

The Berkshire Republican Library at Stockbridge, 1794-1818

BY HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

STOCKBRIDGE? You think at once of a delightful Berkshire village, of people as charming as its mountain scenery, of Jonathan Edwards and all the Edwards clan, of the Fields and something of what they have done, the Dwights, the Sedgwicks and Sergeants, the Choate family, Matthew Arnold and other visitors. Plenty of memories of Stockbridge people, Stockbridge things, Stockbridge institutions.

So far as I recall, however, no one has thought of Stockbridge as home of one of the earliest—if not the very earliest—libraries in western Massachusetts.

Just the other day it took its place as the site of a society library, as they called it then, or a proprietary or subscription library as we say nowadays, flourishing from the early nineties of the eighteenth century for three decades, only to vanish with little trace in memory or record.

Tantalizing glimpses have been given us now and then, enough to show that something must have happened, but far from enough to let us know just what it was, or how long it lasted, or what it all had to tell us.

We long have known that when David Dudley Field issued his *History of the County of Berkshire* at Pittsfield in 1829 he told how "A public library which had existed several years, was sold in 1822. A juvenile library was formed in 1826, and contains about 160 volumes." Curious, is it not, that only seven years after this sale and after this stoppage he had been content to sketch it all in such general terms! "Which had existed several years." No effort apparently to get to the cradle years, to learn who started it, why it died. Just twelve words for the statement of facts, an incident worth mention but demanding little more attention.

Then in 1854 Miss Electa F. Jones saw Samuel Bowles print at Springfield her *Stockbridge, Past and Present*, and in this book she carried the story a little further back with word that "A public Library was formed about 1790, which continued in circulation until 1822, when it was sold at auction, and purchased generally by owners of shares."

Nothing more for half a century, when there came another glimpse through the veil with the announcement by Richard Rogers Bowker, president of the Stockbridge Library, at the annual meeting of the association, Stockbridge, September 30, 1905, that a few weeks earlier, in August, there had been found in the library a manuscript notebook with "The Constitution of the Stockbridge Library Society," dated December 15, 1789. This gave little more information than that twenty-five Stockbridge residents had each subscribed one share in a subscription library for Stockbridge, but what happened after that could only be guessed at.

The text of that notebook is printed in full here as Appendix B. I believe you will agree with me that it is significant of the time and the people it belonged to. The movement it represents was undoubtedly connected closely with the later effort. Just why the Stockbridge Library Society left no more tangible results than this Constitution of 1789 is surely an invitation and a challenge to speculation and surmise, even to further study and investigation. Solution, however, must wait for more evidence.

Wider view of and longer acquaintance with another Stockbridge library came this summer, thirty-five years later, when Mr. Bernhard Hoffmann of Stockbridge presented to The New York Public Library a collection of papers and reports of the Berkshire Republican Library covering the years 1793 to 1818. Though far from complete, they give an enlightening glimpse of the hopes and dreams of readers and users of books in western Massachusetts just a little more than sixty years after Franklin had started at Philadelphia what he called the "mother of all the North American subscription libraries."

It was in 1731, as you remember, that he gathered his first

group of less than fifty fellow workmen to start a library by subscriptions of 2*l* and by annual payments of 10*s*. Newport and Charleston, Providence and New York followed Philadelphia in the next decade or two, and the "social library" or "society library" spread well to the north and south. Horace Scudder recorded thirteen by 1776 in his historical study prefixed to the report on libraries issued by the Bureau of Education in 1876. Of these the Bay State (with its District of Maine) had five—at Salem, Leominster, Hingham, Portland and Kittery—with two others close at hand in Newport and Providence.

Following a lead here and a clue there I gathered notes about social libraries flourishing in this general period in various Massachusetts towns. Those notes proved to be not without interest, but as they are only collateral so far as concerns this Stockbridge library it seemed best to set them down here as Appendix A. They are suggestive, far from complete or exhaustive, but may serve as a take-off for another adventurer along this path.

An attractive picture—would that it showed fewer breaks and gaps—is set before us by this group of Stockbridge papers. When we get our first glimpse the movement is in full swing, active and vigorous, though scarcely mature. Its unanswered questions come early and stay to the very end.

As the century drew near its close Stockbridge stood in its sixties, well past youth for a frontier settlement but hopelessly young as compared with the towns of the Bay region or the nearer Connecticut valley.

Who started this Berkshire Republican Library, and how and why? So far as I know there was then in Stockbridge no Samuel Sewell or Philip Hone to give us the details in his diary, no Horace Walpole to tell the tale in his letters, no Ezra Stiles annalist to sketch the skeleton outlines of the early days. Does "Republican" show an enthusiasm for the tricolor unfolding on the banks of the Seine? Or does it mark Stockbridge sympathies with Republicans or Democrats in contrast to Federalists?

I am quite as unable to answer these questions as to say when the library came to an end, or why it died. 1818 is the latest date

covered by these papers, but the Library had life enough in 1822 to advertise an auction sale of "about 150 volumes of books belonging to" it on May 29 of that year, apparently the throes of death. Had the founding fathers been gathered to their reward, and did the younger generation choose to follow other gods? Did the interest in books and reading give way to the spell of the westward movement? Or was there some other reason?

A flood of questions sweeps before us. I can answer but few. The movement must have been well under way in 1794. The first books were bought in New York City, shipped up the North River to Kinderhook and thence overland to Stockbridge. The books were welcomed, reading was increased "among all ranks and denominations," a useful course was run by the library for at least two decades. When these records break off they cannot fail to raise the wonder when and why the end came to the library, how long it lasted, why it escaped so completely any notice in Stockbridge annals.

Its troubles, if troubles it had, scarcely seem to have been financial. Most of the shareholders paid promptly, a few, to be sure, in default. Annual contributions were met with general regularity—not complete, of course, but the failures were not vital. So too with the fines. Income surpassed outgo every year except two, and then in but slight amounts.

Who were the prime movers, and who stoked the fires? No complete record in these papers. Shareholders numbered 173 at the start, with 125 as the initiation fee. New shares are sold from time to time, usually at \$2.00 a share. Now and then we get a glimpse of names when lists of unpaid fines are set down or arrearages are recorded. It is tantalizing to get only this far in running down the men and women willing then to start this new venture and to carry it on for twenty years and more.

How many books did they have and what subjects were covered? A printed catalogue is mentioned once or twice, but if actually issued I cannot tell when or where it was printed, nor what it recorded. An occasional title is mentioned now and then as a new purchase or as calling for repair. One bill for books

bought in 1806 has come down to us and is properly enlightening. Some twenty-four titles (eighty volumes) were sold at vendue in Lenox in 1803, and we fortunately have a record of titles sold, prices fetched, buyers. No word, however, as to whether they were sold as duplicates or as unwanted and unappreciated treasures. Even if fuller lists would help answer these questions, we ought to be grateful for this insight into the holdings of those distant days.

These manuscripts, as I said, carry the record into 1818, noting April 24 in routine fashion as the date for the annual meeting of that year. The *Berkshire Star* for March 23 called a meeting on April 8 at the inn of J. Hicks. The *Star* for April 23 prints a notice that the meeting of April 8 was adjourned to Friday, April 24, at 2 p.m. when "a general attendance is requested as there is business of importance to be transacted."

Whether or how that important business was settled the available records fail to show. The call for the meeting of April 7, 1819, was dated March 22 and appeared in the *Star* for March 25, April 1, April 8. The records at hand tell nothing beyond these bare facts for this year and those following until 1822.

Then a meeting was called for April 4 (apparently or possibly a special meeting) at Mr. Hicks' tavern (advertisement in *Berkshire Star*, April 4, 1822). In the newspaper for April 18 is a notice, dated April 10, for a meeting at the Hicks' house on April 27. Nothing more until May when the papers for May 16, 23, print the call of May 13 for a meeting on May 25, an adjourned meeting "for the transaction of important business."

Above this call appears the following:

BOOK AUCTION

About 150 volumes of books belonging to the Stockbridge Library, will be sold at Public Vendue at Hicks' Inn in Stockbridge, on Wednesday, the 29th of May inst. at one o'clock P.M. The Books are such as have been selected for the use of the Library, and among them are many valuable works, in sacred and profane history, and theology; and many valuable miscellaneous works, &c. There are many of them in a good condition, and all such books as would be useful, either in a public or

private library. Two sets of Hunter's Sacred Biography will be sold: this valuable work ought to be in every town library. Stockbridge, May 13th, 1822.

The auction notice alone was printed in the issue for May 30, 1822.

And there you have in briefest form a summary of the career of this Stockbridge library. More detailed glimpses of daily life will be gleaned from the longer quotations or analyses that follow.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION

First let me set forth the form of organization as shown by the bylaws of 1808, revised from an earlier date but here in the only form that has come down to us:

The Directors of the B. R. Library appointed a Committee to make a digest of the Bye Laws for governing the Proprietors of said Library ask leave to report the following (viz)

- Article 1st. Each share shall entitle the owner to have out two volumes at a time & no more.
- 2d. The Library shall be open for taking out and returning Books every Saturday afternoon (except quarterly days) three hours next preceding sunset.
- 3d. Any Book may be kept out four weeks (unless one of the quarterly Library Days intervenes) and no longer.
- 4th. The Last Saturdays in June, September, December and March shall be quarterly Library days, when all the books of the Library shall be returned two hours before sunset (except the quarterly day in March when they shall be returned before sunset) under the penalty of seventeen cents for an Octavo or book of a larger size, and seventeen cents a week afterwards until returned, & twelve cents for a book of smaller size than an Octavo & 12 Cents per week afterwards. And no Book shall be delivered out by the Librarian on any quarterly day untill two hours before sunset, and none till one week after the quarterly day in March.
- 5th. If a book is not returned before, or on the fourth Library day after it is taken out, the Proprietor who took it out, shall forfeit & pay seventeen cents for an Octavo or book of a larger size, and seventeen cents a week afterwards, and twelve cents for a book of a smaller size than an Octavo, & twelve cents a week afterwards, untill returned.

