

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 V. General Remarks

As I wrote, speaking of books in the Library Company which had belonged to famous Englishmen: "A provenance is at once a cachet of excellence and a sentimental link in a cultural chain which binds one age to another." The most exciting feature of the old library of Alleghany College lies in the distinguished early pedigrees of so many of the books which later came into the hands of the Winthrops and Bentley. The cachet of excellence was the ownership of individual volumes by successive generations of New Englanders. The sentimental link was one with Harvard, for nowhere outside the Boston area exists a larger accumulation of volumes which had once belonged to 17th and early 18th-century Harvard students, tutors and professors.

In 1933 in the Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Arthur O. Norton published a monograph, the product of over twenty years' research, on "Harvard Text-Books and Reference Books of the Seventeenth Century." There he listed all the books formerly owned by 17th-century Harvard students which he had been able to find in such major collections as the American Antiquarian Society (82 volumes), Harvard College Library (76 volumes), Boston Public Library (48 volumes) and Massachusetts Historical Society (29 volumes), and a few others, 257 volumes in all. This work formed the basis for most of Samuel Eliot Morison's detailed study of textbooks in his Harvard in the Seventeenth Century. The large number of similar volumes at Alleghany- perhaps as many as one quarter of the total listed by Norton- has heretofore been unknown. For the student of early New England culture these volumes offer an untapped resource of major proportions.

Before launching into an account of the New England owners, one volume which belonged to an early Virginia adventurer should be noted. Bentley's copy of the Graeco-Latin edition of Strabo's *Rerum Geographicarum Libri*, Basle, 1571, has lost most of the upper right-hand corner of the title page, but there remains the beginning of two lines of a quotation in a 17th-century hand: "Ha.../Ha..." From a comparison of a similar inscription in the two books in the Library Company it is certain that the motto was originally "Habere eripitur, / Habuisse nunquam," and that the hand is that of George Sandys, whose signature probably appeared on the now missing corner. Sandys, who completed his verse translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Virginia whither he went in 1621 as treasurer of the Virginia Company, was the first belle-lettristic writer to work in America. Only five other books formally owned by him are known, three of them, strangely enough, in Philadelphia. The Alleghany Strabo makes the sixth. Before it was acquired by Bentley, the volume had belonged in 1728 to the English physician and antiquarian, William Stukeley of Grantham.

It has been long known that a remnant of the library of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut is in the New York Society Library, but no other lot of books of early Winthrops has been located. Norton listed one which belonged to Adam Winthrop (A.B. 1694) and two with ownership inscriptions of John Winthrop (A.B. 1700). The volume with the oldest pedigree of American interest at Alleghany is Vive's work on rhetoric, *De ratione dicendi*, Louvain, 1533, which belonged in the 16th century to Adam Winthrop of Groton, the father of John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts and the first of his name to come to America. In the book Winthrop senior wrote his name: "Ad: Wintropus Grotonensis"; a motto: "Virtus post funera vivit"; and the note: Adamo [sic] Wintropus est huius libri possessor ex dimissione Henrici Foliambi tenuis facultatis amplissime aut voluntatis Viri." It had belonged in 1650 to one Daniel Wythipoll, from some Winthrop came into the hands of Robert Hale (A.B. 1721), and - such are the quirks of fate- was acquired by William Bentley who, undoubtedly recognizing the provenance, gave it to his friend James Winthrop. Surely, this is one of the earliest surviving books to have landed on the shores of New England.

While I cannot claim to have sorted out properly all the men bearing the same name, for example, Adam Winthrop of Groton, Adam (A.B. 1665), Adam (A.B. 1694), Adam (A.B. 1724), et al., it is apparent that John Winthrop, the Hollisian Professor, inherited a number of volumes which had belonged to members of his family. A *Biblia Sacra*, Amsterdam, 1669, bears the dated signatures of Adam Winthrop, 1690, Adam Winthrop, 1720, and John Winthrop, 1726, which would seem to indicate that his Latin Bible was used successively by the father, older brother and professor-to-be. An indication of an early - to us, precocious - exposure to the study of Greek is Pasor's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, London, 1650, which after having been on August 1, 1661 in the hands of John Harriman (A.B. 1667), came into the possession of Adam Winthrop (presumably the A.B. 1694) in 1684. Also at Alleghany are his Hesiod, Cambridge, 1672, with his ownership date, March 28, 1690, and a Hebrew textbook, Bythner's *Lyra Prophetica*, London, 1679, with Winthrop's dated signature of 1691. Norton records two copies of the 1664 edition of Bythner. Other books which came to John Winthrop from his father were a handsome folio edition of Pliny's *Historia Mundi naturalis*, Frankfurt, 1582, and Aristotle's *De Caelo*, Frankfurt, 1601, both of which Adam Winthrop bought while in college, for his signatures are dated January 28, 1691/2; Bulstrode Whitlocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, London 1682, with signature dated November 27, 1697; and Edward Chamberlayne's *Anglia Notitia: or the Present State of England*, London, 1700, with signature dated September, 1699 [sic].

In addition to these there should be mentioned some Winthrop family books of a later period. In 1728 John Winthrop received and put his name in a number of books, including Boyle's *Some Motives and Incentives to the Love of God*, In the Savoy, 1692, which bore an undated signature of his father, and Symson's *New Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1715, which the Boston

bookseller Samuel Gerrish had given to his brother Adam two years earlier. Some further confusion is interjected by the fact that much later James Winthrop got some books from his brother Adam, such as Mezeray's *Aberge Chronologique de l'Historie de France*, Amsterdam, 1740, in which he wrote, "Jaques Winthrop son Livre, etant le Don de son Frere Adam. 1768. Jan. 6." This volume had had Harvard use, for in 1766 it had belonged to Elisha Thayer (A.B. 1767) and in 1767 to his classmate Nathaniel Kidder. It may be that James's interest in seamanship came from his brother, for Colson's *Mariner's New Calander*, London, 1767, was "Given to Adam Winthrop by his uncle Samuel Winthrop Dec. 27, 1769"; Haselden's *Seaman's Daily Assistant*, London, 1770, was bought by Adam the year of its publication; and Wakely's *Mariner Compass Rectified*, London, 1770, he acquired in 1772.

Books of two William Winthrops are to be found on the shelves at Alleghany, *Riders Dictionary*, London, 1659, which belonged to John's brother William in 1765, and an imperfect copy of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi*, London, 1702, which James's brother William gave to the college at Meadville in 1822. Finally, the long, thin, shaped-for-a-pocket *Vade Mecum for America*, a set of tables for figuring out rates of interest, exchange and so forth by Thomas Prince, bears the signature of Hannah Tollman Winthrop, the professor's second wife.

Of course, a great many of the volumes carry the signatures of Professor John Winthrop and his son James, and occasionally notes recording their purchase or gift. Since these occur in such numbers, no attempt can be made to list them. However, it is interesting, in view of John Winthrop's career as a scientist, to mention the copy of *Euclidis Elementorum Libri XV*, Cambridge, 1655, which had been used in college successively by Penn Townsend (A.B. 1693), Joseph Green (A.B. 1695 or 1720), Samuel Checkley (A.B. 1715), Jonathan Townsend (A.B. 1716), John Sparhawk (A.B. 1732), later minister at Salem, and in which young Winthrop wrote, "Began to recite it Sept. 22, 1731." In the library were, to be sure, all the mature astronomer's pamphlets on comets and the two transits of Venus, including the rare *Cogitata de Cometis*, London, 1767, a separate from the *Royal Society Transactions*. One of the copies of his *Two Lectures on the Parallax and Distance of the Sun*, Boston, 1769, is full of the author's manuscript corrections, additions, and other changes. His copy of Dunthorne's *Practical Astronomy of the Moon*, London, 1739, is also copiously annotated, as are Whiston's *Praelectiones Astronomicae*, Cambridge, 1707, which in 1715 had belonged to James Allen (A.B. 1717), and the same author's *Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematick Philosophy More easily Demonstrated*, London, 1716, which had come to him from his predecessor in the Hollisian chair, the erratic mathematician Isaac Greenwood. Whether these notes were made in the course of preparing his lectures or for his own resources will have to be decided by a historian of American science. Of equal importance is Maskelyne's *Instructions relative to the Observation of the Ensuing Transit of the Planet Venus*, London, 1768, also with many annotations.

