Observations on the Winthrop, Bentley Thomas and 'Ex Dono' Collections of the Original Library of Allegheny College, 1819-1823,

First listed by President Timothy Alden in Catalogus Bibliothecae Collegii Alleghaniensis, E Typis Thomae Atkinson Soc. apud Meadville. 1823.

Edwin Wolf, 2nd

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, Librarian of The Library Company of Philadelphia, was commissioned by Allegheny College to make a survey of the Original Library, March 6-16, 1962.

Notes:

Through his observations, Mr. Wolf uses the original spelling of the College's name: Alleghany.

This document is a typed transcript of Mr. Wolf’s original work.

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Section II. [James Winthrop Collection]

James Winthrop, a close friend of Bentley, was the son of John Winthrop, the Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard from 1738 to 1779. James inherited most, if not all, of his father's library. The Winthrop books at Alleghany, therefore, represent the scholarly interest of two generations. In his will, made out on June 24, 1818, James Winthrop, who had served as a long-time Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, echoed a plaint often expressed by book-lovers: "As none of my relatives has any particular taste for books and I am loth to admit the idea, that my whole labor and expense in making the collection will be lost, I give and dispose of it as follows." The disposition stated that all the English poetry, novels and sermons should be divided between Mrs. Harriet Peck and the Rev. Thaddeus Harris, and all the rest go to Alleghany College. On September 3, 1822, three tons of books which had come in wagons from Boston by way of Albany and Buffalo arrived in Meadville. According to Winthrop's executor, William Winthrop, the Alleghany bequest amounted to 3,150 volumes, appraised at $6441.73; the 1823 Library Catalogue lists 3,105 volumes, of which 330 are presumed missing, but a recent count paradoxically shows 3,117. (This may be due to some error between volume count and title count).

The best contemporary estimate of Alleghany's 1823 collection comes from one of the country's most sophisticated book experts. Thanking Alden for a copy of the catalogue, Thomas Jefferson wrote on February 14, 1824 to congratulate the college on its "good fortune of having become the objects of donations so liberal. That of Dr. Bentley is truly valuable for its classical riches, but Mr. Winthrop's is inappreciable for the variety of branches of science to which it extends, and for the rare and precious works it possesses in each branch. I had not expected there was such a private collection in the U.S. We are just commencing the establishment of an University in Virginia but cannot flatter ourselves with the hope of such donations as have been bestowed on you."

From a contemporary academic point of view, Jefferson was not exaggerating. The catalogue of the library of Union College of Schenectady issued in 1815, by listing the number of copies of each title available for the use of students, is a good guide to what was then considered important. Languages, including the classics, were deemed far away the most important studies, Moore's "Greek Grammar Translated" was in the Union College Library in 119 copies and Ainsworth and Young's Latin Dictionary in 69 copies, while there were 59 copies of Schrevelius's lexicon and 57 ofTacitus. Mathematics and natural philosophy held second rank in the curriculum, theology and ethics third, with such subjects as geography, history, voyages, travels and so forth dragging far in the rear. Literature was deemed unfit for study. Substituting
voyages and travels for theology and ethics, the Winthrop collection fairly well follows the priorities accorded by Union College. In total number of volumes, rather than of titles, there were probably more books by classical authors in Winthrop's library than in any other category. For a college it was a selection of great value. It does not seem to be that of a great reader nor of a dedicated searcher of whatever could be found. It is almost as though Bentley had returned glowing with enthusiasm at the sight of the new importations of German critical editions and told his friend Winthrop, who then bought almost literally shelves of them.

The excellent Bipontine editions, produced under ducal auspices at Zweibrucken at the end of the 18th century, appear in fresh, multi-volume sets. Ammianus Marcellinus, Cicero in thirteen volumes, Aulus Gellius, Lucan, Macrobius, Paterculus, and exhaustive five-volume Pliny, Quintilian, Varro and two four-volume collections, Sciptores Erotici Graecae and Scriptores Rei Rusticae Veteres Latini. Similar products of German scholarship were such well-annotated editions as the Anthologia Graeca printed in twelve volumes at Leipzig in 1794, Ernesti's recension of Homer in five volumes, Leipzig, 1759, Brunck's Sophocles in four volumes, 1786, Ernesti's Xenophon in four volumes, 1801-04 and that rich store house of earlier, now disappeared, works, Athenaeus's Deipnosophistarum Libri, Strassburg 1801, in thirteen volumes. Winthrop's copy of Silius Italicus's history of the Punic Wars was that printed at Gottingen in 1795, his Tacitus Ernesti's edition of 1801, his Tibullus Heyne's of 1798, the Terence a two-volume Leipzig edition of 1774, the poets Theocritus, Lucretius, and Valerius Flaccus in printings respectively of Vienna in 1765, Leipzig in 1776, and Altenburg in 1781, and from the latter town Wernsdorf's text of the Poetae Latini Minores in ten volumes.