- 6th. Each proprietor shall be charged by the Librarian with every book taken out by him or her, and shall be accountable for any damage done thereto, before it is returned; and if it is lost or ruined while it stands charged to him or her, he or she shall forfeit & pay a sum equal to the first cost of said Book & twenty five per cent advance thereon, and the ruined or lost book shall become the property of such proprietor: and if more than one volume belong to the sett out of which a volume is lost or ruined the proprietor charged with such volume, shall take the whole sett & pay therefor in the manner, and at the rate aforesaid. Provided however, when any volume belonging to a sett of more than one volume is lost or ruined, the Proprietor chargeable therewith shall have the liberty to replace it any time within three months.
- 7th. When two or more persons shall apply to take out the same book at the same time, the librarian shall deliver it to him who will pay the highest sum for it, to the use of the propriety.
- 8th. No proprietor shall lend a Book belonging to the Library, upon penalty of forfeiting seventeen cents, and being suspended from a right of taking out books one month.
- 9th. For each of the following offences (*viz*) for turning down a leaf, for turning over a leaf with a wet, greasy or dirty finger, for a drop of tallow, or a blot of ink; the Proprietor to whom the damaged book stands charged, shall forfeit & pay Eight cents—for tearing a leaf, or cracking or bruising a cover seventeen cents—and as much more in each case as the Librarian shall adjudge.
- 10th. For all other injuries done to books, the Librarian shall estimate the damages & sett the forfeitures accordingly; saving to each proprietor a right of appeal to the Directors at their next annual meeting, in all cases when the forfeiture is set by the Librarian at more than fifty cents.
- 11th. All forfeitures shall be paid to the Librarian for the use of the Propriety.
- 12th. No Proprietor who is adjudged to have incurred a forfeiture shall be permitted to take out any more books till the same is paid.
- 13th. Whereas books are liable to be unnecessarily damaged by being promiscuously taken down, set up & handled on Library days, it is enacted, that no proprietor but the Librarian or his assistant, or a Director shall have access to the Library case, to take down, set up, or handle Books—but the books shall be received & set up, and when

called for delivered by the Librarian or his assistants according to the customary & established rules as to the privileges of turn & preference.

- 14th. The price of the Books together with a summary of these bye laws shall be affixed to the Books.
- 15th. That the Librarian be permitted to deliver out books at any time in the week to Mr. Samuel Whelpley and all proprietors living without the limits of the town of Stockbridge dating the time of drawing said Books on the Saturday previous to the actual drawing.
- 16th. Be it further enacted, that all "Bye Laws" heretofore passed for the regulating of said Library be, and are hereby repealed.

Stockbridge Apl. 6. 1808.
Tim. Edwards
Henry Brown Directors

Ap. 6. 1808

Read by Articles and accepted¹

Typical of the time and the people. Very far away from what some of us today call the library spirit, but unmistakable evidence of complete appreciation of the riches assembled by these Berkshire worthies and entrusted to their care, of recognition of responsibility for more than the passing moment. A revealing document, quite in keeping with the spirit of the day that saw its birth and the sturdy yeomen that conceived it.

FINANCES

A summary and digest of the treasurer's reports will raise the financial framework.

¹ An amendment to an earlier set of bylaws was advertised for action at the meeting of April 9, 1800, in the *Western Star* of March 25, 1800, reading thus: "First, That when and so often as the taxes and fines which shall be due on any share in the Library shall be equal to the value of a share as estimated by the Directors, such share shall become the property of the Proprietors, and each such person who shall so permit the whole of his or her shares to run out shall cease to be a proprietor, and forfeit all his or her right and title to the Books and other property of the proprietors.

"Second. No person shall be permitted to vote at any meeting of the proprietors by virtue of any share which he or she shall possess, unless such share be free of all taxes and fines."

In practically the same words the advertisement was printed in the paper of April 23, 1803, for consideration at an adjourned meeting called for Wednesday, May 6, 1803, at five p.m. at Stephen Willard's.

The report dated April 8, 1795, opens with a credit entry for 103*l* 16*s* representing 173 subscriptions for shares at 12*s*. It includes also 12*l* 19*s* 6*d* as the (presumably annual) tax or assessment on those shares for 1794. A further credit of 14*s* 7*d* for interest is noted. (No details as to period of loan or rate of interest. If the full 12*l* 19*s* 6*d* was out for a full year and 14*s* 7*d* was received as interest the return would stand at a little less than 8/10 of 1 per cent, rather low. Whether the loan was made for a full year at that rate or for a shorter period at a higher rate is anyone's guess until further light is shown by other documents.) "Fines and biddings" for 11*l* 7*s* 3*d* from two sources and 6*s* "paid for a ruined book" bring the total receipts up to 129*l* 3*s* 4*d*.

The debit side shows a balance on hand of 102*l* 2*s* 2*d*. The first charge here stands at 103*l* 9*s* 10*d* paid to T. Allen for his bill of 137*l* 19*s* 9*d*, New York currency, followed by a second bill for 9*s* 7*d*, New York currency, dated 27 June 1794, translated into Massachusetts currency at 7*s* 3*d*.

In general the accounts show good Yankee thrift and care, a deficit noted only twice (in 1798 and 1799). After the first year the expenses ranged between \$13.64 (\$13.75 once) and \$107.96, the average for the last ten years being \$42.12. Is it perhaps indicative that the average for the last five stands at \$17.22.

On the credit side we start with 103*l* 16*s* 10*d* in 1793 noted as the return from 173 shares at 12*s*. New shares—not many—are noted from time to time, usually at \$2.00 apiece. A vendue at Lenox on October 17, 1803, brought in \$64.04 (reduced to a net of \$61.29 by the sales expenses of \$1.50 for shipment, advertising, and other charges, 75 cents to the auctioneer, 50 cents to Dan. Williams for the use of his house).

Other credits seem to have come mainly from the annual assessment or tax levy, as they called it, and fines. The first ran as high as \$43.25 in 1795 and it dropped to as low as \$13.99 in 1818 (though in the last year it included arrears of fines as well as current taxes). The high water mark in fines seems to stand at 7*l* 19*s* 6*d* for 1794, with a low of 87 cents in 1814.

A potential source of credit from fines and taxes was estimated in 1800 at \$56.57 for the 1794-1799 period, plus 14s 2d for 1800. How much of this was actually realized the records seem to fail to show.

In 1795, 1798, and 1799, the accounting is in the old Massachusetts currency. In 1796, 1797, 1800, and later years the new decimal system is used.

The treasurer's report of April 8, 1795, notes subscriptions for 103l 16s from 173 shares at 12s. This was drawn on for the first purchase of books from Thomas Allen of New York amounting to 103l 9s 10d, a very close margin. Indeed, when the freight from Kinderhook to Stockbridge, 9s, is added, and on that is piled a second bill from Allen for 7l 3d, the finances seem fairly up to date in their frank acceptance of a deficit as normal. As stated above, however, the treasurer's account for the first year shows a credit balance, small, to be sure, but nevertheless a balance entered in black ink, not red.

The value of the shares was announced in 1794 as 12s, the Directors judging "it best, for various reasons, not at present to raise the estimated value of the shares." In later years, beginning with 1796, they changed to the new decimal currency and gave values ranging from a low of \$1.75 in 1803, 1806, and 1807, to a high of \$2.67 in 1798, \$2.00 the favorite in 1802, 1804, 1805, and 1809.

Shares must have changed hands from time to time, but the only record of transfers seems to be an advertisement in the *Western Star* of October 5, 1801, running "Any person having one or two shares in the Berkshire Repub. Library to dispose of for less than half price, may find a purchaser by applying to H. Willard."

THE DAY'S WORK

Turn now to the annual reports of the Directors for a more detailed record of the ups and downs of interest and achievements. They give a fairly good view of the work and play of the library, a

reversal of the experience one gets with a personal diary. Except for the supremely confirmed and habitual diarist, most of us have no time for lengthy entries when things come thick and fast, though in times of peace and calm we may be willing to write at length.

At Stockbridge the annual reports tend to be short, perfunctory and routine except when unexpected clouds or storms are near or feared. The earliest that has come down to us, quite probably the first, even though not so named, starts off bravely enough. It is well worth attention. On the 9th of April, 1794, Jonathan Patten, Timothy Edwards, and B. Bidwell as Directors submitted to the proprietors of the Berkshire Republican Library at their annual meeting a report "in obedience to the Constituent laws of the said Society," from which the following extracts are taken:

We have examined into the state of said Library, & carefully inspected every Volume thereof; & upon such examination, find that one volume, & no more, belonging to the Library, has been lost or ruined; & that the same has been duly paid for, in the manner & at the price established by the Byelaws—that a number of the other volumes have suffered special damages, for which the respective penalties required by the existing Regulations have been collected, with a punctuality, which at once proves the fidelity of our Librarians, and at the same time evinces the readiness of individual proprietors to comply with salutary regulations adopted for the preservation of their common property. The amount of the collections will appear from the Treasurer's statement. In addition to such particular injuries, as are the subjects of any forfeiture, there is a constant depreciation or wear of the Books by ordinary use. The degree of this diminution of the value of the Library cannot be ascertained with any precision; because there is no possible [measure] or criterion for determining it. We are of opinion that it does not exceed, if it equals, the lawful interest upon the price of the Library; and we can with pleasure add, that the books are not more damaged, perhaps not in general so much, as was reasonably to be expected, considering the number of the Proprietors, and the avidity with which almost every one appears to have used his share in the Library. Probably there has been more reading in this Town, since this Library was introduced, & in consequence of its introduction, than there was in a considerable number of preceding years; and this reading has not been confined to any one Class of Citizens, or to a few individuals in each Class; but has been very generally diffused among all ranks & denominations of people: So that its tendency must be such, as cannot fail of affording satisfaction to every friend to social happiness & the advancing improvements of civil society.

By the statement, which the Treasurer this day exhibits, of the finances of the Society, it may be seen, that the first purchase of the Books amounted to the whole sum subscribed, without leaving any surplus to defray the freight up the River from New York to Kinderhook, or the transportation from that place to this, or to pay for a library case, the printing of Catalogues & Title Plates and other individual expenses. The deficiency arising from this cause, was increased by another circumstance, which could not be taken into the calculation. Several shares originally subscribed have never yet been paid. Our Treasurer, however, under the instructions of the Directors, procured the necessary accommodations, upon the credit of the Society. Hence certain Debts were contracted, which have been principally paid out of the monies collected into the Treasury by Fines & Biddings, which otherwise would have constituted a fund for the Repair of the Library. To make the Library, therefore, equal in value to what it was, before it was used at all, will require a part of the annual sum this day payable. Upon the whole we have judged it best, for various reasons, not at present to raise the estimated value of the Shares. Accordingly each Share in this Library is hereby estimated at twelve shillings, for the year now ensuing.

We leave it to the discretion of the Proprietors to direct whether the shares subscribed, but not paid, shall be collected by suits to be instituted for that purpose.

Separate from this Report we have drawn up certain Byelaws in addition to & amendment of those already adopted, & offer the same to the consideration of the Proprietors. We also suggest to your consideration the expediency of granting a Tax in addition to the stated constitutional annuity, to be laid out in the same manner, for the benefit of the Library.

Before we conclude this Report, we hope to be excused for reminding each proprietor of the peculiar delicacy & care, which ought to be exercised in using the Books of a Library; and take the liberty of recommending neatness & caution to every one in handling & reading the books, and particular & minute attention & circumspection to the Librarian, who is to a considerable degree the appointed guardian of our common Property.

The report for 1795 is lacking, but that for 1796 seems to indicate that the library was so safely on its feet as to call for little comment about past, present or future. The annual subscription by that time had been changed from shillings to dollars, fixed now at \$2.50 a share. A change in the bylaws was suggested, the quarterly library days to be the third Saturdays of June, September, December, and the last Saturday of March.

