The Colonial Scene—1602-1800

PREFACE

THE annotated list of books, broadsides, prints, and maps presented in the following pages as *The Colonial Scene* had its origin in an exhibition of that name put on by the John Carter Brown Library in May, 1949. The revelatory character of that exhibition with regard to the daily life, occupation, and recreation of the resident of English North America suggested the desirability of a permanent printed record of the materials there displayed. It was realized at once that such a catalogue would better effect its purpose and prove of greater practical value if it were expanded by the addition of selected titles from the rich resources in this field of the American Antiquarian Society. In the revision consequent upon this reflection, the catalogue of an exhibition originally put on by a single library was changed in intention, if not in form, into a subject catalogue based upon selections from two libraries. The list which has resulted from these deliberations, however, has not been conceived as an exhaustive or even an extensive bibliography of the subject. Nor has the purpose of the selection been to emphasize rarity, but rather to interpret the Colonial Scene through the medium of a group of representative books chosen with the single idea of their value in illustrating the varied interests of the place and period.

In the process of compilation and revision it was realized that a small number of pieces familiar to the compilers, such, for example, as John Frederick Amelung's account of his glass manufactory and Jared Eliot's essay on making iron from black sea sand, were to be found in neither of the libraries principally concerned. Because of their pertinence

these were added to the list and their locations entered. A further small addition was made in the form of two titles not now to be found in any library, but known with certainty to have been published. A small number of books and broadsides were displayed in the original exhibition through the kindness of the libraries of Brown University and the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Religion and the life of the Church so encompassed and penetrated every phase of colonial life, and their manifestations and implications were so varied in different sections of the country that they cannot be illustrated adequately by a few selections. That whole field, accordingly, was left out of the original exhibition and has not been included in the joint list now published.

The original exhibition was opened at the sixth annual meeting of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library held in the Library on May 6, 1949. The address on that occasion was delivered by Professor Edmund S. Morgan of the Department of History, Brown University, a member of the American Antiquarian Society. The interpretative value of Professor Morgan's address renders it a fitting introduction to this list of titles and commentary which we call *The Colonial Scene*. Certain changes in form of expression have been made in adapting the address to the purposes of an introduction.

The compilation of the list is a collaboration by the members of the staffs of the American Antiquarian Society and the John Carter Brown Library.

INTRODUCTION

BY EDMUND S. MORGAN

There is a nightmare that plagues the historian. He wonders whether he really knows the past or whether he knows only a few misleading fragments of the past, recorded

in books by bookish men, who perhaps knew little of the life around them. The books which are represented in the list that follows are of a kind to allay the historian's doubts. To see them is to believe that they do embody the manifold aspects of life in the American colonies. They inspire confidence if only because they are so extraordinarily dirty and dilapidated. They have obviously been read again and again, not so much by scholars as by men and women of the colonies, who thumbed through them looking for the proper way to shoe a horse, cure the pleurisy, or care for strong beer. These books were themselves a part of the daily life which they represent.

The list is not designed to be exhaustive nor is it designed to show the first book on any subject. The object has been to include representative books which will best exhibit the different facets of daily life in the colonies and early republic. The title given to the list, "The Colonial Scene," is peculiarly appropriate. Two and three hundred years ago, before the rise of the city, the power of the scene dominated life everywhere, but especially so in America, where nature had not yet submitted to ploughs and fences and roads and guns, where men had not yet come to terms with nature and did not yet know what sort of an accommodation she might be willing to grant them. I should like to point out through some of the books listed here, how the colonial scene affected the lives of the people who lived in it.

What did the colonial scene, what did America, mean to these people? One answer, which is fairly shouted from their books, is that America meant the things that the land would yield. The settlers may have come for a variety of reasons: to escape religious persecution, to establish political liberties, to find economic opportunity. But once here they had to live. And anyone who wished to stay alive on a level above that of the barbarous Indians had to find something in the

American wilderness to exchange for the tools and weapons and other goods that were produced in the Old World, and that made life in the Old World comfortable and civilized. However firmly the colonist adhered to his convictions, however high his aspirations, daily life boiled down to earning a living, and to do that he could not escape this imperative question: what can you find here, what can you make here, that you could not find or could not make as easily in the Old World?

Many of the first settlers, of course, hoped to find gold. The Spaniards had found it in the Caribbean and in South and Central America, and there was good reason to look for it in North America too. Martin Frobisher on a voyage to Baffin's Land in 1577 brought back a whole cargo of iron pyrite under the impression that it was gold. The first settlers of Virginia wasted their time chasing after gold instead of planting corn to keep themselves alive, until Captain John Smith dictated a more sober policy. If any of these early prospectors had been successful, the character of the books in this exhibition would have been radically different from what it is. One section of the exhibition would have been totally lacking, that which deals with paper money.

As it is, the earliest book under consideration, important because it foreshadows the future history of the colonies, is one which describes the first cargo of sassafras taken from New England. It was not gold, but more homely things like sassafras and tobacco, fish and lumber that shaped the pattern of life in the British colonies. The cargo of sassafras was brought back by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold from the Elizabeth Islands in 1602, on a voyage described by one of its members, John Brereton, in the book *A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia; being a most pleasant, fruitfull and commodious soile.* Not

only did Captain Gosnold and his company bring back sassafras but they investigated the other commodities that the country might be expected to afford, including native varieties of flax, tobacco, iron ore, and fish. The expedition even took time to sow wheat, barley, oats, and peas in one of America's first experimental gardens on the island of Cuttyhunk. They found that in two weeks' time, in mid-May, the plants had sprung up nine inches and more, and concluded that the soil was "fat and lustie."

Sassafras, of course, did not become one of America's staple products, though as late as 1770 a household medical guide, *Every Man his own Doctor*, still recommended it for virtually everything from colic to cancer. But other native products which the expedition discovered were to occupy future generations of colonial Americans and to leave their mark on American society to the present day.

One of these, which exercised the most absolute dictatorship over life in Virginia and Maryland, was the tobacco plant. Half a dozen titles have been selected to show the range of its influence. One is the proclamation which James I issued in 1624 forbidding the planting of tobacco in the British Isles and the importation of it from foreign countries. James took a dim view of tobacco. The proclamation states his opinion that the only proper use of the plant was medicinal, but in order to encourage the prosperity of the infant colonies of Virginia and Bermuda, James was willing to grant them a monopoly on the growth of this medicinal herb.

The royal governors of Virginia during most of the seventeenth century were regularly instructed to divert the colonists from their unhealthy preoccupation with tobacco, and many colonists also spoke out against the tyranny of tobacco and urged their countrymen to diversify their agricultural efforts and escape from dependence on the whim

of the tobacco market. One of the most notable spokesmen for diversification was Ebenezer Cook, familiar to students of early American literature but relatively neglected by historians. Cook was the author of two poems, known for their racy language, one called the *Sot-Weed Factor*, and the other called *Sotweed Redivivus*.

The first of these, which satirizes the manners of the Maryland tobacco planters, is the better known. The second offers the author's solution to the trouble which the colonists suffered from their attachment to tobacco, the sot-weed. Cook suggests that no girl be allowed to marry until she has produced a complete set of clothing from flax of her own spinning and weaving. Or, if this is too hard on the girls, that no man be allowed to marry until he has grown three thousand weight of merchantable hemp. Cook wants the planting of tobacco to be strictly limited and replaced not only by flax and hemp but by wheat, rice, and cotton, and by pastures for sheep and cattle, for

> "It's Industry, and not a nauseous Weed,
> Must cloath the Naked, and the Hungry feed."

Two other books here reflect the great depression of 1725–1733, perhaps the worst depression that struck the tobacco trade. The Virginia House of Burgesses, in a characteristic attempt to mitigate the difficulties, limited every man in the colony to six thousand tobacco plants per year. The effect on the price was not discernible. Next they tried a new system of inspection which called for burning all tobacco of inferior quality. This law was unpopular with the poorer planters, who were indignant when they took their tobacco to be inspected and saw large quantities of it confiscated and burned before their eyes. They felt somewhat as the American cotton farmer felt not so long ago when he was ordered to plough under part of his crop—with

this difference, that the colonial planter received no compensation for his loss. Governor Gooch, in an attempt to persuade the Virginians that the new system was a good one, wrote a lively little pamphlet called *A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of good Understanding, and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself, recommended to the Reading of the Planters. By a sincere Lover of Virginia.* Sweet-Scented and Oronoco, of course, were two varieties of tobacco. In the course of the dialogue Justice Love-Country explained that the reason for the depression was the bad quality of the tobacco that was being put on the market and that the only way to raise prices and bring back prosperity was to improve quality. It was for this purpose that the Assembly had provided for the burning of all inferior grades. The two planters are persuaded by Justice Love-Country and promise to communicate his explanation to their companions. In point of fact the law was not successful in lifting the depression. Tobacco-cutting riots were particularly bad in 1732, but in the following year prosperity began to return, probably from the natural operation of the business cycle.

In the meantime, however, the London merchants who handled the sale of Virginia and Maryland tobacco had formed an association to try to improve conditions, for they were affected by the depression almost as much as the planters. In the little volume by Henry Darnall, called *A Just and Impartial Account of the Transactions of the Merchants in London, for the Advancement of the Price of Tobacco,* we have a full account of an organization formed by the London merchants in order to fix prices. With no fear of any Sherman anti-trust act the author tells how he and the London merchants tried to agree on price rates, in order to reduce the bargaining power of the big tobacco buyers, particularly that of the agent for the French tobacco com-

panies, who had been able to dictate prices by virtue of his large-scale operations.

Thus the influence of tobacco was ramified: the prosperity of the planter on the banks of the Chesapeake or the James depended on the operations of a French businessman in London.

Probably no other colony was so completely in the grip of a single crop as were Virginia and Maryland. South Carolina carried on a fur-trade with the Indians around the southern tip of the Appalachian mountains and also developed a trade in lumber, rice, and indigo. Rice culture began in the Carolina swamps late in the seventeenth century after Peter Guerard had invented a Pendulum Engine for husking the grain. Cultivation increased rapidly in the eighteenth century. Many London merchants became expert in the marketing of the crop, most of which was reexported from England to the continent. In 1739, with the beginning of the War of Jenkins's Ear, the British government was on the point of banning shipments to European ports. The planters successfully appealed for the continuation of exports in a tract which is included in the list and which emphasizes the dependence of the South Carolinians upon rice. A few years later their dependence was reduced when Eliza Lucas showed them how to grow indigo. The list contains two little treatises, printed in 1747, offering instructions to the Carolina planters on the methods of growing and processing this new source of wealth.

Rice and indigo, both highly valued in England and Europe, became the principal, though not the sole, exports from South Carolina. Certainly no other products so closely affected the lives of the people who lived there. Rice and indigo brought to South Carolina the same kind of gracious living and the same kind of cruel labor that tobacco brought to Virginia.

While rice, indigo, and tobacco were making some Americans rich and filling the southern colonies with slaves, other Americans, and these the vast majority, were devoting their time to less spectacular crops, to what we call subsistence farming. These farmers had to know how to grow corn and wheat, and peas and beans, how to care for cattle and horses, and how to tend to the various odd jobs that have to be done around a farm. They are represented by a large number of little books dealing with agriculture and animal husbandry. The earliest of these, and the earliest book on agriculture to be published in the United States, is the inconspicuous little *Husbandman's Guide*, printed in Boston in 1710. A more intriguing but less significant volume is the reprint of Gervase Markham's book on farriery, entitled *The Citizen and Countryman's Experienced Farrier*. The reprint, published in Wilmington in 1764, assigns the authorship to J. Markham, G. Jeffries, and discreet Indians.

Two books in this group cast the shadow of the future in a strange way. They concern the manufacture of maple sugar. Both were published in Philadelphia in the 1790's, and the place of publication is no coincidence. Philadelphia at this time was the center of the antislavery movement in the United States, and Benjamin Rush, author of one of these books was one of the most devoted of the early opponents of slavery. Rush wanted American farmers to cultivate the sugar maple, in order to reduce the value of the sugar plantations in the West Indies and thereby render slavery less profitable. The sugar maple, he said, might be "the happy means of rendering the commerce and slavery of our African brethen in the sugar Islands as unnecessary, as it has always been inhuman and unjust."

The average American farmer was able to provide himself with most of the necessities of life, but in order to enjoy the benefits of the civilization which had grown up in the

Old World he had to have an export product. Rice, indigo, and tobacco served this purpose in the southern colonies. Lumber, potash, fish, grain and livestock were the products of the North. Lumber came from the riverbanks and was carried to England for making ships, because England's own supplies of lumber were failing. Some Americans took advantage of the abundance of lumber to become shipwrights themselves. They made ships here instead of sending the lumber to England, and they made them faster and cheaper than they could be made in England. The English shipwrights always claimed that the American ships were jerry-built and would fall apart after a dozen years' use, but the Americans kept on building them and kept on selling them. *The Compleat Ship-Wright* by Edmund Bushnell, printed in London in 1716, helped the Americans to become proficient in the art of shipbuilding. In the preface Bushnell tells how the English shipwrights were jealous of their knowledge and took care to teach but few apprentices, and endeavored to hide the complete art even from these, so that these apprentices, "altho bred by such knowing men, yet they are able to teach their Servants nothing more than to Hew or Dub, to Fay a Peice when it is moulded to his place assigned, or the like: but if occasion require, that the greatest part of these Men, by being Carpenters of Ships or the like, may be removed from England to Virginia or New England or the like Countries, where Timber is plenty for their use, yet through their ignorance they durst not undertake such a work: For their sakes I have written this Book, wherein the Reader shall find Instructions sufficient for moulding of any Ship or Vessel whatever, with the Masting of them, drawing of Draughts, and all in a very plain and exact Method."

The cutting of timber for use either in this country or in Europe became a familiar sideline for every American farmer who lived near a river on which logs could be floated

to a mill. Most frontier farmers, however, deep in the interior, were too far removed from such a river to be able to sell the lumber which they had to cut from their lands before they could grow anything. Instead they burned the logs and made potash of them, potash being much easier to transport than logs. A by-product of this aspect of frontier life is the little book by R. Dossie, entitled *Observations on the Pot-Ash brought from America.*

The sea was a most important part of the colonial scene. Not only was it the medium of transportation and communication between the New World and the Old, but it was also the home of the codfish. The coast of New England, and of the northern part of North America generally, is what geologists call a drowned coast. This means that the coastal waters are comparatively shallow and abounding in fish. One of the earliest books on this list, *The Planters Plea*, by John White, records the establishment of the fishing settlements on Cape Ann, the settlements which after many transformations became part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. From that time to this the codfish lurking offshore have shaped the lives of many New Englanders.

Tobacco, lumber, fish, rice, indigo—these were familiar parts of the colonial scene; familiar because they had a market value in the Old World. But for every successful native product of America there were numerous failures, things which the Americans hoped would bring them riches but which proved unprofitable to grow here. A good example is silk. When it was discovered by the early explorers that mulberry trees, the silkworm's favorite food, were native to America, Englishmen dreamt of a flourishing silk industry, the weaving to be done in England from raw silk grown in America. Throughout the colonial period colonists from Connecticut to Georgia courted the silkworm; scholars wrote learned treatises on the methods of cultivation; busi-

ness men invested capital in mulberry groves; colonial governments offered bounties on every pound of silk produced. But the silkworm proved too coy for all its admirers. There are many examples of the books which this mania for silk left in its wake. One of the earliest and most notable is included here. It is a treatise on the cultivation of the silkworm published in 1622 by John Bonoeil, a Frenchman employed by King James I to instruct the Virginians in raising silk. The book is illustrated by a number of plates, showing the various stages of silk production.

Another will-of-the-wisp which the colonists pursued in their search for prosperity was cochineal, a dyestuff manufactured from insects that feed on the fruit of the prickly pear. Still another was the grape. Both of these are represented by tracts describing the methods of culture and urging a wider use.

This preoccupation with the natural resources of the New World was the most direct and important way in which the hand of the environment reached out to manipulate and determine the lives of the settlers. The bulk of the population were concerned in forcing the New World to yield up its fruits. That small part of the population which did not depend directly on produce for their livelihood did so indirectly—as artisans or professional men performing necessary services for those who produced.

But for a small group of colonial settlers this new physical environment was more than the source of new marketable products. Here was a brave new world, full of new plants, new animals, new men and women. It was the newness of the physical environment which excited some people. I am, of course, speaking of philosophers—and I use the word "philosopher" as it was used in the colonial period, to mean a person who wished to increase knowledge of all kinds, useful knowledge as well as speculative. The philosopher's

chief concern was not with the market value of the things he saw about him but with discovering them, observing them, and, above all, understanding them. Let me call your attention to two books in the list which illustrate what the colonial scene meant to the philosopher. The first is a book of no great significance, yet it is highly characteristic. It was published in 1738 in Edinburgh, by John Tennent, a Virginian who was visiting England. It is called *An Epistle to Dr. Richard Mead, concerning the Epidemical Diseases of Virginia, particularly, a Pleurisy and Peripneumony: wherein is shewn the surprising Efficacy of the Seneca Rattle-Snake Root; in Diseases owing to a Viscidity and Coagulation of the Blood.* The book is illustrated by a handsome engraving of the rattlesnake root, and the purpose of the author in writing it was to extol the virtues of this plant as a cure for many of the diseases that plagued Virginia and the rest of the world in these years. The virtues of the rattlesnake root as an antidote for the bite of the rattlesnake had been discovered by the Seneca Indians. Tennent came to the conclusion that a variety of other diseases, including pleurisy and the gout, were produced by poisons in the system similar to that of rattlesnake venom and could therefore be cured by the same drug. He was convinced that his discovery was as important as the discovery of Peruvian Bark, the source of quinine, which was already being used as a cure for malaria.

Other physicians of the time were not convinced that the rattlesnake root possessed the virtues which Tennent claimed for it. They called him a quack, and he answered in kind. The pages of the *Virginia Gazette* for several months rang with angry medicinal arguments on the subject. Tennent, in order to demonstrate his good faith, offered ample quantities of the drug free to anyone who wished to use it, and ultimately the Virginia Assembly rewarded him for his public service with a gift of £100. In point of fact Tennent

was more than a little mistaken, but it is clear that for him America was the land of the rattlesnake root. He was an apostle dedicated to relieving sufferers everywhere by means of this plant which God had hidden in the forests of the New World, and of which he, John Tennent, had alone discovered the significance.

Another book that I wish to mention is the *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice. Made by Mr. John Bartram, in his Travels from Pensilvania to Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario, in Canada.* John Bartram was famous in his day as America's greatest botanist, a man without formal training, whose exacting curiosity about the world he lived in won him recognition in the Old World as well as the New. The book is simply a journal which he kept on a trip with Lewis Evans, the map-maker, and Conrad Weiser, the ambassador extraordinary to the Indians. Here is set down what John Bartram saw in the American wilderness, a part of the colonial scene that was never far away from any colonist. Bartram saw the ginseng, a plant valued by many physicians as highly as John Tennent valued the rattlesnake root. Bartram noted carefully where it grew and in what kind of soil. He saw mountains whose contours disclosed to him the directions of the universal Deluge which had swept the world in the time of Noah. There was, after all, no reason to suppose that America had escaped the Deluge, and for nearly a hundred years after Bartram's time men were finding in the American landscape traces of this great flood. But above all Bartram saw Indians. For the average colonist the Indian was simply an obstacle in the colonial scene to be overcome. For Bartram, as for other thoughtful Americans, the Indian was an historical and theological problem. Whence had the Indian come? Ebenezer Cook had considered the problem in the *Sot-Weed Factor*. It had

fascinated whole generations of New England ministers. The question was how God had peopled America. Had he created the Indians right here, or were they descendants of some early adventurers who had crossed the ocean from Europe, or were they Asiatics and was there perhaps a continuous bridge of land between America and Asia? Whatever answer you chose was apt to involve difficulties, either in contradicting the Bible or in contradicting what facts were known about history and geography. Bartram like most people favored the theory that the Indians had come here from the older lands, sometime in the distant past. But whatever their origin, he observed that the Iroquois, among whom he and his companion travelled, were "a subtile, prudent, and judicious people in their councils, indefatigable, crafty, and revengeful in their wars, the men lazy and indolent at home, the women continual slaves, modest, very loving, and obedient to their husbands." This was a well-considered judgment. Whatever might be the philosophical or religious significance of the American Indians, they were a part of the colonial scene, and potential enemies whom it was well to understand.

Bartram's journey was made in 1743, when several of the English colonies were over a hundred years old. Yet his journey in the wilderness was made through country only a few hundred miles from the coast. This fact brings to mind how little the American colonists really knew of the continent in which they lived. Even at the opening of our independent existence, the great bulk of America was a land of mystery where mammoths or other creatures known only as fossils in Europe might still be roaming. For many years after 1800, the terminal date of this list, the American continent continued to provide inspiration to philosophers and scientists, both American and European.