Leaving the Winthrops for the time being, let us look back to some of the other early owners of note. Henry Dunster emigrated to Massachusetts in 1640, and was almost immediately made the first president of Harvard College, which office he held until 1654. Perhaps, the first sporting book owned by an American was Dunster's copy of Oppian's *De Venatione [et] de Piscatya*, Leydon, 1597, which ended up in James Winthrop's possession. Bentley owned another volume from the president's library, the 1606, Orleans collection of Homer's work, a more complete and earlier edition than either of the two recorded by Norton. It had been given to Dunster by Joseph Swinnock, who may have been that Swinnock who was Chaplain of New College, Oxford, in 1649, and was said to have spent seven years in academic studies at Oxford and "in Cambridge, New England," or that Swinnock who was in the Harvard class of 1651 but did not receive his degree. Dunster in turn gave it to Simon Bradstreet, either the governor or his son Simon (A.B. 1660), and it was used and handed down to Simon III (A.B. 1693), minister at Charlestown, and his son Simon IV (A.B. 1728), minister at Marblehead. The Homer was not among the nine Bradstreet volumes Bentley received from the Rev. Isaac Story, who had married a Bradstreet, by exchange on April 6, 1787, nor was it listed among the volumes which remained in the family's possession.

The armful which Bentley did get from the Bradstreet cache included: Aeschines's *Socratici Dialogi Tres* (in Greek), Leeuwarden, 1718, St. Clement's *Ad Corinthios epistolae duae* (in Greek), Cambridge, 1718, *Spicilegium SS Patrum* (Vol. I only), Oxford, 1714, Heliodorus's *Aethiopicorum Libri X*, [Heidelberg,] 1596, Buxtorf's *Synagoga Ivdaica*, Hanover, 1604, Aelianus's *De Animalium natura* (in Greek), Geneva, 1611, and Seneca's *Philosophi Operum, Tomys Secvndvs*, without a title page. Two of the volumes on the list do not seem to be at Alleghany. However, others said by Bentley in 1787 to be still in Story's possession ended up in his: St Cyrillus's *Opera* (in Greek), Paris, 1631, and Lodowijk de Dieu's *Animadversiones sive Commentaius In quatour Euangelia*, Leydon, 1631. In addition, possibly from some other source, he secured Epictetus's *Manuale et Sententiae*, Utrecht, 1711. Almost all of these bear the signature of the minister at Marblehead, dated from 1732 to 1742.

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

A sound work of early Protestant theology, Zacharias Ursinus's *Svmme of Christian Religion*, London, 1617, went through a number of early New England hands, beginning with the lieutenant-governor's brother, William Bellingham of Rowley, who probably gave it to his nephew Samuel Bellingham (A.B. 1642), a member of the first class fo Harvard. In 1661 it was in the possession of his younger brother John Bellingham (A.B. 1661). The last 17th-century owner was Andrew Bordman who wrote his name in the volume in 1692. Bordman, a saddler and the son of the cook and steward of the college, succeeded his uncle Aaron as steward in 1703. (The signature of Aaron Bordman should be noted in an imperfect copy of Virgil's works, printed about 1630.) Andrew Bordman was not a student at Harvard, although his son Andrew (A.B. 1719) was. Which of the two Andrews owned Maestlin's *Epitome Astronomiae*, Tubingen, 1624, I cannot tell. The Ursinus was a book that the saddler brother-in-law of President Wadsworth might have acquired for Sunday readings, but the Maestlin was definitely a Harvard textbook. Norton records a copy of the same edition which belonged to Alexander Nowel (A.B. 1664). The author, although an encourager of Galileo and teacher of Kepler, did not dare affirm the Copernican theory in his book. It was typical of the medieval version of astronomy taught in the early years of the college.

There are a few more interesting Harvard association copies than the Maestlin, for, before it came into Bordman's hands, it had belonged in 1674 to Thomas Brattle (A.B. 1675). It was Brattle who observed the great comet of 1680 through the telescope given Harvard by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and whose observations were mentioned by Newton in his *Principia*. By then his astronomical knowledge had advanced considerably beyond the scope of the Maestlin which he used while a student. It was fitting that the volume which had been used by New Englander's first important astronomical observer should have come into the possession of a worthy successor, John Winthrop. It should be noted, too, that Winthrop's copy of Whiston's *Astronomical Principles*, London, 1717, had belonged to Thomas Brattle's brother William (A.B. 1680), who was elected a member of the Royal Society on the strength of his brother's twenty-five years of scientific work.

Among Winthrop's other astronomical books were several which had come to him through earlier Harvard owners. The second volume of Argoli's *Ephemeridvm ivxta Tychonis Hypothese*, Patavia, 1638, had belonged to John Norton (A.B. 1671), minister at Ipswich, and John Wainwright (A.B. 1709 or 1711). Wing's *Ephemerides of the Celestial Motion for VII Years*, London, 1652, had been used by Edward Holyoke (A.B. 1705), an esteemed mathematician and almanac-maker, who served as president of Harvard from 1737 to 1769. The professor's copy of Halley's edition of Apollonius of Perga's *De Sectione Rationis*, Oxford, 1706, was a gift from

John Sparhawk (A.B. 1723), minister at Salem, and his Gregory's Elements of Astronomy, London, 1715, a representative work of the dispensation of Newton, a present from his brother-in-law Benjamin Pemberton.

An imperfect copy of St. Bernard's Opera bears an inscription dated June 7, 1165, by Thomas Shepard (A.B. 1653), a tutor at Harvard and later minister at Charlestown. The names of the great of New England appear in volume after volume, but it was difficult, without signatures available for comparison, to be sure that one man was the figure of note or another of the same, frequently common, name. Is the signature of John Eliot in Petrus Martinus's Grammatica Hebraea Martino-Buxtorfiana, Amsterdam, 1634, that of the famous "Apostle to the Indians?" In any event, the Hebrew grammar later came into the possession of John Checkley, who had studied at Boston Latin School under Master Cheever, had gone to Oxford but did not matriculate, learned Hebrew, Greek, and Latin well, travelled through Europe, opened a shop in Boston in 1717, and after many theological difficulties became an Anglican clergyman. Is the signature of John Cotton in Hottinger's Thesaurus Philogus, Seu Clavis Scripturae, Zurich, 1649, that of the John Cotton, or John Cotton (A.B. 1657). The older Cotton was certainly Hebrew scholar enough to have owned the work. In 1734 the Hottinger belonged to Thomas Bernard (A.B. 1732), who was ordained in 1738 and eventually went to the First Church at Salem, where, no doubt, Bentley also acquired his schoolboy Ovid many years later. Or was the William Whipple who gave John Winthrop a copy of Jack's Elements of Conic Sections, Edinburgh, 1742, the A.B. of 1749 -- or the New Hampshire signer of the Declaration?

