a list of the pamphlets in the volume, in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin.

I desire to place on record my appreciation of the assistance given me by Mr. Fitzpatrick in bringing to light these precious volumes, and in helping me to identify them as having belonged first to Franklin, and then to Jefferson.

Evidently William Duane did not buy the remnant of the library, for we find in the "Aurora" of Feb. 23, 1803, and thereafter until Mar. 4th, the following advertisement:

"Dr. Franklin's Library.

"Will be sold by public auction at Shannon & Poalk's auction store, on Saturday, the 12th. of March next, at 6 o'clock in the evening, unless previously disposed of by private sale, a great part of the library of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

"Persons desirous to purchase, or to become acquainted with such books as may be contained in so rare and valuable a collection as that of the above mentioned immortal statesman and philosopher, are invited to call on N. G. Dufief, No. 6, South Fourth-street—where also the amateurs of French literature may be gratuitously supplied with catalogues of a large and late importation of new French publications."

From March 5th. to 12th, inclusive, the "Aurora" contained the following advertisement under the heading of "Auctions"

“Positively will be sold,
by Shannon & Poalk

“On Saturday, the 12th. inst. at half past six o'clock in the evening, Dr. Benjamin Franklin's Library. This collection, besides a variety of excellent and scarce works in English, French, Italian, German, Greek, Latin, &c., contains several manuscripts, all of which will be sold without reserve. It may with propriety be observed that there never yet was sold at public sale, the library of a man so illustrious, both in the annals of America and in those of the Arts and Sciences, which he so much aggrandized. The proprietor of these books being informed that several gentlemen intend to purchase some of them, merely as the relics of a great man, and one of the Founders of the happy Government under which we prosper, pledges himself to them and to the public, that to his knowledge, not a single volume will be sold among them which has not been really once the book of Benjamin Franklin. Every information concerning the above library will with pleasure be given by the proprietor at No. 6 South Fourth street. Catalogues may be obtained the day before the sale at the bookstores of Messrs. Carey, S. Bradford, Duane, P. Byrne and Conrad.

N. G. Dufief.”

During the time that the books were in the hands of Dufief, the American Philosophical Society made several purchases. In October 1801 it bought to the amount of \$199.12, whereupon the committee was authorized to buy not to exceed \$20. more. All these were bought over the counter. On Mar. 18, 1803, just six days after the auction, there was entered on the Minutes of the Society this memorandum: “Books purchased by Mr. Vaughan at the Franklin Library sale, taken by the Society at their prices.” Vaughan was the Librarian of the Society; the books which he sold to the Society cost \$89.15. Altogether, the Society bought at the Dufief sale, 295 volumes; as it received from Franklin, as a bequest, 91 volumes of the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, it is the happy possessor of 386 volumes from the Doctor's library. My thanks are due to Dr. I. Minis Hays, the learned librarian of the Society for granting me free access to the records and library of the Society, and for his constant interest.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania now has 121 volumes of pamphlets which were once a part of Franklin's library; these were formerly the property of the Philadelphia Athenaeum which is said to have acquired them from William Duane. It is my belief that Duane got them at the Dufief sale. There are over 800 pamphlets in this collection, many of them of great interest, particularly the political ones. On the fly leaf of each volume is a Table of Contents, sometimes in the writing of Dr. Franklin, but more often in a hand that strongly resembles that of Temple Franklin. In 1846 the Athenaeum reported this collection as consisting of 148 volumes; unfortunately only 121 of these are now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the remainder having disappeared many years ago, before the collection was turned over to that Society. It is a pleasure to know that these very valuable pamphlets are now in safe hands.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has several books from Dr. Franklin's library, the titles of which Mr. Bunford Samuel has kindly given me. The Boston Public Library has a number of Franklin's books, and Mr. Otto Fleischner, late Assistant Librarian of that institution, has furnished me with the titles thereof and has with great kindness shown me the books themselves. The New York Public Library has five precious little volumes of pamphlets on the Stamp Act, full of marginal annotations by Dr. Franklin; these were acquired at the Brinley sale.

I make no reference here to books which Franklin presented to colleges, libraries and friends in his lifetime. This paper relates only to the books which he had when he died. I have not discovered any evidence that he had given away many of his books before his death.

The fact that the Doctor had no bookplate has militated against tracing his books; so has the fact that he seems to have written his name in but few of them. If he had put his name in each volume, we should find his books turning up all the time.

The character of Franklin's books was such that one would naturally suppose that the colleges then in existence would have bought freely at the Dufief sale, but no such purchases appear to have been made. I have made inquiries of the librarians of the various colleges and have been told, in each case, that the accession records do not disclose any of Franklin's books. I believe, nevertheless, that some of the Doctor's books have found their way into the libraries of several colleges; they may have been bought by alumni or other friends and presented to the institutions, without their source being recorded.

As the result of several years of research, I have ascertained the titles of 1350 of the volumes that were in Franklin's library; as the inventory discloses that he had 4276 volumes at the time of his death, much remains to be discovered. Persistent inquiries in many directions have failed to turn up any examples of Dufief's catalogue or catalogues, either manuscript or printed, and, as I have already said, Franklin's own catalogue which he mentioned in his Will, cannot be found. One may properly ask how I discovered the titles of 1350 of the volumes; the answer is, that I have examined all of the Doctor's published correspondence; the papers in the Franklin collections of the American Philosophical Society and of the Library of Congress; many unpublished letters in private collections; a long line of auction-sales catalogues; the various historical magazines and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; and other sources of information. Mr. Ernest Spofford, Assistant Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has, with his customary courtesy, permitted me to examine and catalogue the collection of pamphlets which I have described above.