The colonial scene sometimes intruded itself in areas of

colonial life where one might not expect to find it. A book which probably once belonged to some New England farmer is the *Cyder Maker's Instructor*, printed in Boston in 1762. At this time cider, brewed on the farm, was the principal beverage of the people who lived in the interior of New England. Every farmer had an apple orchard large enough to keep him supplied with cider throughout the year. The coastal areas, more urbanized, drank the rum which was distilled by commercial distilleries from West Indies molasses. Thus cider was associated with the farmers who constituted the mass of the population. Rum was associated with the people who lived in Boston and the other coastal towns. In 1754 the Massachusetts General Court, which had a preponderance of country members, voted an excise tax on rum. To one not familiar with the colonial scene this might appear to be simply a luxury tax on a beverage which was known to be lethal and which should have been discouraged anyhow. Actually it was a soak-the-rich tax, designed to extract revenue from the city-slickers who drank rum, without hurting the hard-cider boys from the back-country.

As soon as the act was passed the easterners set up a howl of protest. Pamphlets streamed from the presses describing the act as a gross violation of English constitutional rights. According to the terms of the bill every householder had to submit to the tax collector an account of the rum consumed in his home in the course of the year and to pay a tax on it. This was invading the sanctity of the home, and an Englishman's home was his castle. If the act were to go into effect, the rights of Englishmen would vanish, the sacred bonds of the family would be destroyed, and no woman's virtue would be safe. Chastity would be sacrificed to the tax collectors, who would use their position to extort favors from every female they took a fancy to. Governor Shirley was impressed with this barrage of arguments and vetoed the tax,

advising the members of the General Court to go home and consult their constituents. When the Court met again, the various towns had given instructions to their representatives on the measure. Evidently the eastern towns opposed the tax, and some of the western ones, impressed by the arguments of the governor and the stormy opposition of the press, also voted to oppose it. But the members of the General Court were more stubborn. They decided to pay no attention to their instructions, pushed the act through, and jailed the printer of one of the more scurrilous pamphlets provoked by the act—a piece called *The Monster of Monsters*. This time Governor Shirley, pressed for funds to carry on the French and Indian War which was then beginning, reluctantly approved. The easterners thereupon hired a special agent to persuade the Privy Council in England to disallow the act. The General Court instructed the regular agent of the colony to do his best to secure approval. In the final round, fought out at Whitehall, the General Court won, and the tax went into effect.

The episode is perhaps of no great significance in itself, though it did result in the moving of Daniel Fowle, the printer of *The Monster of Monsters*, from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he established the first press and began publication of the first newspaper in the colony, the *New Hampshire Gazette*. What is interesting about the whole thing is the way in which the local products and habits of different sections affected politics. The *Cyder Maker's Instructor* appears to us like an innocent treatise on the manufacture of a beverage. So it was, but to the people who found it in a Boston bookshop in 1762, it must have called to mind a very bitter political quarrel.

The things that the colonists grew in their fields or manufactured in their workshops were not only the substance of their daily lives but also the foundation of their politi-

cal activities. The controversy over the excise tax on rum is simply a dramatic example of how agricultural and industrial pursuits might enter into local politics. When one examines the relationship of the colonies with their mother country, it is apparent that imperial politics rested on the same foundation. Ask any high school student how England treated her colonies, and, if you can get an answer, it will contain the word "mercantilism." Mercantilism, as applied to the relationship between England and the colonies, meant that the colonies were expected to confine themselves to producing those things which England needed and which she could not readily produce at home. This in effect was demanding that the colonists do what was most profitable for them to do. They must not manufacture woolen cloth or iron goods, but they were more than welcome to grow tobacco and rice and indigo, to catch fish, cut timber, and even to refine iron ore into pig iron.

Since what England demanded of the colonies was precisely what they were best fitted to produce, the Navigation Acts, which defined the relationship between England and her colonies were never a serious source of friction. They were not even mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. The quarrel which produced the Revolution arose when Parliament began to alter the Navigation Acts and to tax the colonies. When this occurred, it is interesting to note how quickly the different products which could be grown in the colonies came to have political associations. In the late 1760's and early 1770's it was unpatriotic to eat mutton. Why? Because sheep should be kept alive for their wool, which the colonists needed in order to make effective their boycott against British woolen goods. Students at all the colleges appeared at Commencement in homespun. Non-importation agreements served as complete protective tariffs for incipient native industrial establishments. In

contrast, some native products came to have odious connotations. In the list are several treatises on the growth of hemp and flax. Before the troubles with England hemp was a perfectly respectable crop. About the time the troubles began, England placed a bounty on hemp to encourage its growth. Persons who were anxious to smooth out the differences between mother country and colonies tried to divert the colonists from distilling rum, because the British government had placed a tax on molasses, and to encourage them to grow hemp, which might form the basis of a thriving rope business. To persons who thought that the tax on molasses was unconstitutional this boosting of hemp was cowardice. In Newport, Rhode Island, in 1764 the local papers carried a series of articles commending the growth of hemp and flax, combined with acid comments on the local fire-eaters who wanted a showdown on England's right to tax. The result was that the authors of the articles were hanged in effigy, one of them having a label affixed to him reading, "we have an hereditary, indefeasible right to an Haltar . . . we encouraged the Growth of Hemp you know."

It is significant, I think, that so many of these books are associated with the physical environment from which they sprang. Scholars in the past generation have gained a new understanding of our history by examining the influence of the American frontier. In this first American frontier, the colonial scene, the hand of the environment reached out in all directions. Because the colonists could never ignore it, their books are a lasting exhibition of the colonial scene.

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I. THE HOUSE

ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS (RURAL AND URBAN), THE COLLEGE, THE CHURCH, THE CITY STREET, HEATING, FURNITURE

JAMES GIBBS. A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments . . . . The Second Edition. London, 1739.

The architectural treatises and design books of Gibbs, William Halfpenny, Batty Langley, and several other English practitioners and writers were the main resource of the American architect of pre-Revolutionary America and, perhaps, of his successor of the next generation. Frequently the relationship between an American building and a design in one of these books is direct and unequivocal. An example of this is the spire of the First Baptist Church in Providence, built in 1770, which was constructed exactly upon a design found in this edition of Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* on Plate 30.

Copies: JCB. [I, 1]

ABRAHAM SWAN. The British Architect: or, The Builders Treasury of Stair-Cases. . . . The Whole being illustrated with upwards of One Hundred Designs and Examples, curiously engraved on Sixty Folio Copper-Plates. . . . Philadelphia, R. Bell, for John Norman, 1775.

The first complete architectural work issued in what is now the United States was this handsome reprint of Abraham Swan's *The British Architect*, first published in London in 1745. The American edition was printed at Philadelphia in 1775. Its designs are for public buildings or dwelling houses conceived in the grand manner. The engravings are by the publisher of the book, "John Norman Architect Engraver," an Englishman who first appeared in this country at Philadelphia in 1774. Removing to Boston in 1780, he continued his publication of architectural works and engraved for himself and others a great many plates of a cartographical, pictorial, and utilitarian character.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [I, 2]

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY BUILDER'S ASSISTANT. . . . The Whole illustrated by upwards of 200 Examples, Engraved on 60 Folio Copper-plates. By a Lover of Architect. Boston, J. Norman, [1786].

John Norman (see note to Swan's *British Architect*, above) is presumed to have compiled this work from a variety of English sources. In its house plans and details this collection more nearly approaches the needs of the average well-to-do man than the more ambitious reprint of Abraham Swan's *British Architect*. An interesting feature of it is the full page which contains "The Prices of Carpenter's Work, in the Town of Boston."

Copies: AAS; JCB. [I, 3]

ASHER BENJAMIN. The Country Builder's Assistant: containing a Collection of New Designs of Carpentry and Architecture . . . Correctly engraved on thirty Copper Plates. . . . Greenfield, Thomas Dickman, 1797.

The earliest original architectural work written by an American and published in this country was this first edition of Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, many times republished in later years. The plans in this book are adaptable to the simpler structures of farm and village. Benjamin was a carpenter-architect of Greenfield, Deerfield, and surrounding towns. He believed that his circular staircase for the State House at Hartford was the first "that was ever made in New England." He was the author of several books on American architecture, much sought after by collectors today. He died in 1845.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [I, 4]

A S.W. VIEW OF THE COLLEGE in Providence, together with the President's House & Gardens. D. Leonard, Del. S. Hill, Sculp.

This engraving was designed by a graduate of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, of the class of 1792. In its general likeness to Nassau Hall and other buildings in colonial institutions of learning "the College," now University Hall, is representative of American collegiate architecture of the period. Among the Brown Papers in the John Carter Brown Library are a preliminary floor plan; an estimate by the builder of the cost of erection; estimate of the cost of building the President's

House; and scores of letters and accounts with merchants, brick makers, carpenters, and others concerned in the building of the college in 1770. A charming reproduction of this print, in color, was published in 1949 by the Friends of the Library of Brown University.

Copies: Brown University Library; JCB. [I, 5]

WILLIAM and THOMAS BIRCH. The City of Philadelphia . . . as it appeared in the Year 1800 consisting of twenty-eight Plates Drawn and Engraved by W. Birch & Son. Published by W. Birch, Springfield Cot. near Neshaminy Bridge on the Bristol Road. Pennsylvania. Decr. 31st. 1800. W. Barker sculp.

The Birch views of Philadelphia—shipping, markets, docks, churches, public buildings, private residences, and residential streets—is the best existing summary of American urban architecture of the late eighteenth century. From its engraved title-page by W. Barker to the last of its twenty-nine prints (including a plan of the city), the book is a notable display of learned architectural rendering, skillful and imaginative design and engraving, and delicately applied color. The individual plates are dated variously from 1798 to 1800, and most of them bear the imprint of R. Campbell & Co. Clearly they were intended to be issued and sold separately before the complete series was brought together in this volume. The Birches were English craftsmen who came to Philadelphia in 1794. They are remembered for another important series of interest in this section of our list—*Country Seats of the United States of North America*, published in 1808.

Copies: Dr. and Mrs. Halsey De Wolf, of Providence. [I, 6]

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places: wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation is particularly explained. . . . With Directions for putting them up . . . And a Copper-Plate. . . . Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin, 1744.

Believing that inventions were for the benefit of mankind Franklin refused to profit by the manufacture and sale of the "Pennsylvanian Fire-Place," which we know as the Franklin stove. This book, describing the invention for comfort in the house, was printed at the expense of

Robert Grace, the manufacturer of the stove. There is reason to believe that the drawings were made by Lewis Evans, the cartographer, and engraved by James Turner of Boston. The fame of the stove soon spread abroad. The John Carter Brown Library has, in separate English and French editions, *An Account of the Principle and Effects of the Air Stove-Grates, Commonly known by the Name of American Stoves: together with a Description of the late Additions and Improvements made to them by James Sharp, (for which his Majesty's Patent is obtained)*. . . . The Sixth Edition, [*c.* 1782]. The John Carter Brown copy of the Franklin book of Philadelphia, 1744, was given by Lewis Evans to Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller and scientist.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [I, 7]

THOMAS SHERATON. The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing-Book. . . . London, for the Author, by T. Bensley, 1793.

The maker of the more formal and more expensive furniture of eighteenth-century America drew his inspiration from the design books of the three great English cabinet makers—Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton. The stamp of their taste, originality, and skill was to be found in thousands of drawing rooms and dining rooms from Maine to Georgia, sometimes in the form of furniture imported from London, sometimes in pieces of local make in which the designs of the masters had been interpreted by the cabinet makers of American towns and cities. We are accustomed to think of these three as of the same period, but in his introduction Sheraton says that the designs in Chippendale's *Gentleman & Cabinet-Maker's Director* of 1754 are "now wholly antiquated and laid aside." Of Hepplewhite's designs in *The Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* of 1788, particularly the chairs, he says that compared with the newest taste they have "already caught the decline."

Copies: JCB. [I, 8]

II. THE HOMESTEAD

KITCHEN, GARDEN, BREW-HOUSE, DAIRY, AND BARN

E. SMITH. The Compleat Housewife: or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion: Being a Collection of several Hundred of the most approved Receipts, in

Cookery . . . To which is Added, A Collection of near Two Hundred Family Receipts of Medicines . . . Collected from the Fifth Edition. Williamsburg, William Parks, 1742.

In the household economies the American colonists were dependent upon customary procedure inherited from their British forefathers or upon printed instructions found in English books. *The Compleat Housewife* of Williamsburg, 1742, reprinted from an English book of 1727, is the earliest cookbook to be published in the English colonies. The American Antiquarian Society copy is the only perfect specimen among the four known to have survived.

Copies: AAS. [II, 1]

ASA ELLIS, JR. The Country Dyer's Assistant. . . . Brookfield (Massachusetts), E. Merriam & Co., for the Author, [1799].

The author of this handbook complains that in America when the homespun wool comes to be dyed "women and children commonly dictate the colours . . . But they frequently make an injudicious choice; the colour which they dictate fades; the coat is spoiled, is thrown aside, or given to Jack the garden boy, and poor little Tommy must have a new one." He suggests, therefore, scientific procedures for the manufacture and use of dyes.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [II, 2]

JOHN RANDOLPH, JR. A Treatise on Gardening by a Citizen of Virginia. . . . Reprinted from The American Gardener . . . 1826. Edited by M. F. Warner. Reprinted by Appeals Press, Inc. for the William Parks Club, Richmond, 1924.

The earliest American-printed book of instruction devoted solely to the conduct of the kitchen garden seems to have been the compilation of John Randolph, Jr., of Virginia, published first, it is believed, in 1793, and reprinted, as indicated in the title above, in 1826. No copy of the original edition is known today. Valuable material on early American gardening, chiefly flower and fruit culture, is contained in the letters between Peter Collinson of London and John Custis of Williamsburg, 1734–1746, published by the American Antiquarian Society in its

Proceedings for April, 1948, edited by Dr. E. G. Swem, with the title, "Brothers of the Spade."

Copies: AAS. [II, 3]

A COMPLETE GUIDE for the Management of Bees, through the Year. By a Farmer of Massachusetts. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas & Leonard Worcester, 1792.

Beekeeping, one of the earliest activities of man, was introduced into New England as early as 1638. Honey was an important element in the diet of communities in which sugar was an expensive article of importation.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [II, 4]

THOMAS CHAPMAN. The Cyder-Maker's Instructor, Sweet-Maker's Assistant, and Victualler's and Housekeeper's Director. In three Parts. . . . London, Printed: Boston, re-printed and Sold by Green & Russell, 1762.

A book on cider-making was in the nature of things a book of universal concern in the English colonies. Cider was, in fact, the national drink. After the juice had been pressed from the apples and barrelled the maker had nothing to do except sit quietly, letting Nature take her course, and observe happily the action of what has been called the "glorious process of fermentation." Writing of life in New England as early as 1674 John Josselyn spoke approvingly of the cheapness of cider in Boston, and rapturously of its quality when fortified in bottling by the addition of raisins. A few years later, in 1692, the advertisement of a book on farm products intended for publication in Philadelphia specifically mentioned that it would contain instructions for the making of cider. About 1740 a young tobacco factor wrote to a friend in England describing life in Maryland in a bit of doggerel which ran as follows:

Our Fires are wood, Our Houses as good;
Our Diet is Hawg & Homine.
Drink juice of the Apple, Tobaccoe's our staple
Gloria tibi Domine.

The political implications of rural cider drinking versus urban rum drinking are discussed by Professor Morgan in his introduction to this catalogue.

Copies: AAS, JCB. [II, 5]

DIRECTIONS for managing Strong Beer, exported to America, &c. [*dated at bottom in longhand:*] Glasgow 3 March 1767 [*and signed:*] Jno & Wm Cunningham & Co. *Broadside.*

From this advertisement we may conclude that home-brew was so far from perfection in America in the late eighteenth century that the importation of malt liquors from England and Scotland was still a regular procedure. Written on the back of this broadside is a receipt by a Philadelphia firm for payment made by John Brown of Providence for one hogshead of Scots Ale.

Copies: JCB. [II, 6]

SAMUEL CHILD. Every Man his own Brewer . . . proving the Ease and Possibility of Every Man's brewing his own Porter, Ale and Beer, in any Quantity . . . calculated to reduce . . . the destructive Practice of Public-House Tippling. . . . Philadelphia, for T. Condie, 1796.

A popular English work, published in several editions in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The American publisher, Thomas Condie, claims that he has made numerous additions and that the publication will "serve the labouring part of mankind, and render their situation more comfortable by a considerable reduction of their domestic expenses."

Copies: AAS. [II, 7]

THE ART OF CHEESE-MAKING, taught from actual Experiments, by which more and better Cheese may be made from the same quantity of milk. Windham: Printed and sold by John Byrne, 1798.

This leaflet was designed to bring to the troubled farm wife, at the price of a penny or two, "rules selected from the approved practice of distinguished dairy women—of dealers in cheese—and writers on the subject, both in England and America." Cheese was then an important article of diet, and was produced in great quantities by the beef industry as then operated. Three years after the publication of this tract one of the towns in which it circulated made President Jefferson

a present of a single cheese weighing 1235 pounds, and then made another weighing 1400.

Copies: AAS. [II, 8]

[THOMAS TRYON.] The Country-Man's Companion: or, A New Method of Ordering Horses & Sheep so as to preserve them both from Diseases and Causalties . . . particularly . . . The Rot. By Philotheos Physiologus. . . . London, Andrew Sowle, [*c.* 1684].

If anything were needed to stress the importance of the horse in the life of the colonial American, one might point to the large number of books on farriery which at first were imported and later came from the presses of all sections of the country. *The Country-Man's Companion* is an English work of farriery to which has been attached "The Planters Speech to his Neighbours & Country-men in Pennsylvania, East and West-Jersey, &c. And to all such as have Transported themselves into New-Colonies for the sake of a quiet Life." This edition of Tryon's book was printed in London by Andrew Sowle, the Quaker printer, father-in-law of William Bradford, printer and bookseller of Philadelphia. The addition to it of this address to the new colonists of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys makes it certain that it was intended primarily for American use. The address was also separately published from the same setting of type in 1684.

Copies: JCB. [II, 9]

GERVASE MARKHAM, G. JEFFERIES, and DISCREET INDIANS. The Citizen and Countryman's experienced Farrier. . . . London, printed, Wilmington, reprinted, James Adams, 1764.

The earliest American-printed work to contain an important section on farriery is *The Husbandman's Guide*, of Boston, 1710, entered below in Section III, "The Farm." This edition of Gervase Markham's work on farriery, devoted chiefly to the horse, was presumably revised for American use, though despite the reference to "Discreet Indians" there is little in it of purely local concern. The original Gervase Markham treatise had been published in England more than a century earlier.

The author concerns himself with the running horse and the hunter as well as with the ordinary horse of daily usefulness.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [II, 10]

NEUER ERFAHRNER, Amerikanischer, Haus-und Stallarzt . . . zum Nutzen der Deutschen Nation in den Vereinigten Staaten. . . . Friederich-Stadt [Frederick, Maryland], Matthias Bartgis, 1794.

Translated by Matthias Bartgis, printer, of Frederick, Maryland, from an unidentified French work, this book of cures for man and animal was published by him for the Pennsylvania-German farmers of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [II, 11]

III. THE FARM

GENERAL HANDBOOKS, LOCAL PROBLEMS, SCIENTIFIC TREATISES, FARM SURVEYING, MARKETS

THE HUSBANDMAN'S GUIDE: In Four Parts. Part First. Containing many Excellent Rules for Setting and Planting of Orchards, Gardens and Woods, the times to Sow Corn, and all other sorts of Seeds. Part Second. Choice Physical Receipts for divers dangerous Distempers in Men, Women and Children. Part Third. The Experienc'd Farrier . . . Part Fourth. Certain rare Receipts to make Cordial Waters, Conserves, Preserves.... Boston, John Allen, for Eleazar Phillips, 1710.

The immense literature printed in the United States pertaining to agriculture began with *The Husbandman's Guide* in its first edition of Boston, 1710, unrecorded in Evans's *American Bibliography*. An agricultural treatise was advertised by William Bradford of Philadelphia as early as 1692, but there is no record that the book was ever printed. The present work may claim, furthermore, to contain as one of its parts the earliest treatise on farriery published in English America. Its matter was peculiarly applicable to general interests also because of its pre-

scriptions for the planting and care of the orchard and of the kitchen and flower garden. Another useful and extensive section is headed "Useful Forms of Acquittances, Bills, Bonds, Assignments, Indentures, Leases, Deeds, Mortgages, &c," an obviously fresh compilation in which the forms are filled in with the names of New England towns and with dates as late as 1710.