The next year called for nothing more important than a change in payments of fines. If books were not returned on the quarter

library days, then "in place of paying double the Usual fine for not returning a Book by the Sun three hours high in the afternoon of said Days, the delinquent for being deficient at that time, be subject only to the ordinary fine: if not returned within one hour from the sd. time, then to pay fifty pr. Cent upon the ordinary fine: And if not return'd by Sun an hour high at Night, then to pay one hundred pr. Cent upon the ordinary fine."

Wear and tear began to show their results by 1798. "Mr Hopkins the present librarian" gets a word of praise for his skill in repairing his books, the proprietors are warned that others should be repaired at their expense, and "Elegant Extracts" have proved so attractive that their rebinding into four volumes instead of their present two is urged.

Evidently the binding problem was not settled then, or the use of books grew more severe, for in 1799 the Directors "recommend that a considerable part of the money in the Treasury be expended in sd repairs in preference to purchasing new books, and that some person or persons be directed & empowered to receive sd money & procure the necessary repairs in New York or such place as the proprietors think proper."

"About sixteen" volumes seemed to call for repair.

The Directors suggested also that "an additional book-case be procured as the books have increased so much as to render it very inconvenient placing them in the one now used."

The worries of the librarian of those days were evidently just about the same as in later times. Wear and tear of books, lack of space for storage, the problem of a satisfactory catalogue, yesterday, today, probably forever.

THE CATALOGUE

Then as now the catalogue problem was far from settled. In 1800 the Directors "also suggest the propriety of having new catalogues printed after the purchase of books this spring, if any should be made." Seven years pass, and then in April, 1807, the Directors "further recommend that after said purchase [of new

books for \$10.26] is made one hundred and twenty five copies of a new Catalogue be printed for the use of the Proprietors.”

Undoubtedly two editions of a catalogue were issued or at least planned, else how could “a new Catalogue” have been recommended? But where printed? By whom? Only one, or did the supplements or new editions ever get set up? I have located no copies, nor further references.

As to place of printing one thinks first of Pittsfield or Stockbridge for Berkshire work. Printing in those two places has been located as early as 1787 and 1789 by the American Imprints Inventory.¹

The connection with New York and the North River valley seems to have been closer than with the eastern parts of the Bay State, and as the first books were bought in New York it is perhaps not an unfair stretch of imagination to wonder whether Isaac Collins or David Bruce or Evert Duyckinck on the island of Manhattan might have set the type and locked the forms for these records.

It is tantalizing to realize how scanty and fragmentary are the guides as to what those Berkshire yeomen chose to buy and read four to five generations ago.

SHAREHOLDERS AND OFFICERS

How about the people connected with the library? Who were they? How many? How frequent the changes of shareholders?

Answers to such questions must be gleaned from incidental references here and there. It is difficult to believe that no complete record was kept. The treasurer or secretary or librarian must surely have listed the names of members in some form, but how it was done and where it is today the papers before us or otherwise readily at hand fail to reveal. A record book is noted as a purchase but all is silent as to its fate.

Is it fair to assume that the twenty-five signers of the agreement of December 15, 1789, were the first twenty-five supporters of the

¹ Letter from Douglas C. McMurtrie, July 19, 1940.

1793 movement? It is certain that many of the names on the first document appear on the lists of the second effort.

Here is the record of the twenty-five subscribers of one share each taken up on December 15, 1789: Theodore Sedgwick, Timothy Edwards, Enoch William Thayer, Eben Kingsley, Isaac Bennett, Benjamin Pepoon, Stephen West, William Walker, George Gardner, Ira Seymour, Stephen Willard, Jonathan Ingersoll, Erastus Sergeant, Phinehas Pease, Moses Barnum, Josiah Bradley, Silas Pepoon, Stephen Nash, Jah. Woodbridge, Josiah Jones, jun., John Bacon, Oliver Partridge, Thomas Hunt, Elisha Bradley, Asa Williams.

Of these, ten—Enoch William Thayer, Eben Kingsley, Isaac Bennett, Benjamin Pepoon, Stephen West, William Walker, George Gardner, Ira Seymour, Oliver Partridge, Thomas Hunt—fail to appear among the names of members of the Berkshire Republican Library. The other fifteen are mentioned in one connection or another with the later movement.

Now and then we get a glimpse behind the veil for the second library. A list of fines unpaid for 1799/1800 notes nine names. The treasurer's report mentions the names of three buyers of shares in 1802 and 1814. For 1806, 1808, and 1809 the lists of "Arrearages & Annuity" have come down to us, much fuller than the foregoing references, and from these sources a consolidated list (but incomplete record of shareholders) has been compiled, attached as Appendix C.

Spelling of personal names is always more or less phonetic, to say nothing of variations due to handwriting. The names as here printed (in the appendix) have been checked with one another and with the lists printed in the 1790 census volume issued by the Census Bureau in 1908.¹

We note that the first entry in the treasurer's accounts starts with 173 subscriptions at 12s as of May, 1793. The 1790 census records 198 heads of families for the town of Stockbridge, which seems to indicate widespread support for the library.

¹ *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Massachusetts.* (Washington, 1908.)

As the 1806, 1808, and 1809 lists of arrearages show 145, 109, and 115 names respectively, one is inclined to ask whether these arrearages indicate lack of support or interest. Perhaps the decrease in arrearages between 1806 and 1809, however, may point to an improvement in finances.

These three lists give us 123 different names for the three years. There is no way to tell or to estimate the number of names omitted because they had no arrears.

If you take the time to compare these names with the 1790 census listings you will note that though Squires Bacon, Edwards, Sedgwick, and Woodbridge of the census are all included on the library roll, the Reverend Stephen West is omitted. Was his private library sufficient? Was he indifferent to the new movement? Or does it mean that the methodical Dr. West never fell into arrears?

The directors stand as follows as shown by the signatures to the annual reports:

April, 1794	J[onathan] Patten, Tim[othy] Edwards, B[arnabas] Bidwell
1796	Tim[othy] Edwards, Jon[athan] Patten, Ephraim Williams
1797	H. W. Dwight, H. Brown
1798	Ephraim Williams, Henry Brown
1799	Henry Brown, Jos[eph] Woodbridge, Elijah Brown Jr.
1800	Henry Brown, Jos[eph] Woodbridge, Elijah Brown Jr.
1802	Tim[othy] Edwards, Silas Pepoon
1803	Tim[othy] Edwards, Isaiah Dwight, Jos[eph] Woodbridge
1804	Tim[othy] Edwards, Isaiah Dwight
1805	Tim[othy] Edwards, Henry Brown, Jos[eph] Woodbridge
1806	Tim[othy] Edwards, Henry Brown
1807	Tim[othy] Edwards, Henry Brown, Tho[mas] Williams
1809	Henry Brown, John S. Hopkins, Jared Curtis
1818	Joseph Woodbridge, Cyrus Williams, Samuel Jones

Sometimes the offices of treasurer and librarian were combined. Sometimes the financial report is submitted by the treasurer. Sometimes the librarian presents it. Sometimes the two seem to be separate.

The first specific payment for the librarian's services comes in 1796, when H. Jones was paid \$34 "for keeping the Library two years & half." In 1796/7 he was allowed \$10. In 1797/8 John S.

Hopkins was paid 3*l*, Cyrus Williams 3*l* 18*s* in 1798/9, and thereafter \$13 a year seems to have been the accepted rate.

The treasurers and librarians year by year are noted below, gleaned largely from the annual reports, partly from other sources as indicated:

	<i>Treasurer</i>	<i>Librarian</i>
April 8, 1795	H. Jones	
April 5, 1796	not named	H. Jones paid for keeping the library 2 years and ½ \$34.00
April 5, 1797	not named ¹	H. Jones for services as librarian for the past year \$10.00
April 4, 1798	John S. Hopkins ² (The report of the Directors for 1798 referring to "Mr. Hopkins the present librarian")	"To my Allowance for services [as librarian?] for the past year" 3 <i>l</i> 0 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i>
April 3, 1799	not named but report rendered by Cyrus Williams, librarian	"To allowance for keeping the Library" 3 <i>l</i> 18 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i>
April 9, 1800	H. Jones	H. Jones as Treasurer charges himself with \$13.00 for "keeping the library 1 year"
April 8, 1802	Daniel James, jr.	D. James for services \$13.00
April, 1802	[Thomas Williams, librarian renders the account]	Thomas Williams paid \$13.00
April, 1803	Barnabas Bidwell	Barnabas Bidwell
April, 1804	Barnabas Bidwell, Librarian renders the account	Barnabas Bidwell paid \$13.00
April 3, 1805	John Hunt, librarian renders the account	John Hunt paid \$13.00
April, 1806	Jonathan Ingersoll renders the account	Jonathan Ingersoll paid \$13.00
April 9, 1806 [duplicate statement?]	Jonathan Ingersoll renders the account	Jonathan Ingersoll \$13.00

¹ H. Jones in report for 1800 notes receipt of \$4.74 from "Mr. Hopkins, Treasurer for 1797."

² H. Jones in report for 1800 notes receipt of \$3.84 from "Mr Williams, Treasurer for 1798." The directors' report for 1798 mentions "Mr Hopkins the present librarian."

128	AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY		[April,
April 8, 1807	Horatio Jones renders the account	Horatio Jones paid	\$13.00
April 5, 1809	Horatio Jones, Treasurer	Horatio Jones paid	\$13.00
April 8, 1812	Samuel Jones, Treasurer Samuel Jones also Secretary	Samuel Jones paid	\$13.00
April 7, 1813	Samuel Jones, Treasurer	Samuel Jones paid	\$13.00
April 6, 1814	Samuel Jones, Treasurer	Samuel Jones paid	\$13.00
April 1, 1816	S. Rockwell	[S. Rockwell, 1 year, with 2 weeks deducted]	\$12.50
April 8, 1818	George Whitney	George Whitney paid	\$13.00
April 24, 1818	Seymour Rockwell	Seymour Rockwell	

STOCK OF BOOKS

So much for the people. Now, what about the books? How many on the shelves? What type were they? How much used? Questions for any library. For the Berkshire Republican Library answer is sadly fragmentary.

How many books could be bought for the 110*l* 10*s* 1*d* (103*l* 9*s* 10*d* plus 7*l* 3*d*) originally subscribed? In those days as in our own that depends, of course, entirely on the kind of books.

A detailed bill of sale was probably rendered, but none is included in these papers. We have one statement and receipt for sixteen volumes bought in New Haven by Captain Henry Brown in 1807 and 1808, amounting to \$33.38½ for books and binding, an average of \$2.08½ per volume.

If it is fair to assume that the pound then was roughly equal to five dollars of those days, and if it is fair to assume that the books bought in New York in 1793 sold for about the same as those bought in New Haven in 1807, it seems not improbable that the initial stock of books numbered about 275.