The books which I have found to have been in Franklin's library consist chiefly of scientific works, travels, histories, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, the

transactions of learned societies, some classics, and a great number of pamphlets on various subjects. The Doctor was a friend of Baskerville, the famous English printer, and bought many of the books printed by him. He also had examples of the printing of Ibarra, the celebrated printer of Madrid, among them the splendid Spanish version of Sallust which was presented to him by the translator, Don Gabriel de Bourbon; he also had the famous Spanish edition of Don Quixote printed by Ibarra. The Doctor was much interested in the logographic process of printing, and corresponded with John Walter, the founder of the London Times who, for some years ran the Logographic Press. He bought many of the books which Walter printed at that press.

It may not be amiss to give a partial list of the pamphlets in the collection now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which have to do with America. I select the following:

Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War between the English and French in North America, from the Commencement of it in 1744, to the Conclusion of the Treaty at Aix la Chapelle: containing in particular an Account of the Importance of Nova Scotia or Acadie and the Island of Cape Breton to both Nations. London, MDCCLVII. (In Vol. Af. 301)

Two Papers on the Subject of Taxing the British Colonies in America. The first entitled, "Some Remarks on the most rational and effectual Means that can be used in the present conjuncture for the future Security and Preservation of the Trade of Great Britain by protecting and advancing her Settlements on the North Continent of America," the other, "A Proposal for establishing by Act of Parliament the Duties upon Stamp Paper and Parchment in all the British American Colonies." London, 1767. (Af. 307)

A Letter to G . . . G . . . Stiff in Opinions, always in the wrong. London, MDCCLXVII. (A long note in Franklin's hand has been cut off by the binder. Af. 307.)

The Case of Great Britain and America, addressed to the King and both Houses of Parliament. London, MDCCLXIX. (Has some notes in Franklin's hand. Af. 307)

Thoughts on Trade in General, Our West-Indian in Particular, Our Continental Colonies, Canada, Guadaloupe, and the

Preliminary Articles of Peace. Addressed to the Community. London, MDCCLXIII. (Af. 309)

Remarks on Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States; by an American. London, MDCCLXXXIV. (Af. 311)

Reflections upon the Present State of England, and the Independence of America. By Thomas Day. Third edition, London, 1783. (Af. 311)

L'Indépendance des Anglo-Américains Démontrée Utile à la Grande Bretagne. Lettres extrait du Journal d'Agriculture, Avril & Mai 1782. (Af. 312)

American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain; or Arguments to prove that not only in Taxation, but in Trade, Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are entitled to an entire Independency on the British Legislature; and that it can only be by a formal Declaration of these Rights, and forming thereupon a friendly League with them, that the true and lasting Welfare of both Countries can be promoted. In a Series of Letters to the Legislature. To which are added copious Notes, containing Reflections on the Boston and Quebec Acts; and a full Justification of the People of Boston, for destroying the British-taxed Tea; submitted to the Judgment, not of those who have none but borrowed Party opinions, but of the Candid and Honest . . . London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

The Pamphlet Entitled "Taxation No Tyranny," Candidly Considered, and its Arguments and Pernicious Doctrines Exposed and Refuted. London, n. d. (Af. 316)

A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson; together with some Observations on a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Shebbeare. London, MDCCLXXV. (Af. 316)

A Complaint to the . . . of . . . against a Pamphlet Intituled, A Speech intended to have been spoken on the Bill for altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. London, MDCCLXXV. (Af. 316)

A Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Present Unhappy Disputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies, wherein the Supremacy of the Former is asserted and proved; and the Necessity of compelling the Latter to pay due Obedience to the Sovereign State, is enforced, upon Principles of Sound Policy, Reason and Justice. London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

The Thoughts of a Traveller upon our American Disputes. London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

Considerations on the Sovereignty, Independence, Trade and Fisheries of New Ireland (formerly known by the name of Nova Scotia) and the adjacent Islands; submitted to the European Powers that may be engaged in settling the Terms

of Peace among the Nations at War. Published by order of the Sovereign, Free and Independent Commonwealth of New Ireland. (Title page does not give either date or place of publication. The catalogue of the New York Historical Society attributes the pamphlet to Col. A. McNutt, and says that it was printed at Philadelphia in 1780.) (Af. 323.)

The Constitution and Frame of Government of the Free and Independent State and Commonwealth of New Ireland, as prepared by the special direction of the People, for the consideration of their Convention, when met. Composed by those who are invested with proper authority for that purpose. Printed by R. Aitken for the Free and Independent State of New Ireland. n. d., [Philadelphia, 1780] (Af. 323)

Exposé des Droits des Colonies Britanniques, pour justifier le projet de leur Indépendance. Amsterdam, MDCCLXXVI. (Af. 335)

Justification de la Resistance des Colonies Américaines aux Oppressions du Gouvernement Britannique, dans une Lettre écrite de la Hollande à M . . . , Londres, Leide, MDCCLXXVI. (Af. 335)

An Account of a late Conference on the Occurrences in America. In a letter to a Friend. London, MDCCLXVI. (Af. 337 bis)

A Letter to a Great M . . . r, on the Prospect of a Peace; wherein the Demolition of the Fortifications of Louisbourg, is shewn to be absurd; the Importance of Canada fully refuted; the proper Barrier pointed out in North America; and the Reasonableness and Necessity of retaining the French Sugar Islands . . . By an Unprejudiced Observer. London, MDCCLXI. (Af. 362)

The Importance of the Colonies to Great Britain. With some Hints towards making Improvements to their mutual Advantage; and upon Trade in general. By John Rutherford of North Carolina, Esq. London, MDCCLXI. (Af. 362)

Good Humour; or a Way with the Colonies . . . London MDCCLXVI. (This has many marginal annotations in Franklin's hand. Af. 367)

A Miscellaneous Essay Concerning the Courses pursued by Great Britain in the Affairs of her Colonies; with some Observations on the Great Importance of our Settlements in America, and the Trade thereof. London, MDCCLV. (Af. 367)

The French Encroachments Exposed; or, Britain's Original Right to all that Part of the American Continent claimed by France fully asserted . . . In two Letters from a Merchant retired from business, to his Friend in London, 1756. (Af. 367)