One of the books that Bentley bought early in life, a Graeco-Latin New Testament, bound with a Hebrew Old Testament, both printed at Amsterdam in 1639, has one of the oldest and most sentimental pedigrees. It bears a 1686 dated signature of Samuel Danforth and a long note by Bentley stating that Danforth was the Harvard Fellow of 1643 -- it is possible that Bentley was wrong and that this was Samuel Danforth (A.B. 1681), minister at Taunton? -- from whom, according to Bentley's note, it was passed on to Samuel Willard (A.B. 1659), fellow and vice-president of the college; from him to Ezekiel Cheever, who came to New England in 1637 and, after teaching elsewhere, was Master of the Boston Latin School from 1670 to 1708; from him to Nathaniel Williams (A.B. 1693) and then to John Lovell (A.B. 1728), both masters at the School. Bentley said that it was "sold among the Books of Master Lovell" and purchased by him while he was a preceptor in the Boston school, which would have been 1777-80. How many young Bostonians may have been read to in Latin, Greek or Hebrew from this volume!

Morison tells us that "At the end of the seventeenth century the two largest private libraries in Boston (Morison could have said in America) were those of Increase and Cotton Mather." A fire in 1676 destroyed all but ten per cent of Increase's original library, but he promptly started building up his collection again. Cotton in 1700 said he owned between two and three thousand volumes. Some came down to Mather Byles and were sold when his library was dispersed at auction in 1790. Bentley in 1804 saw another section of "Dr. Mather's Library- in the hands of Dr. Samuel Mather's daughter- Hannah Croker Mather- and noted that "I find it diminishes." It was presumably what remained in Mrs. Croker's hands which Isaiah Thomas secured for the American Antiquarian Society in 1814. This is the largest group of Mather's books now extant, but, as the provenance of volumes at Alleghany shows a number went out of the hands of the family in driplets.

The signature of Increase Mather (A.B. 1656 and President 1685-1701) - usually "Crescentius Matherus", is found in seven works: Estienne's *Dictionarium historicvm ac poeticvm*, [Paris, 1567], with Increase's signature dated 1666, i.e. before the burning of his first library; Eunapius Sardinianus's *De Vitis Philosophorum*, [Geneva,] 1596, later owned by Cotton Mather (A.B. 1678) in 1674 and by his son Samuel in 1761; *Poetae Graeci Veteres Carminis Heroici Scriptores* (in Greek), Orleans, 1606; Hottinger's *Juris Hebraeorvm Leges CCLXI*, Zurich, 1655, with a note to the effect that it had been purchased at London on May 30, 1689; Martini's *Lexicon Philologicum, praecipue, Etymologicum*, Bremen, 1623, and Spanheim's *Introductio ad Chronologiam et Historiam Sacram*, Leydon, 1683, both of these with Samuel Mather's signature, dated 1748 and 1723 respectively; and Thomas Doolittle's *Plain Method of Catechizing*, London, 1700, which also bears the name of Mather Byles and later came into the possession of Timothy Alden. It should be noted that another edition of Estienne's *Dictionarium*, [Geneva,] 1603, had belonged on November 30, 1613 to Daniel Maude, a Cambridge-educated schoolmaster, who came to Boston in 1635 with Richard Mather, and became the first minister at Dover in 1642.

From Cotton Mather's library, in addition to the Eunapius, came: Pinder's *Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmi*, [Geneva,] 1612, and Hugo Grotius's *Poemata Collecta*, London, 1639, with his signature dated 1683 and 169? respectively. Natale Conti's extremely popular handbook to classical literature, *Mythologiae*, n.p., 1636, bears only an inscription, "Donum C Matheri S.T.D.," so that it may only have passed through the learned divine hands into that of a young friend. It is perfectly possible that a few of the older volumes which were inherited by and bear only the names of Samuel Mather (A.B. 1723), Cotton's son, and of Mather Byles (A.B. 1725), who was brought up by his grandfather Increase and his uncle Cotton, had belonged earlier to the older Mathers. Among these are Van den Ende's *Gazophulace De la Langue Francoise et Flamande*, Rotterdam, 1654, Leusden's *Short Hebrew and Caldaick Grammar*, Utrecht, 1686,

Robertson's (Hebrew) *Manipulus Linguae Sanctae*, Cambridge, 1683, Crinesius's (Hebrew) *Sive Discursus De Confusione Linguarum, tum Orientalium*, Nuremberg, 1629, Nicolas Tassin's *Plans et Profils de Toutes les Principales Villes de France*, (Vol. II), Paris, 1638, and Diogenes Laertius's *De vitis philosophorum*, Geneva, 1615. Lucian's *Opera Omnia*, Saumur, 1619, had been John Danforth's (A.B. 1677) of Salem in 1700 and his brother Samuel's (A.B. 1683) of Taunton before it came to Mather Byles. While the total number of Mather family books which Alleghany received, largely through the Winthrop bequest, is not large, they are significant additions to the known titles which once made up one of the greatest of American colonial libraries.

One other volume which found its way onto the shelves of Dr. Samuel Mather is of major bibliographical importance, but not because of the text, which is an imperfect copy, lacking the title of Halliox's *Anthologica poetica graco-latina*, Douai, 1617. Inside the front cover is the printed book-label of the son of Harvard's president, Elnathan Chauncy (A.B. 1657), dated 1657. Elnathan Chauncy has hitherto achieved fame in the cultural history of New England because of the survival of his manuscript commonplace book, illustrating the literary taste of a mid-17th century Harvard student. His dated book-label, no other example of which is known, has the distinction of being the earliest book-label of a Harvard student and the second earliest dated book-label printed in the American colonies. It is older than the undated one of Samuel Sewall (A.B. 1671) and the 1674 one of John Cotton (A.B. 1678). Only the still questioned 1642 one of Steven Day may precede it in America.

One of the most popular Latin composition books in New England was Lycosthenes's *Apophthegmata*. Norton records a 1635 edition owned in 1657 by Cotton Mather (A.B. 1678). Morison notes that this was used by Cotton at the Boston Latin School. At Alleghany is an imperfect copy of the work of about 1650 with the 1656 dated signature of Recompense Osborne (A.B. 1661) which should be added to the short list of known books owned by New England grammar school pupils. Osborne, after graduation, himself became a schoolmaster in New Haven. The volume was later in the possession of John Harriman (A.B. 1667). Another book which belonged to an early Harvard student is Habermann's (Hebrew) *Grammatices Ebricae Sanctae Lingvae*, Wittenburg, 1586, with the names of Edward Wood, Thomas Hi[t]chcock, and Josiah Flynt (A.B. 1664), the last writer of the almanac for 1666.

A handsome library must have been owned by Joseph Browne (A.B. 1666) of Charlestown, who left L100 in books to his father, L30 to each of three brothers, L20 to a sister, and Walton's Polyglot Bible to a friend. Norton located ten volumes which belonged to him. At Alleghany there are four: Avvo Aoyia...*Florilegium diuersorum epigrammatum*, [Geneva,] 1566, and

Photius's *Nomocanon*, Paris, 1615, both of which had belonged early in the century to one Stephen West and were bought on October 4-5, 1688 by Browne. In many of his books he wrote the motto, "Lege, Intellige, Vive." This appears in Anthony Burgess's *Expository Comment, Doctrinal, Controversial and Practical*, London, 1661, which Browne bought from London for 12/- on October 1, 1668, and in Thomas Wilson's *Complete Christian Dictionary*, London, 1661.