If one can judge from condition and general absence of earlier provenance, these critical editions were bought new by James Winthrop in the last ten or fifteen years of his life. Sometimes these purchases supplemented earlier acquisitions; some of the classics, but not an impressive number, bear indications that they were John Winthrop's. Several of the older editions, generally in poorer condition, seem to have been school texts. Both a Lyon 1619 and a Boston 1812 Aesop were books for beginners. Epictetus, Isocrates, Caesar and a few small format Ovids fall into that class. The orations of Demosthenes in English, Dublin, 1612, Hesiod and Aristophanes in Greek, Cambridge, 1672 and London, 1695 respectively, and Florus in Latin, Oxford, 1661, were also inexpensive student editions.

There were, to be sure, some big, old, valuable volumes. Winthrop's Aristotle was the two-volume collected works, Basle, 1539. His Plato was the excellent edition of Serranus, in three volumes, folio, printed in 1578. His Plutarch was an equally massive set published at Paris in 1624. There was an old Phiny, his natural history, now lacking the title-page, but unquestionably
of the 16th century. The Horace was the handsome, two-volume quarto, "for the use of the Dauphin," Paris, 1691. The two historians, Herodian and Appianus of Alexandria, were represented by ancient printings of Basle, 1549, and Paris, 1551, respectively. Other 16th-century editions were Strabo's geography, Paris, 1571, and Oppian on hunting and fishing, Leydon, 1597.

To round out his collection, Winthrop seems to have bought in later life less impressive, but not quite adequate, texts. The Greeks, Aeschylus, Anacreon, Herodotus and Thucydides, were in 19th century printings, although in quite a few instances the bookman had an earlier edition, often in English. In brief, it can be said that almost all of the classics in some form or other were to be found in the judge's library.

When it came to dictionaries, grammars, and other tools of language, the Winthrop library was nothing short of fantastic. Many of the basic books were the same as those in the Bentley collection, but Winthrop went far beyond even the gifted minister in this gathering of philological works. He had a minimum of handbooks for Latin and Greek, perhaps made unnecessary by the copious annotated texts of the classics which he owned. Pasor's Graeco-Latin lexicon, London, 1650, Scapula's similar large folio work, Amsterdam, 1687, Henri Etienne's great product of Renaissance scholarship, the four-volume, folio Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, of 1572, William Robertson's lexicon, London, 1676, and the later, standard one of Schrevelius, London, 1805, were his Greek language aides. For Latin he relied chiefly on a comparatively recent printing, that published four volumes at Basle in 1740, of Robert Etienne's Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Littleton's dictionary of 1703, and 1751 and 1808 editions of the standard one of Ainsworth.

In the field of comparative linguistics Winthrop was amply supplied with excellent works: Martini's Lexicon Philologicum, 1623, Hootinger's Thesaurus Philologus, Zurich, 1649, and Schindler's Lexicon Pentaglotten, 1612. He owned Ployglot-famed Brian Walton's introduction to the reading of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Aethiopic, Armenian and Coptic languages, London, 1655, the only slightly less comprehensive grammar of Raue, London, 1650, the latter's Discourse on oriental tongues, London, 1649, and Robertson's Manipulus Linguae Sanctae, Cambridge, 1683. All these works, as their provenances show, had done service for several generations of New England scholars. They were solid foundation stones upon which to build more specialized knowledge.
And Winthrop built, or at least, had the materials to build. As Morison said, Harvard placed an emphasis on Hebrew "as the reputed Ursprache of the Western World" to a greater degree than did Oxford or Cambridge. Few teachers of Hebrew, and very few libraries in America, had book resources in the study of the sacred tongue comparable to those enjoyed by the Massachusetts bookman. He owned most of the Hebrew grammars esteemed in his and earlier days, Schindler's Institutiones, Wittenberg, 1596, Schickard's Horologium, Leipzig 1636, Junius's Grammaticas, Geneva, 1590, and Martini's, Amsterdam, 1634. Of the great Hebraist Buxtorf he had almost all the major works, Institutio Epistolariis Hebraica, Basle, 1610, Grammatica Chaldaica at Syriaca, Basle, 1615, Thesaurus Grammaticus, Basle, 1620, Lexicon, Basle, 1631, and his magnum opus edited by the younger Buxtorf, Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, 1639, as well as the son's companion volume, Lexicon Chaldaicom et Syriacom, Basle, 1622. On his shelves were the Dutch scholar, Leusdens's Hebrew-Latin lexicon and two editions of his Hebrew-Chaldaic grammar, printed in Utrecht in 1686-87, and a late edition, that of Gottingen of 1770, of Leusden's English colleague, Castell's lexicon.

More modern, if less imposing, grammars were swept onto his shelves. Winthrop had the first Hebrew grammar printed in America, that of Judah Monis issued at Boston in 1735, composed by the converted Jew who became Professor of Hebrew at Harvard. He also owned the grammar of Monis's successor, Stephan Sewall, whose work appeared in 1763. It should be noted that many of the Hebrew books had once belonged to Sewall and that most of them had come first to John Winthrop. To these were added the relevant work of the great English Hebraist Kennicott, The State of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered, Oxford, 1753, Kals's Grammatica Hebraea Harmonica, Amsterdam, 1758, the later popular lexicon of Pike, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1802, and the valuable two-volume Compendious Lexicon, New York, 1809, by the Columbia professor, Clement C. Moore, whose greatest claim to fame is as the author of "A Visit from St. Nicholas."