Copies: JCB. [III, 1]

THE HUSBAND-MAN'S GUIDE, in Four Parts. Part First, Containing Monthly Directions for Husbandry, with excellent Rules for Planting of Orchards and Gardens. . . . Part Second, Choice Physical Receipts for divers dangerous Distempers. . . . Part Third, The experienced Farrier. . . . Part Four, Contains the useful Rules of Arithmetick, &c. The second Edition, Enlarged. Printed for & Sold by Elea. Phillips Book-seller, in Boston, 1712.

This second and enlarged edition of the *Husband-Man's Guide*, like the first of Boston, 1710, is not found in Evans's *American Bibliography* under 1712. Mr. Evans enters the book, probably from an advertisement, under 1711, gives a different printer, no collation, and no location of a copy. Because of its unexpected interest as an arithmetical work, this book is given a second entry and fuller discussion under Section X, "Education."

Copies: JCB. [III, 2]

[JOHN SMITH.] The Husbandman's Magazene. Being a Treatise of Horses, Mares, Colts, Oxen, Cows, Calves, Sheep, Swine, Goats: With Directions for their Breeding & Ordering. . . . Together with plain Rules for improving Arable & Pasture Lands; improving most sort of Grain to the best Advantage. . . . The Management, Improvement and Preservation of Fruit-Trees, Plants & Flowers. The Manner and Ordering of Flax and Hemp; and Increasing and Preserving of Bees. With Cutts. By J. S. Boston, Reprinted, John Allen for Nicholas Boone, 1718.

The natural inference that because of similarity of title and place of publication this *Husbandman's Magazene* might be an enlarged version of the earlier *Husbandman's Guide* of 1710 and 1712 does not bear the test of a comparison between the two works, though there are clear likenesses in the receipts for animal illnesses suggesting that the earlier book might have influenced the later, or that these prescriptions were drawn from a source common to both or from a common tradition. The new work is a more extensive treatise than the books of 1710 and 1712, covering a more varied area of agricultural activity. The "J. S." of the title-page was identified by Mr. Wilberforce Eames and others in correspondence with him as the J. Smith, Gent., who wrote *Profit and Pleasure United, or the Husbandman's Magazene*, London, 1684 and 1704; and *England's Improvement Revived*, London, 1670, a learned treatise on reforestation, a copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library. This Boston edition of *The Husbandman's Magazene* is illustrated by four crude woodcuts of a Bull, a Horse, a Ram, and a Hog, which may have been made by James Franklin, brother of Benjamin, who is known to have possessed some skill at engraving in the woodcut manner.

Copies: AAS.

[III, 3]

[*In English and French:*] A DESIGN to represent the beginning and completion of an American Settlement or Farm. Painted by Paul Sandby, from a Design made by his Excellency Governor Pownal. Engraved by James Peake. London, Thos. Jefferys, 1761. (In Thomas Pownall, *Six Remarkable Views in the Provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania.* . . . London, Thomas Jefferys, [1761], No. 6.)

This lively picture of pioneer America at work, sketched by the accomplished British civil servant, Thomas Pownall, who had been governor of Massachusetts and lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, is here entered in its original form of publication. Later it became part of the series published as *Scenographia Americana.* The Governor's drawing portrays men at work plowing newly cleared land, from which logs are being taken to a water-driven sawmill; a log-house residence; and, across a river in an older settlement, perhaps, a much more sumptuous homestead. Upon the river are a skiff, a canoe, and two sloops. Cattle are grazing, and fields are being planted. This was a heartening picture

drawn by the Governor for the information and delectation of the British public, aroused to new interest in the colonies by the happy conclusion of the French and Indian War.

Copies: JCB. [III, 4]

JARED ELIOT. An Essay upon Field-Husbandry in New-England as it is or may be Ordered. Parts I-V. New-London, T. Green, 1748.

The agricultural essays of the versatile Jared Eliot of Connecticut contain instructions for the raising of cattle and the cultivation of grass, hemp, flax, and various other crops, with advice as to the tools of husbandry. In later special publications entered in this catalogue under "Mining, Manufacturing, and other Industries," Eliot discusses silk culture and the manufacture of iron. One of his biographers writes of the present publication that "These for a long time were the most widely read and prized agricultural essays in America."

Copies: AAS. [III, 5]

AMERICAN HUSBANDRY. Containing an Account of the Soil, Climate, Production and Agriculture, of the British Colonies in North-America and the West Indies. . . . By an American. London, for J. Bew, 1775. 2 volumes.

This work, sometimes attributed to Arthur Young, English agriculturist and correspondent of Washington the Farmer, is a descriptive account of American agriculture as it existed in 1775 rather than a practical treatise on agriculture.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 6]

[JOHN BEALE BORDLEY.] A summary View of the Courses of Crops, in the Husbandry of England & Maryland; with a Comparison of their Products; and a System of improved Courses, proposed for Farms in America. Philadelphia, Charles Cist, 1784.

John Beale Bordley, of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, pleaded in this brief treatise for the correct rotation of crops as practiced in England.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 7]

CHARLES VARLO. A new System of Husbandry . . . with Tables shewing the Expence and Profit of each Crop . . . To which are annexed a few Hints humbly offered for the perusal of the Legislators of America, shewing how to put a stop to runaway Servants. . . . Philadelphia, for the Author, 1785. 2 volumes.

Charles Varlo brought to his residence of two years in America an agricultural experience based upon sound English practice. Such questions of present-day interest as the mode of ploughing to be preferred—shallow ploughing, deep ploughing, or trench ploughing—are discussed at length in Varlo's learned and practical treatise.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 8]

METCALF BOWLER. A Treatise on Agriculture and practical Husbandry. . . . Providence, Bennett Wheeler, 1786.

The *Treatise* of Metcalf Bowler of Rhode Island was an essay in the science of agriculture rather than a practical work concerned with the daily activities of the farm.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 9]

NOTES on Farming. New York, 1787.

This anonymous publication, based on Young's *Farmer's Tour through England*, was especially designed to encourage farming in the United States. It emphasizes the planting of Indian corn, pumpkins, and other crops indigenous to America.

Copies: AAS. [III, 10]

SAMUEL DEANE. The New-England Farmer; or, Georgical Dictionary: containing a compendious Account of the Ways and Methods in which the most Important Art of Husbandry, in all its various Branches, is, or may be, practised to the greatest Advantage in this Country. . . . Worcester, Isaiah Thomas, 1790.

For quick reference to brief practical articles upon hundreds of topics of farm and household economy, this alphabetically arranged

compendium by Samuel Deane must have commended itself to the farmer and his household.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 11]

JOHN BEALE BORDLEY. Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs. . . . Philadelphia, Budd and Bartram for Thomas Dobson, 1799.

Bordley's book is excellent reading as well as practical and informative. Its discussion of "Rural Affairs," that is, Country Habitations, Ice Houses, Potato-Spirit and Beer, Diet, and Gypsum Manure, are interesting and enlightening. The new ideas and devices mentioned in the book are illustrated by engraved plates.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 12]

ABRAHAM MILTON. The Farmer's Companion, directing how to Survey Land after a new and particular Method. By Abraham Milton, Farmer, of Kent County, in Maryland. Annapolis, for the Author, 1761.

Milton's little book of thirty-four pages on land surveying for the use of farmers was advertised with encomiums by neighboring farmers and by "H. Jones, Philomath," the celebrated Maryland and Virginia clergyman, Hugh Jones, then of Cecil County, Maryland. Knowledge of land surveying was a traditional accomplishment in rural America, where in many sections it was taught as a matter of course to school boys.

Copies: No copy now located. Title from a photograph in the Maryland Historical Society made from a copy formerly in private ownership. [III, 13]

[BENJAMIN COLMAN.] Some Reasons and Arguments Offered to the Good People of Boston and adjacent Places for the setting up Markets in Boston. Boston, J. Franklin for S. Gerrish and J. Edwards, 1719. [*On verso of title:*] Boston, Feb. 29. 1719. Imprimatur, Samuel Shute.

Organized town markets, like those of the towns and cities of Europe, were common in the colonies from the earliest times, the first market

place having been established at Jamestown as early as 1617. In Boston, however, there was controversy over the question of whether or not a public market should be established, because it was felt that the individual farmer had a better chance to obtain a good price for his produce if he sold at his own time and in his own way. Markets were established and discontinued in Boston at various times during the entire colonial period, and even the gift to the town of a market house built by Peter Faneuil at his own cost in 1740 did not entirely quiet the controversy. This tract of 1719 advocating the establishment of a market in Boston was written by Benjamin Colman, minister of the Brattle Street Church.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [III, 14]

IV. STAPLE PRODUCTS

TOBACCO, RICE, NAVAL STORES, INDIGO, AND MAPLE SUGAR

RALPH HAMOR. A true Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June. 1614. . . . With . . . The Christening of Powhatans daughter and her mariage with an Englishman. . . . London, John Beale for William Welby, 1615.

The beginning of tobacco raising and merchandizing in the "tobacco colonies," Virginia and Maryland, finds record in a few brief sentences in Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse*, and in accounts of Virginia by John Rolfe and William Strachey both of which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. From these sources one concludes that it was John Rolfe, husband of Pocahontas, who imported seeds from Trinidad, rooted out the harsh native tobacco, and studied better ways of planting, cultivating, and curing the leaf.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 1]

[*caption title:*] BY THE KING. A Proclamation concerning Tobacco. [*colophon:*] London, Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1624.

This royal proclamation issued in 1624 prohibited the importation into England of any tobacco except that which was the "proper growth"

of Virginia and the Summer Islands, theoretically eliminating the tobacco of Spanish America from competition with the Virginia product, which had already become a staple of the colony. When in later years Englishmen tried to raise tobacco at home, soldiers were sent to destroy it in order to preserve the American monopoly. This was but one of the ways in which the mercantile system favored the colonies.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 2]

GEORGE ALSOP. A Character of the Province of Maryland. . . . London, T. F. for Peter Dring, 1666.

Alsop describes briefly the cultivation of tobacco in Maryland about 1662. He speaks of tobacco as then "the only solid staple commodity of this Province," and goes on with a lively picture of the merchantmen—"twenty sail and upwards"—arriving in the province every year between November and January to exchange silks, hollands, serges, and broadcloths with the planters for tobacco at so much the pound. Alsop's book is a valuable social picture of the time and place.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 3]

DALBY THOMAS. An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Collonies. . . . London, for Jo. Hindmarsh, 1690.

Sir Dalby Thomas's account of the actual operations of cultivating tobacco and preparing it for the trade, a combination of farming and manufacturing, is one of the most explicit of the century so far as concerns the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. It distinguishes between the "Sweet-Scented" and the "Oronoco" varieties mentioned in the title and note of Gooch's tract, below.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 4]

HENRY DARNALL. A Just and Impartial Account of the Transactions of the Merchants in London, for the Advancement of the Price of Tobacco. About the latter End of the Year 1727, and Beginning of 1728 . . . In a Letter . . . to the Inhabitants of Maryland. Dated September 18, 1728. Annapolis, W. Parks, [1729].

Henry Darnall's *Just and Impartial Account* is the unhappy record of the failure of the London merchants in the Maryland trade to stabilize the price of tobacco through the adoption of a price agreement and other self-regulatory procedures.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 5]

EBENEZER COOKE. Sotweed Redivivus: or the Planters Looking-Glass. In Burlesque Verse. Calculated for the Meridian of Maryland . . . Annapolis, William Parks, for the Author, 1730.

Sotweed Redivivus, a long poem by Ebenezer Cooke, is an earnest plea by the poet to his fellow Marylanders to free themselves from the tyranny of tobacco culture, a single crop system, and to diversify their crops and manufactures. He recommends the raising of grain, hemp, flax, rice, cotton, sheep, and cattle, instead of concentrating upon the vile "sot-weed." Another generation was to see this diversification occur, though tobacco remained a dominating economic factor in some parts of Maryland.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 6]

[WILLIAM GOOCH.] A Dialogue between Thomas Sweet-Scented, William Oronoco, Planters, both Men of good Understanding, and Justice Love-Country, who can speak for himself, recommended to the Reading of the Planters. By a sincere Lover of Virginia. The Third Edition. Williamsburg, William Parks, 1732.

Governor Gooch's *Dialogue* was a reasoned, moderate statement of the meaning and intent of Virginia's new tobacco law of 1730. "Sweet-Scented" was the fine bright tobacco for which Virginia was and remained famous; "Oronoco," a heavier, ranker species, was gradually given up in Virginia but continued to be raised by the Maryland planters for export to France and Holland.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 7]

THE CASE of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia . . . To which is added a Vindication of the said Representation. London, for J. Roberts, 1733.

This statement by the Virginia House of Burgesses, drawn up June 28, 1732, proposes the reduction of the English duty on tobacco and a reorganization of the customs system with regard to it.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IV, 8]

THE STATUTES at Large of South Carolina. . . . Columbia, 1837. Volume II, pages 62–63.

Uncertainty exists as to the beginning of rice culture in South Carolina. It is not mentioned in the descriptive tracts of the 1680's, but clearly at some time in that decade experimentation began, probably with seed rice brought from Madagascar. As with cotton, so with rice, cultivation had to await the invention of processing machinery before it could get well under way. The act of September, 1691, giving patent rights to Peter Jacob Guerard for a pendulum engine for husking rice "better than any heretofore . . . used within this Province" was first printed in 1837 in *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina.*

Copies: AAS. [IV, 9]

FRANCIS YONGE. A View of the Trade of South-Carolina, with Proposals Humbly Offer'd for Improving the same. [London, *c.* 1722.]

Addressed to John Lord Carteret, Palatine of the Province of Carolina, this sensible and firm statement by the colony's agent in London, concerns itself chiefly with the export trade in pitch and tar and in rice, both of which at that time were subjects of regulatory bills in Parliament adverse to the prosperity of the colony. Yonge's analysis of the state of these Carolina staples is essential to an understanding of the economy of that colony in the eighteenth century.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 10]

THE CASE of the Province of South Carolina, and of the Merchants concerned in the Trade thereof; supposing the present Bill to prevent the Exportation of Rice be passed into a Law. (In [James Glen], *A Description of South Carolina.* . . . London, for R. and J. Dodsley, 1761, pages [87]–93.)

This important statement concerning rice culture and trade was composed in 1739 as a protest against a bill in Parliament which forbade the exportation of rice from South Carolina lest through capture it give comfort to the Spanish enemy. It was not published until 1761 when it was printed as a supplement to Governor James Glen's report of 1748 entitled *A Description of South Carolina.* "The Case of the Province of South Carolina" contains many "Particulars relating to the Rice-Trade" as well as "an Account of the Quantities of Rice exported from South Carolina in Twenty Years." Governor Glen's *Description* is an admirable summary of the mercantile, agricultural, and manufacturing status of South Carolina in 1748, when his book, a report to the Lords of Trade, was composed.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 11]

[JAMES CROKATT.] Observations concerning Indigo and Cochineal . . . London, 1746.

Miss Elizabeth Lucas (later Mrs. Charles Pinckney), who showed in 1744 that indigo could be raised under the unskilled labor conditions prevailing in South Carolina, was one of the great benefactors of her section. In his *Observations* of 1746, and his *Further Observations* of 1747, James Crokatt laid down the procedure of indigo manufacture for all to follow, and in 1748 Parliament placed a bounty upon all indigo exported from the plantations to England. Indigo remained an important South Carolina crop and manufacture until after the Revolution, when, with cotton as an easier and cheaper crop and the royal subsidy withdrawn, it gradually disappeared as a staple production. The elaborate cartouche of William de Brahm's *Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia,* first published by Thomas Jefferys in London in 1757, illustrates the processes of indigo manufacture as practiced on the Carolina plantations.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 12]

[*caption title:*] REASONS for laying a Duty on French and Spanish Indico, and granting a Bounty on what is made in the British Plantations. [London, *c.* 1748.]

This informative and plausible address for members of the Commons was part of the propaganda which resulted in the protection and subsidizing of South Carolina indigo by act of Parliament of 1748.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 13]

REMARKS on the Manufacturing of Maple Sugar; with Directions for its further Improvement. Collected by a Society of Gentlemen, in Philadelphia. . . . Philadelphia, James & Johnson, 1790.

Though practicing a system of diversified farming, the northern colonies were not without a staple product. The making of syrup and sugar from the sugar maple seems to have been communicated to the early colonists by the Indians, and was described by Chief Justice Dudley of Massachusetts in *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* for January–April, 1720, but it was not until late in the eighteenth century that maple syrup and maple sugar became industrially important crops in northern New York and New England.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 14]

BENJAMIN RUSH. An Account of the Sugar Maple-Tree, of the United States, and of the methods of obtaining Sugar from it . . . In a Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Esq. . . . Philadelphia, R. Aitken & Son, [1792].

In the introduction to this list Professor Morgan has told us that the basis of Dr. Rush's interest in the maple-sugar industry was the hope that the product might take the place of cane sugar made in the West Indies and in that way strike at the institution of slavery.

Copies: JCB. [IV, 15]

V. MINING, MANUFACTURING, AND OTHER INDUSTRIES

MINING SCIENCE, IRON MANUFACTURE, POTASH, SALTPETRE, GUNPOWDER, SILK, LINEN, HEMP, PAPER, LEATHER, GLASS, AND MANUFACTURING IN GENERAL

ALVARO ALONSO BARBA. Grűndlicher Unterricht von den Metallen. . . . In zwey Büchern. Vormals in Spanischen beschrieben. . . . Und nun um seiner Vortrefflichkeit willen zum erstenmal ins Hoch-teutsche Übersetzt,

und zum Druck befördert, durch G. R. Dieser Kunst befliessenen. Ephrata, J. Georg Zeisiger, 1763.

Though the mining of gold and silver never became anything more than a dream in the English colonies, interest in what lay beneath the earth never died out. The reason for the publication at this time and place of a technical treatise on mining and metallurgy is difficult to explain unless it was done in relation to the important iron industry of Pennsylvania or to the discovery this same year of anthracite. It may have been simply an expression of an undying hope, or, more specifically, it may have been issued as a timely handbook in connection with some short-lived local Golconda mirage. The book is a translation into German, by way of English, of a celebrated Spanish work, Barba's *Arte de los Metales*, present in the John Carter Brown Library in its original Spanish edition of 1640 and in its earliest translation into English by the Earl of Sandwich. Its precepts were highly regarded by the miners and metallurgists of Spanish America. This German translation was made from the second English edition of 1674. It was not, as stated on the title-page, the first translation into German. The John Carter Brown Library has a German translation of the work published at Hamburg in 1676.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 1]

GABRIEL PLATTES. A Discovery of Subterranean Treasure: containing useful Explorations, concerning all manner of Mines and Minerals, from the Gold to the Coal . . . In which the Art of Melting, Refining, and Assaying of them is plainly Declared. . . . Philadelphia, Robert Bell, 1784.

This Philadelphia reprint of the English work of Gabriel Plattes undoubtedly reflects Pennsylvania interest in the mining of anthracite and iron. What seems to be an inappropriate addition to the book is a section on the making of vegetable dyes and stains.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 2]

BENJAMIN HENFREY. A Plan with Proposals for forming a Company to work Mines in the United States; and to smelt and refine the Ores whether of Copper,

Lead, Tin, Silver, or Gold. . . . Philadelphia, Snowden & M'Corkle, 1797.

Henfrey came over to this country in 1791 and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, devoting himself to "making discoveries in the mineral kingdom." His tract was written to encourage mining in America so that the buying of metals from Europe could be discontinued.

Copies: AAS. [V, 3]

REASONS Humbly Offer'd against Encouraging the Making of Iron in America. [n.p., 1715.]

Copies: JCB. [V, 4]

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF IRON, made in the Colonies of Virginia and Maryland, only. With the Opinion of Iron-Merchants and Manufacturers thereon. [London, *c.* 1747.]

Copies: JCB. [V, 5]

Early in the eighteenth century the mining of ore and the manufacture of pig and bar iron became an important economic factor in the life of the colonies and the cause of controversy among English merchants and steel-makers. Here are statements for and against the proposal to allow the importation of American-made iron in competition with the Swedish iron principally used in the English foundries. Because of the quality of the iron made in several of the colonies it was finally determined to give every encouragement to the manufacture and the exportation to England of the pigs and bars as raw material for the use of the English founders. The item below records the policy finally decided upon.

[*caption title:*] A BILL, Intituled, An Act to encourage the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron from His Majesty's Colonies in America; and to prevent the Erection of any Mill . . . or any Plateing Forge . . . or any Furnace for making steel in any of the said Colonies. [London, *c.* 1750.]

This bill embodied the strict mercantilist principle of colonial relations wherein the colonies were to produce raw materials and send them

to England where they would be made up into articles for the American market.

Copies: JCB. [V, 6]

JARED ELIOT. An Essay on the Invention, or Art of making very good, if not the best Iron, from black Sea Sand. . . . New York, John Holt, 1762.