Among the books that belonged to 17th century New England owners is that perennial school text, Cicero's *Orationum Selectarum Liber*, Amsterdam, 1659, which was used in 1675 by John Atwater then a thirteen-year-old schoolboy in Boston, by William Wharton, in 1692 by Nathaniel, son of John Higginson of Salem, then twelve years old, and later by Jonathon and Polly Andrew. Downname's *Second Volume of Annotations Upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament*, London, 1657, bears the 1658 dated signature of William Browne of Salem, a member of Andros's Council and later of the Council of Safety, and an inscription by Ebenezer Pemberton (A.B. 1691), "The Gift of the Honourable Capt. Samll. Sewall Esqr: Sept. 3, 1700." Sewall was the famous witchcraft trial judge, captain of the Artillery Company and diarist. Pemberton, librarian of Harvard in 1693, was ordained minister of the Old South Church, Boston, the year he was given this book. A volume which was obtained by Sewall (A.B. 1671) on April 25, 168? is a now imperfect copy of Virgil's *Opera* of about 1675. It had belonged earlier or later to "John Kilby living in Boston, New England," whose children were born there between 1686 and 1711.

David Pareus's *Operum Theologicorum Exegeticorum*, in two volumes without titlepages, belonged successively to W. Newport, in 1641 to W. Lowe, in 1683 to William Denison (A.B. 1681) of Roxbury, to Hezekiah Bissell, and to Timothy Alden's grandfather, Habijah Weld (A.B. 1723). The school text, *Mirandula's Illvstrivm Poetarvm Flores*, Frankfurt, 1629, in 1688 was John Williams (A.B. 1683), and in 1718 Nathaniel William's (A.B. 1693), the master of the Boston Latin School. It is interesting that as early as 1683 John Viall, a Bostonian who had joined Mather's church only the year before, bought a copy of *Care's English Liberties: Or, the Free Born Subject's Inheritance*, London, [1680]. It was issued by the several-times arrested publisher, Benjamin Harris, after the failure of Monmouth's Rebellion and the accession of James II. The authorities seized five thousand copies of it, and by 1686 Harris had moved to Boston in search of greater freedom.

Of Nehemiah Walter (A.B. 1684), the colleague of and successor to the "Apostle" Eliot at Roxbury, Bentley wrote after a visit to Roxbury, "Having been with the army at Louisburg, he had acquainted himself with the French language and made a free use of the French preachers, particularly Bordeau and Claude. He had in his collection above 50 volumes of French sermons,

when French was hardly known in the Country." Did Bentley then carry off the four-volume set of Claude's *Oeuvres Posthumes*, Amsterdam, 1688, which was in his collection? Walter also owned Bucanus's *Institvtiones Theologicae*, Geneva, 1617, which ended up in the possession of Timothy Alden.

Young John Hancock (A.B. 1689), who became minister at Lexington, "inter suos Addidit. Anno: 1685 Pret: 1s-6d" a copy of Buchler's *Thesaurus Poeticus*, Cologne, 1609. He put his printed book-label (the date is defective) in Weemes' *Explication of the Ivdiciall Laws of Moses*, London, 1632, which had formerly belonged to John Holyoke (A.B. 1662) of Springfield. Norton notes another edition of the Buchler which had been used by Elisha Cooke (A.B. 1657). Cooke's name is found in Buxtorf's *Institutio Epistolaris Hebraica*, Basle, 1610, as is that of Samuel Aspinwall (A.B. 1714).

The year he entered Harvard, 1686, Paul Dudley (A.B. 1690) bought a copy of Keckerman's *Systema Logica*. Hanover, 1612. The work was extremely popular at Harvard, being as Morison points out "a compromise between the Aristotelian organon and the systems of Ramus and Melancthon." Norton lists seven copies which belonged to early Harvard undergraduates. Dudley's copy passed to Jonathon Remington (A.B. 1696). Before Dudley left for his studies at the Middle Temple in Massachusetts, he owned a rather dry theological treatise, Cudworth's *Discourse Concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*, London, 1670. It bears his signature with an imperfect date, 199?.

Considerable erudition was displayed in the four volumes which are at Alleghany from the library of Dudley's classmate, Benjamin Wadsworth (A.B. 1690). There is an ancient classic, Plutarch's *Omnia quae exstant Operum* (Vol III), Paris, 1624, which Wadsworth bought in 1695; a church classic, St. Caecilius Cyprianus's *Opera*, [Geneva,] 1593, which he paid 9/- for in April, 1699; and two works of Hebrew learning, Joseph Cooper's (Hebrew) *Hoc est, Domus Mosaicae clavis*, London, 1673, and Heidegger's (Hebrew) *sive de Historia Sacra Patriarcharum* (Vol. II), Amsterdam, 1671, which he acquired in 1702 and 1704 respectively. The erudition received its reward; Wadsworth, after serving as minister of the First Church in Boston, was president of Harvard from 1725 to 1737.

Briefly, other books which belonged to Harvard students of the late 1690s were: Chasteigner's *Celebriorum Distinctionum tum Philosophicarum tum Thelogicarum Synopsis*, Zurich, 1667, which Oliver Noyes (A.B. 1695) wrote his name in on December 13, 1692, and which passed

down to Mather Byles; Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton*, Frankfurt, 1612, also Oliver Noyes' copy, which his son Belcher inherited in 1724 and which was "Presented to S. Sewell by Belcher Noyes jne. 1764. then a Senr. Sophister"; Descartes' *Principia Philisophie*, Amsterdam, 1657, which in 1678 belonged to Charles Morton, the author of a manuscript *Compendium Physicae* which was the foundation of instruction in the Natural Sciences for some forty years at Harvard (Norton migrated to New England in 1686, was a Fellow at Harvard in 1692-97 and, as vice-president in 1697-8 during Increase Mather's absence, was the chief officer of the college); the astronomer Gunter's *Workes*, London, 1662, bought on May 7, 1697 by John White (A.B. 1698), minister at Gloucester, acquired in 1722 by Thomas Weld and "The Gift of Mr. Scarborough 1759" to Nathaniel Walter (A.B. 1729); Patrick's *Commentary upon the Third Book of Moses*, London, 1704, also owned by White and presented by John Watson, (A.B. 1766) to Bentley; and an imperfect copy of *Orationes collectae* of about 1660, which John Bernard (A.B. 1700) used in college in 1697/8.

Volumes which at one time were in the Harvard Library did get out through sales of the duplicates, by exchange of gift, and - one must assume - by simple abstraction and retention. A number came into the possession of Bentley, the Winthrops and Alden. One of the earliest duplicate sales took place when the gift of books from Sir John Maynard arrived at Harvard in 1682. A fine set, two volumes bound in four, of Plutarch's *Omnivm Ovae Exstant Opervm*, Paris, 1624, later Winthrop's, bears Maynard's stamp. Of course, this set never reached Harvard's shelves, but there are others which did and which in one way or another were lost, sold, strayed or stolen. A *Collection of sundry statutes, frequent in use*, London, 1636, bears the inscription, "Belonging to Harvard College Library 1687." The old Harvard shelf-mark on titlepages is an indication of some volumes' provenance when such obvious signs as bookplates and notes are not present. Selden's *De Iure Naturali et Gentium Iuxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*, London, 1640, was 16.2.8, with the last number repeated on the fore-edges (Harvard's books must have been shelved fore-edges out); Cheminicius's *Examinis Concilii Tridentini*, Geneva, 1614, was 13.3.2.16; and an imperfect copy of Melancthon's *De Singulis articulis Christianae*, [Wittenberg, ca. 1550?] was 13.3.7.(?).2. That standard geography, Heylyn's *Cosmography*, London, 1670, bears a note by Simon Grant, "Emit: Sept. 87 ex Mr. Tho. Sistons, " no shelf-mark, but the Harvard College Library bookplate.