In addition to the impressive works on Hebrew which James Winthrop had inherited from his father and bought for himself, he carried his interest into cognate fields. Except for an Arabic edition of the Psalms, Rome, 1614, all his books on that Semitic language were comparatively modern, Herbin's, Developmens des Principes de la Langue Arabe Moderne, Paris, 1803, John Richardson's Arabic Grammar, London, 1801, and his Dictionary of the Persian, Arabic, and English, London, 1806, and Antara's Poema Arabica, Leyden, 1816. Far more esoteric was the Swedish orientalist Akerblad's interpretation of Phoenician inscriptions at Oxford, 1802, a work not nearly as important as his identification of the proper names in the demotic text of the Rosetta Stone. Older, equally strange to our curricula today, but not in Winthrop's time, was Hiob Ludolf's Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum, London, 1661.
Persian, with Sir William Jones's grammar, London, 1804, Gilchrist's translation of Gulistan, London, 1808, and Ouseley's Bakhayar Nameh, London, 1801, was a step towards the Far East. Winthrop had other works by Jones on Indian Languages, and unquestionably the thriving India and China trade of New England stimulated his interest in the tongues of those lands. We have no evidence whether he mastered the host of tongues of the Orient, or merely collected books in and on them from curiosity, but in 1823 there was at Meadville, Pennsylvania, a collection of orientalia which would have astounded a sophisticated savant. Beginning with Balfour's The Forms of Herkern, 1781, one of the first books printed at Calcutta, the hand-books included the Hindustani grammar of Dr. Gilchrist, surgeon under the East India Company, Calcutta, 1787, his Strangers East India Guide to the Hindoostanee, Calcutta, 1802, Hadley's Comparative Grammar of the Current Corrupt Dialect of the Jargon of Hindostan, London, 1801, and Drummond's Illustrations of the Grammatical Part of the Guzerattee, Mahratta and English Languages, Bombay, 1808. To these were added such texts as the Code of Gentoo Laws, London, 1781, and the Institutions of Emperor Akber, London, 1800, as well as a Hindu history in Mahratta and the Pentateuch in Bengalee.

Allied in linguistic derivation was the Grammar of the Sanskrita Language, London 1808, of Sir Charles Wilkins, the first Englishman truly to understand Sanskrit. More or less related in area were Howison's Dictionary of the Malay Tongue, London, 1801, a small unidentified work in the language of Malabar, and the Gospel of St. Matthew in Burmese. And going west, we find an example of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, Gasper's Compendio de la Arte de la Lengua Tagala, Manila, 1787.

There is no question whether James Winthrop used his Chinese books, for a manuscript on Chinese astronomy in his hand survives. He owned most of the best books on that language which were then available. He had the two major works of Etienne Fournont, whom Louis XIV appointed to aid a young Chinese, Hoan-ji., in compiling a grammar, the Meditationes Sinicae and the Linguae Sinarum Mandarinae Grammatica of 1737 and 1742 respectively. He had the elder De Guignes's Le Chou-King, 1770, and the younger De Guignes's handsomely printed folio Dictionnaire Chinois Francois et Latin, 1813, one of the monuments of Napoleonic scholarship. In addition to various classic texts and minor works, he bought the typographically impressive Explanation of the Elementary Characters of the Chinese by Hager, London, 1801, and Morrison's View of China for Philological Purposes, Macao, 1817.
It is anti-climactic to talk of Winthrop's works on and about modern European languages. He ranged from Cole's English dictionary to Bailey's and Johnson's, from Benson's Vocanularium Anglo-Saxonicum, Oxford, 1701, and Elstob's Grammar for the English Saxon Tongue, London, 1715, to Evan's Welsh vocabulary. He had standard dictionaries of French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish and Danish. Certainly unusual in the United States in his day was a small shelf of books on Russian, Heym's Nouveau Dictionnaire Russe-Francois-Allemand, Riga and Leipzig, 1805, in four volumes, Madru's Elemens Raisonnes de la Langue Russe, Paris, 1802, with two volumes of manuscript by James Winthrop evidencing his application to a study of the language, Tappe's Neues Russisches Elementar Lesebuch, St. Petersburg, 1810, and others.