With no catalogue at hand we can do little more than guess at the titles and authors represented. If they ran true to the form

of other collections of those days, theology and philosophy would probably stand first, with history next, a scattering of travel, a taste of fiction and poetry perhaps—serious books in the main, deadly serious as most of us would look at them today.

The library opened probably with some older volumes as contrasted with what we now call new "trade books," for the treasurer took occasion to add as a footnote to his report in 1795 "that there are now in the Library several valuable books which are in a very bad situation; he therefore asks leave to suggest to their [*i.e.*, the proprietors'] consideration, whether it will not eventually be more beneficial to expend part of the Money now in the Treasury in repairing those Books & preventing others that are most used from falling into the same situation by properly covering them, than to expend the whole sum in the purchase of additional books."

If I am not mistaken, the same question has been put to librarians in other days, put and answered with varying degrees of success and satisfaction.

T. Allen, seller of these first two lots of books, is undoubtedly Thomas Allen, bookseller and stationer then at 12 Queen St. (now Pearl St.), New York City.

Until we locate a catalogue of the collection we must piece out our picture by fragments gleaned and gathered here and there. This treasurer's report of 1795, for instance, notes that in August, 1794, Doctor West was paid 1*l* 16*s* "for 4 Vol. Mush. Eu. hist." I have done my best to run down a history of Europe that seems to fit this, but with no success. If the handwriting were not so fair and clerkly I should venture to suggest the entry was meant to refer to Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," that old favorite so familiar to all of us, in memory at least, just as certain as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and d'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation" to be found as cornerstones of every family library. I still think it must be that title, the copyist erring in transcription. The British Museum catalogue records a four volume "Abridgement, with occasional alterations and additions, of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History" printed at London in 1781 and ascribed to John Wesley. Casual search brings to light no American text so early as

1794, Evert Duyckinck's four volume edition being dated New York, 1824.

Three years later Phineas Ashmun was paid \$1.00 for "Moore's Journal," as noted in the accounts for April 5, 1797. This could scarcely refer to Tom Moore, for the poet was but eighteen at that time, and the eight volumes of his "Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence" edited by Lord John Russell did not appear until 1853. It might perhaps refer to Dr. John Moore (1729-1802) whose "Journal during a residence in France from . . . August to . . . December 1792; to which is added an account of the most remarkable events that happened at Paris from that time to the death of the King of France" was published at London in 1793 in two volumes. This was popular enough to appear at Philadelphia in the same year, at New York in 1793-4, at Boston in 1794, and the Stockbridge copy may easily have been any one of these editions.

If this identification is correct it should call attention to the interest in new books consistently shown by these Stockbridge readers. Other instances of new titles bought promptly on publication appear below.

"Carver's Travels" was recorded on April 3, 1799, as bought from John Bacon for 4s 6d, "the Man of the World" from Samuel Whelpley for 2s 10d, two copies of "Robertson's Proofs" and one "Residence in France" from Benjamin Rosseter for 1l 10s. Peter Misier was paid a guinea for binding four volumes of "Elegant Extracts," and Archibela Johnson 3s for binding two unnamed books.

Carver refers, almost without question, to Jonathan Carver's "Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years, 1766, 1767, and 1768" or his "Three Years Travels," etc. The first appeared at London in 1778 with many later issues. The second made its bow in this country at Philadelphia in 1784, with later issues from Charlestown to Walpole, New Hampshire.

"The Man of the World" is probably Charles Macklin's comedy first printed at London in 1786 with dozens of later imprints. It surely is welcome to see the cheerful sides of life get their recogni-

tion in any library, particularly one of this period. As contrasted with "The Man of the World" the "Elegant Extracts" fits closer into the traditional pattern. Whether these extracts were in prose or verse is anyone's guess. They were most probably one of two anonymous works credited to Vicesimus Knox and issued in many editions near the end of the eighteenth century: "Elegant Extracts; or, Useful and entertaining pieces of poetry, selected for the improvement of youth, in speaking, reading, thinking, composing; and in the conduct of life; being similar in design to Elegant Extracts in prose," or "Elegant Extracts in prose; or, Useful and entertaining passages in prose, selected for the improvement of young persons: being similar in design to Elegant Extracts in poetry." Youth must be improved, willy nilly.

"Robertson's Proofs" I must leave to others to identify. I tried and failed.

The "Residence in France," I fancy, is another reference to Dr. John Moore's work mentioned above.

In the report for 1802 the "Gospel its own witness" was bought from H. Willard for \$1.25. I have not identified it.

H. Dwight was paid 33 cents "for purchasing Books at N. Haven" in April, 1803; and in November following Major Dwight is credited with \$85 "to purchase new Books." So too Captain Henry Brown is paid \$11.00 in 1804, \$23.50 in 1805, \$16.02 in 1807, and \$18.25 in 1808. No bills or other records seem to have come down to us except for the last two.

Captain Henry Brown was paid \$3.00 for the life of Washington in April, 1803. As nothing is said about the author, we find an ample field for speculation. The date rules out Marshall, his first volume appearing in 1804, unless this might perhaps represent an advance subscription. It might have been Weems or Corry or Jedediah Morse or Condie or "Washingtoniana," and until we know more about the book we can only applaud the prompt response to the demands of the reading public, or to the lure of the bookseller.

In August, 1803, Major Dwight and \$1.00 are noted in connection with "Indian Wars," probably some edition of Samuel

Penhallow's "History of the wars of New-England, with the eastern Indians," first published at Boston in 1746.

We get a glimpse of another title in April, 1804, when Timothy Edwards, Esq., was "allowed to take Mason on Self Knowledge out of the Library on paying the sum of eighty-two cents the Price it originally cost." This was evidently "Self-Knowledge. A treatise showing the nature and benefit of that important science, and the way to attain it," by the Non-Conformist divine John Mason, the first edition having been published at London in 1745, popular enough to have the fourteenth dated 1791.

"Hayleys life Cooper" bought for \$2.00 in 1804 is probably the Boston, 1803, twelvemo "The life and posthumous writings of William Cowper, Esq. With an introductory letter to the Right Honorable Earl Cowper," by William Hayley.

When "Buchanan's Memoirs & Researches" is bought for \$1.65 in December, 1811, and bound by J. & R. Warriner for 50 cents next year we touch another typical title. It is undoubtedly some edition of "The works of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, L.L.D. Comprising his Christian Researches in Asia, his Memoir on the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for Great Britain, and his Star in the east, with two new sermons." With varying titles the work appeared at Boston in 1811, New York and Baltimore in 1812, and London in 1813.

A more practical turn is shown by the entry of June 2, 1813, charging 12 cents for postage on the "letter to J. Hunt to get publications of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society." The stimulus for this action probably came from the Berkshire County agricultural society formed in 1811, fourth in the series of county societies in the state. Writing on June 2, the Berkshire library saw the state society adopt the following resolution on June 9, 1813, "That the Recording Secretary distribute to the Societies which may be formed in the Country Towns for the promotion of agriculture, agreeably to the recommendation of the Board of Trustees in their circular letter last spring, a copy, to each, of the publications of this Society, bound."¹

¹ For calling attention to this I am indebted to a note from Mr. Stephen T. Riley, assistant librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, August 30, 1940.

So much for what we can glean from the occasional references to books in the annual reports of the directors or the treasurer. More concentrated information is given in more detail in the bill for Captain Henry Brown's purchase in New Haven in 1807-8 and in the vendue at Lenox in August, 1803.

The treasurer's reports credit Captain Brown with \$16.02 in 1807 and \$18.25 in 1808. His receipted bill for the two efforts amounts to \$37.38½, with 5 per cent added for commission, bringing the net to \$39.25. How to explain the difference between the treasurer's \$34.27 and the agent's \$37.38½, I must leave to accountant's analysis.

1807	3 vols Repository	3.75
May	1 Guide and Refuge	1.50
Sept	4 Vols Burk's Works (in boards) @2.25 pr vol	9.00
	1 Paley's Horæ Paulinæ	2.62½
	1 Washington's Life 5th vol & maps pd for binding both	3.00
1808	3 vols Boswell's Johnson (in boards) @2.25	6.75
May	1 Memoirs of Cumberland	1.00
	1 Blank Book (for accounts)	3.00
	1 Northern Summer	1.12
July 4th	pd J & R Warriner for Binding Burk's works & Boswell's Johnson. 7 vols at 3/9	4.38
		<hr/>
		37.38½
	5 per Cent Commission	1.86½
		<hr/>
		39.25

Some titles are obvious, others escape me. At first sight "Repository" suggests Ackermann's Repository, but that must be ruled out because Rudolph Ackermann began his "Repository of Arts, Literature and Fashions" in 1809. It was more probably, I fancy, the set of four volumes edited (anonymously) by Isaac Reed and published at London in 1777-83 as "The Repository, a select Collection of fugitive Pieces of Wit and Humour, in Prose and Verse, by the most eminent Writers." The third edition with additions by C. Dill appeared in 1790. The only trouble here is

that the Captain would have to explain why he bought a broken set.

What the "Guide and Refuge" led you to and shielded you from must be solved by some one with wider ken of eighteenth century theology than I enjoy.

The Stockbridge set of Burke's Works may have been the first four of the eight volumes quarto edition sold by Dodsley in 1792 or of the Rivington "new edition" of 1801 (eight volumes, octavo) or 1803 (sixteen volumes, octavo). Perhaps it was the "First American, from the last London edition" published at Boston in four octavo volumes in 1806-7 by John West and O. C. Greenleaf.

Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ" undoubtedly was welcomed by its brother "Evidences" that stood on the shelves at Stockbridge then as in any other respectable library.

The Washington refers, of course, to the fifth volume and the maps for John Marshall's "Life" that appeared in 1807.

The Boswell in three volumes might have been the first issue (1791), with the supplement of 1793, or the second (1793). Later editions ran to four volumes and more.

Cumberland's Memoirs certainly was the "Historical Memoirs of his late Royal Highness, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Including the military and political History of Great Britain during that period," the octavo volume dated London, 1767, telling the story of "Butcher" Cumberland of Culloden.

Sir John Carr's "A Northern summer; or, Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and part of Germany in the year 1804" was undoubtedly one of the two American editions of Philadelphia, 1805 (S. F. Bradford) or Hartford, 1806 (Lincoln & Gleason) rather than the London text of 1805.

In the summer of 1803 the stockholders sold twenty-four works (eighty volumes) at vendue at Lenox. They brought \$66.04 with a net return of \$63.29. It cost \$1.50 for carriage, advertising, collecting the bids. Henry C. Brown was paid 75 cents as auctioneer, Daniel Williams 50 cents for the use of his house.