One of the well-regarded mathematical textbooks of the day was Jonas Moore's *New Systeme of the Mathematicks*, London, 1681. A stray second volume of this work has the shelf-mark 19.4.20, a 1712 signature of Thomas Colledge (Coolidge?), and two sophomoric notes by Solomon Lombard (A.B. 1723): "Solomon Lombard took this book out of ye Library in ye year 1680 one year before it was printed," and "Solomon Lombard took the Book out of ye Library

anno 1722- & return'd Anno 1990." It may be that Professor Winthrop was the one who made Lombard's prophecy still matter for the future.

When Harvard Library burned in 1764, almost all of the early collection was destroyed. The only examples of pre-fire books which have survived are those sold earlier as duplicates, those in the hands of borrowers at the time, and those which remained permanently at large. Iamblichus's *De Vita Pythagorica*, Amsterdam, 1707 (shelf-mark: 7.4.5.9) and Pufendorf's *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*, Frankfurt, 1716 (shelf-mark 27.4.19-20), both fall into one of these categories.

One of Harvard's greatest benefactors was Thomas Hollis. Most of the books which he gave the Library were destroyed in the fire, after which a part of the loss was made good by his nephew, also Thomas, known as "the Republican" because of his liberal views. Two works, the gift of the elder Hollis to Harvard, are now at Allegheny. The *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, Annee M. DCCXXII (M. DCCXXII), Paris, 1718-24, in nine volumes (shelf-mark: 16.3.25-28, 16.4.1-4), has an inscription, "Mr. Thos. Hollis of London Mercht. gave to Harvard College Library the History of ye royal French Academy of Sciences, from the Year 1716 to 1730 in 16 vols. Quto. Recd. Sept. 16, 1733." Did Professor Winthrop "borrow" part of the set, or were they at some time sold as duplicates? The other Hollis gift is the first volume of Samuel Clarke's *Sermons*, London, 1730 (shelf-mark: 21.5.23). In 1734 the influential clergyman Charles Chauncy owned the last nine volumes of the set, and some time thereafter he noted in Volume I, "This Volume of Clarke, & the Polygot Pentateuch fol. Waltonm exchanged by Corporation for Harleian Library, 8vo. 4vol. & Thom. Corneille's Works. 12mo. 5vol.

Occasionally, Harvard men gave books which they had used to their alma mater and vice versa. Herodotus's *Historiarvm Libri IX*, Geneva, 1618, had belonged to Isaac Winslow, was used in 1718 by his son Josiah (A.B. 1721), was passed on "ex Donon Avunculi pquam Reverendi atq; Honorandi Isaac Winslow Armigo" to William Hobby (A.B. 1725), minister at Reading, was given by Hobby to Harvard. Melmoth's *Letter of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne*, London, 1763, bearing the Harvard bookplate, was, according to James Winthrop's note of March 25, 1769, "The Gift [to him] of the Professor's and Tutors of Harvard College," the year of his graduation. Leland's *View of the Principal Deistical Writers*, London, 1757, which had been given to Harvard by Drs. Hales and Wilson, was on October 5, 1773 given in turn by "the Honble & Reverand Corporation of H. College" to James Winthrop. Two important scientific books, Keill's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy*, London, 1720, and Gravesande's *Philosophiae Newtonianae*, Leydon, 1723, which in 1735 had belonged to Samuel Mather, in 1773 were given by Mather to Harvard "Ad Usus Camerae Philosophicae." There is no record of how they left the department and ended up permanently in the hands of Pefessor Winthrop. (The problem of long-term

professorial borrowing is not a new one.) Another professor, this time Stephen Sewall, seems to have taken home Patten's Calander of Scripture, London, 1575, which Martha Salisbury of Boston gave in 1773 "To the College Library for the Use of the Hancock Professor." One last book from Harvard left legitimately: Blackburne's Confessional: or A Full and Free Inquiry, London, 1766, which had originally belonged to Jasper Manduitm, was "purchased at a College sale" in 1815 by Timothy Alden.

Over the years Harvard was not the only Library to lose books by seepage. Thomas Prince (A.B. 1707), the prince of all New England book collectors, left his incomparable library to Old South Church, Boston. It remained there for over a century until the still large but definitely diminished collection was moved to the Boston Public Library. One of the strays, Waltons Introductio Ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, London, 1655, bearing Prince's name and the 1718 printed book-label, came into Winthrop's hands.

Less has been written about the books used by 18th-century Harvard men than about those of the earlier century. There are more than enough of these at Alleghany to warrant detailed study by students of 18th-century New England intellectual work. Cotton Mather considered Ovid too racy for the young men of his day, but a copy of his Heroidum Epistolae, Cambridge, 1694, was owned in 1719 by Stephen Sewall, Jr. (A.B. 1721), later a judge, and in 1733 by Thomas Barnard (A.B. 1732), later minister at Salem. In his copy of the London 1734 edition of the same work, a young owner wrote the following jingle: "Winwood Serjeant/ This book doth be Long/ si quis fruatur/ it doth him much rong/ si quis invenit/ and ritors it agayne/ dabo pecuniam/ for taking payne." Apparently, Master Serjeant sensed the icy stare of Mather on his back. But Ovid found his public: a copy of his Metamorphoseon, lacking its title, but of about 1560, was in 1739 in the hands of Joseph Roberts (A.B. 1741).

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

The college boys certainly did not have many theological works. Nathaniel Bethune (A.B. 1734), while he was at college, made use of Salmon's *Modern History*, London, 1725-26, one of his generation's more popular works. But old texts remained current for a long time; in 1767 Thomas Colman (A.B. 1770) had Burgersdijk's *Institution Logicarum Libri Duo*, London, 1651, a work esteemed at Harvard for over a century. Other works of amazing vitality were two owned by Jacob Cushing (A.B. 1748), who placed his 1746 dated bookplate in his Comenius's *Janua Linguarum Trilinguis*, London, 1685, and Martial's *Epigrammata*, lacking its title but of about 1650, and solidly bound in what appears to be a very early New England binding. When he was a senior, Timothy Cutler (A.B. 1701), a renowned scholar, later rector at Yale and minister at Christ Church, Boston, possessed Brigg's *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, London, 1624, which one Fisher gave to John Winthrop in July, 1766. Perhaps, at the same time, Cutler owned the copy of Descartes' *Principle Philosophie* which had belonged to Vice-President Morton. As a boy in grammar school in 1732, Anthony Emery (A.B. 1736) struggled with the Westminster Assembly of Divines' *Katnxndis...sive, Catechesis Religionis Christianae Compendiosior*, London, 1698; and another copy bears the signature of Timothy Lindall, Jr., also dated 1732. Other schoolbooks were Phaedrus's *Fabularum Libri*, Glasgow, 1741, and Suetonius's *XII Caesares*, London, 1739, in which Benjamin Gridley (A.B. 1751) wrote his name in 1744 and 1748 respectively. Three 16th-century imprints came into the hands of Jonathan Homer (A.B. 1777) the year of his graduation - an unusual lot for a Harvard senior during the Revolution - Ramee's *Arithmeticae Libri Duo*, Basle 1569, Pliny's *Historia mundi naturalis*, Frankfurt, 1582, and Xenophon's *Opera*, Frankfurt, 1596.