Eliot's experiment in making iron from the black sand which occasionally covers the sea beaches won for him in 1763 a gold medal from the Royal Society of London.

Copies: MHS. [V, 7]

R. DOSSIE. Observations on the Pot-Ash brought from America . . . To which, is subjoined, Processes for making Pot-Ash and Barilla, in North-America. . . . London, 1767.

Chemical manufacture was established at an early period in this country. One of its widespread forms was the making of potash, a farm industry which could be conducted by the farmer between harvests. This alkaline substance in its finer form—pearl ash—was of great usefulness in England in cleaning raw cotton, bleaching linen, dyeing, soap making, and glass manufacture.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 8]

[PAUL REVERE, engraver.] The Method of Refining Salt-Petre. (Engraving in *The Royal American Magazine*, August, 1774, opposite page 285.)

Necessity forced the creation of another important chemical industry—the making of saltpetre, an essential ingredient of gunpowder. When the approaching Revolution found the colonies without arsenals or even without knowledge in the manufacture of munitions, books of instruction in the making of saltpetre began to be published under private and official auspices in several of the colonies. Paul Revere, a notable political propagandist, illustrated an article on its manufacture in *The Royal American Magazine*, one of the earliest to appear on that important subject, but undoubtedly copied from an English magazine.

Copies: AAS, JCB. [V, 9]

SEVERAL METHODS of making Salt-Petre; recommended to the Inhabitants of the United Colonies, by the Honorable Continental Congress. And Re-published by Order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Together with the Resolve of said Assembly, and an Appendix, by Doctor William Whiting. Watertown, Benjamin Edes, 1775.

These specific directions for the manufacture of saltpetre were issued by the Continental Congress on July 28, 1775. This edition of the recommendations is accompanied by resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly making locally effective the Congressional action and ordering Dr. Whiting and two others to apply themselves to the making of saltpetre for the space of three months.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 10]

ESSAYS upon the making of Salt-Petre and Gun-Powder. Published by Order of the Committee of Safety of the Colony of New-York. New York, Samuel Loudon, 1776.

The New York Committee of Safety was moved to order the publication of this book of instructions on the making of saltpetre by the resolution of the Continental Congress of July 28, 1775 (see preceding entry), which recommended that all saltpetre manufactured be purchased for the United Colonies and that the refining of sulphur be encouraged. These two ingredients were the constituents of gunpowder.

Copies: JCB. [V, 11]

JOHN BONOEIL. Observations to be followed, for the making of fit roomes, to keepe Silk-wormes in: as also, for the best Manner of planting of Mulbery trees, to feed them. Published by Authority for the benefit of the Noble Plantation in Virginia. London, Felix Kyngston, 1620.

Trial and error were the order of the day in colonial America, where for two centuries one of the favored projects among promoters of prosperity was the raising of silkworms and the manufacture of silk. The suggestion was made by Thomas Hariot as early as 1588 in *A briefe and*

true report of Virginia. One learns from Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia*, London, 1615, that in the winter of 1613/14 silkworm larvae were sent thither and successfully hatched. The English interest in silk culture as an American activity had probably been aroused by reflection upon its known success in Mexico. The John Carter Brown Library owns a copy of the book of practical instructions written by the Mexican sericulturist Gonzalo de las Casas, the *Libro intitulado Arte para criar Seda* of Granada, 1581. Theory began to take a practical face when in 1620 the Virginia Company sent out a book of instructions to the colonists. Though a more comprehensive treatise was in process of composition the author, John Bonoeil, warned in this book of 1620, his *Observations*, that silk culture would be slow in getting under way and that the building of the houses and the planting of the mulberry trees were necessary preliminaries which the Virginians should set about at once. Other instructions would be sent later.

Copies: JCB. [V, 12]

JOHN BONOEIL. His Majesties gracious Letter to the Earle of South-Hampton . . . and to the Councell and Company of Virginia . . . commanding the present setting up of Silke works, and planting of Vines in Virginia . . . Also a Treatise of the Art of making Silke: or, Directions for the making of lodgings, and the breeding, nourishing, and ordering of Silkewormes . . . Together with instructions how to plant and dresse Vines, and to make Wine, and how to dry Raisins, Figs, and other fruits, and to set Olives, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, and many other fruits. . . . London, Felix Kyngston, 1622.

His Majesty's letter to the Virginia Company forwarding Bonoeil's second treatise required that the people in Virginia "use all possible diligence in breeding Silkewormes" rather than in raising tobacco which "brings with it many disorders and inconveniences." Bonoeil's enlarged treatise on silk culture was illustrated by four instructive woodcut illustrations. The silk culture delusion was matched in persistence and longevity by the belief, here early expressed, that Virginia and the Carolinas were adapted to wine-growing, citrus culture, and other agricultural activities of the Mediterranean countries.

Copies: JCB. [V, 13]

JARED ELIOT. The Sixth Essay on Field-Husbandry, as it is, or may be ordered in New-England. . . . New Haven, J. Parker and Company, 1759.

For two centuries after it was first proposed in Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report* of 1588, silk culture as an American industry still found strong proponents. Jared Eliot's *Sixth Essay on Field Husbandry*, of New Haven, 1759, is a well-reasoned discussion of the possibilities of silk culture as a New England industry. A few years earlier Mrs. Charles Pinckney (née Elizabeth Lucas), who as a young woman perfected the cultivation and manufacture of indigo in South Carolina, had successfully raised and manufactured silk in that colony, but in the long run neither there nor elsewhere in English America was that manufacture commercially successful over a considerable period of time.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 14]

AN ESSAY on the Culture of Silk, and raising White mulberry Trees, the Leaves of which are the only Proper Food of the Silk-Worm. By a Citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, for the Author, 1790.

This Philadelphia book of 1790 shows that the possibilities of silk culture were still beguiling to the American mind. As a matter of fact an elaborate account of silk culture in the colonies occupied some 225 pages of a Congressional report of 1828.

Copies: AAS. [V, 15]

RICHARD COX. A Letter from Sir Richard Cox, Bart. to Thomas Prior, Esq; Shewing, from Experience, a sure Method to establish the Linnen-Manufacture, and the beneficial Effects it will immediately produce . . . Dublin, Printed: London, Re-printed: Boston, N.E. Re-printed, and Sold by J. Draper, 1750.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 16]

INDUSTRY & FRUGALITY proposed as the surest Means to make us a Rich and Flourishing People; and the Linen Manufacture recommended as tending to promote These among us. . . . Boston, Thomas Fleet, 1753.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 17]

These two books show an interesting relationship. Peter Collinson of London sent Benjamin Franklin a copy of the first of them, i.e., *A Letter from Sir Richard Cox*, probably in the London edition of 1749. Franklin passed on the Cox *Letter* to friends in New England. About 1753 Franklin sent Collinson a copy, now in the John Carter Brown Library, of *Industry & Frugality*, printed that year in Boston. On the verso of the title-page of the John Carter Brown Library copy of *Industry & Frugality* the facts of this interchange were set down in Collinson's hand with the further reflection that he was thankful Providence had put it into his mind to send Cox's scheme to Franklin "for It was the Means of Stimulating the New England people to sett up the Linnen Manufacture to the Employment of Thousands."

EDMUND QUINCY. A Treatise of Hemp-Husbandry; being a Collection of approved Instructions . . . With some introductory Observations, upon the Necessity which the American British Colonies are under generally to engage in the said Production. . . . Boston, Green & Russell, by Order of the Honorable House of Representatives, 1765.

One of the specially interesting features of this treatise is its "Plan of a Hemp Mill to go by Water," engraved for the book by Paul Revere. The general purpose of the book was to help establish the culture of hemp and its use in the manufacture of cloth as a native industry. Long-continued effort to this end was successful in some places, but hemp products never became important exports of the country as a whole.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 18]

— MARCANDIER. Published for the general Benefit of Great-Britain and the North American Colonies. An Abstract of the most useful Parts of a late Treatise on Hemp, translated from the French of M. Marcandier . . . To which is added, Some Account of the Use of the Horse-Chesnut; and a Plan of the Pennsylvania Hemp Brake. Boston, Edes & Gill, 1766.

This abstract of the Marcandier treatise was prepared for American

growers. It comprises a discussion of the general properties of hemp and a guide to its processing.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 19]

SELECT ESSAYS: Containing: The Manner of raising and dressing Flax and Hemp. Also, The whole Method of Bleaching or Whitening Linen-Cloth . . . and an Enquiry concerning the Materials that may be used in making Paper. . . . Philadelphia, Robert Bell, 1777.

This elaborate treatise of 159 pages was made up chiefly from English sources, but also included Edward Antill's communication to the American Philosophical Society on the raising of hemp.

Copies: AAS. [V, 20]

"A SCHEME to Encourage the Raising of Hemp, and the Manufacturing of Iron within this Province," printed as *A Supplement to the New York Weekly Journal*, for March 28, 1737.

New York being then in the throes of depression and deflation, this scheme was advanced to encourage industry by government subsidy, and regulation. It also proposed tariff duties and a repeal of the tax on Negroes.

Copies: AAS. [V, 21]

SOME LETTERS and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania, Containing the State and Improvement of that Province. . . . [London], Andrew Sow[l]e, 1691.

This is a foundation document in the history of American industry and manufactures. Among other industries just begun in Pennsylvania it records the building in 1690 near Germantown by William Bradford and Samuel Carpenter of the first paper mill in the United States. Virtually every colony had its mill or mills within the next seventy-five years. Pennsylvania alone reported forty-eight mills in operation in 1787, producing annually 70,000 reams of paper.

Copies: JCB. [V, 22]

[SAMUEL CLARKE.] The American Wonder: or, the Strange and Remarkable Cape-Ann Dream, Salem, E. Russell, 1776.

An historical narrative, in a religious setting, of the travails of New England. It is prefaced by a long note on the scarcity of paper in the colonies, and a record of the attempts to remedy the situation. Lack of paper, insistently brought to the front at the beginning of the Revolution, was one of the most pressing of all problems.

Copies: AAS. [V, 23]

DAVID MACBRIDE. An improved Method of tanning Leather: whereby the Leather is not only improved in its Quality, but tanned in much less Time. . . . Philadelphia, Robert Smith, jun., 1786.

The tanning of leather was established in the English colonies in Virginia as early as 1630. In Alexander Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* of 1791 it is listed as one of the chief American industries. The only American-printed book on the subject seems to be this one by Dr. MacBride of Dublin.

Copies: MHS. [V, 24]

JOHN FREDERICK AMELUNG. Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the new established Glass-House near Frederick-Town, in the State of Maryland . . . . [Frederick], for the Author, 1787.

The Amelung book seems to be the only American work of the eighteenth century on glass manufacture. The history of the Amelung establishment, with illustrations of certain notable productions of the glassblower's skill, is found in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, 1948.

Copies: BOSTON ATHENÆUM; CHARLESTON LIB. SOC. [V, 25]

PREMIUMS OFFERED BY THE SOCIETY instituted at London for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce. London, Printed by Order of the Society, 1761.

"Premiums for the Advantage of the British Colonies," pages 42–56, lists rewards for cochineal from South Carolina; silk from Georgia, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; olive trees from southward of Delaware River; and for sturgeon, raisins, cinnamon trees, mango, scammony, hemp, safflower, barilla, potash and pearl-ash from whatever places they could be obtained. Specimens of these products, their origin attested by the governor or other responsible magistrates of the colony in which each was raised or manufactured, were to be delivered to the Port of London in parcels of such considerable bulk as to show that the experimental stage of production had been passed.

Copies: JCB. [V, 26]

ANNAPOLIS, (in Maryland) June 22, 1769. We, the Subscribers, his Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Merchants, Traders, Freeholders, Mechanics, and other Inhabitants of the Province of Maryland . . . do hereby agree . . . that we will strictly and faithfully observe, and conform to the following Resolutions . . . [*signed by 43 persons*]. [Annapolis, Anne Catharine & William Greene, 1769.]

A non-importation agreement of 1769 adopted by citizens of Maryland. In similar agreements, made there and in other colonies in 1765, 1768, and 1769, merchants pledged themselves, as a protest against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts, to refrain from the importation of articles of British manufacture. It was hoped by many that one result of this general boycott of British goods would be a considerable increase in local manufactures. The agreements were difficult to enforce and, because of the repeal of the Townshend Acts, of short duration. Their success in the nurture of native industries was, therefore, less in degree than had been predicted.

Copies: JCB. [V, 27]

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury . . . on the Subject of Manufactures. Presented to the House of Representatives, December 5, 1791. [Philadelphia], Childs and Swaine, [1792].

In this memorable document Hamilton proposed his system of protection and subsidy for infant industries. His list of industries already

important in the American economy and his discussion of its elements is a picture of manufacturing in the United States in the early years of the Industrial Age. The industries making up that list were as follows: tanning, iron, wood, flax and hemp, bricks, spirits, paper, hats, sugar, oils, copper ware, tin ware, carriages, snuff, smoking tobacco, starch, lampblack, and gunpowder.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [V, 28]

VI. THE SEA

NAVIGATION SCIENCE, SEAMANSHIP, SHIPBUILDING, OCEANOGRAPHY, SEA-BORNE CARGOES, FISHING AND WHALING, MARITIME LAW

BENJAMIN HUBBARD. Orthodoxal Navigation. Or, The Admirable and excellent Art of Arithmeticall Great Circle-Sailing . . . Together with a new and true Paradoxal Chart. By Benjamin Hubbard, late Student of the Mathematicks in Charls Towne in New-England. London, Thomas Maxcy, for William Weekley, and are to be sold by John Rothwell, 1656.

New England began early to take part in the development of navigation science. Benjamin Hubbard's *Orthodoxal Navigation*, 1656, is the first contribution to that study by a resident of English America.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 1]

NATHANIEL BOWDITCH. The new American practical Navigator; being an Epitome of Navigation . . . Illustrated with Copperplates. First Edition. Newburyport, (Mass.) 1802, by Edmund M. Blunt, (Proprietor) for Thomas & Andrews, Boston.

Nathaniel Bowditch's *New American Practical Navigator* is today the standard manual of navigation science for American sailors. Its publication with up-to-the-minute additions of new instruments and new processes has been a function of the government since 1866.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VI, 2]

LAWRENCE FURLONG. The American Coast Pilot; containing; the Courses and Distance from Boston to all the principal Harbours, Capes and Headlands included between Passamaquady and the Capes of Virginia . . . also . . . from the Capes of Virginia, to the River Mississippi. . . . The first Edition. Newburyport, Blunt and March, 1796.

The present Coast Pilot for the United States, issued by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, traces back, so far as American ancestry is concerned, to Captain Lawrence Furlong's *The American Coast Pilot*, entered here in the form of the first edition of Newburyport, 1796.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VI, 3]

JOHN SMITH. A Sea Grammar, with the Plaine Exposition of Smiths Accidence for young Sea-men enlarged . . . written by Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia, and Admirall of New-England. . . . London, John Haviland, 1627.

One may be sure that in its successive editions the manual of seamanship first brought out by the ever-practical Captain John Smith in 1627 was much used in the colonies. The American Antiquarian Society copy of the edition of 1725 was purchased at Boston in 1726 by Thomas Prince. A comprehensive addition on naval gunnery was made to the edition of 1699.

Copies: AAS (1725); JCB (1627 and 1699). [VI, 4]

SAMUEL BUCKNER. The American Sailor: a Treatise on Practical Seamanship. . . . Newport (Rhode Island), Peter Edes, [1790].

This work on seamanship dedicated "To all the Seamen of America" was probably a useful guide in its day. It was recommended to young seamen by a good number of seafaring men of Newport and Providence, who probably were unaware of the fact that it was a plagiarism of William Hutchinson, *A Treatise on Practical Seamanship*, [Liverpool], 1777.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 5]

EDMUND BUSHNELL. The compleat Ship-Wright. Plainly and Demonstratively Teaching the Proportion used by Experienced Ship-Wrights . . . Also, a way of Rowing of Ships, by heaving at the Cap-stain, useful in any Ship becalmed. . . . The Eighth Edition, carefully Corrected. . . . London, for Richard Mount, 1716.

Shipbuilding was a maritime industry which was protected by the Navigation Acts and was carried on in all the colonies. This edition of Edmund Bushnell's *Compleat Ship-Wright* of London, 1716, was issued specifically, its author says, for the use of shipbuilders practicing their craft in Virginia and New England.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 6]

KENNEBEC-RIVER, Price Current for Lumber delivered at Bath, Longreach. Masts hewed in the best manner . . . Yards hewed 8 square, of Spruce or Pine . . . Bowsprits hewed 8 square, of Pine . . . Timber . . . Planks . . . Common Lumber . . . Fish. . . . [n.p., 1792.] *Broadside.*

This document of about 1792, with price lists under each of the heads given above, was addressed to shipbuilders everywhere. On the John Carter Brown copy are given in longhand the latitude and longitude of Bath (the transshipment port near the mouth of the Kennebec) and the value of the local currency in sterling.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 7]

JOSEPH TILLINGHAST. [Account Book.] *Manuscript.*

This account of the costs of labor and materials in the building and equipping of the sloop *Polly* at Providence in 1793 by Joseph Tillinghast is a revealing document to the maritime historian and the lover of ships.

Copies: R. I. Hist. Soc. [VI, 8]

[WILLIAM GERARD DE BRAHM]. The Atlantic Pilot. London, for the Author, by T. Spilsbury, and sold by S. Leacroft, 1772.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 9]

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Remarks upon the Navigation from Newfoundland to New-York, in order to avoid the Gulph Stream on one hand, and on the other, the Shoals that lie ten leagues due South of Nantucket . . . by Dr. Franklin. [Boston, 1790.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [VI, 10]

JONATHAN WILLIAMS. Thermometrical Navigation. Being a Series of Experiments and Observations, tending to prove, that by ascertaining the relative Heat of the Sea-Water from time to time, the Passage of a Ship through the Gulph Stream, and from deep Water into Soundings, may be discovered in Time to avoid Danger. . . . Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1799.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VI, 11]

De Brahm's book is an early study of the location and course of the Gulf Stream. Franklin's interest in the Gulf Stream went back as far as 1770, but his first publication on the subject is found in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* for 1786. American sailors had been familiar with the retarding power of the Gulf Stream for many years. As early as 1735 in Hoxton's chart of the Chesapeake are found coördinates showing the breadth and direction of the stream and directions for the avoidance of it. The studies of the stream by Hoxton, De Brahm, Franklin, and Franklin's nephew, Jonathan Williams, must be regarded as among the American works which instituted the study of oceanography, afterwards advanced and systematized by the Virginian, Matthew Fontaine Maury.

JOHN BRERETON. A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia; being a most pleasant, fruitfull and commodious soile: Made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen their associats, by the permission of the honourable knight Sir Walter Ralegh . . . Whereunto is annexed a Treatise, conteining important inducements for the

planting in those parts . . . Written by M. Edward Hayes, a gentleman long since imploied in the like action. Londini, Impensis Geor. Bishop, 1602.

The earliest trans-oceanic shipment of a native New England land product seems to have been the cargo of sassafras roots and bark which in 1602 Gosnold cut and loaded on one of the Elizabeth Islands. Concoctions of sassafras root were of wide popularity in medicine in England and western Europe. Brereton, who described the Gosnold voyage in *A Briefe and true Relation* of 1602, the excessively rare first edition of that year, says that Gosnold's sassafras cargo was worth £336 a ton in England. Long after the sassafras tree ceased to be valued for its medicinal qualities, its wood continued to be cherished by English carpenters and cabinet makers. In South Carolina it remained a considerable article of export almost throughout the eighteenth century.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 12]

SOUTH-CAROLINA. An Account of sundry Goods Imported, and of sundry Goods of the produce of this province Exported, from the several Ports within the said province, from the First of November 1738, to the First of November 1739. With the Number of Vessels entered and cleared at each port. As also from whence arrived and where bound. . . . Charles-Town, Peter Timothy, 1739. *Broadside.*

The maritime history of one colony for a single year is found in this account of the sea-borne cargoes which entered or cleared the South Carolina ports of Charleston, Georgetown, and Beaufort in the year 1739. The chief exports were rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, and deerskins. High upon the list of imports were sugar, tea, powder and shot, rum, molasses, wines, limejuice, citrus fruits, lumber, bricks, corn, beef, pork, and other foodstuffs, and negroes. Two hundred and seventeen vessels entered Charleston harbor that year from forty-three places, of which twenty-three were American, and of these, nineteen were English-American colonies of the continent and the West Indies. Two hundred and twenty-two vessels cleared outwards for thirteen European and twenty American ports. Here is a picture of the busy and varied life of a great Southern port.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 13]

CHARLESTOWN, APRIL 27, 1769. To be Sold, on Wednesday the Tenth Day of May next, a Choice Cargo of Two Hundred & Fifty Negroes: Arrived in the Ship Countess of Sussex, Thomas Davies, Master, directly from Gambia, by John Chapman & Co. [Charleston, P. Timothy, 1769.] *Broadside.*

A very early advertisement of a slave sale. Contains two interesting woodcuts of slaves, one a cut showing twelve slaves in a group.