FRANKLIN AND GALLOWAY

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

BY WILLIAM SMITH MASON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S official connection with the Pennsylvania Assembly began January 29, 1730 when he and his business partner, Hugh Meredith, were appointed to print the minutes.¹ Although the partnership with Meredith was soon dissolved Franklin continued to be the public printer of the province until 1764. He was made Clerk of the Assembly in 1736, and on August 13, 1751 became a member from Philadelphia, continuing in office until 1764. It was in recognition of his services and ability that this body appointed him colonial agent to Great Britain, February 3, 1757. During his absence from America 1757 to 1762 he was annually elected to the Assembly from Philadelphia, and on his return he again became a member succeeding the aged Isaac Norris as Speaker from May 26 until September 22, 1764.² On October 1 and 2 of this year the proprietary party which he had always bitterly opposed prevented his re-election to the House by securing a small majority for their own candidate. The popular party, however, was in the majority when the Assembly met, and on October 26, 1764 Franklin was again appointed colonial agent to Great Britain.³ Eleven years later, 1775, he was again elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but owing to the pressure of activity in the affairs of the nation

¹Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Vol. III, p. 103. (Philadelphia, B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1754).

²Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 347, 348. (Philadelphia, Henry Miller, 1775).

³Ibid., p. 383.

and on account of his age, on February 26, 1776 he asked to be excused from attending.⁴ On the day following, his resignation was accepted. The forty-six years from 1730 until 1776, during which Franklin was associated with the Pennsylvania Assembly, was a period of intense conflict between the popular and the proprietary parties. Franklin was allied with the former in this struggle and the story of his part in it, especially during the early years of this period, has never been adequately told.

There were many able men in Pennsylvania who opposed the proprietary government, but the ablest in the period from 1756 to 1776 were unquestionably Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway. When Galloway was elected to the Assembly, October 1, 1756, he was only twenty-five years of age,⁵ yet in spite of his youth was one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania bar and one of the wealthiest men of the province. At this time Franklin was the recognized leader of the popular party and a member of the two most important committees of the House, the Committee of Correspondence, and the Committee on Grievances. The French and Indian War had begun disastrously for the British who were making strenuous efforts to organize military forces to check the French and their Indian allies on the frontiers. Each colony was expected to bear its proportionate share of the burden in this war, but owing to the peculiar condition of affairs in Pennsylvania this province was unusually remiss in this respect. In the first place, the Proprietors impeded military preparations by refusing to allow their agent, Lieutenant Governor Morris, to assent to any bill to tax their lands in the same proportion as citizens' lands. The latter were naturally unwilling to pay more than their just share of the taxes. Then, too, the largest, the most influential and the richest part of Pennsyl-

⁴Votes and Proceedings, Vol. VI, p. 675. (Philadelphia, Henry Miller, 1776).

⁵The authorities differ as to the date of Galloway's birth. Some give the year 1730, others 1731. The latter date is the one given in the "Examination" edited by Balch.

vania's population were Quakers, who under the province charter, and also on account of religious scruples, claimed exemption from military service. Members of this sect not only refused to fight, but also opposed the execution of military measures. In June 1756 six Quakers in the Assembly resigned rather than support proposed military measures to which they and their constituents objected.⁶ The Quakers were also unwilling that their indentured servants should be enlisted primarily because this touched their pockets. The Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier, particularly the Delawares and the Shawanese, claimed that the Proprietors had fraudulently obtained their lands, were demanding satisfaction and in the event it was refused, threatened definitely to go over to the French. These were indeed troublous times in Pennsylvania history.

During the fall of 1756 and the first two months of 1757 Franklin and Galloway were members of various committees and began an acquaintance which continued for twenty years. November 23, 1756 they were ordered by the House to prepare a message to the Governor desiring him to lay before it the Proprietary instructions in regard to matters of legislation, and also a copy of the minutes of the conference which had been held with the Indians at Easton.⁷ On December 23, 1756 the Assembly met as a committee of the whole and "*Resolved, That for raising the Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, granted to his Majesty for the Defence of this Province, a Tax be laid and levied on all Estates, real and personal, and Taxables within the same, sufficient to raise the said Sum in one Year.*"⁸ On the following day Franklin and Galloway were appointed on a Committee of Nine to draft a bill in accordance with this resolution. January 22, 1757

⁶Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, pp. 564, 566.

⁷Ibid., p. 646.

⁸Ibid. pp. 668-669.

a bill embodying the provisions of this resolution passed the third reading and Mr. Leech and Mr. Galloway were ordered to carry it to the Governor.⁹ January 28, Franklin and Galloway were ordered by the House to wait on the Governor to desire him to affix the Great Seal to an exemplification of the supply bill and a copy of the reasons which he proposed to send to the Crown for not passing the same.¹⁰ On the same day the Assembly resolved to send a commissioner or commissioners to Great Britain to solicit a removal of grievances occasioned by the Proprietary instructions. The temper of the Assembly and its determination to secure the passage of this bill is well exemplified in its remonstrance to the Governor after his refusal to give his assent. "That though the Governor may be under Obligations to the Proprietaries, we conceive he is under greater to the Crown, and to the People he is appointed to govern; to promote the Service of the former, preserve the Rights of the latter, and to protect them from their cruel Enemies.

"We do therefore, in the Name of our most gracious Sovereign, and in Behalf of the distressed People we represent, unanimously DEMAND it of the Governor, as our Right, that he give his Assent to the Bill we now present him, for granting to his Majesty *One Hundred Thousand Pounds* for the Defence of this Province (and, as it is a Money Bill without Alteration or Amendment, any Instructions whatsoever from the Proprietaries notwithstanding) as he will answer to the Crown for all the Consequences of his Refusal at his Peril."¹¹

This strong and threatening language, however, had no effect on Governor Denny who refused to depart from his instructions. Realizing that he would not yield, the Assembly on February 3, 1757 appointed

⁹Wm. Denny succeeded Wm. Hunter Morris as Governor, August 19, 1756.