A natural supplement to an interest in language was an interest in geography and travel. The elder Winthrop's astrological work led inevitably to atlases and navigational works. Perhaps it was these which opened up the foreign lands to his son, these and the returning mariners of New England with their tales of distant and exotic places. The oldest geographical work, except for the classical Strabo, was Heylyn's Cosmography, London, 1670, and English compendium which retained its currency in Great Britain and her colonies for well over a hundred years. The best early map of America was Poppel's large scale chart of the British Empire in America, 1733, with the sections bound in book form, although Winthrop also owned Lewis Evan's Analysis of a Map of the Middle British Colonies, which Franklin printed in 1755, now, alas, without the excellent map. Other atlases of note were Bellin's Hydrographie Francois, 1756, his Cartes Marines pour l'Amerique, 1765-67, Collin's Great Britain's Coasting Pilot, 1773, the fine Derrotero de las Costas de Espana, Madrid, 1787-89, and Robertson's uncommon Memoirs of a Chart of the Chinese Seas, London, 1795.

A run, nor quite complete, of the Nautical Almanac from 1770 to 1818 added a flavor of the forecastle of a sailing ship. Other practical works which the armchair sailor owned included Haselden's Seaman's Daily Assistant, London, 1770, Moore's Practical Navigator, London, 1796, which Bowditch, of whom Bentley had a low opinion, lifted almost verbatim for his New American Practical Navigator, and the American Pilot for the Sea Coast of North America, Boston, 1803.

It was but a step from the technique of sailing to a vicarious enjoyment of sailing to faroff lands. In the library was Eden's History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, London, 1577, the second edition of the first collection of voyages to be published in English (now lacking its title page). A well-founded collection of accounts of circumnavigations buttressed this pioneer work. There were Walter's narrative of Anson's voyage in the London edition of 1749, Hawkesworth's
description of the first expedition of Captain Cook, London, 1773, and Perth, 1789, several editions of other narratives of the adventures of that redoutable sailor, and the accounts of the voyages of Portlock and Dixon, Pages, La Perouse, and La Billarderie. Of all these the most impressive set in the Winthrop collection is a copy, in the original boards, uncut, of Merchand's Voyage Autour de Monde, Paris, 1798-1800, in five volumes with an atlas.

If there were not many of the earliest accounts of discovery and exploration of the New World, there was a representative lot of later voyages. Because of its astronomical importance, Winthrop had Chappe d'Auteroche's Voyage to California, London, 1778. Also on his shelves were such works as Muller's Voyages from Asia to Africa, London, 1774, Juan and Ulloa's Relacion Historian del Viage a las America Meridional, Madrid, 1748, in four quarto volumes, and an English translation of it, and La Blanchardiere's Nouveau Voyage fait au Perou, Paris, 1751. Of a later date were accounts such as Edward's comprehensive description of the West Indies, Molina's history of Chile, Mawe's travels in Brazil, De Pon's in the southern part of South America, and various of the early writings of Humboldt. More numerous were the narratives of travellers in the United States and Canada, most of them contemporaneous with James Winthrop. In the collection were Brissot de Warville's Travels, Boston, 1797, Mackenzie's pioneering, transcontinental Voyages from Montreal, New York, 1802, Imlay's Description of the Western Territory, several copies of the work in which a brief description of Meadville appears for the first time in print, Journal of a Tour Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains, Boston, 1805, by the judge's friend Thaddeus N. Harris, Davis's Travels in Louisiana, New York, 1806, Gass's narrative of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Philadelphia, 1810, Pike's Account of Expeditions to the Source of Mississippi, Philadelphia, 1810, and the less extensive tours of Ashe and Silliman.

It is impossible to list all the titles of works in this field, but the citation of a few does give the flavor of the whole selection. It seems strange that Winthrop had so few books descriptive of the British Isles, comparatively few on France, Germany and Spain. Italy, presumably because of the antiquities found there, appealed to him more. In addition to Addison's Italian travel book, DeNon's account of Sicily, and Brydone's extremely popular Tour of Sicily and Malta, there were the impressive five-volume set of D'Hancarville's Antiguites Etrusques, Paris, 1787, and Caylus's Receuil d'Antiquites, Paris, 1752.

Egypt apparently fascinated the New Englander, for he bought the official Napoleonic Memoires sur l'Egypte, published in four volumes at Paris in 1800, Savery's Letters on Egypt, London, 1787, Griesbach's Description des Pyramides de Ghize, Paris, 1801, Brown's travels in Egypt and the Near East, and six volumes of Bruce's account of his expedition to discover the source of the
Nile. He had books on Morocco, the Holy Land, Arabia, and Abyssinia. He had a collection of plans of the ports of the Mediterranean and descriptions of the Sardinia and Greece. He owned Thunberg's four-volume history of his extensive travels on three continents, the two books of Le Vaillant's travels in the interior of Africa, Sparrman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Perth, 1789, and Labarthe's Voyage a la Cote de Guinee, Paris, 1803.

Reflecting his unusual interest in the Russian language, James Winthrop secured a number of books on Russia. The Figures de Toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russia was copiously illustrated with color-plates, one of the few color-plate books the judge owned. He had John Bell's Travels from St. Pettersburg to Asia, Edinburgh, 1788, Swinton's account of his travels in Scandinavia and Russia, and Lessops's Travels in Kamschatka, London, 1790. Coming south from the Pacific Coast of Russia, Winthrop traveled in print to Japan with the classic 18th-century account of that island by Kaempfer, in a two-volume folio edition printed in 1729. Continuing, he saw China through Grosier's Description, London, 1788, Stauton's account of the famous embassy of Macartney, Barrow's travels, and Johnson's Oriental Voyager, London, 1807. With many other works literally covering the world, the library at Alleghany was unusually well stocked with books on foreign lands.