Copies: AAS. [VI, 14]

[JOHN WHITE.] The Planters Plea. Or The Grounds of Plantations examined, and usuall Objections answered. Together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately undertaken a Plantation in New-England. . . . . London, William Jones, 1630.

Knowledge of the abundance of codfish off the New England coasts goes back to the Cabots. Cape Cod received its name from Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602. In 1614 Captain John Smith conducted a highly successful fishing season off the New England coast. One of the earliest settlements deliberately established as a commercial fishing station was that built upon Cape Ann in 1623 by the Dorchester Company. *The Planters Plea* of 1630 is the story of that ill-fated venture.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VI, 15]

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT relative to the Whale-Fishery. . . . Witness our Hands at Boston, New-England, the Tenth Day of February, 1769. [Boston, 1769.] *Broadside.*

An agreement by Boston merchants upon the stores necessary for a whaling voyage, and the division of the proceeds between the vessel, the cost of supplies, and the master and crew.

Copies: AAS. [VI, 16]

[*In English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Italian:*] SPERMACETI Candles Warranted pure, made & sold in Newport Rhode

Island by George Rome . . . Nat. Hurd Sculp. [Boston, *c.* 1760.]

Copies: JCB. [VI, 17]

[*In English and French:*] SPERMA CAETI Candles Warranted Pure are made & Sold by Nicholas Brown & Co. in Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island . . . [*Number of box and description of contents with representation of a whale in center of print between English and French texts.*] Nat. Hurd Scp. [Boston, *c.* 1764.]

Copies: JCB. [VI, 18]

The whale fishery, a source of wealth to New Englanders for a century or more, provided illuminating oil, spermaceti, and whalebone for innumerable households throughout the colonies. These two labels for the boxes of spermaceti candles made by George Rome of Newport and the Browns of Providence, showing pictures of whaling scenes and implements of the chase, were engraved by the best available artist, Nathaniel Hurd, of Boston. The Brown print was originally designed before 1762 for Obadiah Brown & Co. but later discontinued. The use of the label was resumed and the name of the maker changed to Nicholas Brown & Co. in 1764 upon advice of a Boston correspondent who explained the success of a rival firm in the words "I believe the prints and the neatness of their boxes may be some advantage . . . put prints on yours as that will make them know you in places where they may be sold." Advertising through attractive packaging was not an unknown art two centuries ago.

[*Caption title:*] AN ORDINANCE for Regulating and Establishing Fees for the Court of Admiralty in the Province of New-York. . . . [New York, William Bradford, 1722.]

The merchant ashore and the ship's officer at sea lived with the admiralty courts always in the background of their thoughts. These courts administered the special maritime law which had grown up through the centuries around sea-borne commerce.

Copies: JCB. [VI, 19]

VII. ARTS AND CRAFTS

THE FINE ARTS, PRINTING, BOOKBINDING, CARPENTRY, GENERAL WORKS

JOHN RAMAGE. (No. 33, Smith-Street.) To the Inhabitants of New-York. Ladies and Gentlemen, The Artist who had the honour of taking his Excellency the President's Likeness. . . . New York, May 14, 1790.

A few months earlier Mr. Ramage, leading miniature painter in New York from 1777 to 1794, had painted from the life for Mrs. Washington a miniature regarded today as important in the Washington iconography. In this very interesting broadside advertisement, he offers a variety of services to the public and stresses particularly his ability to take likenesses in four minutes and finish them in hair, paint, or crayon. He declares himself possessed, furthermore, of "many valuable Secrets in Metallurgy and different Branches connected with the Fine Arts, Smelting, Refining, Gilding, Enamelling . . ." which he would pass on "at a Guinea each Receipt." There is distinctly the flavor of the Renaissance craftsman in the extent and variety of Ramage's accomplishments.

Copies: JCB. [VII, 1]

THE CONSTITUTION of the Columbianum or American Academy of the Fine Arts. Adopted February 17, 1795. Philadelphia, Francis & Robert Bailey, 1795.

The Columbianum was an academy of the fine arts proposed by Charles Willson Peale, which failed of permanent establishment through disagreement among its members as to means and purposes. The *Constitution* is signed by thirty-one painters, engravers, scientists, and other individuals of intellectual interests.

Copies: JCB. [VII, 2]

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN. [*caption title:*] The Printers Advertisement. Whereas there is Prefixed unto a late Pamphlet, Entituled, Gospel Order Revived, Printed at New-York, an Advertisement, which runs in these words, viz The Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Press in Boston is so much under the aw of the Reverend

Author, whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to Print the following Sheets, which is the only true Reason why we have sent the Copy so far for its Impression. . . . Boston, December 21st. 1700 Bartholomew Green. [*colophon:*] Boston, John Allen, 1700.

The first independent printed piece in the colonies relating to the liberty of the press was *The Printers Advertisement*, which Bartholomew Green issued in Boston in December, 1700, as a protest against the accusation that his press was under the domination of the Mathers. This defense of himself by Green seems first to have been issued in the form of a broadside, but no copy of such an edition is now known. It is here reprinted in a production of the last days of 1700 as the preface to a collection of depositions in which its statements are attacked by certain Boston worthies unfriendly to Green's position in the controversy. The work is now known to exist in two distinct issues. In the John Carter Brown issue here entered the entire text, comprising "The Printers Advertisement" and its refutation, headed "The Depositions of Thomas Brattle, Gent. and Zechariah Tuthill, Merchent," occupies pages 1–6, concluding with the imprint of John Allen on page 6, followed by a blank but genuine leaf. The American Antiquarian Society issue contains pages 1–6 as here described (from the same setting of type as the John Carter Brown Library copy) followed by depositions in support of the "Advertisement" occupying pages 7–10, concludes with the imprint of B. Green. The relationship between the two issues, discovered in the preparation of the present compilation, has not yet been interpreted.

Copies: AAS (10-page edition); JCB (6-page edition). [VII, 3]

[JOHN MARKLAND.] Typographia. An Ode, on Printing. Inscrib'd to the Honourable William Gooch, Esq; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Colony of Virginia. . . . Williamsburg, William Parks, 1730.

The first establishment of a press is an event of high importance in the cultural history of any town or province. Sometimes this fact was quickly recognized by American colonial communities, as when, for

example, immediately after William Parks in 1730 set up in Williamsburg the first permanent Virginia press, a neighboring man of letters wrote this ode composed in the elegant manner of the Augustan age in English letters. Rich in local references and in praise of the blessings of printing, the poem was the composition of John Markland, a Virginia lawyer.

Copies: JCB. [VII, 4]

ISAIAH THOMAS. A Specimen of Isaiah Thomas's Printing Types. Being as large and complete an Assortment as is to be met with in any one Printing-Office in America. . . . Worcester, 1785.

Procuring of type was always a matter of difficulty with colonial printers, who, until about the beginning of the Revolution, were entirely dependent upon English founders. Thomas's Specimen Book was not a typefounder's advertisement of types for sale addressed to printers, but a volume of printer's specimens addressed to customers, displaying the sizes and styles of type available in his cases for use in the printing he hoped to do for them. A broadside of specimens was issued by Mein & Fleeming of Boston about 1766, and in his *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania* (I, 349), Dr. Sachse reproduces a printer's specimen of types and a price list which he attributes to Christopher Sower of Germantown, and says further that this broadside is "supposed to have been issued as early as 1740..."

Copies: AAS. [VII, 5]

ANDREW BARCLAY. Books Bound and Sold, Gilt or plain, by Andrew Barclay, Next Door but one to the sign of the Three Kings Three Kings in Cornhill. Boston, [*c.* 1766].

Two labels of Andrew Barclay, Boston bookbinder of the period 1760–1770, showing the binder at work with tools and equipment of the sort used by the custom binder of today. These labels represent in our list the illustrated "trade card" of the colonial craftsman. The two labels printed together upon a single leaf from the same plate are much alike except in size. It was intended that they be cut apart and used for large or small books as needed. The title and imprint of the larger of the labels is given above.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VII, 6]

RULES FOR HOUSE-CARPENTERS WORK, in the Town of Providence. Providence, Carter and Wilkinson, 1796.

Similar books were published in other cities. Though in essentials these "Rules" were contemporary price lists, they contain full and fascinating lists of the many different kinds of cornices, modillions, moulded ceilings, dadoes, doorways, balustrades, chimney fronts, and the other kinds of woodwork which enriched the houses of the period. As a consequence they have become suggestive documents to historians of American architecture, building methods, decoration, and economic conditions.

Copies: JCB. [VII, 7]

ONE THOUSAND VALUABLE SECRETS, in the elegant and useful Arts. . . . First American Edition. Philadelphia, for B. Davies and T. Stephens, 1795.

This miscellaneous collection gives instructions to the engraver, the painter, the gilder, the bronze caster, the stainer of woods, and to many other craftsmen and decorators. Its rules and receipts for mixing paints and stains are full and explicit, and it makes no bones of giving instruction in the art of manufacturing false gems or imitation marbles. Despite the distinctly imaginative character of many suggested procedures, the book was a rich source for the comfort of artists and handicraftsmen of many kinds. Two later American editions appeared before 1800, each entitled, more simply, *Valuable Secrets.*

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VII, 8]

ORDER OF PROCESSION, in honor of the establishment of the Constitution of the United States . . . 7th of July, 1788. . . . Philadelphia, [1788]. *Broadside.*

The paraders are listed by groups, first the officials and then the trades, with forty-four trades listed. The groups provide an excellent sampling of American trades.

Copies: AAS. [VII, 9]

ABEL BUELL, engraver. The Sequel of Arts and Sciences . . . Printed for & Sold by the Proprietors A. B. and J. R. in New-Haven, [*c.* 1775].

A large blank area, headed "Select Sentences," inside the engraved border of this print was intended to be filled in by a pupil as a permanent record of his attainment in penmanship. The "A. B." and "J. R." of the imprint are presumed to be Abel Buell, the New Haven engraver, and James Rivington, the New York publisher, with whom Buell was associated in various ventures. The nicely engraved representations of crafts and industries of the Connecticut economy which surround the blank area give the Buell sheet unusual interest.

Copies: Conn. Hist. Soc.; N. Y. Hist. Soc. [VII, 10]

VIII. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

ASTRONOMY, PHYSICAL SCIENCE, NATURAL HISTORY, AND MEDICINE

SAMUEL DANFORTH. An Astronomical Description of the late Comet or Blazing-Star as it appeared in New England in November, December, January, and in the beginning of February 1664. . . . Printed at Cambridge in New England, and now reprinted at London for Peter Parker, 1666.

In this description of the comet of 1664 and 1665, Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, Massachusetts, pays tribute to prevailing theological notions of comets as heralds of God's wrath, yet his actual observation of the comet was close and systematic. The English editor of this treatise wrote that Danforth's astronomical comment appeared "more rational than any I have met withal."

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 1]

CHRISTIAN LODOWICK. The New-England Almanack for the Year of our Lord Christ, M DC XC V. . . . By C. Lodowick, Physician. Boston, B. Green for S. Phillips, 1695.

This almanac contains a scathing article against Tulley's astrological predictions. It might also be called the first medical almanac, as

there is printed at the foot of each page a medical prescription for some common ailment.

Copies: AAS. [VIII, 2]

[CADWALLADER COLDEN.] An Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter, and, of the Cause of Gravitation. New York, James Parker, 1745.

This philosophical essay is a study in pure science which proved to be too high-flown for its readers. Even Benjamin Franklin, the author's friend, said he was almost ready to "give it up as beyond my reach." It is, nevertheless, an early evidence of American interest in scientific theory.

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 3]

WILLIAM JOHNSON. A Course of Experiments, in that curious and entertaining Branch of Natural Philosophy, called Electricity; Accompanied with Lectures on the Nature and Properties of the electric Fire. . . . New York, H. Gaine, 1764.

The new electrical science was not the sole possession of Franklin. Here is an announcement by William Johnson, a student of science whose two lectures, advertised as *A Course of Experiments in . . . Electricity*, New York, 1764, seem to cover the known ground of theory and to offer many practical demonstrations of the character of the newly recognized electric fire.

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 4]

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America . . . Illustrated with Copper Plates. London: Printed for David Henry; and sold by Francis Newbery . . . 1769.

Franklin's scientific papers on various subjects were brought together and published in 1769 with this fourth edition of his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, which thus becomes the first collected edition of his "philosophical" contributions.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VIII, 5]

TRANSACTIONS of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting Useful Knowledge. Volume I. . . . Philadelphia, William and Thomas Bradford, 1771.

The first volume of this remarkable series, covering the period January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1771, was typical of its successors in the excellent quality and broad range of interest of its scientific papers with their illustrations in the form of engraved diagrams and maps and woodcut representations of tools and implements.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VIII, 6]

BY PERMISSION. Mr. Carleton, Professor of Astronomy, Proposes (with the Approbation of the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Metropolis) to deliver a Course of Five Lectures on that sublime Science. . . . Boston, June 20, 1787. *Broadside.*

Osgood Carleton was well known in Boston in the late eighteenth century as a mathematician, astronomer, calculator of almanacs, and publisher of maps.

Copies: AAS. [VIII, 7]

THE REVEREND PERES FOBES, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, in Rhode-Island College, proposes to exhibit a Course of Lectures upon Natural Philosophy and Astronomy . . . [*dated at end:*] Providence, June 24, 1790. [Providence, John Carter, 1790.] *Broadside.*

The new science of electricity was introduced into the Brown University curriculum at an early period. The concluding paragraph of this handsomely printed broadside informs the public that tickets may be had by application to certain individuals "or to either of the Officers of the College," a phrase suggestive of a simpler day in university administration.

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 8]

[JEAN PIERRE BAPTISTE BLANCHARD.] The Principles, History, & Use, of Air-Balloons. Also, A Prospectus

of Messrs. Blanchard & Baker's Intended Aerial Voyage from the City of New-York. New York, C. C. Van Allen for J. Fellows, 1796.

This tract, which appeared only thirteen years after the first human flight, contains a learned account of the history and principles of "aerostation" and a vivid account of the impressions and observations of the first aerial navigators.

Copies: AAS. [VIII, 9]

JOHN BARTRAM. Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice. Made by Mr. John Bartram, in his Travels from Pensilvania to Onondago, Oswego and the Lake Ontario, in Canada. To which is annex'd, a curious Account of the Cataracts at Niagara. By Mr. Peter Kalm, a Swedish Gentleman who travelled there. London, for J. Whiston and B. White, 1751.

The natives, the natural history, and the topography of the back country of Pennsylvania and New York were simply and delightfully presented in the *Observations* of the self-taught Quaker naturalist John Bartram, published in 1751 as the record of an expedition made in 1743 with the cartographer Lewis Evans and the Indian interpreter and diplomat Conrad Weiser.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VIII, 10]

[COTTON MATHER.] A Letter about a good Management under the Distemper of the Measles. [Boston, 1713.]

One of the earliest American treatises on a medical subject. The epidemic of measles, which developed in Boston in October, 1713, struck Cotton Mather's family, and his wife and three children died.

Copies: AAS. [VIII, 11]

INCREASE MATHER. Several Reasons Proving that Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox, is a Lawful Practice, and that it has been Blessed by God for the

Saving of many a Life. . . . [*colophon:*] Boston, S. Kneeland for J. Edwards, 1721.

This celebrated landmark in American medical history set off a controversy which endured for years, but when the shouting had died down, the slow conquest of smallpox by inoculation and, later, by vaccination was found to be under way.

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 12]

NICHOLAS CULPEPER. Pharmacopoeia Londinensis; or, the London Dispensatory. . . . Boston, John Allen for Nicholas Booone [*sic*], Daniel Henchman, and John Edwards, 1720.

Culpeper's *Pharmacopoeia*, an English work originally published in 1653, was a comprehensive discussion of natural curative agents and their employment, classified under Roots, Herbs, Barks, Flowers, and many other simple categories.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VIII, 13]

JOHN TENNENT. An Epistle to Dr. Richard Mead, concerning the Epidemical Diseases of Virginia, particularly, a Pleurisy and Peripneumony: wherein is shewn the surprising Efficacy of the Seneca Rattle-Snake Root . . . To which is prefixt, a Cut of that most valuable Plant. . . . Edinburgh, P. Matthie, 1738.

This epistle on the epidemical pleurisy of Virginia carries on the subject of its author's *Essay on the Pleurisy*, published in Williamsburg two years earlier, and known today only by the copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society. His *Truth Stifled*, London, 1741, in the American Antiquarian Society, also a treatise on the efficacy of Seneca Rattlesnake Root, is an item in the controversy which arose from his advocacy of the snake root cure for pulmonary diseases.

Copies: JCB. VIII, 14]

[JOHN TENNENT?] Every Man his own Doctor: Or, the Poor Planter's Physician. Prescribing Plain and Easy Means for Persons to cure themselves of all, or most of the

Distempers, incident to this Climate. . . . Williamsburg: Printed and sold by William Hunter. 1751.

First published in 1734, this book of household cures is based upon the interesting principle that every land grows the materials for the medicines best adapted to cure the prevailing local distempers. Because of its recommendation of American roots and herbs for the common illnesses of Virginia, the book assumes interest in the history of American medicine. The attribution of this book, by an anonymous "Gentleman in Virginia," to the authorship of Dr. John Tennent has been tacitly accepted for many years. The coincidence of Tennent's residence in Virginia at the time of the original publication in 1734 made that attribution easy and natural, but it seems unlikely that a physician would write a book for his own community which says in one of its introductory paragraphs ". . . our Doctors are commonly so exorbitant in their Fees, whether they kill or cure, that the Patient had rather trust to his Constitution than run the Risque of beggaring his Family." Other considerations also may be urged against Tennent's authorship of the book, but at this time the question remains open.

Copies: AAS. [VIII, 15]

ZUGAB ZUM ANHANG. (In Barba, *Gründlicher Unterricht von den Metallen.* . . . Ephrata, J. Georg Zeisiger, 1763.)

Under this title of "addition to appendix," are found fourteen pages of household medicine and receipts added, quite inappropriately, to Alvaro Alonso Barba, *Gründlicher Unterricht von den Metallen*, described in the section, *Mining, Manufacturing, and Other Industries.* The book of popular medicine, a combination of science, near-science, and superstition, was integral for centuries in the lives of the Pennsylvania Germans, isolated from their fellow colonists by race, language, religion, and economic barriers.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [VIII, 16]

JOSEPH MASDEVALL. Medicamens, et précis de la méthode de Mr. Masdevall Docteur Médecin du Roi d'Espagne Charles IV, pour guérir toutes les maladies Epidémiques. . . . New Orleans, Louis Duclot, 1796

In the effort to combat the fevers of one sort and another which prevailed in Louisiana, the French authorities published this abstract in

translation of a work of 1786 by the celebrated Spanish physician, Dr. Joseph Masdevall, based upon experience in the Catalonian epidemics of 1783.

Copies: JCB. [VIII, 17]

IX. FINANCE, BUSINESS, AND LAW

CURRENCY PROBLEMS, EXCISE AND OTHER DUTIES, MERCANTILE PROCEDURES, AND LEGAL PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURE

A MODEL for Erecting a Bank of Credit . . . Adapted to the Use of any Trading Countrey, where there is a Scarcity of Moneys: More Especially for His Majesties Plantations in America. . . . London, Printed, 1688. Reprinted at Boston, 1714.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 1]

[PAUL DUDLEY.] Objections to the Bank of Credit Lately Projected at Boston. Being a Letter upon that Occasion, to John Burril, Esq; Speaker to the House of Representatives for . . . Massachusetts-Bay. . . . Boston, T. Fleet, 1714.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 2]

The absence of "hard money" in the form of gold, silver, or copper coinage in the colonies required that there should be extensive issues of paper currency unless all business was to be conducted upon the principle of barter. The need for paper currency seems to have been felt earliest and most strongly in New England. Here are two tracts of Boston, 1714, for and against the issue of bills of credit by the province of Massachusetts.

AN EXACT TABLE to bring Old Tenor into Lawful Money. Also a Table to know the Value of Pistoles, Guineas, Johannes, and double Johannes, Moydores, English Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, and Copper

Half-Pence, at the Rate of Dollars at Six Shillings a Piece . . . The Act to be in Force from and after the 31st of March 1750. Boston, Rogers and Fowle, 1750. *Broadside.*

Recognizing the dangerous condition of its fiscal affairs because of a cheapened currency, Massachusetts passed a sort of "self-denying ordinance" by which at considerable loss to its people it withdrew its paper money from circulation at the rate of 45 shillings Old Tenor currency for one piece of eight.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 3]

[*caption title:*] AN ACT TO REGULATE AND RESTRAIN PAPER-BILLS of Credit in His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations of Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations, Connecticut, the Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Hampshire, in America. . . . [Newport, Ann and James Franklin, 1755.]