¹⁰Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 680.

¹¹The Assembly's remonstrance to the Governor, Jan. 26, 1757, Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV p. 680.

Franklin as its agent in Great Britain.¹² March 1, Galloway was one of the Committee of Eight appointed to prepare Franklin's instructions,¹³ and on April 1, he was added to the Committees of Correspondence and Aggrievances to fill the place of Franklin. These committees were the busiest and the most important ones of the Assembly and Galloway's appointment to them indicates that the members regarded him as a fit successor to Benjamin Franklin. He did in fact actually become at once the recognized leader of the anti-proprietary party after Franklin's departure for England. With the exception of the year 1764,¹⁴ he continued to be a member of the Assembly, up to the time of the Revolution and was Speaker of this body from October 14, 1766,¹⁵ to September 29, 1774.

Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway were friends during this time and each labored untiringly to effect reforms in the colonial administration of Pennsylvania. Their printed correspondence covers the period from 1767 to 1775 but includes no letters before 1767. The years from 1757 to 1767, covered by their unpublished correspondence in our possession were exciting times in Pennsylvania history, and it is on the events which transpired during this decade that this correspondence sheds many interesting side-lights. When Franklin was sent to France in 1776 he left with Galloway a trunk which contained all of his correspondence while he was in England. These letters were lost after Galloway deserted to the British side in 1777.¹⁶ Franklin's writings indicate that he was never able to recover all of them. Writing to his son-in-law, Richard Bache, Passy, September 13, 1781

¹²Isaac Norris was also named but on account of old age and ill health refused to serve.

¹³Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 700.

¹⁴October 1 and 2, 1764 both Franklin and Galloway were defeated in elections for the Assembly through the efforts of the Proprietary party.

¹⁵See Votes and Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 498; Vol. VI, p. 543.

¹⁶Included among these lost letters were many to correspondents other than Galloway.

he expresses his concern for their recovery: "Among my Papers in the Trunk, which I unhappily left in the Care of Mr. Galloway, were eight or ten quire or 2-quire Books, of rough Drafts of my Letters, containing all my Correspondence, when in England, for near twenty years. I shall be very sorry, if they too are lost. Do not you think it possible, by going up into that Country, and enquiring a little among the Neighbours, you might possibly hear of, and recover some of them. . . . As he was a Friend of my Son's, to whom in my Will I had left all my Books and Papers, I made him one of my Executors, and put the Trunk of Papers into his Hands, imagining them safer in his House¹⁷ (which was out of the way of any probable March of the enemies' Troops) than in my own. It was very unlucky."¹⁸

Again writing to his son, William, Passy, August 16, 1784 Franklin indicates that he had not yet recovered his correspondence and gives us more information regarding the contents of the lost trunk. He says, "On my leaving America, I deposited with that Friend for you, a Chest of Papers, among which was a Manuscript of nine or ten Volumes, relating to Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce, Finance, etc., which cost me in England about 70 Guineas; eight Quire Books, containing the Rough Drafts of all my Letters while I liv'd in London. These are missing. I hope you have got them, if not they are lost."¹⁹

Four years later he wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Partridge, Philadelphia, November 25, 1788: "By one of the Accidents which War occasions, all my Books containing Copies of my letters were lost. There were Eight Volumes of them, and I have been able to recover only two. Those are of later Date than the Trans-

¹⁷At "Trevose," Galloway's estate in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

¹⁸The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, ed. by Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), Vol. VIII, pp. 304-305.

¹⁹Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 253.

action you²⁰ mention and therefore can contain nothing relating to it."²¹ From this letter, the last in which he mentions his lost correspondence it would appear that Franklin never recovered the letters bearing dates prior to 1756. The first letter to Galloway in Smyth is that of June 13, 1767. The first in our collection bears the date April 11, 1757 and was written at New York while Franklin was waiting for a conference with Lord Loudoun. About June 3, 1757 he sailed from New York and arrived in England July 26, 1757.²² The first letter to Galloway from London in our possession is that of February 17, 1758. The correspondence continues to February 6, 1772 containing also letters after 1767 not in Smyth's edition of Franklin's Writings. Among the letters recently come to light are a number not only to Galloway but to other correspondents which are especially important in giving a better understanding of the problems of Pennsylvania colonial history from 1757 to 1760. The contents of some of the more important of these will be given in this paper.

From the constitutional viewpoint of American colonial history the Smith-Moore Affair is significant because the King and Privy Council by the decision in the case definitely forbade a colonial assembly to exercise certain powers and privileges of the House of Commons. It also well illustrates the bitterness of the struggle and the conflict of the claims of the colonial and the proprietary parties, and to what lengths each side went to achieve a victory over the other. More

²⁰The "Transaction" here referred to was the transfer of the Boston post-office to Mrs. John Franklin after the death of her husband, Benjamin Franklin's brother, January 1756. Mrs. Elizabeth Partridge (née Hubbard) was the daughter of Mrs. John Franklin by a former marriage.

²¹Franklin, *op. cit.* Vol. IX, p. 684. This letter is in reply to a letter of Mrs. Partridge, Boston, Nov. 12, 1788. See Calendar of the Franklin Papers in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. III, p. 382. She requests Franklin to send her a copy of a letter which he wrote when he transferred the post-office to her mother. Franklin thinks perhaps she has reference to another letter, probably the one to Miss E. Hubbard, Philadelphia, February 23, 1756, Smyth, Vol. III, pp. 329, 330.

²²*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 419, Letter to Mrs. Deborah Franklin.

than anything else it clearly illustrates the inability of the British government to appreciate and to cope with the colonial situation. June 20, 1756, an extract of a letter signed W. Smith which appeared in the London Evening Advertiser No. 334 from Saturday, April 17, to Tuesday, April 20, 1756 was laid before the House.²³ After spending some time in considering this letter a resolution was passed, "That the said Extract of a Letter contains divers wicked Calumnies against Numbers of sober and valuable Inhabitants of this Province, and likewise most infamous, libellous, false and scandalous Assertions against the two Branches of the Legislature of this Province." It was suggested at this time that the author was probably Reverend William Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, inasmuch as the letter which appeared in the London newspaper indicated that it was written at Philadelphia, February 23, 1756. The Pennsylvania House ordered the Speaker to issue an order to the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring Smith before the bar of the House at five in the afternoon the same day, to answer certain questions.