It is surprising that there were not more books of history. Many of them were standard texts found in almost any library of any size in America; few of them were as esoteric as the linguistic and travel books. Echard's ancient history and Rollin's were very popular texts. The large Oxford 1707 folio edition of Claredon's History of the Rebellion seemed to have been almost a sine qua non in colonial collections, as were the English histories of Rapin-Thoyras with its Whig slant and of Hume and Smollent with their Tory biases. Nor was there distinction in Winthrop's ownership of Sir William Temple's Letters, London, 1700, and his Works, London, 1720. the French works were equally popular in their day, Echard's and Fleury's ecclesiastical histories, Mezeray's general one of France, and the bestselling Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz. One would expect to find, and one does, the various works of the Scotch historian, William Robertson, whose books on Scotland, India, and America Winthrop bought. In this somewhat under-represented section of his collection, we find the assiduous Hannah Adams present in presentation copies. It is not surprising that the Hartford 1790, edition of Winthrop's Journal is there. Nor is one amazed by Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Philadelphia, 1788. Yet, De Solis's Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, Barcelona, 1789, and Diaz del Castillo's history in English, London, 1803, were on the New Englander's shelves, as were- evidence of Winthrop's prescient interest in Russia- Levesque's five-volume Historie de Russia, and a New York printing of the History of the Campaigns of Suworow. It is strange that the descendants of so history-minded a figure as Governor Winthrop did not seek out more books in this discipline. It should be added that there were the usual late 18th-century accounts of the American colonies and states.
When it comes to science, however, the elder Winthrop's a vocational involvement in this field assured a rich and comprehensive store of books as a working library. The mathematical section, including geometry and trigonometry, left little to be desired, and except for the amazing collection of James Logan it was probably the best in private hands during the colonial period. The ever-current classic, Euclid, was present in no less than four editions, from Barrow's recension, Cambridge, 1655, to a London, 1751 edition of the same version, most of them well used copies which had come down from one New England student to another. There was also the ancient text of Apollonius of Perga's De Sectione Rationis, printed at Oxford in 1706 under the supervision of the great astronomer Halley. Two Renaissance works were owned by Winthrop, Gemma Frisius's Arithmeticae Practicae Methodus in a 16th-century printing now lacking its title page and Pierre de La Ramee's Arithmeticae Libri, Basle, 1569, and Frankfurt, 1627, this latter work being a standard text at Harvard in its earliest days. The early mathematician Henry Briggs was represented by his Arithmetica Logarithmica, London, 1624, a pioneer work of logarithms, as well as the English translation issued seven years later. The important contributions of Descartes were available to Professor Winthrop in his Opera Philosophica, Amsterdam, 1656, and his Geometria, Amsterdam, 1659. Other important works of this century were John Newton's edition of Brigg's Trigonometria Britanica, London, 1658, and the imaginative Oughtred's Circles of Proportion, and Clavis Mathematicae, Oxford, 1660 and 1667 respectively. He also owned the standard text-book of the period, Wingate's Arithmetic in an edition of 1668.

John Winthrop studied and taught at the height of the Age of Newton, an age which saw major advances in all the fields of science. The work of Newton and its explanation and extension by his followers were exciting new theories to the man of the early 18th century, and to Winthrop theories to be read, grasped and passed on to his students. He owned the first edition of Newton's Arithmetica Universalis, Cambridge, 1707, and he once owned the 1726 edition of Newton's Principia, but the latter is no longer at Alleghany. Still there, however, is the extremely popular condensation and simplification of that work, Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, London, 1728, a book found almost universally in colonial American libraries of any size. On the shelves of mathematical books were the Mathematical Lectures and the Geometrical Lectures of Newton's teacher, Isaac Barrow, no less than three of the works of the great Scottish mathematician, Colin Maclaurin, Geometria Organica, 1720, Treatise of Fluxions, 1742, and his Account of Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, 1748, the self-educated Stone's Conic Sections, 1723, and Humphrey Ditton's Fluxions, 1726. Winston, who published Newton's Arithmetica Universalis, was represented by Isaac Newton's Mathematical Philosophy More Easily Demonstrated, London, 1719; and Gravesande's annotations on the same book, Elements of Universal Mathematics, London, 1728, and his commentary on the Principia Philosophiae Newtonianae Institutiones, Leydon, 1723, added to the large corpus of Newtonian explanation.
To these he joined the London, 1726 and 1741 editions of the Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy by the capable lecturer Desaguliers, under whom Greenwood, Winthrop's predecessor as Hollison Professor, sat.