Charles Chauncy (A.B. 1721, A.M. 1724) became the most influential clergyman of Boston and an active participant in several theological controversies on which he wrote extensively. His library must have been a large one, for no less than twelve works which he owned are at Allegheny. As would have been expected of a scholarly disputant, he has a good library of patristic literature, as seen from the survival of his copies of Theodoritus's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (in Greek), Paris, 1573, St. Irenaeus's *Aduersus Valentini, & similium Gnosticorum Haeres*, Cologne, 1596, Eusebius Pamphilus's *Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri Decem*, (in Greek), Paris 1678, and St. Ignatius's *Epistolae Genuinae*, London, 1680. A useful tool for his reading of Greek was Estienne's *Onoaveos ...Thesavrvs Graecae Linguae*, in four volumes, Paris, 1572. He must, too, have had a great deal of English theology. There are three works by the on-again-off-again non-juror Henry Dodwell, *A Discourse Concerning the One Alter*, London, 1683, *Occasional Communion Fundamentally Destructive*, London, 1705, and *A Preliminary Defence of the Epistolary Discourse*, London, 1707. In addition, he owned Whiston's *Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, Cambridge, 1708, and Baron King's *Enquiry into the Consitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church*, London, [1719]. There is no record of the sale of Chauncy's library in McKay's *American Book Auction Catalogues*, but in 1812 Bentley wrote reminiscently that part of his library had come "From the sale of Dr. Chauncy's

and many of them cost only 6 cents a volume & hard sale at that." It should be mentioned the Allegheny copy of Chauncy's own Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England, Boston, 1743, is that given by the author in 1745 to his step-daughter Rebekah Townsend, who became John Winthrop's first wife.

Another New England writer of high repute was Jonathan Mayhew (A.B. 1744), minister of the West Church, Boston. He was a staunch upholder of civil liberty and one of the men whose writings and influence were harbingers of the Revolution. Baron's Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken, London, 1752, was just the kind of title one would expect to find on his shelves. He was a friend and correspondent of Thomas Hollis, "the Republican," and other distinguished Englishmen. Two volumes, which ended up in Winthrop's possession, were sent to Mayhew by Hollis. Lockman's History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants, London, 1760, merely bears that constant-sender-of-books-to-friends Hollis's appropriate motto: "VT SPARGAM"; and the donor's friend, Webb's Account of a Copper Table... Discovered in the Year 1732, near Heraclea, London, 1760, has a presentation inscription, "To Jonathan Mayhew D. D. of Boston in New England, learned, ingenious [sic], active." One other book came to Mayhew from an English friend, Lowth's Short Introduction to English Grammar, London, 1764, "From the Author."

Two volumes, the first Italian Protestant Bible, [Geneva,] 1607, and Minucus Felix's Octavius, Cambridge, 1712, the latter with Mayhew's signature dated 1747/48, had been Mayhew's, and in 1768 came into the possession of Simeon Howard (A.B. 1753). In 1768 Howard, who had been a tutor at Harvard, succeeded Mayhew at the West Church, married his widow, and apparently took over his library. It is possible that a number of other books with Howard's signature dated 1768 had originally been Mayhew's. These include a Greek New Testament, Cambridge, 1632, which in 1705 had been Joseph Marsh's (A.B. 1705), minister at Braintree; Lactantius's Diuinarum Institutionum Lib. VII, Lyon, 1579, which had belonged to John Callender (A.B. 1723), minister at Newport; Clarendon's three-volume History of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1707, and the Church of England's Thirty Nine Articles and the Constitution and Canons, London, 1739. Howard died in 1804; according to Bentley, Winthrop visited him on July 23, 1813, and "mentioned having seen the remains of Dr. Mayhew's Library much of which he purchased." Perhaps, some other books with Howard's name had been his predecessor's. Winthrop did get the Congregational Church's Platform of Church Discipline, Boston, 1749, Josephus's History of the Jews, London, 1708, Toland's Anglia Libera: or The Limitaion and Succession of the Crown of England explain'd and asserted, London, 1701 (a likely book to have been sent by Hollis to Mayhew), and Watt's Knowledge of the Heavens and Earth made Easy, London, 1752.

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

Bentley was disappointed in the Eliot sale catalogue, guessing that John Eliot had not "added fifty Volumes to his father's Library" except for pamphlets. "Not a political work is in the whole Collection," he complained, "& not one splendid edition of any Classic. Not a Lexicon of any Language beyond those of the Schools & not a Theological work of the present Generation. No Collation of the Old or New Testament. No Polygott, No Ecclesiastical History, & no Collection of History. Nothing like system upon any one point in the whole Catalogue, & a total absence appears of the modern Literature of Europe. Not even a Review has served to notify the progress of Letters in any Kingdom." Nonetheless, Bentley has secured at the sale Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*, The Hague, 1686, which had belonged in 1740, before Eliot got to it, to Joshua Gee (A.B. 1717), the Harvard Librarian who wrote the catalogue of 1723. And Winthrop bought Gassendi's *Institutio Astronomica*, London, 1683, which Isaac Winslow (A.B. 1727) owned in 1727 and gave to Eliot; and Beccaria's *Dei Delitti e delle Pene*, Monaco, 1764 - an unusual work to find in a New England collection. While Andrew Eliot was alive, he had given to John Winthrop Usher's *Free Examination of the Common Methods employed to prevent the Growth of Popery*, London, 1766, and that volume had come down to James.

There is not always an indication of the recipient in the books sent by Hollis. Some of the most interesting of the Hollis gifts to his American friends are among these. According to a study of the books given by Hollis to Harvard by Caroline Robbins, published in the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, in 1951, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, attributed to Hubert Languet, was one of his favorite books. In the Winthrop collection is an edition of London, 1648, with Hollis's initials and the usual motto, "VT SPARGAM." The same putative author's *Vindiciae Religionis*, Paris, 1631, contains notes of a kind frequently found in the gifts of the book-propagandist-for-liberty. In the Winthrop copy of *An Exact Collection Of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders and Ordinances*, London, 1643, appears the signature of J. Elwes, and the note of Hollis: "J. Elwes is Sir Jacob Elwes. If T. H. mistakes not; he was one of the Members of the H. of Commons who had the honor to be imprisoned by Charles I for his attachment to Liberty & to Laws." In Prynne's *Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms*, London, 1643, "the Republican," he wrote: "This book is of inestimable value to all lovers of LIBERTY, being a Magazine or Storehouse on that most precious subject; containing citations from authors

innumerable of all Nations & periods in defence of the rights of Mankind, & of the British People in particular."

Similar notes, sometimes almost epigrammatic, appear in the Alleghany copies of William Petyt's *Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted*, London, 1680, and Sir William Temple's *Works*, London, 1720. Hollis seems to have confused Benjamin Franklin and his friend James Ralph the pamphleteer, for in Ralph's *Of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments*, London, 1744, he stated, "By the late motley, but very ingenious Mr. Benjamin Ralph," to which he added a characteristic motto, "Sanctus amor Patriae dat Animum." It may well have been to John Winthrop that Hollis sent *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, [London, 1761,] with the Rules and Orders of the Society, and it is extremely probable that the American scientist was the recipient of a volume containing the rules of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, which has a long note by Hollis suggesting that the establishment of a similar learned society in Boston would be of great advantage to both the colonies and the mother country. The cache of Hollis gifts at Alleghany deserves further study.

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

An early friendship between Sewall and the elder Winthrop is evidenced by a copy of Gravesande's *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy*, London, 1726, which Sewall gave to the Hollisian Professor in 1761. All the other books at Alleghany with a Sewall provenance are on Hebrew or cognate languages, and most of them he had received as gifts in 1761-64. Leusden's *Compendium Biblicum*, Leyden, 1685, and Robertson's *Lexicon Novum Hebraeo-Latinum*, Utrecht, 1687, he may have used in college, for Sewall's signature is undated in both books. In 1762 John Mascarene, who had written on pot-ash production in the colonies, gave Sewall copies of Bennet's *Grammatica Hebraea*, London, 1731, and Schickard's *Horologium Ebraeum*, London, 1772, and a manuscript of Nicholas Burton's *Compendium Hebraeae*

Grammaticae Metricum In Usus Scholae Regiae Dunelmensis which Sewall bound up with a manuscript by himself, "A Compendious Syriac Grammar." Kal's Grammatica Hebraeo-Harmonica cum Arabica et Aramaea, Amsterdam, 1758, came to him as "The Gift of Rev. Mr. Pemberton April 12, 1762," and Alden bought it from his teacher in 1795.