The records note the sale but fail to explain why. Were the

books all duplicates? Possible, but no evidence one way or another. Unpopular or unfitted to the taste of the shareholders? Again possible, though doubtful. A glance at the titles listed below, will show that most of them fit unquestionably in the class required for the typical "gentleman's library," and I find it difficult to imagine their going for any reason except as duplicates. The endorsement reads: "A List of Books sold at Lenox at Vendue August 24th, 1803. \$66.04." The text runs thus:

<i>Names of Books</i>	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>To whom sold</i>	<i>Price</i>
paid Kames Histry Man	4	Henry C. Brown	\$3.50
paid Anacharsis Trav & Map	8	Jno. Hurlbert	13.25
paid Gibbons Roman Empire	12	Henry C. Brown	17.25
paid Necker on Religion	1	Jos Woodbridge	.25
paid Cecilia	5	E. Bacon	1.10
paid Alexis	1	Jno. Hunt	.25
paid Emeline	2	Joseph Woodbridge	.60
Fool of Quality	5	Josiah Dwight	2.00
paid Smiths Moral Sent	2	John Hunt	2.00
paid Humes Essays	2	Ephm. Williams	3.00
paid Proof of a Conspiracy		Jno. Hurlbert 50 Cts.	
(2 setts)	1	H. C. Brown .40	.90
paid Gangenellies Letters	2	Jno Hurlbert	1.25
paid Rosseaus Confessions	5	Ez. Bacon	1.60
paid Voltaires Works	5	John Hurlbert	4.00
paid Rights of Women	1	Ez. Bacon	.33
paid Smiths Tour in Amera.	2	Col Larned	1.00
paid Chesterfields Letters	4	Fred Hunt	2.60
paid Stearns Works	8	Tho. Williams	4.05
paid Maxims	1	Jno. Hurlbert	.12
paid DeLolmes Engh. Constn.	1	Fred. Hunt	1.40
paid Gibbons Miscellany	3	Ez. Bacon	3.65
paid Voltaires Phi. Dictiony	1	Tho. Strong	.50
paid Necker on Excutive Authy	2	Thos. Allen Jr.	1.30
paid Baron Trink	1	Ephm. Judson	.34
			<hr/>
			\$66.04

The list is thus printed as an advertisement (with variations in spelling and arrangement, also with omission of the last two titles) in the *Western Star* August 13 and August 20, 1803:

Will be sold
 At Public Vendue,
 At the dwelling house of Mr. Daniel Wil-
 -liams, Innholder in Lenox, on Thurs-
 day, the twenty fifth inst. at one
 of the clock, P.M. the following
 Books
 (most of which have been but very little used)

...

By order of the Directors of the Berkshire Republican Library.
 John Hunt, Assistant Sec'y.

Stockbridge, August 10, 1803.

It is good to be able to check the advertisement with the manuscript record. The list of buyers doubtless will bring joy to the student of family history of the regions, the record of prices please the student of the history of the book trade. The first title is undoubtedly that old standby "Sketches of the History of Man" by Henry Home, Lord Kames. Half a dozen editions had appeared by this time at Edinburgh or Glasgow since the first in 1774, or had been pirated at Dublin.

Anacharsis refers to the well known "Travels of Anacharsis the younger in Greece during the middle of the fourth century before the Christian æra, by the Abbé Barthélmi . . . Translated from the French . . ." and published in London by G. G. J. & J. Robinson in 1790-91, octavo.

The Gibbon is probably the Straham & Cadell edition of London, 1791, octavo, or 1802, both in 12 volumes.

"Necker on Religion" is shorthand for Jacques Necker's "Of the Importance of Religious Opinions. Translated from the French" [by Mary Wollstonecraft], published at London in 1788, octavo, and reissued at Philadelphia in 1791, twelvemo.

With the next four we have a welcome swing away from the serious side, even into the maligned class of "story books." "Cecilia, or Memoirs of an heiress. By the author of Evelina" [Frances Burney, Mme d'Arblay] had its fifth edition in five volumes dated at London in 1784-6, printed for T. Payne and

son. Perhaps this was sold because they had just received the second American edition published at Boston in 1803 in 3 volumes by J. Bumstead.

Alexis may have been "Alexis; or, the Young Adventurer. A novel" (describing the adventures of the Young Pretender after Culloden) published at London in 1746, octavo; or, "Alexis; or, the cottage in the woods. A novel from the French [of François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil]. The manuscript found on the banks of the Isere. The second American edition" (Newburyport: Printed by W. Barrett for Thomas & Andrews, 1797), twelvemo.

The next entry is certainly Emmeline, in as plain a hand as any one can ask. But I refuse to agree, insist that it can be nothing but Mme. d'Arblay's "Evelina; or, The history of a young lady's entrance into the world." The third edition appeared at London in three volumes, twelvemo, in 1779. I locate no copy, however, in two volumes.

It was Henry Brooke that wrote "The fool of quality: or, The history of Henry, earl of Moreland" (London: E. Johnston, 1777), five volumes, sixteenmo. Or it might have been the second edition, London, 1767-70, likewise in five twelvemo volumes.

Adam Smith's "The Theory of Moral Sentiments . . . To which is added a dissertation on the origin of languages" had run through eight London editions by 1797, with various pirated issues from Dublin.

David Hume's "Essays, moral and political" or his "Essays and Treatises on several subjects" was so popular in the late eighteenth century as to make it a waste of time to try to run down just which issue was sold on this August day in the Berkshires.

The next refers probably to John Robinson's "Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, or Reading Societies; collected from good authorities. The second edition corrected, to which is added, a postscript," published at Edinburgh in 1797, octavo.

"Gangenellies Letters" may have been any one of various editions of "Interesting letters of Pope Clement XIV. To which

are prefixed, Anecdotes of his life; translated from the French edition published at Paris by Lottin Junr." The only two volume edition of Ganganelli's Letters I have located is the Dublin pirated issue of 1777.

The "Rosseau" is possibly "The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau . . . Part the first. To which are added, The Reveries of a Solitary Walker. [Part the second. To which is added, A New Collection of Letters from the Author.] Translated from the French." (London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1796-1790) 12mo. Part one in two volumes, two in three volumes.

A five volume edition of Voltaire's complete works is rather unusual. This may refer perhaps to five volumes of the London edition of 1761-65 in 25 volumes or 1778, 1761-1781 in 38 volumes.

It was Mary Wollstonecraft that translated the Necker noted above, as well as wrote "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on political and moral subjects" of which volume 1 appeared in London, in 1792, octavo. William Gibbons reprinted it at Philadelphia in the same year, Mathew Carey in 1794. Peter Edes brought out a Boston edition in 1792 for Thomas and Andrews. This may have been any of these or various other issues.

"Smith's Tours in Amera" is a reference undoubtedly to that picturesque physician, captain of the Queen's rangers, prisoner of war, and proud descendant of the house of Stuart, John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth or Smythe-Stuart, author of "A tour in the United States of America: containing an account of the present situation of America" (London, 1784) in two volumes.

For a four volume edition of Chesterfield's letters we can choose between the 5th, 8th, and 11th London editions dated 1774, 1777, 1800, or Dublin of 1776.

The only eight volume editions of Sterne's works for this period I find noted in the British Museum catalogue are Berwick, 1800, twelvemo and Glasgow, 1803.

"Maxims" can scarcely be anything but Rochefoucauld's "Moral maxims and reflections . . . now made English." Dozens of London editions between 1694 and 1803.

"The constitution of England: or an account of the English government" by Jean Louis de Lolme is another work so popular at this period as to defy identification of the title sold here.

Gibbon's "Miscellaneous Works" in three volumes might have been the Dublin octavo edition of 1796, or the London issue of 1796-1815, quarto.

There are several London editions of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary that easily might have been included here, but I wonder if this particular copy could have been "The Philosophical Dictionary for the pocket. Translated from the French edition Corrected by the Author" printed at Catskill, New York by T. & M. Crosswell for selves and J. Fellows & E. Duyckinck, 1796, octavo.

"Necker on Executive Authy" is probably "An essay on the true principles of executive power in great states. Translated from the French of M. Necker" (London: Printed for G. G. J. & J. Robinson, 1792) two volumes, octavo.

"The Life of Baron Frederic Trenck, containing his adventures; his cruel and excessive suffering during ten years imprisonment at the fortress of Hamburg . . . Translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft" was popular enough to have editions at Philadelphia in 1789, Boston in 1792 and 1793.

Physical care of the books seems to have been kept constantly in mind. Need of binding was urged early and is repeated frequently, now and then even securing an appropriation. Sometimes a binder is named. Every now and then leather and glue are bought for repairs. Shelves get painted, a lock put on the case. All in all, decided evidence of thoughtful and appreciative care and attention.

And there you have the story, a worthy effort, creditable to the shareholders and to the community, characteristic of the point of view, quite fitting to time and place.

The way it breaks off reminds me of some of our realistic novels. You see the fond pair united, watch them at their daily

grind of joy and sorrow, of happy united efforts and regretful misunderstandings. The picture shows a typically normal American or Russian or French or Chinese family. Then the story stops, the book closes, and you are left wondering whether the mortgage is to be foreclosed and the family be driven over the hill to the poor-house; whether the invention is at last to be demonstrated as so world satisfying and completely successful as to make all dreams come true; whether the children are to turn out front rank leaders in all good causes or to show their true colors as the hopeless weaklings the author suggested so skillfully every now and then; a constant stimulus to unsatisfied wonder whether, whether, whether. Would that I could tell or even suggest the end of this tale.

The staff at the New York library was distressed, of course, when faced with the cataloguing of these broken files. It is so much simpler to handle complete sets of such documents. If the library had followed tradition it would have stored the papers away as they stood, hopeful and wishful demonstration of willingness to wait for the lost sheep to be guided into the fold. Instead of doing that, however, all the rules of the game were defied by prompt binding of the papers into a single volume. There's no dare like that so certain to bring missing papers to light and so sure to demand and insist on rebinding.

APPENDIX A

OTHER MASSACHUSETTS SOCIAL LIBRARIES OF THOSE DAYS

The spread of the social library idea in Massachusetts and New England is worthy of more than passing attention. Salem saw one formed on March 31, 1760 (Hurd's *Essex County*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8), incorporated in 1797. This was followed by a Philosophical Library in 1781, made possible because George Cabot in a Beverly privateer captured a British craft trying to carry to Ireland the scientific library of Dr. Richard Kirwin. Cabot chose to deliver the books to Salem rather than an Irish port, and once landed in the Bay State sold them at auction to "a number of Salem citizens who proceeded to make them the basis of a new 'Philosophical Library,'" quite independent, so far as the record seems to show, of any permission from Dr. Kirwin (Fuess' *Story of Essex County*, vol. 2, p. 608). Another Salem library was incorporated in 1810 (Newhall's *Essex Memorial for 1836*, p. 241).