While there was a predominance of books by British mathematicians in the Winthrop collection, he did not completely neglect the continental scientists' works. Such a standard handbook as Christian Wolff's Elementa Matheseos Universae, 1717, was in his possession, as was Sturm's Elements of Mathematicks, and Le Clerc's charmingly illustrated Practique de la Geometrie. It is not always easy to determine which books James Winthrop added to the collection, but it is certain that he carried his father's interests far enough to have bought Euler's letters to a German princess, Paris, 1787, and Montucla's very important Histoire des Mathematiques, Paris, 1798.

Mathematics is a necessary prelude to astronomy, and it was in the field of astronomy that John Winthrop made his most important contributions to science. Of course, his own works were in the library, his Cogitata De Cometis, London, 1767, his two tracts on the transits of Venus in 1761 and 1769, the latter with his extensive notes, and his Two Lectures on Comets, Boston, 1759, this, too, with corrections and additions in the author's hand, presumably for a second edition which never appeared in his lifetime. Although there were none of the great celestial atlases of Flamsteed and others in the library, the astronomical books represented a large and choice selection.

From an earlier era in the development of the science Winthrop obtained, usually from older Harvard graduates, such works as Maestlin's Epitome Astronomiae, Tubingen, 1624, and the second volume of Argoli's Ephemeridum ivxta Tychonis Hypotheses, Patavia, 1638. It was as much as matter of the easier availability of books from Great Britain as free choice in the selection which saw the transfer to Winthrop's shelves of the almanac maker Wing's Ephemerides of the Celestial Motion for VII Years, London, 1652, the extremely uncommon Glasgow, 1672 edition of Huyghens's Conjectures concerning the Inhabitants of the Planets, and Gassendi's Institutio Astronomica, London, 1683.

There was, as to be expected, a better representation, in quality and quantity of the astronomers of Winthrop's own time. The great Edmund Halley appeared as the young astronomer in his first published work, Catalogus Stellarum Australium, London, 1679, as well as his posthumous Astronomical Tables, London, 1752, with the French edition of two years later. Sir Isaac Newton's System of the World, 1731, was in Winthrop's hands, and the successor to Newton's

It was during John Winthrop's active career that much of the exciting work in the field of astronomy shifted from England to France. Typical of the work of the Frenchmen were Maupertuis's Figure of the Earth Determined by Observations made at the Polar Circle, London, 1738, Cassini's Elements d'Astronomie, Paris, 1740, and De La Lande's Astronomie, Paris, 1771, in three quarto volumes. Although there were other works on this subject, among the most interesting, which should be mentioned, were sixteen pamphlets by the London instrument-maker Benjamin Martin, many of them with presentation inscriptions from Martin to Winthrop, on his optical glasses, microscope, quadrant, hydrometer, orrery and other scientific implements. It is significant that the only scientific instrument used at early Harvard that is known to have survived the fire of 1764 is a telescope made by Martin. I. Bernard Cohen records the many purchases made by Winthrop from Martin after the fire to replace the equipment which had been lost.

Some of the books on navigation were noted in the section dealing with voyages and travels, but there were other more technical works, such as Tobias Mayer's Tabulae Motuum Solis et Lunae, London, 1770, and the Commissioners of Longitude's Tables for Correcting the Apparent Distance of the Moon and a Star, Cambridge, 1772. In addition Winthrop owned Patoun's Navigation, London, 1730, Phillipes's Seaman's Canon of Triangles, London, 1708, Atkinson's Epitome of the Art of Navigation, London, 1749, and two editions of Wakeley's Mariner's Compass Rectified, 1758 and 1770. It is also noteworthy that James Winthrop added to the collection he received from his father one of the few such books printed in America, William Croswell's Tables for Computing Longitude, Boston, 1791. Allied in many of its principles was surveying, and the handful of works in the library gave enough information to satisfy the needs of the more specialized scientist. There were Cotes's Harmonia Mensuram, Cambridge, 1722, Foster's Art of Measuring, London, 1677, and some others.

To be sure, the College library had most of the text-books needed for Winthrop's courses at Harvard, so the Professor's own library reflected his personal interests rather than a balanced collection in the whole field of natural philosophy. In the category of physics, optics was well represented because it, too, was closely allied to astronomy and hence to Winthrop's prime
interest. Basic were Newton's Opticks in the edition of 1730 and his Optical Lectures of 1728. The best comprehensive study of the subject which incorporated Newton's advances was Robert Smith's Complete System of Opticks, Cambridge, 1738. Martin's theoretical handbook, Elements of Optics, London, 1759, was owned by Winthrop, and he also had Priestley's later comprehensive study, The History and Present State of Discoveries Relating to Vision, London, 1772. Of cognate interest and real practical value was Baker's Microscope Made Easy, London, 1743.