The paper money situation, especially in New England, became so bad in the matter of depreciation through improperly secured issues that finally it was taken in hand by Parliament. Here is shown a Newport edition of the Act of Parliament of 1751 which forbade the issue of paper money by any of the New England colonies except under certain conditions, carefully prescribed. This edition was printed, twenty-five copies only, in 1755 by order of the General Assembly of Rhode Island for distribution among the towns. It had previously been issued in Boston in 1751 in broadside form.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 4]

T. R. A Letter to the Common People of the Colony of Rhode-Island; concerning the unjust Designs, and actual Attempts, of a Number of Misers, and Money Jobbers . . . to compel all the Old Tenor Debtors in this Colony to pay near three Times as much as they owe. . . . Providence, William Goddard, for the Author, 1763.

Rhode Island was permitted under special provisions of the Act of 1751 to bring out another issue of paper money, which became known as New Tenor. It was issued while the discredited Old Tenor was still in circulation. Suffering from the inconveniences of two currencies of

greatly differing values, the Assembly in March, 1763, gave consideration to an act which proposed gold and silver alone as legal tender and fixed the value of Old Tenor at seven pounds for one Spanish milled dollar. This was considered to work a hardship upon the poorer people. The *Letter* of T. R., who described himself on the title page as a "Cooper," set forth their cause eloquently but did not prevent the passage of the bill at the June Assembly of 1763.

Copies: JCB. [IX, 5]

[CADWALLADER COLDEN.] The Interest of the Country in laying Duties: or a Discourse, shewing how Duties on some Sorts of Merchandize may make the Province of New-York richer than it would be without them. New York, 1726.

This economic tract, attributed to Cadwallader Colden, discusses the duties on rum, wines, molasses, salt, and tonnage, and advocates assessing trade rather than the labor of the people. It mentions the extensive drinking of cider and beer, and gives a good view of the social conditions in New York. Zenger printed two related pamphlets—*The Interest of the City and Country to lay Duties*, and *The Two Interests Reconciled* in 1726. All three are in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, but none is listed in Evans.

Copies: AAS. [IX, 6]

THE MONSTER OF MONSTERS: a true and faithful Narrative of a most remarkable Phaenomenon lately seen in this Metropolis; to the great Surprize and Terror of His Majesty's good Subjects. . . . By Thomas Thumb, Esq. . . . [Boston, Daniel Fowle], 1754.

An anonymous pamphlet attacking the Massachusetts House of Representatives for passing the excise bill on liquors. Daniel Fowle was accused of publishing it and was placed in jail. The authorship has been ascribed both to Samuel Waterhouse and to Benjamin Church. The curious relationship of this political pamphlet to everyday life in Massachusetts is set forth by Professor Morgan in the introduction to this catalogue. One result of its printing was that Daniel Fowle left Boston and established in 1756 at Portsmouth the first press of New Hampshire.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 7]

THOMAS HILL. The Young Secretary's Guide. . . . In Two Parts. Part I. Containing the most curious Art of Inditing familiar Letters, relating to Business in Merchandize, Trade. . . . Part II. Containing the nature of Writings Obligatory, &c. with Examples of Bonds, Bills . . . Made suitable to the People of New-England. The Fourth Edition. . . . Boston, T. Fleet, for Samuel Phillips, 1713.

A useful handbook for the student in his business career was *The Young Secretary's Guide*, published in many editions. In it is a compressed statement of the three R's, with instruction in business practices and elementary law.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 8]

[THOMAS PRINCE.] The Vade Mecum for America: or a Companion for Traders and Travellers. . . . Boston, S. Kneeland and T. Green, for D. Henchman and T. Hancock, 1732.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 9]

ROBERT BISCOE. The Merchant's Magazine; or Factor's Guide. Containing, Great Variety of plain and easy Tables. . . . Williamsburg, William Parks, 1743.

Copies: JCB. [IX, 10]

The difference in value of the currencies of the several colonies in relation to sterling is recognized in the "ready reckoner" printed in Williamsburg in 1743, but that was only one reason why books of the sort, issued in many colonies, were regarded as essential to the comfort of the merchant. These books contained tables in which were calculated for seller or buyer the selling price of goods by the yard, pound, or barrel. In the New England "ready reckoner" of Thomas Prince are found sections relating to the names of the streets in Boston, to roads and mileages throughout the colonies from the Kennebec to the James, and a list of towns, counties, and court sessions in all the colonies. In the Virginia book, made up of similar materials, is an invaluable table converting tobacco payments in any amount into currency. Such books were planned to meet general needs and the special requirements of the

localities in which they were printed. It has been said that the curious narrow format of these books came about through the need of the trader for a volume so shaped that it could be carried in his saddlebags. Biscoe's book measures 7½ x 3 inches, and Prince's smaller work is 7⅛ inches tall by 2⅞ inches wide.

HENRY CARE. English liberties, or the Free-born Subject's Inheritance; containing Magna Charta . . . the Habeas Corpus Act . . . with Comments . . . Compiled first by Henry Care, and contiued [*sic*], with large Additions, by W. N. of the Middle-Temple, Esq; The Fifth Edition. Boston, J. Franklin, for N. Buttolph, B. Eliot, and D. Henchman, 1721.

This was less a practical handbook than a statement and record of the great legal and political principles which formed the proud inheritance of the British peoples at home and abroad. These matters were ever present in the minds of the colonists. This is the earliest American edition of an English work of about 1680.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 11]

NICHOLAS BOONE. The Constables Pocket-Book: or, a Dialogue between an Old Constable & a New, Being a Guide. . . . By N. B. a late Constable in the Town of Boston, N. E. Boston, for Nicholas Boone, 1710.

Copies: AAS; JCB (edition of 1727). [IX, 12]

CONDUCTOR GENERALIS, or the Office, Duty and Authority of Justices of the Peace . . . To which is Added, a Collection out of Sir Matthew Hales concerning the Descent of Lands. . . . Philadelphia, Andrew Bradford, 1722.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 13]

It was not only the merchant who needed handbooks and manuals for the conduct of business. In a pioneer country any man might be called upon to perform a public office for which he had no professional training. *The Constable's Pocket Book* of Boston, first issued in 1710,

needs no further description than its title supplies. *Conductor Generalis*, of New York, 1711, was the earliest American edition (copy in the Harvard Law School) of the book entered here in its Philadelphia edition of 1722, that is, the all-important handbook on "The Office, Duty and Authority of Justices of the Peace," compiled for the guidance of those non-professional courts through which justice was administered in England and America, according to both common and statute law, for many centuries. The book goes back to an Anglo-Norman work of a much earlier century. Many reissues and slightly different versions appeared throughout the colonies.

ELIE VALLETTE. [*engraved title:*] The Deputy Commissary's Guide within the Province of Maryland . . . for every Person any way concerned in deceased Person's Estates, to proceed therein with Safety to themselves and others. . . . Annapolis, Ann Catharine Green and Son, 1774. T Sparrow Sculpt

Elie Vallette's work was a practical handbook designed for the use of testators, executors, and administrators in the making of wills and the settlement of estates. It is a handsome little volume with a title-page engraved on copper by the Annapolis silversmith and engraver, Thomas Sparrow.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 14]

GILES JACOB. Every Man his own Lawyer: or, A Summary of the Laws of England, in a New and Instructive Method. . . . The Seventh Edition. . . . New York, Hugh Gaine, 1768.

It was the lack of lawyers rather than parsimony which led the colonial American to look with favor upon such handbooks of instruction as *Every Man his own Lawyer*, of New York, 1768. The title explains itself. In other sections of this list there are books entitled *Every Man his own Doctor* and *Every Man his own Brewer*. Observing the popularity of these self-service books among his fellow countrymen, Benjamin Franklin said he supposed we should soon be having *Every Man his own Priest*.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [IX, 15]

X. EDUCATION

READING, 'RITING, 'RITHMETIC, SECONDARY SCHOOLS, HIGHER EDUCATION

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER Enlarged. For the more easy Attaining the true Reading of English. . . . Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland, and T. Green. . . . 1752.

Copies: AAS. [X, 1]

THE HISTORY of the Holy Jesus . . . Being a pleasant and profitable Companion for Children; compos'd on Purpose for their Use. By a Lover of their precious Souls. The Fifth Edition. Boston, J. Green, 1748.

Copies: AAS; JCB (1749). [X, 2]

The New England Primer and such books as *The History of the Holy Jesus* were as much a part of the New England household as the Bible and the almanac. From them the children learned their letters and went on to learn spelling and the reading of simple texts. These were the foundation of the New England educational system. One of the sixteen rude and expressive but unbelievably naïve woodcuts which illustrate *The History of the Holy Jesus* in the editions of 1748 and 1749 is signed with the initials J T, who, it has been suggested, was James Turner, the engraver of Boston and Philadelphia. It is supposed that most of the other cuts in the series were also done by Turner.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER. A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue. For the Use of the Lower Forms in the Latin School. Being the Accidence Abbridg'd and Compiled in that most easy and accurate Method, wherein the Famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever taught; and which he found the most advantageous by seventy years experience. The Second Edition Revised & Corrected by the Author. . . . Boston, B. Green for Benj. Eliot, 1713.

The "Famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever," the best remembered among Latin teachers of early New England, taught at the Boston Latin School

from 1671 until his death in 1708. One of his distinguished pupils was Cotton Mather, who preached the funeral sermon of "The Ancient and Honourable Master of the Free-School in Boston," and published it with the title *Corderius Americanus. An Essay upon the Good Education of Children.* The reference in the title is to the celebrated French teacher, Mathurin Cordier, preceptor of John Calvin, among other notable men. *A Short Introduction* was first published in 1709. This second edition of 1713 seems to be unknown except for the copy entered here. The actual authorship of this exposition of Mr. Cheever's method is uncertain.

Copies: JCB; AAS (1724). [X, 3]

NOAH WEBSTER. A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language, comprising, an easy, concise, and systematic Method of Education, designed for the Use of English Schools in America. In three Parts . . . Part I. Containing a new and accurate Standard of Pronunciation. Hartford, Hudson & Goodwin, for the Author, [1783].

Noah Webster's Speller, the title entered above, was the earliest issue in the famous series of schoolbooks published by the celebrated lexicographer. Parts II and III of *A Grammatical Institute*, of 1784 and 1785, contained the Grammar and the Reader.

Copies: AAS (all three parts); JCB (Parts II and III). [X, 4]

CATALOGUS Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini quad est Cantabrigiae in Nova Anglia. Bostoni Nov-Anglorum, B. Green, 1723.

This catalogue of the Harvard College Library was compiled by Joshua Gee, and was the first institutional library catalogue issued in the colonies. Curiously enough, it does not list several modern literary works which were then available in the library. Most of these books were burned while the General Court was meeting at the College in 1764. Those which escaped and have been recovered are today segregated in the Houghton Library.

Copies: AAS. [X, 5]

A CATALOGUE of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven. New London, T. Green, 1743.

The catalogue of the Yale Library by the Reverend Thomas Clap, rector, or president of the College, includes some 2,600 volumes, with classification and shelf position given so as to make the books accessible to students. Most of these books are today in the Yale Library, preserved in a special room.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 6]

A CATALOGUE of Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. . . . Philadelphia, B. Franklin, 1741.

The Library Company of Philadelphia was the earliest of American proprietary libraries. The catalogue shows an excellent collection of works of history, science, and literature, many of which had been bought from lists made out by Benjamin Franklin, virtual founder of the institution.

Copies: AAS. [X, 7]

CATALOGUE of all the Books, belonging to the Providence Library. N. B. Those marked thus [*] are such Books as were saved in the Proprietors Hands when the late Library was burnt. Providence, Waterman and Russell, 1768.

Self education through reading was an accepted procedure in the American colonies. The *Catalogue* of the Providence Library Company, now the Providence Athenaeum, is another testimony to the opportunities for securing good reading matter offered by the colonial proprietary library.

Copies: JCB. [X, 8]

CATALOGUE of Martin's Circulating Library. At No. 45, Main-Street, Boston. [Boston], Edmund Freeman, 1786.

The proprietary, or shareholders' subscription library, the bookshops and auction rooms, and the local college libraries were supplemented in most American cities by the circulating library conducted usually by a bookseller, the forerunner of the lending library found in many bookshops of today. The two dollars subscription for three months charged by Mr. Martin was not a small amount at that time.

Copies: JCB. [X, 9]

IMPORTED in the last Ships from London and to be sold by David Hall, at the New-Printing-Office, in Market-street, Philadelphia, the following Books. . . . [Philadelphia, 1754.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [X, 10]

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 15TH 1773. Robert Bell's Sale Catalogue Of a Collection of New and Old Books . . . now selling At the Book-Store of William Woodhouse. . . . [Philadelphia, 1773.]

Copies: AAS. [X, 11]

A CATALOGUE of Books published in America, and for Sale at the Bookstore of John West, No. 75, Cornhill. . . . Boston, Samuel Etheridge, 1797.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 12]

The fixed-price catalogue was widely resorted to as an advertising device by the American bookseller, supplementing the auction catalogue and the long lists of titles for sale in the newspapers. The Bell catalogue contains 947 titles, individually priced. The emphasis upon American books by John West is unusual and makes his catalogue one of the earliest of American bibliographies. In the Antiquarian Society collection there are sixty-one book catalogues dating from 1744 to 1800.

A CATALOGUE of Rare and Valuable Books, Being the greatest part of the Library of . . . Mr. Joshua Moodey, and . . . Mr. Daniel Gookin. . . . Boston: Printed by Samuel Kneeland . . . for Samuel Gerrish, near the Old Meeting-House, where Catalogues may be had gratis, 1718.

The auctioneer as well as the bookseller provided a resource for the readers of the period. The earliest advertised book auction in the English colonies was held in Boston in 1713. No copy of its catalogue remains. The Moodey-Gookin catalogue of 1718 in the American Antiquarian Society and a catalogue issued by the bookseller Samuel Gerrish in 1720

(copy in the John Carter Brown Library) are among the five earliest American book auction catalogues recorded.

Copies: AAS. [X, 13]

GEORGE BICKHAM. [*first title:*] The Universal Penman . . . [*second title:*] The Universal Penman; Or, The Art of Writing Made Useful to the Gentleman and Scholar, as well as the Man of Business. . . . London, Robert Sayer, [1733].

Skill in handwriting was in general more highly esteemed in the eighteenth century than it is today. As one of the Three R's, 'riting had priority in the curriculum with reading and 'rithmetic. A popular book of instruction in penmanship in America as well as in England was Bickham's *Universal Penman*, a beautifully engraved work displaying many handwriting styles for the emulation of the student. It was published in parts beginning with the year 1733. The fine copy of Bickham's book in the John Carter Brown Library originally was the property of Moses Brown, the youngest of the four Brown brothers of Providence.

Copies: JCB. [X, 14]

NICHOLAS BROWN. [Book of writing exercises.] *Manuscript.* 1743.

Good handwriting was especially important to a young man training for a mercantile career. This representative book of writing exercises, beautifully filled in with specimens of various hands and with decorative pen ornamentation showing the influence of Bickham's *Universal Penman*, above, was the work of Nicholas Brown, of Providence, the eldest of the Four Brothers of that surname. This was probably his graduation exercise in penmanship, completed in 1743 at the age of fourteen years. Nearly one hundred "copy books" of this character are to be found in the American Antiquarian Society.

Copies: JCB. [X, 15]

JOHN JENKINS. The Art of Writing, reduced to a plain and easy System. On a Plan entirely new. . . . Boston, Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791.

John Jenkins's *Art of Writing* was the earliest printed American book of instruction in penmanship. It was based upon Mr. Jenkins's own

system of letter formation and was issued "under the patronage of some of the most distinguished names in America." That statement from the author's preface was literally true.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 16]

GEORGE FISHER. The American Instructor: or, Young Man's Best Companion. Containing, Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. . . . Philadelphia, B. Franklin and D. Hall . . . 1748.

This, the ninth edition of a famous compendium for farmer, merchant, and ailing planter, contains the first American calligraphic models. These are engraved plates showing the "Italian hand," the "Secretary hand," "An easy Copy for Round Hand," a "Flourishing Alphabet," and the "Print-Hand" which was advised for marking bales and addressing parcels.

Copies: AAS. [X, 17]

DER HOCH-DEUTSCH Americanische Calender, auf das Jahr . . . 1753. . . . Germantown . . . Christoph Saur . . . [1752].

Second only to Fisher's *American Instructor* of Philadelphia, 1748, in offering models of handwriting to be imitated by the student were Christopher Sower's German almanacs which, beginning with this edition, contained pages of German script and of an English script composed in a sturdy letter that is at once pleasing to the eye and full of character.

Copies: AAS (1752); JCB (1758). [X, 18]

THE HUSBAND-MAN'S GUIDE, in Four Parts. . . . Part Four, Contains the useful Rules of Arithmetick, &c. The second Edition, Enlarged. Boston, 1712.

A fuller entry of this book is found, quite properly, under Section III, "The Farm." This second edition of the earliest known work of agricultural literature printed in the colonies (that is, the book of the above title of Boston, 1710) is also a very early element in the mathematical literature of English America. It finds place in Dr. Karpinski's *Bibliography of Mathematical Works printed in America through 1850* as the third work with mathematical interest to be printed in the colonies.

The book was published, simultaneously with this Boston edition perhaps, by William Bradford of New York. Through confusion with this Boston edition of 1712, the New York edition has been improperly credited to the John Carter Brown Library. Aside from an enlargement of all its sections, the chief difference between the edition of 1710 and this second edition of 1712 is the removal of the section (Part IV) on legal forms in the earlier edition and the substitution for it in the later of a new Part IV headed "Arithmetick made easie, and the Rules explained."

Copies: JCB. [X, 19]

JAMES HODDER. Hodder's Arithmetick. Or, that Necessary Art made most Easy. . . . The Five and Twentieth Edition, Revised . . . by Henry Mose, late Servant and Successor to the Author. Boston, J. Franklin for S. Phillips, N. Buttolph, B. Eliot, D. Henchman, G. Phillips, J. Eliot, and E. Negus, 1719.

Hodder's well-known work of English origin was the first separate textbook on arithmetic printed in the colonies. The frontispiece portrait of the author is an early American metal cut in the woodcut manner, probably the work of James Franklin.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 20]

[ISAAC GREENWOOD.] Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal; with the Application thereof, to a Variety of Cases in Trade, and Commerce. Boston, S. Kneeland and T. Green, for T. Hancock, 1729.

The earliest arithmetical textbook by a native American was Isaac Greenwood's *Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal*, printed at Boston in 1729. This copy is remarkably fine considering that it seems to have been used, as its fly leaves attest, by a good many different aspirants to knowledge.

Copies: JCB. [X, 21]

CHRISTOPHER JACOB LAWTON. [Arithmetical Textbook.] *Manuscript.* 1732.

Textbooks were scarce in the isolated colonial communities. Frequently the pupil learned his subject and created a textbook for later

reference at the same time. Here is an example of what is called the "manuscript textbook," which deals with arithmetical, mathematical, and business problems. Christopher Lawton was a successful lawyer and land speculator and owned the entire town of Blandford, Massachusetts, at the time of its establishment. The book is inscribed with his name and the date 1732.

Copies: AAS. [X, 22]

BENJAMIN RUSH. Thoughts upon Female Education, accommodated to the present State of Society, Manners and Government, in the United States. . . . Philadelphia, Prichard & Hall, 1787.

A comprehensive statement of the scope and advantages of the education of girls, with especial reference to a Young Ladies' Academy opened at Philadelphia in 1786. An edition was published the same year in Boston.

Copies: AAS (Philadelphia, 1787, and Boston, 1787); JCB (Boston, 1787). [X, 23]

[OWEN BIDDLE.] A Plan for a School on an Establishment similar to that at Ackworth in Yorkshire, Great Britain, varied to suit the Circumstances of the Youth within the Limits of the Yearly-Meeting for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey. . . . Philadelphia, Joseph Crukshank, 1790.

Owen Biddle's plan was to establish a boarding-school for Friends, chiefly of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It was finally established in 1799 and exists today as one of the oldest private schools in the country, the Westtown School in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 24]

[WILLIAM SMITH.] Some Thoughts on Education: with Reasons for Erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of New-York. . . . New-York, J. Parker, 1752.

Copies: AAS. [X, 25]

WILLIAM SMITH. A general Idea of the College of Mirania. . . . New York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1753.