One is noted at Canton in 1766 (Huntoon's *Canton*, p. 571); at Andover in 1770 (Bailey's *Andover*, p. 530); North Andover in 1770 (Fuess' *Essex County*, vol. 2, p. 608); Billerica in 1772 (Farmer's *Billerica*, p. 27; Hazens's *Billerica*, p. 315); Middleton in 1772 (Hurd's *Essex County*, vol. 1, p. 946); Brockton in 1781 (Kingman's *Brockton*, p. 455); North Bridgewater, 1781 (Kingman's *North Bridgewater*, p. 313); Deerfield "Union Library" "probably established soon after the close of the Revolution" (Sheldon's *Deerfield*, vol. 2, p. 823), with a "Social Library" established "before 1800" (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 604); Concord, 1786 (Bartlett's *Concord Guide Book*, p. 131); Dedham South Parish, 1790, First Parish, 1794 (Smith's *Dedham*, pp. 279, 272); Ipswich, 1791 (Newhall's *Essex Memorial for 1836*, p. 138); Easthampton, 1792 (Lyman's *Easthampton*, p. 89); Harvard, about 1793 (Nourse's *Harvard*, p. 384); Chelmsford, 1794 (Waters' *Chelmsford*, p. 583); Gloucester, 1796 (Babson's *Gloucester*, p. 475); Haverhill, 1796 (Newhall's *Essex Memorial for 1836*, p. 127); Douglas, 1799 (Emerson's *Douglas*, p. 134); Easton, "as early as 1800" (Chaffin's *Easton*, p. 373); Fairhaven, "even as early as 1800" (Gillingham's *Fairhaven*); Greenfield, 1801 (Thompson's *Greenfield*, vol. 1, p. 608); Beverly, 1802 (Stone's *Beverly*, p. 120), with a "second social library . . . formed in 1806 . . . restricted by the exclusion of novels, romances and plays" (Newhall's *Essex Memorial for 1836*, p. 634); Attleborough, 1805 (Doggett's *Attleborough*, p. 399); Salisbury, 1805

(Newhall's *Essex Memorial for 1836*, p. 262); Newburyport Athenæum, 1809 (*ibid.*, p. 221); Gloucester, a "social library at the Harbor, formed Feb. 3, 1812, called the Gloucester Social Library" (*ibid.*, p. 108); Framingham, 1815 (Temple's *Framingham*, p. 378); a second social library in Ashfield (Howes' *Ashfield*, p. 203).

Royalston saw "The Library Company in Royalston" founded in January, 1778, thirteen years after the town was incorporated, with the name changed to "Social Library of Royalston" a few years later. On May 7, 1778, it was "'Voted to raise money or other property for the purpose of increasing the library. Voted that each and every member for this purpose pay into the treasury two shillings in money, or grain, butter, flax or flaxseed.' And at a later meeting, January 1, 1789, the committee reported that in their judgment, 'rye should be received at three shillings, six pence per bushel; Indian corn at two shillings, eight pence; oats at one shilling, six pence; flax at six pence per pound; flaxseed at two shillings, six pence per bushel, and butter at five pence, half penny per pound.'"

On March 7, 1787, the Society "Voted that the money laid out for books, being divided into ten equal parts, be laid out for books upon different subjects in the following proportion, viz.: Three-tenths parts for books in Divinity and Moral Philosophy; three-tenths for History and Biography; two-tenths for Arts and Sciences; one-tenth for Law and Physic; one-tenth for Poetry, Novels and miscellany." Not content with one library, a "second social library" was formed, which in 1817 was admitted to membership in the first. "The Social Library voted to divide its books Jan. 10, 1849, and not long after that date the books were sold at auction and the library went out of existence." (Casswell's *History of Royalston*, pp. 106-107). Others doubtlessly could be listed, but this is enough to give a glimpse of the speed and the breadth of the movement.

Bookplates for Berkshire libraries are found with the names of the "Berkshire Republican Library" (Stockbridge, June 1, 1793); the "Stockbridge Library" (late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, printed by C. Sturtevant, jun.); "Stockbridge Union Library" (dated February 14, 1818); "Stockbridge Social Library" (later, 1830 to 1850 perhaps). A "Lenox Library" bookplate is owned by The New York Public Library, found in a copy of Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (Philadelphia, 1792) apparently printed about the same time the book was published.

There were other Berkshire libraries at an early date, as is shown by this advertisement in the *Western Star* of March 13, 1797: "If the Proprietors of Libraries in the County of Berkshire, or the towns adjoining, wish to purchase any of the Books advertised in the last page of this Paper, they shall be furnished with them (by applying, at the Printing Office in Stockbridge), at as low prices as are demanded for such Books either in New-York or Boston." Sixty-four titles are listed.

APPENDIX B

THE STOCKBRIDGE LIBRARY SOCIETY

The Constitution of Stockbridge library society

Preamble.

Whereas the cultivation and improvement of the human mind may be greatly promoted by means of an extensive acquaintance with such authors as by their writings afford instruction and entertainment to their readers, and an advancement in knowledge and literature being a pursuit highly laudable and accompanied with many advantages both to individuals and to society in general; We the subscribers sensible that the private purchase of books is attended with an expense beyond the abilities of many persons whose inclinations lead them to the acquisition of knowledge, and that the establishment of a well chosen public library will have a tendency to promote the attainment of so important acquirements, do therefore by these presents unite ourselves into a voluntary association by the name of *the Stockbridge library society*, for the purposes of erecting and continuing a library, for the benefit of ourselves and others, who may chose, upon the conditions herein prescribed, to become members of the same. And as it is essential to the well being of all societies to have certain laws & regulations, which shall be binding upon the members thereof, we do agree and conclude upon the following rules and laws, for the government of the members of the said society.

Place of
keeping
the Library,
&c

First, The said Library shall be kept in the town of Stockbridge in the county of Berkshire. And any person living without the limits of the said town, shall have a right to become a member of the said society.

Quality of
the property
and of
transferring
Do.—

Secondly, all the estate, effects, books and property which now do, or hereafter may belong to the said Stockbridge library society, shall be held by the members thereof in common and not in joint tenancy.

Transferring.

And no member of the said society shall assign his interest in the said propriety excepting under the following restrictions, Viz: first, to a person or persons approved of by the Directors for the time being.

1st.

2nd.

3rd.

4th:

5th:

6th:

2ndly the purchaser or purchasers to subscribe and agree to the laws and regulations of this society; thirdly, such assignment to be made in such manner as not thereby to divide a single share, or to increase the number of proprietors beyond the number of shares which such vendor holds in the property of the said society. 4ly the assignment to be in writing and a copy thereof entered in the secretary's book, to be kept for that and other purposes. fifthly, No proprietor shall dispose of his interest by Will, in such manner as to divide a share; and the legatee of any proprietor shall before he is entitled to the use of any book belonging to the said library, subscribe and agree to the laws and regulations of the said society, and shall also produce to the secretary a certificate properly authenticated of his being a legatee as aforesaid, which shall be lodged with the secretary, and by him kept and also entered in the records of the society. Sixthly, the property of any proprietor not disposing of his interest by Will, or who dies intestate, shall on his death go to his eldest male heir, and for want of such heir, to his eldest female heir, and for want of heirs shall survive and enure to the benefit of the then members of the society; and every such heir shall produce to the secretary a certificate (which shall be kept and entered as aforesaid) of his being heir, and of the decease and intestacy of his ancestor, and shall comply with the said rules respecting

7th: legatees. Seventhly, Any person disposing of his interest in the said library, excepting under the foregoing rules and restrictions, shall forfeit the same, and the same shall become and be to all intents and purposes whatsoever, the property of the then remaining members of the society.

Meetings.

Thirdly, The members of said society shall in person attend at the now dwelling house of Mrs. Anna Bingham in said Stockbridge on the Thursday next preceeding the second Tuesday of September next ensuing, at two of the clock in the afternoon of the same thursday, and as many as so meet shall proceed to the choice by ballot of a person of the society to be the Society's Treasurer, and to a choice in the same manner of five persons of the Society to be Directors for the then ensuing year, and untill others shall be chosen in his and their room; And there shall be a meeting of the members of said society on the same thursday of September annually, and a treasurer and Directors shall be annually chosen by ballot at the same meetings. The place of holding said annual meetings to be notified by the Directors or a major part of them in the same manner as is hereinafter provided for the notification of the time and place of holding meetings called by the Directors, provided however that all meetings of the said proprietors shall be held in the town of Stockbridge aforesaid; And at all meetings of said society the members shall be entitled to vote in proportion to their respective interests, a member owning one share to have one vote and no more; A majority of the members present at any meeting shall have power to adjourn the same to such time and place within the town of Stockbridge as they shall think proper.

Power of
Directors &c.

Fourthly, The Directors are hereby authorized and required to nominate and appoint some proper person of the society to be their secretary for the year next ensuing the first meeting of said proprietors in the third article mentioned, and untill another is appointed

in his room. The secretary for the time being shall preside and collect the votes at all meetings of the proprietors, and in case of the absence of the secretary it shall be lawful for the proprietors to elect at any meeting any member then present to preside and collect the votes in the room and stead of the secretary. The directors for the time being or a majority of them are also impowered to appoint a secretary at any future time, who shall continue in his said office untill death, resignation or a new appointment by the directors. The Directors, or a majority of them shall have the power of calling general meetings, whenever they shall judge it necessary for the interest of the society, and they are on every application of any number of the proprietors who at the time are entitled to ten votes, authorized & required to call a meeting of the proprietors, provided however that they give at least fourteen days previous notice, of the time and place of holding such meetings, either by advertising the same in some public newspaper printed in the county of Berkshire aforesaid, or by posting up notifications at two or more public places in the said town of Stockbridge. The Directors shall have the disposal of the monies paid to the Treasurer, to & for the use of the proprietors, also the chusing the books for the Library, but the Directors shall in no instance purchase a book or books of any person who at the time of such purchase is one of the directors, likewise the Directors shall have the renting of a suitable place for the service of the library, and the direction of other things that are fit and necessary for any and all of the purposes aforesaid. And they are hereby authorized and required to meet once every three months at least, and oftener if they judge necessary to confer and conclude concerning the matters hereby committed to them. The directors for the time being or a majority of them are hereby authorized to make and establish such By-laws as shall to them appear good and useful for the government and direction of the said Stockbridge library

society, all which laws and regulations, consistent with the tenor of these articles shall be binding upon each and every member of the society, and observed by them accordingly, untill repealed by a majority either of the directors or of this society.

Duties of
Treasurer.

Fifthly, Every person chosen to be the society's treasurer shall, immediately upon his entering into his office receive of the preceeding treasurer his Heirs, Executors or administrators the society's cash, and the book or books in which the account of said cash is kept, giving his receipt for the same to the Directors for the time being, and shall also become obligated to the directors for the faithful application of the monies which have and may come into his hands during his continuance in said office, for the payment of all orders drawn on him by the directors or a majority of them, so far as he shall have money in his hands belonging to the society, and for the rendering of a just and true account of all his transactions to the directors, whenever required by them or a majority of them for that purpose.

Secretary,
the librarian.

Sixthly, The secretary for the time being shall be the Librarian of the society, and shall keep the records of the society, and make all such entries in the same as may be required by the rules & laws of the society, or necessary and proper to be so made.