The books he had on the more general aspects of physics were almost entirely the most popular works of his age. Beginning with Rohault's Physica, London, 1718, they included Desaguliers's Course of Experimental Philosophy, London, 1745 (which with Haukebee's similar work, which Winthrop does not seem to have had, but which Harvard did, introduced the whole generation of American scientists to experimental research), his Hydrostaticks, London, 1718, Keill's often reprinted Introductio ad verum Physicam, London, 1719, and two copies of the 1720 English translation, Cotes's Hydrostatic and Pneumatic Lectures, London, 1738, the third part of Franklin's Experiments in electricity, presented to John Winthrop by the author, and Priestley's fine survey, The History and Present State of Electricity, London, 1775. In addition to these there need only to be mentioned one of the more widely used continental works, Wolff's Experimental Philosophy, Amsterdam, 1742.

It is curious that John Winthrop had so few books on chemistry, although among them was Lemery's Cours de Chymie, Paris, 1683. On the other hand, the non-scientist James added to the library such works as Lavoisier's Chemistry, New York, 1806, Woodhouse's edition of Chaptal's handbook, Philadelphia, 1807, and Cutbush's Philosophy of Experimental Chemistry, Philadelphia, 1813.

The practical aspect of science seems to have appealed more to the elder man. He owned the greatest of all early books on metals and mining, Agricola's De Re Metallica, Basle, 1630. He had the London, 1717 edition of the Lecons Mechaniques of Desaguliers, whose lectures in England Winthrop's predecessor Greenwood had heard before he came to America as the first Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. His son added Fergusan's Lectures on Select Subjects in Mechanics, London, 1795. He also exhibited esoteric interest in a subject then more curious than practical by buying copies of Cavallo's History and Practice of Aerostation, London, 1785, and the balloonist Jeffries's Narrative of Two Aerial Voyages, London, 1786.
While there were a few older, standard works on botany, gardening, and agriculture in the collection, notable such colonial American favorites as Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole, London, 1629, Grew's Anatomy of Plants, London, 1682, Ray's Methodus Plantarum, London, 1682, Hale's Vegetable Staticks, London, 1727, and Miller's two-volume folio Gardener's Dictionary, London, 1737, and Gardener's Calender, London, 1769, the interest in this phase of science seems to have been James Winthrop's. Deane's Georgical Dictionary, Worcester, 1790, is an interleaved copy with the judge's careful observations and garden notes written on many blank pages. That he took his botanical pursuits seriously is evidenced by the presence on his shelves of Duhamel de Monceau's Elements of Agriculture, London, 1764, Gmelin's edition of the classic Systema Vegetabilium by Linnaeus in a Leydon, 1796 printing, and nine volumes of Arthur Young's exhaustive agricultural tours through various parts of Great Britain. The first work written by an American and printed in the United States on American trees, Marshall's Arbustrum Americanum, Philadelphia, 1785, found a place on Winthrop's shelves. He also had Erasmus Darwin's Phytologia and the practical Forsyth's On Fruit Trees, Albany, 1803.

In the miscellaneous branches of natural history, Winthrop father and son seemed to have little interest. Only one book on animals, Darwin's Zoonomia, was in the library, and only one book on birds, Wilson's pioneer American Ornithology, in nine quarto volumes with handsome colored plates. It is rather surprising, therefore, to find the fine, very specialized work on conchology, Gaultier's Index Testarum Conchyliorum, Florence, 1742.

While medicine was by the turn of the century becoming professionalized, there was still considerable do-it-yourself medical practice in America. The educated layman owned medical books and many of them considered their book knowledge almost the equivalent of the practitioner's. The Winthrops owned a good shelf of old and new books on medicine. Harvey's Anatomical Exercises, London, 1653, was from a historical point of view one of the most important. Quincy's Medical Dictionary and English Dispensatory, both printed in London in 1730, were standard popular texts in colonial times. The younger Winthrop added many of the works which supplanted earlier texts. He had several books by the great Edinburgh teacher Cullen. He bought the Boston, 1795 edition of Cheselden's Anatomy. He found space for the controversial Browne's Elementa Medicinae, Philadelphia, 1790, and the well-regarded Charles and John Bell's various monographs. A nod toward new developments was shown by Winthrop's possession of the South Carolinian Well's Essay upon Single Vision, London, 1792, Samuel Brown's Treatise on the Yellow Fever, Boston, 1800, the New Englander Waterhouse's pro-vaccination tracts, History of Kine Pox, Cambridge, 1800-01, and J. Redman Coxe's Philadelphia Medical Dictionary, 1808.
Finally in the field of science, the Winthrops purchased a number of the old and new comprehensive works. Representing 17th-century thought were the old, standard Alsted's Encyclopaedia, Herbon, 1630, an often used text in Harvard's early days, and a recent edition of a basic work, Bacon's Works, London, 1803. The new era of scientific thought was heralded in England by the Royal Society and it is to be expected that Fellow Winthrop had a set of easy-to-use Abridgements of the Society's Transactions in eleven volumes, 1722-56. (What happened to the unabridged Transactions which he must have received?) He also bought the 1756 edition of Birch's History of the Royal Society. The Academie Royale des Sciences pursued a parallel course, and the teacher of science obtained nine volumes of its periodical Historie, 1718-24. In America, the Franklin-founded American Philosophical Society tried to emulate the Old World's older learned societies, and it was natural that Franklin's friend Winthrop should receive the first volume of the young institution's first proceedings, Philadelphia, 1771. Yet, topping all other inclusive works was Diderot and d'Alembert's splendid Encyclopedie, 1751-80, all thirty-five volumes of which James Winthrop bought. It was probably his most expensive single purchase, and it certainly one of the most important works he owned.