"1. Whether he had wrote any Letter, dated on or about the Twenty-third of *February*, 1756, or at any other Time, of which, from the Tenor thereof, the Paper now read to him could be an Extract?

Answ. *'Tis not to be supposed that I can be prepared to answer this House, whether I have wrote any Letter, on or about the 23d of February, 1756, or at any other Time, of which, from the Tenor thereof, the Paper referred to could be an Extract; as the Question, in my Opinion, supposes that I can remember the Tenor of all the Letters I have wrote.*

2 Q. Whether, to the best of his Memory, he did, or did not, write any such Letter, on or about the Date specified in the first Question, or at any other Time?

Answ. *I do not conceive that I ought to charge my Memory with any Thing of that Nature; nor do I conceive that I am obliged in Law to make any other Answer than what I have already done.*

And the House not thinking it necessary to ask the said *Smith* any more Questions at this Time, he was ordered to

²³Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 577. This Extract was probably sent to the Assembly from England by Pennsylvania's colonial agents, Robert Charles and Richard Partridge.

withdraw. But he having before he went desired that he might have a Copy of the Questions which the Speaker had asked him, and his Answers thereto, also a Copy of the Order to the Sergeant at Arms for bringing him to the Bar of the House, the Clerk was directed to make out the said Copies, and deliver them to him accordingly.

The House taking into Consideration the Answers given by the said *William Smith*, to the Questions put to him by the Speaker, unanimously

Resolved That the said Answers are trifling and evasive, and plainly indicate him to be the Author of the "*Extract of a Letter from a Correspondent at Philadelphia, dated February 23, 1756,*" which was published in the *Evening Advertiser*, No. 334."²⁴

Being busy with other matters of greater importance at this time the Assembly ordered Smith dismissed. His challenge to the members to the effect that they had no right in law to bring him before them in a matter of this nature, however, was not forgotten.

On November 24, 1756, the Assembly received three petitions against the offensive and oppressive proceedings of a certain William Moore, Esq., a Justice of the Peace and President of the Common Pleas Court of Chester County.²⁵ Moore was an appointee of the Proprietors, and the numerous petitions against his extortionate and illegal practices at length roused the Assembly to investigate the charges against him. On April 1, 1757, Joseph Galloway was appointed to take Franklin's place on the Committee of Grievances.²⁶ He at once began to investigate the charges contained in numerous petitions against Moore which had hitherto been read and tabled. On the same day that Galloway received his appointment to the aforementioned committee the House resolved to hold an investigation and ordered the Clerk to inform Moore of its resolution to inquire into the justice of the complaints against him at its next session. The Clerk was also ordered to inform the latter that he might obtain

²⁴Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 578.

²⁵Ibid., p. 648.

²⁶Ibid., p. 706.

copies of the petitions upon payment of the cost of transcribing them.

On August 17, 1757, a number of petitioners having received notice from the Clerk appeared before the Assembly. The hearing on this occasion, however, was deferred until August 21, Moore also being given notice of the postponement. A hearing was not held on the 21st but on the 25th when Moore did not appear as he had been directed.²⁷ Since he was known to be in Philadelphia the Clerk was ordered to give him and the petitioners notice to appear before the House at four in the afternoon the same day. When Moore appeared according to the order he presented a memorial which was read. He contended as Smith had previously done that the Assembly had no jurisdiction over him. He was unprepared to defend himself at this time although he had been given ample notice, but the House postponed the further hearing of his case until September 1.

William Smith after his appearance before the Assembly, June 20, 1756, again incurred the displeasure of the members by intermeddling in the disputed election in Northampton County.²⁸ Mr. Vernon, one of the Assembly mentioned, having received a letter from Smith relative to this election was ordered to deliver this to the Speaker, December 9, 1756. On March 3, 1757 Nathaniel Vernon placed in the Speaker's hands the letter he had received from Smith. The letter was in the latter's handwriting but this name was torn off.²⁹ On September 1, when the extended hearing was to be held Moore was purposely absent.³⁰ After further hearings the Assembly, September 28, sent an address to the Governor requesting that Moore be removed from his public

²⁷Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 735.

²⁸Mr. Jones and Mr. Plumsted were the rival claimants; the latter being inclined to serve the Assembly's interests was allowed the seat.

²⁹Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 700.

³⁰Ibid., p. 738.

offices. This address was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published by David Hall, Benjamin Franklin's business partner. Governor Denny in reply to this address refused to remove him until he examined evidence as to his guilt and the copies of the petitions against him.³¹ These papers were ordered transcribed September 30. In answer to the Assembly's address Moore presented one of his own to Denny, October 19, 1757, which was also printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. David Hall had received permission from the Speaker and several members of the Assembly to do so. Moore's address was also printed in William Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal* and Smith secured for Moore its translation and insertion in the German newspaper "*Philadelphische Zeitung von allerhand Auswärtig-und einheimischen merkwürdigen Sachen,*" printed by Anthony Armbrüster.

The subsequent Assembly whose personnel was practically the same as the retired body considered that this address contained, "many injurious charges and slanderous aspersions against the conduct of the late Assembly, and highly derogatory of, and destructive to, the Rights of this, and the Privileges of Assembly . . ." The Speaker was ordered to issue a warrant to the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring Moore to the House and also William Smith, who was suspected of being concerned in the writing of this. Thomas Bond, Dr. Phineas Bond, Michael Lovell, Robert Levers, David Hall and William Bradford were called to the Assembly and were separately examined.