Year by year, apparently, Sewall amassed his library. In 1763 he added Hebraicae Grammaticae Rudimenta in Usus Scholae Westmonasteriensis, London, 1750. The same year Jeremiah Condy (A.B. 1726), minister of the First Baptist Church, Boston, gave him Buxtorf's Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae, Basle, 1620, and the President of the Council, Judge Samuel Danforth, made him a gift of Schindler's (Hebrew) Institvtiones Hebraicarvm, Wittenberg, 1596. Joseph Gardner, "merchant in Boston," in 1764 presented the young Hebrew professor with Liber Psalmorum Davidis Ex Arabico Idiomatico in Latinum translatus, Rome, 1614; and Cooper's (Hebrew:) Hoc est, Domus Mosaicae clavid, London, 11673, came as a present from one of Sewall's students, Joseph Taylor (A.B. 1765), described by his professor not very flatteringly as "juuenis eximiae indolis." As noted before, some of Sewall's books were given or sold to Alden in 1795. Among these was also Nold's Concordantiae Particularum Ebraeo Chaldaicarum, Copenhagen, 1679. And on July 21, 1796, Bentley paid two guineas for Sewall's copy of Castell's two-volume Lexicon Heptaglotton, London, 1669. Two years later the ardent Salem book collector, recording the purchase of another book, wrote, "I shall sink under an unsupportable weight of debt."

John Winthrop, as one of the leading scientists of America, not only bought books but was given them. Old Governor Jonathan Belcher had recommended him to Benjamin Franklin in 1754. Thereafter, a cordial relationship developed between the two men. Possibly the first tangible relationship sign of friendship was a copy of Franklin's Supplemental Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Part II, London, 1753, in which Winthrop wrote, "The gift of the ingenious Author." Over the years, other books followed. When Franklin sent from England copies of his Some Account of the Success of Inoculation for the Small-Pox in England and America, London, 1759, he remembered Winthrop, and a copy came "From Dr. Franklin," addressed "For Mr. Winthrop the Professor." On July 2, 1768, Franklin wrote his Harvard friend about some scientific work being done by John Bird who had recently published his results. "I send it you herewith," he added. In the Winthrop collection is an author's presentation copy of Bird's Method of Dividing Astronomical Instruments, London, 1767. When Priestley's Directions for Impregnating Water with Fixed Air, London, 1772, was printed a copy that, too, was sent to New England "For Dr. Winthrop from B [Franklin]" (the inscription is cruelly cropped, but the hand is unmistakably Franklin's).

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

Since Franklin, while he was in England, did continue to send his colleague in science various publications as they came out, it seems reasonable to assume that Franklin's *Of the Stilling of Waves by means of Oil*, London, 1774, was a gift, although it bears no inscription. The very important astronomical work, Tobias Meyer's *Tabulae Motuum Solis et Lunae*, London, 1770, Winthrop acknowledged on the title-page as "The gift of Dr. Franklin to JW-1778." How many other books were sent in this manner, unmarked by donor or recipient, we do not know. Hitherto unpublished letters from Franklin to Winthrop may provide clues in the future.

A mutual friend of Franklin and Winthrop was the lawyer-mathematician Francis Maseres, who served as Attorney-General of Quebec in 1766-69. He gave the Harvard scientist two of his scientific works, *A Dissertation On the Use of the Negative Sign in Algebra*, London, 1758, and *Elements of Plane Trigonometry*, London, 1760. And in 1772 Winthrop recorded his legal work on Canada, *A Collection of Several Commissions*, London, 1772, as "The gift of Francis Maseres Esq Attorney General of Quebec." He seems to have picked up books everywhere. While he was in Nova Scotia on his trip to observe the transit of Venus, he was presented with a copy of Hale's *Treatise on Ventilators*, London, 1758, with a full presentation inscription: "To John Winthrop Esq. Hollisian Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in Cambridge New England from His Affectionate Kinsman & Most Obligated Humble Servant Jonathan Belcher Halifax Nova Scotia 6th July. 1761." Belcher was Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, the son of the Governor of Massachusetts who had recommended Winthrop to Franklin. At the same time, also in Halifax, Winthrop received from "the Revd. Mr. Breyton" Rutherford's *Ordo Institutionum Physicarum*, Cambridge, 1743.

Among the English writers on science who sent their works to Winthrop was, as noted before, Benjamin Martin, from whom the Harvard scientist bought many scientific instruments for the college. Two volumes of pamphlets and a few separate works include what must be one of the largest collections of Martin's promotional material in an American library. All printed at

London, these are: *The Description and Use of a Table Clock*, [1770], *A Supplement to the Philosophia Britannica*, 1759, *An Essay on Visual Glasses*, 1760, *Optical Essays*, [1750?], *Logarithmologia Nova*, 1772. *The Description and Use of a Graphical Perspective and Microscope*, 1771, *The Description and Use of an Opaque Solar Microscope*, 1774, *An Explanation of a new Constuction and Improvement of the Sea Octant and Sextent*, n.d., *The Theory of Hadley's Quadrant Demonstrated*, [1768], *The Mariner's Mirror*, Part II, 1769, *A Sure Guide to Distillers*, 1759, *The Theory of the Genuine Hydrometer*, Part II, [1762], *Two Essays on the Nature and wonderful Properties of Island Crystal*, n.d., *The Description and Use of an Universal Sliding Rule*, n.d., *The Description and Use of Mathematical Instruments*, 1771, *Institutions of Astron-Calculations*, 1773, and *The Description and Use of an Orrery of a New Construction*, 1771. Two other accounts of new developments were sent from England by their authors to Winthrop, *Gowin Knight's Collection of Some Papers Relating to the Use of Dr. Knight's Magnetical Bars*, London, 1758, which arrived in 1764 through the courtesy of a Mr. Walter, and *William Henly's Account of Some New Experiments in Electricity*, London, 1774, which the *New Englander* received the year of publication.

Bentley, too, attracted gifts from colleagues. *Grotius's Annotationes in Vetus & Novum Testamentum*, London, 1727, was given to him by John Appleton "from the Books of his venerable Father Minister of Cambridge NE." This was Nathaniel Appleton (A.B. 1712) whose copy of *Hammond's Practical Catechism*, London, 1715, Bentley also got. An imperfect copy of *Isocrates' Orationes et Epistolae* (in Greek), of about 1590, was a similar gift, this time from Jonathan Ashley "from the Library of his reverend Father Deerfield - Hamp. Mass: Bay." Bentley's tutor at Harvard, Isaac Smith (A.B. 1767), on the young man's entering college in 1774 presented him with *Pliny's Epistolae & Panegyricus*, London, 1741. The wife of Col. Benjamin Rickman, one of the leading citizens of Salem, gave her minister in 1783, the year he came to East Church, a handsome three-volume bible, *Amsterdam*, 1610, which contained the family records, 1699-1718, of Thomas Barton who was a physician, colonel and town clerk of Salem. From John Perkins, the Boston physician and a member of the Royal Society, came *William King's Essay on the Original Evil*, Cambridge, 1739, and from him also, presumably, the second volume of *Shaw's New Practices of Physic*, London, 1728, which in 1738 had belonged to Nathaniel Perkins (A.B. 1734). In 1804 Bentley visited Perkin's grave and, remarking that he had been a friend of Franklin, commented, "I possess several valuable books from his donation."