In other fields of human learning coverage was extremely selective. The more significant works seem to have been basic ones which the elder Winthrop, together with most of his intelligent contemporaries, felt were essential in a cultivated man's library. There was the encyclopaedist Bayle's Dictionnaire in the four-volume, folio edition of Amsterdam, 1730 and equally large and multi-volume Oeuvres of The Hague, 1727. A heavy pendent to Bayle was Morieri's Grand Dictionnaire Historique, Paris, 1732-49, in eleven large volumes. These were, before the revolution of thought created by the French Encyclopedistes of the 18th-century, the most comprehensive and most forward-looking of the major compendiums of knowledge. We get a taste of the older disciplines in Keckermann's Systema Logica, Hanover, 1620, and in Comenius's Janua Linguarum, London, 1685, both text books of the 17th century. The most popular handbook for the study of classical myths was Natalis Comes's Mythology, and overweighting them for the study of biblical texts were the ponderous folios of Pole's Synopsis Criticorum in five volumes and Leigh's Critica Sacra.

There was a sprinkling of continual texts, not resources in depth, but a bit of the best, including two sets of Ariosto, Macchiavelli's Works, in two-folio volumes, London, 1642, no less than four printings of Fenelon's ever-popular Telemachus in French, Italian and English, and Voltaire's complete works in a thirty-two volume set. To these were added books which seemed to have been sine qua non in Colonial American collections, books which formed the basis of all contemporary political thought in the Winthrops' times, Grotius's De Juri Belli et Pacis, the Hague, 1680, and Barbeyrac's French edition of Amsterdam, 1724, and Puffendorf's De Officio Hominis et Civis, Utrecht, 1728, and his De jure Naturae et Gentium, Frankfort, 1716, with-
gone again-Barbeyrac's French edition of Amsterdam, 1734. To these were added the free-thinker Bielfield's Institutions, Politiques, The Hague, 1760

Breadth of thought ranged from the polymath Joseph Mede's Works, London, 1642, through the believer-in-witches Glanvill's Concerning Witches and Apparation, London, 1729, including the far more liberal Locke's On Human Understanding in surprisingly late American printings, to Bishop Berleley's conservative Alciphron. It is strange that, while many of the philosophical work most frequently found in early American libraries, such as Hutcheson's Original of Our ideas of Beauty and Virtue, London, 1729, were to be found in early editions, others equally esteemed at the same time, such as Sidney's On Government, New York, 1805, were recent printings or replacements of hard used volumes. That James Winthrop kept abreast of new trends in many aspects of culture is evidenced by his ownership of the rare first edition of Beccaria's criminological work, Dei Delitte e delle Pene, Monoco, 1769, of Adam Smith's classic of economics, The Wealth of Nations, Dublin, 1776, of the Philadelphia, 1771 edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, of Malthus's On the Principle of Population, London, 1807, and of the turgid, but then highly esteemed, Dugald Stewart's Philiosophy of the Human Mind, Boston, 1814.

In the miscellaneous range of Winthrop's collection were such solid 18th-century works as Nieuwntyt's Religious Philosopher, London, 1730, and Ramsey's Voyages de Cyrus, London, 1757, both common as household words in colonial American collections. Equally ubiquitous were Cahmberlayne's Present State of Europe, London, 1700, and - surprisingly enough- Sarpi's Historie de Concile de Trente, Amsterdam, 1713, in Amelot de la Houssaie's translation. What happened to Judge Winthrop's law books- for he must have owned some shelves of them- we do not know. That there are Massachusetts laws, acts, reports, etc. from 1726 to 1809 is to be expected. That the judge had so comparatively few other legal works is puzzling.

He did have Oliver Goldsmith's works in various popular printings. He owned a set of Gibbon. He irrelevantly bought Franklin's friend, the Abbe Mably's largely political and economic writing in a thirteen volumes set, plus other separate works. And he did have a copy of Franklin's Autobiography, Philadelphia, 1794. Finally, there was such a mixed bag as Gallani's Treatise on the Art of Dancing, London, 1765, Stevenson's Military Instructions for Officers, Philadelphia, 1776, Isaiah Thomas's History of Printing, Worcester, 1810, and Davis's First Settlers of Virginia, New York, 1806.
James Winthrop's library, including, of course the acquisitions of his father, was in its day one of the best private collections in Massachusetts. It reflected the interests of a bookman who had begun his career in a bookish home and nurtured those interests by serving for a brief time as Librarian of Harvard. Alleghany, as Jefferson so well noted, was fortunate to receive it by bequest.