The House was convinced after these examinations that William Smith had aided Moore in the preparation of the latter's address to the Governor. Governor Denny had appointed January 9, 1758, as the day for the hearing of Moore's case in the Council Chamber at the State House. Moore was unable to be present having been arrested and placed in the custody of the

³¹Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, pp. 749, 750.

Sergeant-at-Arms. On January 6, the Assembly, however, claimed that it had no notice of Denny's proposed hearing of the case and requested the Governor to hold a hearing on articles of impeachment, but this the Governor claimed he had no authority in the charter to do. Moore was examined in regard to his authorship of the address on January 11. He admitted that he was the author and that his friends to whom he had shown it had made suggestions which had perhaps influenced him to make certain alterations, but maintained that the address was in the main his own production. His refusal to answer to petitions against him of January 10 and his bold statement that "The House had no Cognizance in such Matters,"³² aroused the anger of the members. He was immediately found "guilty of an high Contempt to the Authority of this House" and "committed to the common Gaol of the County of *Philadelphia*." The sheriff was futhermore ordered not to obey a writ of Habeas Corpus or any other writ or to discharge him on any pretence whatsoever.³³

On January 13, Reverend William Smith was brought before the House. He was informed by the Speaker that he was charged with being a promoter and abettor of the writing and publishing of a libel. He desired a copy of the charge, counsel and time to prepare his defence. These requests were granted and January 17 was the day appointed for his trial. He desired Mr. Chew, the Attorney-General, as his counsel, but the House thought that since Mr. Chew was the King's attorney that Smith ought not to be permitted "to depend singly on the Attorney-General" but ought to get other counsel. Mr. Ross finally appeared as Smith's counsel at the trial. An endeavor was made to secure evidence to show that the manuscript of Moore's address contained Smith's hand-

³²Votes and Proceedings, Vol. IV, p. 768.

³³This order was never formally issued to the sheriff. Franklin to Thomas Leach, London, May 13, 1758, Mason Library No. 216.

writing. At length, January 24, after considering all the evidence and the testimony of numerous witnesses the House "*Resolved*, by a great Majority, That the said *William Smith* is guilty of promoting and publishing the libellous Paper, entitled, *The Address of William Moore to Governor Denny*."³⁴ On the following day the Speaker signed and delivered to the sheriff an order of the House to take Smith into custody. The Sergeant-at-Arms was also ordered to deliver "an additional Charge to the Sheriff respecting the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, if the same should come to his Hands, as before given him in the Case of *William Moore*."³⁵ Smith's counsel desired the privilege to appeal his case to the King and Council but the Assembly denied this request. Smith, however, in a letter to the Speaker, January 30, 1758, notified the House of his determination to lay his case before the King.³⁶

After his arrest by the Sergeant-at-Arms, January 6, 1758, Smith was kept in confinement until the 25th and then placed in the Philadelphia gaol, where he remained until about April 11, being then liberated by order of the Supreme Court. On September 27, the Assembly again ordered that he be apprehended and he was again placed in confinement, but in some way secured his release, for the new Assembly, November 18 again ordered his arrest.³⁷ Moore was acquitted in a hearing before the Provincial Council, August 26, 1758, and although the Assembly ordered him to be arrested on September 27, and again November 18, he does not seem to have been apprehended.

After the warrant for his arrest was issued in November, Smith decided to appeal his case to the King. He arrived in London, January 1, 1759, and immediately got in touch with the Bishop of London

³⁴Votes and Proceedings. Vol. IV, p. 777.

³⁵Ibid., p. 782. This charge to the sheriff was never delivered by the Sergeant-at-Arms. See Mason Library, No. 216.

³⁶Ibid. p. 784.

³⁷Ibid., Vol. V, p. 5.

and other churchmen,³⁸ and also with the chief proprietor, Thomas Penn. Smith submitted his appeal to the Crown in April, 1758 and his case was immediately referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General. Franklin's letter to Galloway, April 7, 1759,³⁹ indicates how closely he was observing every move of Smith and his plans to thwart him in his appeal to the Attorney and Solicitor-General for a report on this case. "Smith (now we talk of Libellers) is here, dancing Attendance on the Att^y and Soll^r. Gen^l. to obtain a Report. They are very unwilling to make one, but perhaps may at length be teas'd into it by Paris,⁴⁰ who is a most malicious and inveterate Enemy to our Province. I have reason to believe, however, that if they censure any Thing in the Conduct of the Assembly, it will be Modes and not Essentials: But of this I cannot yet be certain; and am determin'd to renew the Contest in a Hearing before the Council, if the Report appears likely to prejudice our Privileges. This may perhaps keep Smith longer on Expence to his Supporters with you than they will care to bear, tho' 'tis said they have subscrib'd largely: He represents himself as a Clergyman persecuted by Quakers, for the Services done the Church in opposing and exposing those sectaries, and in that Light a Bishop recommended him to Oxford for a Degree of Doctor of Divinity, which it seems he has obtain'd; and if he can get a Benefice here, as possibly he may, it is not unlikely he will desert poor Philad^a. and by removing his Candlestick leave the Academy in the Dark."

The Moore-Smith affair caused much interest in Great Britain. Moore's Memorial and Address were published there to create an unfavorable public opinion of the Assembly in Pennsylvania. Franklin

³⁸On the recommendations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and five other bishops, Smith was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Oxford, March 27, 1759.

³⁹Mason Library No. 226.

⁴⁰Paris was the legal adviser of the Penns.

in a letter to Galloway, London, February 17, 1758,⁴¹ says, "As the extraordinary Lower-County Speech & Address has been published here, where never appeared before any Proceedings of that Government, it is plainly done by the Proprietary Tools to continue the Prejudices against the Province." Moore was an appointee of the Proprietors⁴² and had a brother in the House of Commons, facts which explain his bold tone towards the Assembly. He felt himself secure against this body due to these connections. Smith also was much in the same position only he had the additional support of the Church of England. Both denied the right of the Assembly to try and imprison them for libel and this body plainly asserted that it had this right. The ablest exponent of the Assembly's rights was the brilliant young lawyer, Joseph Galloway, who vigorously prosecuted the case against Smith.