Rules
about
Shares &c

Seventhly, The members of said society and each of them shall on the day of the first meeting of the proprietors in the third article mentioned, or by the first day of October next, pay into the hands of the treasurer of the society the sum of three dollars for each and every share which the said members shall have respectively subscribed, and are to hold in said library, and shall also pay to the treasurer for the time being yearly and every year on the day of holding the said annual meeting a further sum of half a dollar upon each and every share of their respective subscriptions, and those who neglect so to do shall be debarred the privilege of taking any book from the library, untill he or the

person claiming under him shall pay into the hands of the society's treasurer for the time being, the full amount of all his arrearages, with compound interest thereon till the time of payment. At every annual meeting of the said proprietors after the said first meeting, the value of a share in the said propriety shall be ascertained and reported to the same meetings by the directors, which shall be recorded by the secretary, and that sum shall be considered as the value of a share during the whole year then succeeding, and untill the next annual meeting, and shall be the rule of estimating the value of a share to subscribers. And no person other than the Heir, Legatee, or Assignee of a member of the Society shall be entitled to a share or shares in the books or effects of the society, without paying into the hands of their treasurer a sum of money equal to the then recorded value of as many shares as he shall subscribe, and all such subscribers shall be holden to pay to the Treasurer at the next and every annual meeting after their subscription the same sum on each share they subscribe that the original members are obliged to advance and pay on theirs. And upon receipt of all monies by the treasurer the party paying it shall receive a certificate under his hand containing the name of the person, the sum paid, the time when, and the account or use for which he paid it, of all which an entry shall be made in the society's records. And every certificate which shall shew that the party hath obtained a right by purchase, shall entitle the person therein mentioned to a membership and a share in the society's property, provided that he shall sign the articles and constitution of the society, having previous thereto had the approbation of the directors. But no person who shall hereafter become possessed of a share or shares in the property of the said society by purchase, shall be thereby entitled to vote in any of their affairs, or be deemed a member, without first being approved of by the directors for the time being.

Of Books
&c

Eightly. Each person who becomes a member of the society shall be entitled to the use of any book in the library. But no person shall at any one time take out of the library or have in his possession a book or books belonging thereto of more than the value of his interest in the propriety, excepting such his interest is not equal to the value of a single book which he may wish to peruse; and any member taking out of the library any book of more than the value of his interest in the propriety shall give sufficient security to the librarian for the safe return of the book, and also for the payment of the overplus value upon failure of such return. And no person shall take out part of any sett or work, without giving security to the Librarian for the value of the whole sett or work provided the value of the whole exceeds the value of his interest in the propriety. Every proprietor shall be accountable for any and every book which he may receive from the library; and if any book thus received shall be lost, or before it is returned shall be injured, the person who so received the same shall be holden to make good such loss or injury by paying to the librarian for the use of the proprietors, such sum or sums as the librarian shall judge sufficient to compensate such loss or injury, nor shall such proprietor his heirs or assigns be allowed afterwards to take any book from the library, or to vote in any meeting of the proprietors untill such compensation be made.

Ninthly, These articles shall be deposited in the library for the inspection and perusal of all persons concerned, and shall not be repealed either together or in part, by any number of the votes, of the members of this society, less than three fourths of the whole number of the votes of the whole number of the members which at the time of such repeal shall belong to this society; nor at any other than an annual meeting of the proprietors. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & names.

		<i>No. shares</i>	<i>Value</i>
1789. Decr. 15th:	Theodore Sedgwick	one	
	Tim Edwards	one	
	Enoch Wm Thayer	one	
	Eben Kingsley	one	
	Isaac Bennett	one	
	Benjamin Pepoon	one	
	Stephen West	one	
	William Walker	one	
	George Gardner	one	
	Ira Seymour	one	
	Stephen Willard	one	
	Jonathan Ingersoll	one	
	Erastus Sergeant	one	
	Phinehas Pease	one	
	Moses Barnum	one	
	Josiah Bradley	one	
	Silas Pepoon	one	
	Stephen Nash	one	
	Jah Woodbridge	one	
	Josiah Jones Junr	one	
	John Bacon	one	
	Oliver Partridge	one	
	Thomas Hunt	one	
	Elisha Bradley	one	
	Asa Williams	one	

Would that we knew the guiding hand behind this effort? Who wrote the Constitution? The penmanship is not unlike the signature of the Rev. Dr. Stephen West, seventh in the list of subscribers and long the Stockbridge pastor (died May 13, 1819, aged 84).

Expression and sentiment might easily be credited to an eighteenth century clergyman, though it would seem probable that legal experience had a part in the composition.

APPENDIX C

SHAREHOLDERS IN THE BERKSHIRE REPUBLICAN LIBRARY

(Unless otherwise noted the authority is the manuscript "List of arrearages" of 1806, 1808, or 1809.

An asterisk (*) following the name indicates the listing of the name in the 1790 census as head of a family.)

	1806	1808	1809
Thankful Ashley	1	1	1
Oliver Ayer	1		
George Bacon, jr.	2	2	2
John Bacon*	2	2†	2‡
†Of which one was "occupied by Jane Lomley"			
‡Of which one was [occupied by] Daniel Pollyer			
Clarke Baldwin	1	1	1
Moses Barnum*	2	1	1
John Barr*	1		
Joseph Barton	1		
E. R. Bellows			1†
†Entered under Mrs. Whitney			
Asa Bement*	2	2	2
Noted also in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 4s			
Abraham Bennett	1	1	1
Caleb Bennet*	1	1	1
Barnabas Bidwell	2	2	2
Elkanah Bishop*	1	1	1
Asahel I. Bradley	1	1	1
Elisha Bradley*	1	1	1
Josiah Bradley	1	1	1
Elisha Brown	4		
1790 as Elijah Brown			
Elijah Brown, Jun.	2	2	2
Elizabeth Brown	1		
Henry Brown	2	2	2
Isaac Brown	1		

	1806	1808	1809
J. Brown			
Noted as owing 3s in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800			
Widow Mary Brown		I	I
Henry B. Byington		I	I
Isaiah Byington	I	I	I
Boyington in 1790 census			
Matthew Cadwell*	I	I	I
Fitch Chamberlain			I
Caleb Chapman	I	I	
Two Caleb Chapmans entered in the 1790 census, one with a family of 4 free white males over 16 years old, 1 under 16, 3 free white females; the other with 1 free white male over 16, 2 free white females.			
James Chapman	I	I	I
Daniel Churchill	I	I	I
Samuel Churchill, Junr.		I	I
Samuel Churchill in 1790 census			
Hn. Codner			
Noted on list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 1s 6d.			
Ebenr Cook*	I		
Noted also in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 8d			
Jemima Cooper	I		
John Cooper	I	I	I
Daniel Couch		I	I
Alva Curtis	I	I	I
Elisha Curtis	I	I	I
Elnathan Curtis*	I	I	I
Isaac Curtis*	2	2	2
Jared Curtis		I	I
John Curtis		I	I
Asa Day			I
Roderick Day	I	I	
S. B. Deming			
Noted as purchaser of a share for \$2.00 in treasurer's report, 6 April 1814			

	1806	1808	1809
B. Deming			1†
†Entered under Mrs. Whitney			
Justus Dickinson*	2		
Nathan Dillingham	1	1	1
Josiah Diming	1		
Benjamin Dresser, Jun.			1
David Dresser			1
John Dresser	1	1	1
Henry E. Dwight			1
Henry W. Dwight*	1		
Isaiah Dwight			
Director, 1803, 1804			
Elizabeth Edwards	1		
Nanny Edwards	1		
Rhoda Edwards	1		
Robert Burr Edwards	1	1	1
Timothy Edwards*	3	3	3
Daniel Fairchild	1	1	1
Ichabod Fairman		1	1
B. Fowler			
Noted as purchaser of share for \$2.00 in treasurer's report, 6 April 1814			
Elijah Garfield	1	1	
David Goodrich			1†
†Also credited on 1808 roll with payment of 25 cents			
Ezekiel Griswold*		1	1
Timothy Griswold	1		
Hamilton			1†
†Entered under Mrs. Whitney (John Hamilton and Benjamin Hamilton entered as heads of families in 1790 census.)			
Job Hart	1	1	1
John S. Hopkins	2	2	2
John Hunt			
Librarian and treasurer, 1805			
Jonathan Ingersoll*	3	3	3

	1806	1808	1809
Daniel James, jr. Treasurer, 1802			
John James*	I	I	I
Horatio Jones	I	I	I
Josiah Jones*	I	I	I
Samuel Jones Director, 1818 Librarian and treasurer, 1812-14			
Stephen W. Jones Stephen Jones in 1790 census	I		
Elijah Kingsley*	I		
Justus D. Lynch		I	I
Ripley Manning	I		
Benjamin Merchant (Marchant)	I	I	I
George C. Morgan			I
Sylvia Morgan	I	I	I
Mary Nash	2	2	
Stephen Nash* Noted on list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 1s			
Moses Nelson*		I	I
John Newell Junr	I	I	I
Samuel Olmstead	I	I	I
Joseph Paddock Noted on list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 1s			
William Parmer		I	I
Sarah Parsons*	I		
Jonathan Patten	I	I	I
Phineas Pease* Noted also in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 1s 4d	2	2	2
Elisha Peck	I	I	I
Daniel Pepoon*	2	2	2
Silas Pepoon*	3	2	2
Peter Perry	I	I	I
Calvin Plumb Noted also in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 1s	I	I	I

	1806	1808	1809
Clarindon Plumb	I	I	I
Eli Phelps	I	I	I
John Reeving	I		
Joseph Rich	I		
Seymour Rockwell			
Librarian and treasurer, 1816, 1818			
Nathan Rossiter	I		
Harvy (Harvey) Sadd		I	I
Mercy Scott	I		
Theodore Sedgwick*	3	I	I
Erastus Sergeant*	3	3	3
Eunice Sergeant	I	I	I
Russel Smith	I	I	I
Cornelius Sturtevant, Jun.		I	I
William Swift	I	I	I
Samuel Whelpley*	I	I	I
Noted also in list of unpaid fines for 1799/1800 as owing 8 <i>d</i>			
Mrs. Whitney		I	I†
†Others for B. Deming, E. R. Bellows, Hamilton			
Elisha Whitney	I	I	
George Whitney			
Librarian and treasurer, 1818			
Silas Whitney*	4		
John Whiton*	I	I	
David Whittlesy	I	I	I
Solomon Whittlesy	I	I	I
Enoch Willard	I	I	I
Stephen Willard	I	I	I
Daniel Willcox	I		
Seth Willcox (Wilcox)	I	I	I
Purchase of a share for \$2.00 noted in treasurer's report, April 1802			
Asa Williams*	I	I	I
Cyrus Williams			
Director, 1818			