Copies: JCB. [X, 26]

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.] Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania. Philadelphia, [Franklin and Hall], 1749.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [X, 27]

The mid-eighteenth century saw the establishment of King's College and the Academy of Philadelphia, the two institutions known today as Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania. In the group of books on higher education in the colonies in the present list are the two printed charters which set up the infant colleges; Benjamin Franklin's *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, 1749; William Smith's *Some Thoughts on Education*, 1752; and his *A general Idea of the College of Mirania*, 1753—essays in educational aims and methods which were notably influential in forecasting the principles upon which the colleges in Philadelphia and New York were founded.

THE CHARTER, and Statutes of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia. In Latin and English. Williamsburg, William Parks, 1736.

Copies: JCB. [X, 28]

THE CHARTER of the College of New-York, in America... Published by Order of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, in Council. New York, J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1754.

Copies: JCB. [X, 29]

ADDITIONAL CHARTER of the College, Academy, and Charity-School of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1755.

Copies: JCB. [X, 30]

AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island, and

Providence Plantations . . . begun . . . on the last Monday in February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-four . . . An Act for the Establishment of a College or University, within this Colony. [*colophon:*] Newport, Samuel Hall, [1764].

Copies: JCB. [X, 31]

Nine colleges now existing were established in the English colonies before the Revolution, namely, Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth. Entered here are the charters of four of them. The College of William and Mary, as now known, was chartered in 1693. The first separate publication of its charter seems to have been in the form of the book of 1736 here entered.

XI. WELFARE AGENCIES

HOSPITALS, ORPHANAGE SCHOOLS, LIFE-SAVING SERVICE, PRISONS, FIRE-FIGHTING, FIRE INSURANCE, LIFE INSURANCE, CHARITABLE LOTTERY

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.] Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital; from its first Rise, to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, called May, 1754. Philadelphia, B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1754.

One of the projects for the amelioration of mankind in which Franklin concerned himself was the establishment by a group of citizens of a public general hospital in Philadelphia. *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital,* Philadelphia, 1754, an extensive report upon the origin of the hospital and the early years of its operation, was written by Franklin himself. This was the first hospital of the sort to be established in the English colonies.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 1]

CHARTER for establishing an Hospital in the City of New-York. Granted by the Right Hon. John, Earl of Dunmore, the 13th July, 1771. New York, H. Gaine, 1771.

The "New York Hospital" of today, in active operation since 1791, was chartered in 1771, the earliest New York institution to be chartered specifically as a hospital. The copy here entered has a provenance which associates it with Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, who aided the promoters of the hospital in securing their royal charter.

Copies: JCB. [XI, 2]

CONSTITUCIONES para el nuevo Hospital de Caridad, construido en la Ciudad de Nueva Orleans, á Expensas de D. Andres de Almonaster y Roxas. . . . Madrid, La Viuda de Ibarra, 1793.

Upon the site of a hospital established in 1736 and destroyed by a hurricane in 1779, the new Charity Hospital of New Orleans was built in 1785 and chartered by the King of Spain in 1793. The endowment of the Charity Hospital amounted to nearly $150,000, a huge sum to be given for a charitable purpose in that day. The chief donor was the Spanish official Don Andrés de Almonaster y Roxas, who provided in a lordly gesture that foundlings whose parentage was unknown should be given his own surname of Almonaster.

Copies: JCB. [XI, 3]

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADDITIONAL RULES of the South-Carolina Society, established at Charlestown in the Said Province, Sept. 1, 1737. . . . The Fifth Edition. Charles-Town, for the Society, by Peter Timothy, 1770.

Of Huguenot origin, this Society for the care of orphans early expanded its membership to include English-speaking residents of South Carolina. The act of Assembly by which it was incorporated in 1751 recited that it had been formed and conducted for "certain pious and charitable purposes," specifically, "erecting, endowing and supporting proper schools and alms-houses, for the maintenance and education of poor and helpless orphans." Though this is the fifth edition of the Society's handbook, no copy of an earlier edition has been recorded.

Copies: JCB. [XI, 4]

THOMAS BACON. A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Peter's, in Talbot County, Maryland . . . for the Benefit of a Charity Working School to be set up

in the said Parish for the Maintenance and Education of Orphans and, other Poor Children, and Negroes . . . To which is added, Copies of the Proposals. . . . London, J. Oliver, 1751.

The Reverend Thomas Bacon, best remembered as the compiler of the *Laws of Maryland* of 1765, was a man of great benevolence of heart. Because of his Charity School project and his series of sermons on the duty of masters to slaves, Bacon is accepted as one of the pioneers of negro education in America. His school, unfortunately, was not able to withstand the financial difficulties it encountered in its first years.

Copies: JCB. [XI, 5]

THE INSTITUTION OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: with the . . . Methods of Treatment to be used with Persons apparently dead. . . . Boston, 1788.

One of the more picturesque welfare establishments of the period is described in this account of the Massachusetts Humane Society. This organization concerned itself with the rescue and resuscitation of shipwrecked sailors and with the establishment of huts for the shelter of the shipwrecked at strategic points along the Massachusetts coast.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 6]

[LA ROCHEFOUCAULD-LIANCOURT (François, duc de).] On the Prisons of Philadelphia. By an European. Philadelphia, Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1796.

Interest in prison conditions was strong at an early period in Pennsylvania. The practical results of this interest are set forth in the book by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who visited America in the period 1795–1797. This account of Philadelphia prisons was also published in French in both Paris and Philadelphia in the same year as the English edition of Philadelphia.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 7]

THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE-CLUB. These Presents Witness, That We the Subscribers, reposing a special Trust and Confidence in each other's Friendship, do

hereby severally promise, and unanimously agree together, as follows: That is to say; Imprimis. That if it shall please God to permit Fire to break out in Newport . . . that we will then be aiding and assisting to each other, as Need shall require; to them first that are in the most apparent Danger . . . [*at end:*] In Witness whereof, we have hereunto set our Hands, this Thirtieth Day of December, Anno Domini, 1749. . . . [Newport, James Franklin, 1750.] *Broadside.*

This broadside of 1750 sets forth the rules for the volunteer fire company established in Newport as early as 1726.

Copies: Newport Hist. Soc. [XI, 8]

THE DEED OF SETTLEMENT of the Mutual Assurance Company, for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire in New-York. New York, William Morton, 1787.

Fire-fighting methods by the volunteer departments of the late eighteenth century are graphically shown in the engraving upon the title-page of *The Deed of Settlement of the Mutual Assurance Company* of New York, 1787. The earliest known American fire insurance company had been established in Charleston, South Carolina, as early as 1735.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 9]

THE CONSTITUTION of the Boston Tontine Association. [Boston], 1791.

The Boston Tontine Association was one of the earliest life insurance associations in the country. It was organized to provide annuities rather than regular life insurance, and an actuarial table was affixed with the terms of admission for persons five years or under set at $16.00, with ratios up to those over eighty, whose charge was $2.00.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 10]

WILLIAM GORDON. The Plan of a Society for Making Provision for Widows, by Annuities for the remainder of Life; and for granting Annuities to Persons after certain

Ages, with the Proper Tables. . . . Boston, Sold by Joseph Edwards and John Fleeming, 1772.

Because of his sympathy with the cause of the colonists, William Gordon, historian of the American Revolution, came to America in 1770. He became minister of the Third Congregational Church at Roxbury in 1772. One of his earliest services to his adopted country was the composition and publication of this scheme for providing widows and aged persons with annuities. It is based upon the *Observations on Reversionary Payments* of the Reverend Richard Price, notable friend of America in the days of the Revolution, and upon the procedure of the London Annuity Society and the Laudable Society, established in London a few years earlier.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XI, 11]

SCHEME OF A LOTTERY, granted by the Honourable General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode-Island, for raising Two Thousand Pounds Lawful Money, to enable the Baptist Society in the Town of Providence, to defray the additional Expence of purchasing a Lot, and building a House thereon, sufficiently large and commodious for holding public Commencements . . . . Providence, John Carter, [1774]. *Broadside.*

The public lottery was something more than a gambling device in this place and period, in which it was used as an aid to religious and philanthropic organizations, municipal councils, and provincial assemblies. The history of the lottery in American affairs goes back to the lotteries granted by James I in 1612 for the advancement of the colony of Virginia.

Copies: JCB. [XI, 12]

XII. TRANSPORTATION

ROADS, FERRIES, CANALS, PACKET BOATS, STEAMBOATS, URBAN TRANSPORT, INNS

PHILIP LEA. A new Map of New England, New York, New Iarsey, Pensilvania, Maryland, and Virginia . . .

By Philip Lea at the Atlas and Hercules in Cheap-side London, [*c.* 1690].

The development of the road system of colonial North America follows a general pattern, that is, the buffalo trace or the path of other animals to feeding grounds and salt licks; the Indian trail; and the road of the white man, constructed with axe and hoe and shovel. In very many cases the white man's road followed an Indian trail, and frequently the Indian trail followed exactly the paths made by the animals. Even where they did not overlap, they ran close together following the same directions, bearings, and gradients. The story of the Indian trails and early roads has engaged the interest of many general and local historians. For New England road history a fundamental document is this Philip Lea map of about 1690, in which are shown the "Great Trail" from Boston to Hartford, the Boston-Worcester-Springfield road, the Boston-Providence-Lyme road (now the Boston Post Road extending from Boston to New York), and three subsidiary roads, one of which has been identified as the "Ten Rod Road" of local Rhode Island fame.

Copies: JCB. [XII, 1]

HERMAN MOLL. New England, New York, New Jersey and Pensilvania . . . 1729. (In *Atlas Minor*. . . . London, H. Moll, 1729.)

The establishment of the British General Post Office in 1710 and its assumption of the American postal service was an influence in the development of the road system of the colonies. According to Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases*, No. 574, the Herman Moll map of *New England, New York, New Jersey and Pensilvania* of 1729 is the earliest known map of any part of the colonies to show post roads. In it is to be seen the main route, from Philadelphia to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A long legend on the map lays down the routes followed by the riders, specifies the days of their arrival and departure, and names the main and subsidiary post offices.

Copies: JCB (second and undated state of the map in Moll, *Atlas Minor*, [1736]). [XII, 2]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTANCES from the City of Philadelphia, of all the Places of Note within the Im-

proved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania. . . . Philadelphia, William Bradford, [1775].

Though nothing quite so elaborate as this book on the Pennsylvania road system had been printed for the other colonies, it must be remembered that one of the principal features of the eighteenth-century American almanac was its two or three pages of roads and distances from the place of publication to nearby local towns and to the capitals and chief cities of neighboring provinces.

Copies: Library Company of Philadelphia. [XII, 3]

CHRISTOPHER COLLES. [*engraved title:*] A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America . . . 1789. . . . [New York, 1789.]

One of the most generally useful books of the post-Revolutionary period in the United States is *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*, prepared by Christopher Colles and published in 1789. It comprises eighty-three separate engraved road maps of the main roads and byroads from New York to Williamsburg. The probability is that the book was engraved throughout by Cornelius Tiebout of New York and later of Philadelphia, whose name appears as engraver of the title-page.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XII, 4]

AN ACT for the better Enforcing an Ordinance of His Excellency Robert Hunter, Esq; . . . Governor in Chief of . . . New-Jersey, New-York, &c. Entituled, An Ordinance for the further establishing of Fees and Ferriages. (Chapter LXVIII in *The Acts of the General Assembly of New-Jersey*. Philadelphia, William and Andrew Bradford, 1732.)

The ferry was so important in colonial transportation that fees for its services had to be clearly stated and understood by ferryman and passenger. Because of New Jersey's position on the yon side of rivers and bays and sounds its travellers and freighters then as today were particularly dependent upon ferries. In this act are separately fixed fees for many commodities and for men, horses, and cattle on a number

of ferry routes across the Delaware and Hudson Rivers and between New York and Perth Amboy.

Copies: JCB. [XII, 5]

[WILLIAM SMITH.] An historical Account of the Rise, Progress and present State of the Canal Navigation in Pennsylvania . . . to which is annexed, "An Explanatory Map." . . . Philadelphia, Zachariah Poulson, Junior, 1795.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XII, 6]

ROBERT FULTON. A Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation; exhibiting the numerous Advantages to be derived from small Canals . . . With a Description of the Machinery for facilitating Conveyance by Water . . . with Thoughts on, and Designs for, Aqueducts and Bridges of Iron and Wood. Illustrated with seventeen Plates. . . . London, I. and J. Taylor, 1796.

Copies: JCB. [XII, 7]

Between highway building and railway building in America came the great era of canal construction. The two books listed here, by Provost William Smith of Philadelphia and Robert Fulton of New York, are evidence of the interest in canal building which began to be displayed in the 1780's and 1790's.

TRANSPORT on Lakes Erie and Huron. Leith and Shepherd hereby give notice to the Public, that the New Schooner the *Nancy* launched last November, will ply the ensuing season between Detroit and Fort Erie, and occasionally go to Michilimakinac when freight presents . . . [*signed:*] Leith and Shepherd. Detroit, 26th January 1790. [n.p., 1790.] *Broadside.*

This broadside seems to advertise freighting to the exclusion of passenger service. Certainly its schedule of rates is devoted entirely to freight. Its discovery by the late Douglas C. McMurtrie (see *A Printed Broadside dated at Detroit January 26, 1790*, Detroit, 1942) brought up the question, still unanswered, as to its place of publication.

Copies: N. Y. State Lib. (MS. Division). [XII, 8]

JAMES RUMSEY. A short Treatise on the Application of Steam, whereby is clearly shewn, from actual Experiments that Steam may be applied to propel Boats or Vessels. . . . Philadelphia, Joseph James, 1788.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XII, 9]

JOHN FITCH. The original Steam-Boat supported; or, A Reply to Mr. James Rumsey's Pamphlet. Shewing the true Priority of John Fitch, and the false Datings, &c. of James Rumsey. Philadelphia, Zachariah Poulson, Junr., 1788.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XII, 10]

Long before Robert Fulton perfected the steamboat, the question of the possibilities of a boat propelled by steam were attracting the attention of more than one American inventor. The controversy between John Fitch and James Rumsey as to priority in invention and superiority of method was extremely bitter. Here are two of the printed tracts which appeared in the course of it.

TO PREVENT MISTAKES, The Fare of my Carriage is established at the following Prices. . . . [New York, 1789.] *Broadside.*

This schedule of rates and regulations for transportation in 1789 by carriage in and about New York and to the suburban taverns was doubtless intended to be posted inside the vehicle in view of the passenger.

Copies: JCB. [XII, 11]

TAVERN RATES, Established at Baltimore-County April Term, 1789. [Baltimore, 1789.] *Broadside.*

One wishes that the county courts would again assume authority to fix rates of "Breakfast of Tea, or Coffee" 1/6, "Hot Dinner, with Small Beer, or Cyder" 2/6, and "Lodging per Night, with clean Sheets," 9d.

Copies: AAS. [XII, 12]

XIII. MILITARY AND NAVAL

MILITIA LAWS, MILITIA SERMONS, MILITARY TRAINING MANUALS, PRIVATEERING, RECRUITING, VOLUNTEER COMPANIES

[WILLIAM STRACHEY.] For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, &c. . . . London, for Walter Burre, 1612.

The code of laws first imposed upon the Virginia colonists by Sir Thomas Gates in 1610, three years after the settlement at Jamestown, forecasts the future throughout the colonies in its provisions for military forces for defense against the enemy, who might be, according to geographical location, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, or the Indian.

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 1]

THE GENERAL LAWS and Liberties of the Massachusets Colony: Revised & Re-printed. . . . Cambridge, Samuel Green for John Usher of Boston, 1672. [The Massachusetts militia law occupies pages 107–116 under the heading "Military."]

New England was sternly in earnest in the matter of military training. The section "Militarie Affairs" in *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes* of Cambridge, 1648 (only known copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library) occupies four folio pages. In the collected laws of the same title of 1660 (one of the few known copies is in the American Antiquarian Society), this section occupies five pages. In the collection of 1672 entered here the section "Military" requires ten folio pages for its general provisions and for its special regulations as to "Training, Watching, Warding," election of officers, and many other details of military administration.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIII, 2]

URIAN OAKES. The unconquerable, all-conquering, & more-then-conquering Souldier: Or, The successful Warre which a Believer Wageth with the Enemies of his Soul . . . as it was Discoursed in a Sermon Preached at Boston in

New-England, on the Day of the Artillery-Election there, June 3d. 1672. . . . Cambridge, Samuel Green, 1674.

The annual election of officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was an important event in the life of Massachusetts, demanding an annual sermon just as an annual sermon was the custom on the day of election of the General Court. This "Artillery Election Sermon" by the Reverend Urian Oakes, pastor of the church in Cambridge and later president of Harvard, was the first to be printed of a long series of sermons delivered annually on that day and thereafter printed as a matter of course.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIII, 3]

SAMUEL DAVIES. Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a good Soldier. A Sermon preached to Captain Overton's Independant Company of Volunteers, raised in Hanover County, Virginia, August 17, 1755. . . . Philadelphia, James Chattin, 1755.

South of New England there was no such institution as the annual militia election sermon, but moments of crisis, such as the dark beginning days of the French and Indian War, brought out an occasional sermon of memorable quality. The Reverend Samuel Davies, afterwards president of Princeton, gave utterance in this sermon to a remarkable prophecy in the words: "As a remarkable Instance of this, I may point out to the Public that heroic Youth Col. Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a Manner, for some important Service to his Country." The Davies sermon is entered in its first edition of Philadelphia, 1755. In its London edition of 1756 it must have carried to English readers the first news of a name to become familiar to them in later years.

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 4]

EDWARD BLACKWELL. A Compleat System of Fencing: or, The Art of Defence, in the Use of the Small-Sword. Wherein the most necessary Parts thereof are plainly laid down; chiefly for Gentlemen, Promoters and Lovers of that Science in North America. . . . Williamsburg, William Parks, 1734.

Though Edward Blackwell, the author of this book on fencing, undoubtedly looked upon the art he taught as a pleasant exercise of an athletic character, yet the sword as a weapon of offense and defense was the basis of his approach to the subject. The book was published for the benefit of the widow and children of the author, who had recently died in Williamsburg.

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 5]

JAMES SCOTT, Duke of Monmouth. An Abridgment of the English Military Discipline. Compiled by the late Duke of Monmouth. Printed by especial Command, for the Use of their Majesties Forces. Reprinted at Boston by Samuel Green and sold by Benjamin Harris. 1690.

Military manuals of instruction, represented by this and the four following titles, were a staple issue of the colonial American press. The earliest of the kind to be printed in English America was the Boston, 1690, reprint of the manual prepared by the unhappy Duke of Monmouth, probably when he was captain-general of the forces of Charles II.

Copies: AAS. [XIII, 6]

WILLIAM BRATTLE. Sudnry [*sic*] rules and directions for drawing up a regiment . . . for the use and benefit of the First regiment in the County of Middlesex. . . . Boston, S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1733.

William Brattle of Cambridge, who ended his life as an exiled Tory at Halifax, tried in his youth preaching, medicine, and law, but all these with less success than he attained as an officer of the Massachusetts militia, in which he reached the rank of major-general.

Copies: AAS. [XIII, 7]

GUY JOHNSON. Manual exercise, evolutions, manoeuvres, &c. to be observed and followed by the Militia of the Province, of New-York. . . . Albany, Alexander and James Robertson, 1772.

The nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, and his successor as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Guy Johnson saw a good deal

of active service as an officer of the New York militia as ranger and, later, as participant in Indian raiding expeditions against the colonists in the Revolution.

Copies: AAS. [XIII, 8]

REGULATIONS for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States. Part I. Philadelphia, Styner and Cist, 1779.

The most celebrated of all American military manuals was that one composed by the drill master of the Continental Army, the German Baron von Steuben. It is entered here in the first of some sixty or more editions recorded for the period before 1800.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIII, 9]

LOUIS ANDRÉ DE LA MAMIE, chevalier de Clairac. L'Ingenieur de Campagne: or, Field Engineer . . . translated by Major Lewis Nicola. To which is added . . . A Short Treatise on Sea Batteries . . . Likewise, An Explanation of all the Technical Terms used in the Work. By the Translator. Illustrated with a Variety of Copper-Plates. Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1776.

That the military training of the Americans was not confined to infantry movements and tactics is evidenced by the existence of this translation of the Chevalier de Clairac's celebrated work on military engineering by Major Lewis Nicola, French-born citizen of Pennsylvania, who translated another military classic and wrote a manual for war under American conditions. There are copies of these in the American Antiquarian Society.

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 10]

EXTRACTS from the Journals of Congress, relative to the Capture and Condemnation of Prizes, and the Fitting out Privateers; together with the Rules and Regulations of the Navy, and Instructions to the Commanders of Private Ships of War. Philadelphia, John Dunlap, 1776.