Soon after Franklin arrived in England July, 1757, he endeavored to treat with the Proprietors with reference to the removal of the many grievances complained of by the citizens of Pennsylvania. What progress he made and the attitude of the Proprietors in these matters is told by him in a letter to Isaac Norris, dated London, January 19, 1759,⁴³ "When I first began to treat with the Proprietors, they desired I would put down in Writing the principal Points of Complaint which were to be the Subjects of Conference between us, that they might previously consider them. I accordingly deliver'd them the Paper herewith enclos'd, called *Heads of Complaint*, in which I confin'd myself to those that related chiefly to his Majesty's Service and the Defense of the Province, as being of more immediate Importance, and omitted the Appointment of Judges during Pleasure, and some

⁴¹Mason Library No. 207.

⁴²The chief proprietor, Thomas Penn who owned about three-fourths of the proprietary lands joined the Church of England in 1758. The other proprietors, Richard and John Penn ceased to be strict Quakers.

⁴³Mason Library No. 229.

other things, as Points that might afterwards come into Discussion, if we could by any means get over the former.

“This Paper was deliver’d in August 1757: They receiv’d it with Pretensions to great Candour and real Intention of seriously considering it and giving a speedy Answer. We had several subsequent Conferences on those Heads . . . The Result was, that they said there were some Points in which the Royal Prerogative was concern’d, and it was therefore necessary, for the greater Safety in Proceeding, to have the Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General. This they would endeavour to obtain as soon as possible, having already stated a Case and laid it before those Gentlemen for their Consideration.

“The Reason given for declining any farther Treaty with me, to wit, ‘That I had acknowledged a Want of Power to conclude proper Measures,’ is of a Piece with the rest: The Truth is, I did refuse to take upon me to settle a Money Bill with the Proprietors, as having no Power to do an Act of that kind that should be obligatory on the Assembly, for that they neither had given nor could give me such a Power, it being no less than giving me a Power of making Laws for the Province; a Power which, tho’ the Assembly are trusted with by the People, they cannot delegate to another. But I never acknowledged any want of Power to treat and confer with them, and to endeavour accommodating the Differences with them agreeable to my Instructions. They say they have now wrote to the Assembly, and it is given out, that their Proposals to the House are so fair, that it is not doubted they will be agreed to. I wish you may find them so. In the meantime, tho’ I am advis’d to make no Application to Parliament till I hear farther from the House, yet I shall immediately permit the Publishing a Work that has been long in hand, containing a true History of our Affairs & Disputes;⁴⁴ from which I have reason to hope a good

⁴⁴The “Work” here referred to is “An Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania” (London, 1759).

Effect, if those Disputes must at length come under the Consideration of the Legislature.

“Seven or eight Months after the Heads of Complaint were delivered to the Proprietors, M^r Paris came to me with a Message from them, purporting ‘that it was M^r Charles’s⁴⁵ Fault they had not yet obtain’d the Attorney & Solicitor’s Opinion, he, M^r Charles restraining the Attorney by means of a retaining Fee, formerly given him, which M^r Charles would not take back again tho’ desired so to do by the Attorney, and until that was done, the Attorney did not think himself at Liberty to consider M^r Penns Case.’ Speaking to M^r Charles of this, he told me, that on hearing of my coming over, before my Arrival, he had retain’d the Attorney General in Behalf of the Province, and he did not think it consistent with his Duty to the Province to withdraw that Retainer. In which I thought him right. The Proprietors might either have got their Advice elsewhere; or, which would have been the fairest Way, have agreed with me on a joint State of the Case, to be laid before those Gentlemen in Behalf of all Parties concern’d: But they would never so much as let me see the Case they had stated

“Upon the whole, the House will see, that if they purpose to continue Treating with the Proprietors, it will be necessary to recall me and appoint another Person or Persons for that Service, who are likely to be more acceptable or more pliant than I am, or, as the Proprietors express it, Persons of Candour. Whether my Conduct towards them, or theirs towards me, had exhibited most or least of that Quality, I must submit to my Judges. But if the House, grown at length sensible of the Danger, to the Liberties of the People, necessarily arising from such growing Power and Property in one Family with such Principles, shall think it expedient to have the Government and Pro-

⁴⁵Robert Charles was one of Pennsylvania’s colonial agents.

perty in different Hands, and for that purpose shall desire that the Crown would take the Province into its immediate Care, I believe that Point might without much Difficulty be carried, and our Privileges preferred; and in that I think I could still do Service."

With the Assembly's permission Franklin then began to take steps to get the Crown to take over Pennsylvania as a Royal Province.⁴⁶ This greatly enraged the Proprietors who lost no opportunity which might present itself to place the Assembly and the citizens of Pennsylvania in an unfavorable light before the British Government. Smith's case gave them this opportunity and they immediately came to his support as is shown by their causing Moore's "Memorial" and "Address" to be published.

The hearing on Smith's petition before the Attorney and Solicitor-General occurred on the evening of April 17, 1758. Paris, who was employed as the legal adviser of the Penns, was Solicitor for the petitioners. Mr. Wilbraham and Mr. Forrester acted as his counsel. These lawyers tried to make it appear that Smith had incurred the displeasure of Quakers by promoting measures for defence in Pennsylvania. Franklin writes,⁴⁷ "Much of their Pleading was Invective against the Assembly as Quakers, the Rest to show that they had erected themselves into a Court of Justice, without any Authority so to do, and that they ap'd the House of Commons tho' they had not the Powers of that House; that by presuming to order the Sheriff to disobey the King's Writ, they were guilty of a high and most flagitious Attempt against the Royal Authority, &c. and ending with praying that the King might be advis'd to issue his Mandate for the Discharge of the Prisoner. They took up the whole Evening with their Harangues; so that Day Se'nnight⁴⁸ was appointed for the Hearing of our Council in Reply."