	1806	1808	1809
Ephraim Williams			
Director, 1796, 1798			
Mary Williams	1		
Printis Williams	1	1	1
Thomas Williams	2	2†	
†Also credited with payment of 50 cents			
Timothy Williams	1		
William H. Williams	1	1	1
Seth Willis	1		
Mary Willson*	1	1	
Joseph Woodbridge	2	2	2
Louisa Woodbridge	1		

APPENDIX D

NOTICES OF ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE BERKSHIRE REPUBLICAN
LIBRARY AS ADVERTISED IN NEWSPAPERS

1793, April 3, at Mrs. Bingham's	Signed by P. Ashmun, secretary, March 26, 1793 (<i>Western Star</i> , March 26, April 2, 1793)
December 24, at Col. Daniel Pepon's	December 17, 1793 (<i>Western Star</i> , December 17, 1793)
1795, April 8, at Col. Daniel Pepon's	March 31, 1795 (<i>ibid.</i> March 31, April 7, 1795)
1796, April 6, at Mr. Samuel Sprague's	March 28, 1796 (<i>ibid.</i> March 29, April 5, 1796)
1797, April 5, at Mr. Samuel Sprague's	March 27, 1797 (<i>ibid.</i> March 27, April 3, 1797)
1800, April 9, at Captain Daniel Pepon's	March 18, 1800 (<i>ibid.</i> March 25, 1800)
1802, April 7, at Captain D. Pepon's	March 20, 1802 (<i>ibid.</i> March 20, 1802)
1803, April 6, at Captain Daniel Pepon's	March 29, 1803 (<i>ibid.</i> April 2, 1803)
1803, adjourned to Wednesday, May 9, at dwelling house of Stephen Willard innholder, amendments to be considered	

APPENDIX F

REFLECTIONS, MEDITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS OF "AMICUS," 1822

The sale of the books at auction brought forth two letters in the *Berkshire Star* for June 20 and 27, 1822. Seizing on the fact that "it is in contemplation to replace those, and to make other additions to the library," Amicus took occasion to offer suggestions "as to the importance of the education of our children and youth."

They are worth quoting in full:

"For the *Berkshire Star* [June 20, 1822]

"Mr. Editor—I understand the Trustees of the Stockbridge Library, have lately sold at auction many of the old and defaced books belonging to it, and that this was a proper measure, as many of the sets had become broken, and it is contemplation to replace those, and to make other additions to the library. This seems to be an occasion, for some suggestions, as all have some just thoughts as to the importance of the education of our children and youth, as we know that any great intellectual and moral improvement of society must commence with them. After having arrived at full age, the cares and business of life press upon us, and we have little leisure for the cultivation of our minds. Besides, our habits and opinions have become fixed, and we are little inclined to seek for new knowledge, which in an age like this, is essential, and thus we are left behind by those who should be our pupils, and not our instructors. The time was, and there are those left even now to tell us of it, that it was thought quite sufficient for the common boys of the country if they had two months schooling in the year; and I was informed by a respectable old lady in a neighboring town, that in her time, it was considered enough, if the males were taught to read and write, but that writing was not deemed at all necessary for the girls. The fashion is now greatly altered, and it is not thought unbecoming, that the girls who are destined to be mothers, and in that way to have the greatest influence upon the youthful mind, should be competent to direct it. Indeed, there is nothing more striking, in the existing state of our society, than the value which is put upon female education, generally, unless it be, that an opinion has got abroad, that even a laboring man may be the better for knowledge, more useful on that account to himself, to his neighbors: a better citizen—a better man. We all know that the time is but a little since passed that the very mention of instructing that class

of human beings, by their lot, compelled to gain their bread by the sweat of their brow, was treated with ridicule, as a thing quite absurd. Indeed, princes and governments generally set their faces against an innovation so dangerous as it was thought.—What! teach a man at the plough or at their anvil, to read and write, to know what books contain, you will only make him proud, discontented, rebellious, ingenious in mischief, and disposed to resist all lawful authority. New notions however, gained ground, in all countries, bro't forward by the spirit of the age. In this country we know the result. These very men at the plough and the anvil, were taught to read, and the books of that day informed them, that a great and proud nation was trampling upon them, every citizen became a soldier, and every soldier understood the real merits of the argument, between this country and Gt. Britain, as well as the man who stated it on paper. What prevailed? The American mind; every chance of physical force was against us. You will excuse me, Mr. Editor, from thus apparently digressing from the subject, but as the American Revolution became the germ of all our subsequent improvements, we involuntarily turn back to that, as the great cause of our national blessings. And how can this be done so effectually as by giving our youth all the means of instruction presented by the aid of the many captivating books, useful, moral, religious and scientific, which have been written within the last thirty years. I believe it may be said with truth, that more such have been written within that time, than in all previous ages. Books so beautiful in their moral tendency, that they are equally useful for young and old. Who is so old or so wise as not to derive advantage from the delightful tales told by such writers as Miss Moore and Miss Edgeworth. Other writers in their department are equally interesting and useful. And who are to read all these books? Why, certainly, our children. —And have they the time for it? Certainly they have, or for the reading of as many of them as will greatly increase the stock of knowledge, among the mass of our people, and I can even suppose, that in the very next generation, the language of some of the youth now alive, will be that of the oldest men among us at the present time. 'we had not such opportunities in our day.' And that among those opportunities, it may turn out, for instance, that a good library of two or three hundred books in every town of any importance in Massachusetts, will be considered among the best—perhaps in some two or three thousand. But I will not carry my thoughts quite so far. Now, suppose, that we save ourselves from this reproach, and instead of going backwards, that

we begin, (as many of our old books are worn out by a good and fair use.) by going forwards and lay the foundation of a better library than we have ever had, in order that the money we shall raise may accomplish some definite object that we purchase a stock of books for our children and youth—I suppose, that forty or fifty dollars well expended, would buy most of those, which for the present we shall consider essential. If bought they will be read. The love of knowledge is an instinct, the passion for it is increasing. The disgrace of ignorance among the mass of the people, is more and more felt. The miserable notion that a labouring man must of course be prejudiced, narrow, vulgar and ignorant, that he can have no just opinions, and must be without weight in society, is exploded. Thanks to the beneficent being, who has wrought out for us a change of which former ages had no conception. Where then are we to put a limit to the advance of society? I have no doubt that a sufficient subscription may be raised for the objects contemplated, and that by proper regulations the books may be well preserved, and a proper fund created for a reasonable increase of the library. The existence of so flourishing an Academy renders such as object doubly important. Perhaps, our neighbors who have not done more, may take example from us, and do as much as we now propose.

“Of all the numerous charities to which we are called upon to contribute, what one is more interesting than this? What more practical, more within our own control, more certain in its results? And without meaning to disparage others, this is a good to ourselves, to our own children; our first duty is to them, not dictated by selfishness, but by an enlightened regard for the highest concern of man. Are the people of this country aware of the great religious and moral improvement in their society within the last twenty years? Are they ignorant that this is the nursery from which is supplied the tree of knowledge to the remotest parts of our land, that multitudes of instructors, religious and scientific, go forth yearly to water and nourish this tree, to teach lessons to our countrymen everywhere of humanity, of order, of economy, and above all, to communicate that universal, that true knowledge, which by satisfying us of the reasonableness and excellence of the government of the creator of the universe, shall lead us to him and the blessed saviour of the world, as the source of all our mercies? It may be thought that the length and seriousness of my remarks, are disproportioned to the importance of the topic. But believing that nothing is so important as knowledge, to the great body of the people, and by knowledge, I mean to use the word

in its most enlarged sense, in the language of the wise man, as that which is 'better than rubies,' and believing also, that all great and striking improvements in the organization of society have for centuries originated from them. I cannot but believe that the subject is worthy of all attention.

Amicus"

"For the Berkshire Star [June 27, 1822]

"Recollections

"Mr. Editor,—Having made in your last paper some suggestions as to the propriety of purchasing for the Stockbridge Library a number of books specifically designed for the instruction of our children and youth; I send you the substance of a note taken from the first volume of Robertson's history of Charles 5th page 278, which may both amuse and instruct your readers. They will there see the rareness and value of books in those days: the change since in the condition of society we all know. Those were days in which *white* slaves, the very same class now called *fellow citizens*, wore collars about their necks, more or less of them, to show to what master they belonged, and in which these same white slaves eat the garbage from great men's kitchens, the same men who among us are tilling the beautiful fields now before my eyes, with the constantly animating hope of reaping the produce, for the enjoyment of their wives, their children and friends. The note. In the ninth century, Herbaud Comes Palatic, though supreme judge of the empire, by virtue of his office, could not subscribe his name. As late as the 14 century, Du Guesclin, constable of France, the greatest man of the state, *and one of the greatest men of his age*, could neither read nor write—nor was this ignorance confined to laymen, the greater part of the *clergy* was not many degrees superior to them in science. One of the questions appointed by the canons to be put to persons who were candidates for *orders*, was this 'Whether they could read the gospels and epistles, and explain the sense of them, at least, *literally*'—Alfred the Great, complained, that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a priest who understood the liturgy, in his mother tongue. Many circumstances prove the scarcity of books in those days.—Private persons seldom possessed any books whatever. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis XI borrowed the books of Rasis, the Arabian physician, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited in pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to

join with him, as surety in a deed. The Countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, bishop of Haiberstadt, (I have not his works, but no doubt they were invaluable to the true learners of the *science* of ignorance) two hundred sheep, five quarters of wheat and the same quantity of rye and millet. Now, Mr. Editor, the stock of books which I propose as the commencement of our new library, for the instruction of our children and youth, will not exceed the value of ten sheep, that is, *good merinos*. Whether her Ladyship's were of that breed the historian has not deemed it important to relate. These little things called books, do in fact, teach the most important lessons; lessons which the mass of mankind are capable of learning; and which the history of our own country showed that we are acquiring with an eagerness and success, not known to former time.

"They teach not by formal precepts and rules only, which are hard to be inculcated, but by the actual history of nations, of particular societies, and individuals. That governments were made, not for the happiness of the few only, but that of the many; and that the only security for them, is in the knowledge, the reasonableness and humanity of the people. That every age has had its peculiar passions and prejudices which selfish men have availed themselves of, and kept up for their own sinister purposes, long after the causes of them have disappeared; that we, therefore may be under the influence of such; that in individuals, the law of virtue is the law of happiness; difficult to learn, but to be taught from the cradle to the grave; and most effectually taught; when we commence that lesson with our children; that many of these individuals by imbibing this instruction in youth, have attained to a great eminence in virtue; which more may arrive at. These books teach, also, how (a lesson for all mankind) particular societies, are for instance, the friends, or our neighbors. [They teach] by inculcating certain virtues, as perpetual industry, order, economy, cleanliness, have become wonderfully prosperous. They teach likewise, and above all, that religion is the only sure foundation for morals, public or private. These lessons are useful for every people, and I know of none in which they have been, or can continue to be taught with more success, than among ours.

Amicus"

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