Copies: AAS, JCB. [XIII, 11]

IN CONGRESS, Wednesday, April 3, 1776. Instructions to the Commanders of Private Ships or Vessels of War, which shall have Commissions or Letters of Marque and Reprisal, authorising them to make Captures of British Vessels and Cargoes . . . By Order of Congress, [*signed in longhand*, John Hancock] President. [Philadelphia, 1776?] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 12]

An important auxiliary to the naval operations of eighteenth-century warfare was the private ship of war sailing, carefully regulated, under letters of marque and reprisal. Privateering was a familiar feature of American life in many wars and a profitable one.

RECRUITING INSTRUCTIONS for Thomas Hartley, Esq; You are hereby authorized to enlist in any of the United States of America, all such able-bodied freemen as are willing to enter into the service, and pay of the States . . . [*signed:*] G. Washington. [*followed by:*] Morris-Town, January 12, 1777. Sir, Instructions . . . are herewith inclosed . . . Philadelphia is to be your general rendezvous. . . . [*signed:*] G. Washington. Baltimore, M. K. Goddard, [1777]. *Broadside.*

A few months after this recruiting campaign Colonel Hartley, already a veteran in the American service, was in command of the First Pennsylvania Brigade at Brandywine and Germantown.

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 13]

ALL THOSE GENTLEMEN who are forming themselves into Companies in Defence of their Liberties; and others, that are not provided with Swords, may be suited therewith by applying to Charles Oliver Bruff, in Maiden Lane, near the Fly-Market. . . . [New York, 1775.] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XIII, 14]

XIV. ENTERTAINMENT

FISHING, HORSE RACING, RIDING, SHOOTING, THE STAGE, THE CIRCUS, THE MUSEUM, DANCING, CARD GAMES, CHILDREN'S GAMES, MAGIC, JOKE BOOKS, MUSIC, SONGS AND BALLADS

[JOSEPH SECCOMBE.] Business and Diversion inoffensive to God, and necessary for the Comfort and Support of human Society. A Discourse utter'd in Part at Ammauskeeg-Falls, in the Fishing-Season. 1739. . . . Boston, for S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1743.

The Reverend Mr. Seccombe's *Discourse . . . in the Fishing-Season* is the earliest American book on the outdoor sports of field and stream.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 1]

PRO BONO PUBLICO. Ascot-Heath, Second Meeting, By Permission, Three Days Sport. . . . Brooklyn-Hall, May 8th, 1781. . . . Printed by A. Robertson, No. 2, Queen-Street. [New York, 1781.] *Broadside.*

Ascot Heath was five miles from Brooklyn Ferry and was operated by Charles Looseley, landlord of King's Head Tavern, who conducted lotteries, sponsored horse-races, and otherwise sought to amuse the English officers then quartered in New York. The races with the larger purses were for two miles, and those with the smaller purses for one mile. This broadside is presumably the earliest separately printed announcement of a race meeting.

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 2]

PHILIP ASTLEY. The Modern Riding-Master: or, A Key to the knowledge of the Horse and Horsemanship. . . . Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Aitken. . . . 1776.

Astley's book on equitation has been described as "probably the earliest illustrated American Sporting book." It contains sixteen woodcuts illustrating proper horsemanship, and curious instructions, such as

that the horse's oats should be washed in good ale and his tired feet packed in cow dung.

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 3]

[C. BELL.] The Sportsman's Companion or an Essay on Shooting. By a Gentleman. . . . Burlington [New Jersey], 1791.

This first book on shooting published in America is not an Americanized version of an English book, but a discussion of American birds and shooting conditions. In this copy is written in a contemporary hand "By C. Bell," and on the reverse of the title is "Charles Bell, F.A."

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 4]

[WILLIAM HALIBURTON.] Effects of the Stage on the Manners of a People: and the Propriety of encouraging and establishing a virtuous Theatre. By a Bostonian. Boston, Young and Etheridge, 1792.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 5]

LINDLEY MURRAY. Extracts from the Writings of Divers Eminent Authors . . . representing the Evils and pernicious Effects of Stage Plays, and other vain Amusements. . . . Philadelphia: Reprinted by Benjamin and Jacob Johnson, 1799.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 6]

The propriety of stage plays in a Christian community caused the publication from Philadelphia northward of many a word for and against their production. William Haliburton's *Effects of the Stage* was issued in support of a movement to legalize the theatre in Massachusetts. Lindley Murray, the grammarian, author of the compilation here entered, was a Quaker of Pennsylvania birth of whom it has been said that "decorum, virtue, propriety were his watchwords." His book seems to have been published originally about 1789 in England, where he lived the second half of his life.

HORSEMANSHIP, by Mr. Bates, the Original, who has had the Honor of Performing before the Emperor of

Germany . . . and Every other Court. . . . He will perform on One, Two, Three, and Four Horses . . . with a Burlesque on Horsemanship. . . . [Boston, 1773.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 7]

MR. POOL, the First American that ever exhibited the following Equestrian Feats of Horsemanship on the Continent, intends Performing on Saturday Afternoon next, near the Powder-House . . . There will be Seats provided for the Ladies and Gentlemen. A Clown will entertain the Ladies and Gentlemen between the Feats. . . . . Providence, John Carter, [1786]. *Broadside.*

Copies: R. I. Hist. Soc. [XIV, 8]

TO THE CURIOUS. [*Cut of a leopard:*] A Leopard, Lately Imported from Bengal is Exhibited at . . . . [n. p., *c.* 1790.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 9]

[*Cut of a camel:*] TO THE CURIOUS. To be seen at Major Leavenworth's Stable, opposite Mr. Lothrop's, State-Street, Two Camels, Male and Female, lately imported from Arabia. [n. p., 1790.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 10]

EXHIBITIONS Comic and Experimental. At Mr. John Thurber's Tavern, West Side of the Bridge. This Evening for the first time a Chinese Automaton Figure will perform several Feats on the Rope. . . . Providence, November 18, 1796. *Broadside.*

Copies: R. I. Hist. Soc. [XIV, 11]

[*Large cut of elephant:*] THE ELEPHANT, According to the Account of the celebrated Buffon, is the most respectable Animal in the World . . . This most curious and sur-

prizing Animal is just arrived from Philadelphia, on his Way to Boston . . . He will just stay to give the Citizens of Providence an Opportunity to see him. . . . Providence, June 27, 1797. [Providence], Carter and Wilkinson, [1797]. *Broadside.*

Copies: R. I. Hist. Soc. [XIV, 12]

BOWEN'S COLUMBIAN MUSEUM, at the Head of the Mall, Boston, is open for the entertainment of the Public, every Day (except Sundays) and Elegantly illuminated every Tuesday & Thursday Evening. Wax-Work . . . Paintings . . . With a great Variety of Natural and Artificial Curiosities, viz. . . . [*at end:*] This Museum is universally allowed to be the most entertaining place of amusement in the United States. Admittance, Half a Dollar. [Boston, 1798.] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XIV, 13]

Popular entertainment was by no means neglected in the colonial period and in the early years of the Republic. These handbills need no comment. It is of interest, however, to say that the Elephant advertised in one of them to be exhibited in Providence was the earliest of that species to come to America. She (the feminine pronoun is here used with knowledge of the facts) arrived in New York in April, 1796, and was exhibited there and in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, and again in Philadelphia before the end of the year. In 1797 this popular lady was shown in New York, Providence (as the handbill indicates), Boston, Salem, and other New England towns. She continued this active life until 1818 or, as some historians believe, until 1822.

PROVIDENCE, (Tuesday Morning) September 25, 1764. Madam, As the Close of this Day is devoted to social Mirth, and Gaiety . . . I take the Liberty to request you to make one at an Petticoat Frisk, to be held in the Afternoon at Mrs. Goddard's . . . Your very humble, and most obedient Servant, William Goddard. . . . [Providence, William Goddard, 1764].

Copies: R. I. Hist. Soc. [XIV, 14]

MR. JOHN BROWN requests the Favour of [Miss N. Carter's] Company to a Dance, at his House on the Hill, on Friday Evening next, Seven o'Clock. January 2, 1788.

Copies: JCB. [XIV, 15]

[JOHN GRIFFITHS.] The Gentleman & Lady's Companion; containing, the newest Cotillions and Country Dances; to which are added, Instances of ill Manners, to be carefully avoided by Youth of both sexes . . . Second Edition. Stonington-Port, Samuel Trumbull, for John Trumbull, Printer, Norwich, 1798.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 16]

In this group of three items, two celebrated citizens of Providence invite their friends to dancing parties, and an itinerant dancing master, John Griffiths, gives instructions for the formal cotillions and the popular contra-dances of the period in *The Gentleman & Lady's Companion*, published at Stonington in 1798. The literature of dance instruction in this country around 1800 is voluminous. The invitation to Mr. John Brown's dancing party entered here is printed on the back of a playing card.

HOYLE'S GAMES improved: being practical Treatises on the following fashionable Games, Viz. [*in two columns:*] Whist Quadrille Piquet Back-Gammon Chess Billiards and Tennis . . . By James Beaufort. . . . Philadelphia, for H. and P. Rice, sold also by James Rice and Co., Baltimore, 1796.

"According to Hoyle" is an expression going back in its sense and origin to the first edition of Edmund Hoyle's *Short Treatise on Whist*, published in 1742. The rules of other games were combined with this treatise in the eighth edition of 1748. *Hoyle's Games Improved* of Philadelphia, 1796, is an American edition of Beaufort's revision of Hoyle.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 17]

A LITTLE PRETTY POCKET-BOOK, intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy, and

Pretty Miss Polly. . . . The first Worcester Edition. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas, 1787.

Although the book was reprinted from an English publication, the woodcuts were engraved in America. They illustrate the discussion of such sports as fishing, shooting, marbles, kite-flying, "base-ball," hop-scotch, and leap-frog, all, of course, from the juvenile standpoint.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 18]

HENRY DEAN. Hocus Pocus; or the whole art of Legerdemain in perfection. . . . The Eleventh Edition, with large Additions and Amendments. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1795.

The first American book on magic, based upon an English book which goes back to the early eighteenth century. It has a woodcut frontispiece, with a verse underneath:

> Strange feats are herein taught by slight of hand,
> With which you may amuse yourself and friend,
> The like in print was never seen before,
> And so you'll say when once you've read it o'er.

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 19]

THE AMERICAN JEST BOOK: containing a curious Variety of Jests, Anecdotes, Bon Mots, Stories, &c. Part I. Philadelphia, M. Carey and W. Spotswood, 1789.

The Merry Fellow's Companion; being the second Part of the American Jest Book. . . . Philadelphia, for M. Carey and W. Spotswood, 1789.

The Merry Fellow's Companion, of Philadelphia, 1789, and its earlier part, *The American Jest Book*, is a compilation which must have served many after-dinner speakers in their perennial search for appropriate witty stories and anecdotes. In brief, it was in the following of Joe Miller's Jest Book and an elder brother of the many books of the sort which continue to be published today.

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 20]

AN ABSTRACT of Geminiani's Art of playing on the Violin, and of another Book of Instructions for playing

in a true Taste on the Violin, German Flute, Violoncello, and the thorough Bass on the Harpsichord. . . . Boston, John Boyles, 1769.

Copies: JCB. [XIV, 21]

WILLIAM BILLINGS. The New-England Psalm-Singer: or, American Chorister. Containing a Number of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Canons. In Four and Five Parts. . . . Boston. New-England. Printed by Edes and Gill. And to be Sold by them . . . by Deacon Elliot . . . by Josiah Flagg . . . by Gillam Bass . . . and by the Author. [1770.]

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 22]

THIS EVENING, the Tenth of December, at Six o'Clock, the new Organ, at King's Church, will be play'd on by Mr. Flagg. A Number of Gentlemen belonging to the Town will assist on the Occasion, and perform the vocal Parts. . . . [Providence, John Carter, 1771.] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XIV, 23]

ANDREW ADGATE. Rudiments of Music. . . . Philadelphia, Printed and sold by John M'Culloch, 1788.

Copies: JCB. [XIV, 24]

Music, religious and secular, as a recreation for the American of the eighteenth century is gaining more and more attention from those who study the period. In this section are shown the only known copy of *An Abstract of Geminiani's Art of playing on the Violin*, Boston, 1769; *The New-England Psalm-Singer*, composed by William Billings, of Boston, 1770, with an amusing copperplate frontispiece engraved by Paul Revere; a Providence broadside announcing a recital by Mr. Flagg on the new organ at King's Church in 1771; and *Rudiments of Music*, by Andrew Adgate, of Philadelphia, 1788, an extremely rare production by a musician who conducted a music school in that city for many years.

HAIL COLUMBIA. A Patriotic Song Sung by Mr. Williamson with Universal Applause at the New York Theatre.

New York, Printed and Sold by G. Gilfert, [*c.* 1798]. *Sheet music.*

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 25]

THE SAILOR BOY. A favorite Sea Song . . . Introduced . . . by Mr. Hodgkinson in No Song No Supper. . . . Philadelphia, for Carr & Co., [1793]. *Sheet Music.*

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 26]

SHE LEFT ME AH! FOR GOLD. A favorite Song. New York, for G. Gilfert & Co., [1796].

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XIV, 27]

The above entries comprise three pieces of sheet music representative of the comic, the patriotic, and the sentimental emotions with which the instrumental and vocal music of the period was chiefly concerned. *Hail Columbia*, originally published as *The Favorite New Federal Song*, assumed its familiar title with virtually simultaneous issues of Boston and New York in May, 1798.

THE AMERICAN SONGSTER: Being a select Collection of the most celebrated American, English, Scotch and Irish Songs. . . . New York, for Samuel Campbell and Thomas Allen, 1788.

The "songster" of the eighteenth century was a miscellany of lyrics intended to be sung, but presented in books without music.

Copies: AAS. [XIV, 28]

CAMBRIDGE, DECEMBER 1731. Some Time since died here Mr. Mathew Abbey, in a very advanced Age: He had for a great Number of Years serv'd the College in Quality of Bed-maker and Sweeper; Having no Child, his Wife inherits his whole Estate, which he bequeath'd to her by his last Will and Testament, as follows, viz. . . . [Boston, n.d.] *Broadside on blue paper in three columns.*

True comedy of local origin appears in the ballad of Father Abbey's will. It was frequently printed during the eighteenth century, but the

dates of printing are impossible to determine. At least thirteen different printings are known, of which the American Antiquarian Society has five. The Will is generally accredited to John Seccombe as author. It was probably sung as well as recited. It was popular in England for a generation.

Copies: AAS (Ford, *Massachusetts Broadsides*, No. 610); JCB (same reference, No. 611). [XIV, 29]

XV. DEATH AND DISASTER

THE COLONIAL TABLOID
BATTLE, FIRE, SHIPWRECK, DEATH BY ACCIDENT, NATURAL DEATH, HANGINGS

[THE VOLUNTIER'S MARCH; being a full and true Account of the bloody Fight which happen'd between Capt. Lovewell's Company, and the Indians at Pigwoket. An excellent new Song. Boston, 1725.]

Though this title is known only by an advertisement in James Franklin's *New-England Courant* of May 31, 1725, it may be entered here as illustrating the custom of putting into ballad form for popular singing events of war, whether of defeat or victory. These songs were composed upon order of an enterprising publisher as soon as news of such an event had been received. They were quickly printed and hawked about the streets and taverns. The several ballad entries in Worthington C. Ford's *Massachusetts Broadsides and Ballads* are evidence of the extent to which this custom of rendering news into verse for public singing prevailed in New England. Many of these ballads are reproduced in Ola E. Winslow's *American Broadside Verse*.

Copies: None recorded. [XV, 1]

[*Cut of forty-two coffins:*] BLOODY BUTCHERY, by the British Troops: or, the Runaway Fight of the Regulars. Salem, N. E. Printed and Sold by E. Russell. . . . 1775. *Broadside.*

The New England printers, who made every hanging an excuse for an excitingly grisly broadside, had the time of their lives with the Nine-

teenth of April. This broadside had everything—coffins, propaganda, atrocities, a casualty list, elegiac verse, advertisements for other "Poetical Remarks on the Bloody Tragedy," and "the most remarkable Dream that was ever dreamed in New-England."

Copies: AAS. [XV, 2]

ELISHA RICH. A Poem on the Bloody engagement that was Fought on Bunker's Hill in Charlestown, New-England, on the 17th of June, 1775. . . Chelmsford: Printed and sold by Nathaniel Coverly, 1775. *Broadside.*

Each ballad has its own individuality. This clearly reflects its author, an uneducated Baptist preacher with the simple democracy of his sect. Its publisher became famous for this kind of broadside literature.

Copies: AAS. [XV, 3]

[*Colored woodcut of burning city:*] H. W. A Poem, descriptive of the terrible Fire, which made such shocking Devastation in Boston, on Friday Evening the Twenty-first of April, 1787 . . . Composed by H. W. . . . [*at end:*] [Boston], Sold at the Printing-Office in Essex-Street, next Liberty Pole, [1787]. *Broadside.*

A general holocaust was as exciting to the balladist as a battle. The fire of 1787, which destroyed about one hundred structures, began in the Hollis Street Meeting House, a small wooden building with a fine bell which weighed eight hundred pounds. According to this broadside, "The Rope burnt and the Bell melted before the Sexton made his Escape."

Copies: JCB. [XV, 4]

A SHORT AND BRIEF ACCOUNT of the Shipwreck of Capt. Joshua Winslow, who was overset on Carolina Coast . . . on the 23d day of July, 1788. [Boston, 1788.] *Broadside.*

This ballad, memorializing the wreck of the ship *Nancy*, outward bound from Boston to Africa, concludes as follows:

These lines were describ'd and pen'd
By Jonas Clark the Captain's friend,
Who was on board when Tempests blew,
And one of the surviving crew.

Copies: JCB; AAS (another edition with other matter added). [XV, 5]

[*Cut of seven coffins:*] VERSES Made on the sudden Death of Six Young Women and one Boy, who were Drowned July 13, 1782. . . . [Newport, 1782.] *Broadside.*

On a Saturday afternoon sail from Newport to Conanicut Island "a small two-masted boat" overturned, and seven of the eighteen young people who were its passengers were drowned. This tragic accident offered a made-to-order opportunity for the versifiers who specialized in the lugubrious.

Copies: AAS. [XV, 6]

[JOSEPH METCALF.] Tears Dropt at the Funeral of that Eminently Pious Christian, Mrs. Elizabeth Hatch. . . . [Boston], 1710. *Broadside.*

The funeral sermon and often the funeral poem were expected features in the obsequies of persons of prominence or of exceptional piety. This poem is unusual in reaching the length of 269 lines.

Copies: AAS. [XV, 7]

[*Cut of Death and a Lady:*] A DIALOGUE between Death and a Lady. Boston, [*ante* 1775]. *Broadside.*

The *Dialogue* entered here is a poem of dignity and of some literary distinction—an American-printed production on the ancient theme of the Dance of Death. It was quite popular, as the span of its editions shows.

Copies: AAS (*ante* 1775 and Exeter, 1793); JCB (Windham, *c.* 1800). [XV, 8]

[*Cut of gallows scene:*] A WARNING to Young & Old: in the Execution of William Wieer, at Boston, the 21st of November, 1754, for the Murder of William Chism, on the 6th of April last. [Boston, 1754.] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XV, 9]

A POEM occasioned by the untimely Death of Hugh Henderson, alias John Hamilton, who was Hang'd at Worcester for House-Breaking, Nov. 24, 1737. [Boston, 1737.] *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [XV, 10]

THE LAST WORDS and Dying Speech of Levi Ames, who was Executed at Boston the 21st Day of October, 1773, for Burglary. . . . Boston, [1773]. *Broadside.*

Copies: AAS. [XV, 11]

AN ADDRESS to the Inhabitants of Boston, (Particulary [*sic*] to the thoughtless Youth.) Occasioned by the Execution of Levi Ames, Who so early in Life, as not 22 Years of Age, must quit the Stage of action in this awful Manner. . . . [Boston, 1773.] *Broadside.*

Copies: JCB. [XV, 12]

THE LIFE and Confession of Daniel Wilson, who was executed at Providence . . . the 29th of April, 1774, for committing a Rape. [Providence, 1774.]

Copies: AAS. [XV, 13]

[WILLIAM SMITH.] The Confession, &c. of Thomas Mount, who was executed at Little-Rest, in the State of Rhode-Island, on Friday the 27th of May; 1791, for Burglary. [*colophon:*] Printed and sold by Peter Edes, in Newport, [1791].

Copies: AAS; JCB. [XV, 14]

The most unusual of this group of confessions of criminals and of ballads inspired by their execution is the *Confession* of Thomas Mount, or Mountain. This highwayman gave a good deal of concern to the forces of law and order by revealing his association with an organized gang of international thieves called the Flash Company. Some seventy to eighty in number, this organization was reputed to be spread from Nova Scotia to the remotest parts of Georgia. The book is doubly interesting for its four pages on the Flash Company, containing a glossary of the Flash language, or "thieves' cant," and two pages of Flash songs.