⁴⁶Franklin to Galloway, London, Feb. 17, 1758. Mason Library No. 207.

⁴⁷Franklin to Thomas Leach, London, May 13, 1758. Mason Library No. 216.

⁴⁸The same evening one week thereafter.

On the evening of April 24 Solicitor Joshua Sharpe assisted by counsels Parrot and De Grey presented the Assembly's side of the case. They argued that the House by implication possessed the right in the Pennsylvania Charter to try and to commit for breach of privilege; that these powers were inherent in any legislative body and that they always had been exercised by Assemblies in America.⁴⁹ Paris, solicitor for the petitioner, maintained that an Act anno 4 Queen Anne⁵⁰ upon which the Assembly based its claims to the powers in question had never been presented to the Crown and that therefore they never existed. Franklin later discovered that this act had been regularly passed in Pennsylvania and had never been disapproved by the Board of Trade. In a letter to Norris he writes,⁵¹ "While we were attending in one of the Chambers belonging to the Board of Trade, & were allow'd to search in the Press, containing the Plantation Acts, for the New England Indian Trade Laws to show their Lordships, my Son cast his Eye on the manuscript Volumes of old Pennsylvania Laws formerly transmitted home for Approbation, and found in the Vol. mark'd *Pensylv^a Laws from 1701 to 1709*, the Law of the 4th of [sic:] Queen Anne, to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly & regulate Elections, properly certify'd by the then Governor,⁵² & Secretary Logan⁵³ . . . —I saw them—"

The appeal of Smith's case to England caused the agencies of the British government to take a definite stand in their attitude towards the colonies. Franklin in a letter to Isaac Norris, March 19, 1759⁵⁴ quotes Lord Granville, the President of the Privy Council as saying to him that, "The Council is *over all*

⁴⁹Franklin supplied the counsel with cases to substantiate this claim.

⁵⁰See "The Charters of the Province of Pensylvania and City of Philadelphia," (Phila., printed by B. Franklin, 1742, p. 72.)

⁵¹Franklin to Isaac Norris, London, June 9, 1759. Mason Library No. 223.

⁵²Governor Evans.

⁵³James Logan, the Governor's Secretary.

⁵⁴Mason Library No. 225.

the Colonies; your last Resort is to the Council to decide your Differences, and you must be sensible it is for your Good, for otherwise you often could not obtain Justice. The King in Council is the LEGISLATOR of the Colonies; and when his Majesty's Instructions come there, they are the LAW OF THE LAND; *they are*, said his L—p, repeating it, *the Law of the Land*, and as such *ought to be OBEYED.*' The whole of this Conversation was curious, of which, if I live to have the Pleasure of seeing you again, I will show you the Minutes; they are too long for a Letter. L—d Hardwicke, is next at the Council Board; than whom no one is suppos'd to be for carrying the Prerogative higher in all Respects even on this side the Water; all his Actions they say, on all Occasions, have shown this; and he makes little less Scruple than the President in declaring his Opinions of this kind. These two govern at that Board, so that one may easily conjecture what Reception a Petition concerning Privileges from the Colonies may meet with from those who are known to think that even the People of England have too many. —As to the Board of Trade, you know who presides and governs all there,⁵⁵ and if his Sentiments were no otherways to be known, the fruitless Experiment he has try'd at the Nation's Cost, of a military Government for a Colony, sufficiently shows what he thinks would be best for us. The Speaker of the House, indeed, is look'd on as a stanch Friend to Liberty; and so is the Sec^{ry} M^r. Pitt; the Att^y Gen^l. is likewise *inclin'd* to that Side in all Questions, tho' the Nature of his Office requires him to be something of a Prerogative Man; but M^r Yorke the Soll^f. Gen^l. who is L. H—'s *Son* is wholly and strongly tinctur'd with high Notions of the Prerogative, imbib'd from his Father, and may be said to be dy'd in grain.⁵⁶

“From this Sketch of Leading Characters, you will judge, that if the Proprietor does not agree with us, our

⁵⁵Lord Halifax was President of the Board of Trade.

⁵⁶Charles Yorke (1722-1770), the Solicitor-General was Lord Hardwicke's second son.

best Chance in an Application is directly to Parliament; and yet that at this Time is something hazardous, for tho' there are many Members in both Houses who are Friends to Liberty and of noble Spirits, yet a good deal of Prejudice still prevails against the Colonies, the Courtiers think us not sufficiently obedient"

The attitude of the Privy Council towards the Parliament and the position of the Attorney and Solicitor General is shown in the following paragraph of the same letter: "Smith is here, and by the Help of Paris worries the Att^y and Soll^r. Gen^l. for a Report on his Case, who did not intend to make any. The Att^y. is greatly perplex'd, angry with the Council for referring the Affair to them and with Smith for urging a Report; He has open'd his Mind to a Friend of mine on this Head; says, 'the Council he knows are for Clipping the Wings of Assemblies in their Claims of all the Privileges of a House of Commons; the House of Commons are thought to claim too many, some very unfit and unreasonable, and not for the common Good; but the Council have let the Colonies go on so long in this Way that it will now be difficult to restrain them; and the Council would now make the Att^y and Soll^r. the first Instruments of so odious a Measure; that they (the Council) should have carried it into Parliament, but they are afraid the Parliament would establish more Liberty in the Colonies than is proper or necessary, and therefore do not care the Parliament should meddle at all with the Government of the Colonies; they rather chuse to carry every Thing there by the *Weight of Prerogative*; which by Degrees may bring Things to a proper Situation. Most Att^y. Gen^{ls}. (he said) would immediately do what they knew would be pleasing to the Council; but he could not: He must however make some kind of Report.' This is the Substance of his Discourse to my Friend, who communicated it to me with Leave to mention it to you and the Committee, as it contains some Hints that are of Importance, but it is to go no farther. —It is some

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