We note briefly a few more volumes Bentley owned. From the library of Samuel Fiske (A.B. 1708), minister of the First Church, Salem, he secured a *Latin Old Testament*, *St. Gervais*, 1607, *Thomas Wilson's Complete Christian Dictionary*, London, 1661, and *Mede's Works*, London, 1672. A copy of *Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, London, 1773, bears the bookplate of Nathaniel Bowditch, the Salem author of navigational guides, who gave it

to Bentley. Joseph Priestley presented him with his own Discourses relating to The Evidences of Revealed Religion, Philadelphia, 1796. A number of works were sent from Germany by Christoph Daniel Ebeling, the author of a multi-volume account of America, to whom Bentley supplied much information. Among these are a four-volume set of Virgil's Opera, Leipzig, 1788, and a two-volume one of Homer's Ilias, Leipzig, 1804. Before leaving the erudite, bookish Bentley, it should be mentioned that in book after book he wrote comments and bibliographical notes, such as one which appears in a Livy, Edinburgh, 1751: "Dr. Harwood says one of the most accurate editions of Livy ever published. E(dinburgh) has a great reason to triumph in the immaculate purity of this edition of Livy as Glasgow has in its Horace of 1744."

Considering the fact that James Winthrop was a judge, there are surprisingly few books which came to him through legal channels. Russell Chambers (A.B. 1731), a justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, had given Winthrop's father in 1737 Wollaston's Religion of Nature Delineated, London, 1726, and in 1739 Morvan de Bellegarde's Reflexions upon Ridiculae, London, 1727. And Judge Belcher of Halifax in 1769 gave the elder Winthrop The Perpetual Acts of Nova Scotia and its companion volume The Temporary Acts, both Halifax, 1767. An unusual non-legal work, Caetano de Sousa's signature and bookplate of Peter Livius (A.B. 1752), a member of the Provincial Council and Chief Justice of Massachusetts; and A Copy of the Journal-Book of the House of Commons, London, 1680, carries the name of Thomas Cushing, Jr. (A.B. 1744), speaker of the Massachusetts House, a member of the Continental Congress and lieutenant-governor of the state.

It is coincidental that on December 6, 1789, Bentley said he was "Employed upon a Catalogue of Curwen's Books at R. Ward's," and that in a copy of Martin Folkes' Table of English Silver Coins, London, 1745 - Samuel Curwen had a notable numismatic collection - James Winthrop noted "Bo't for 10/ from Mr. Curwen's library at Salem 7 Feb. 1791." This sale is not recorded in McKay's bibliography of book auctions, but that of the library of the Rev. Samuel Webber (A.B. 1784), late president of Havard, which took place at the college on Sept. 4, 1810, is. There Winthrop bought four diverse works which are at Alleghany: Wolff's Elementa Matheseos Universae, Halle, 1717, Rauve's General Grammar, London, 1650, Greaves' Discovrse of the Romane Foot, and Denarius, London, 1647, and La Lande's Astronomie, Paris, 1771.

We do not know how the library of Francis Dana (A.B. 1762) was dispersed. Dana, who had been sent to Europe with John Adams as secretary of the legation at the end of 1779 and who in 1781 went to St. Petersburg to propose a treaty with the United States to Catherine, died in 1811. Unquestionably, James Winthrop after his death saw an opportunity to get a good many unusual works which could only have been obtained by someone who had spent years abroad. Almost all

of the carry Dana's armorial bookplate, and records of their purchase in Paris or St. Petersburg from 1780 to 1783. Most appropriate for a diplomat were Callieres's *De la Maniere de Negociier avec les Souverains*, London, 1750, and Abbe Mably's *Des Principes des Negociations*, The Hague, 1767. Most of Winship's Dana acquisitions, however, dealt with Russia: the five volumes of Levesque's *Histoire de Russie*, Paris, 1782, Catherine the Great's instructions to an assembly convened to write a new code of laws (in Russian, Latin, French and German), St. Petersburg, 1770, Muller's *Description de toutes Les Nations de l'Empire de Russie*, St. Petersburg, 1776, Von Manstein's *Memoires Historiques, Politiques et Militaires sur la Russie*, Lyon, 1772, and Lacombe's *Abrege Chronologique de L'Histoire du Nord*, Paris, 1762. At Paris Dana had bought Mably's *Entretiens de Phocion*, Amsterdam, 1763, Necker's *Compte Rendu au Roi*, Paris, 1781, and Domat's *Loix Civiles*, Paris, 1777. At St. Petersburg, in addition to most of the books on Russia, he found and purchased Mignot's four volume *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1711, and - curiously enough - Cluny's *Voyager Americain*, Amsterdam, 1783. One other volume from Dana's collection probably dates back to the period when he was practising law with John Adams; Salmon's *Abridgement and Critical Review of the State Trials*, London, 1738, was a standard legal reference work.

James Winthrop himself was the author of several works of biblical scholarship. Among them was *An Appendix to the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1809, of which the copy at Alleghany, richly bound in contemporary red morocco, was unquestionably the author's own. In the preparation of these writings he well may have used Pike's *Compendious Hebrew Lexicon*, Cambridge, 1802, which the printer Hilliard gave him and which is full of manuscript notes by Winthrop.

A few other books are worthy of mention. Pott's *Continuation de la Lithogeognosie Pyrotechnique*, Paris 1753, belonged in 1756 to the South Carolina physician and botanist, Alexander Garden. A Greek Old Testament, Franequer, 1709, has the bookplate of William Emerson, the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Job Ludolf's *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum*, London, 1661, was in 1807 the property of Francis Parkman, the father of the great historian. Two books in which belonged to George Ticknor, the authority on Spanish literature and famous book collector, somehow passed from his hands into the possession of James Winthrop. One was Suetonious's *Opera Omnia*, Bassano, 1787, and the other Bacallar y Sanna's *Monarchia Hebraea*, Madrid, 1761; both Ticknor had in 1809 while he was tutoring in the classics after leaving Dartmouth.

While it is not surprising to find books with interesting provenances in the Bentley and Winthrop collections, it is somewhat unexpected to come across volumes which had distinguished earlier

ownership among the college. For instance, the first volume of Trenchard's *Cato's Letters*, London, 1733 - a must in American colonial collections - still bears a fragment of the bookplate of the Union Library Company of Philadelphia and was probably sold as a duplicate when that library was merged with the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1769.

If most of the books flowed to Alleghany from New England, some did originate in Philadelphia. There are no less than eleven volumes with the bookplate of James Logan (he was the son of the more famous James Logan, who never used a bookplate) which came into the hands of his grand-nephew Samuel Emlen, eventually to Emlen's nephew James Logan Smith, and thence to Alleghany. The Logan books are mostly works found commonly in early American libraries: Duclos's two-volume *History of Lewis XI*, London, 1746, Ker's two-volume *Memoires*, London, 1727, Glover's *Leonidas*, London 1738, Theobald's *Medulla Medicinae Universae*, London, 1761, (which had belonged in 1764 to James Read of Reading who gave it to his cousin Logan in 1791), and Boswell's *Account of Corsica*, Glasgow, 1768. More unusual were Venegas's two-volume *Natural and Civil History of California*, London, 1759, Kenneth Macaulay's *History of St. Kilda*, London, 1764, and Von Troil's *Letters on Ireland*, Dublin, 1780.

Books from the collection of another well-known Philadelphian, the learned Charles Thomson, came to Alleghany through the interest of his nephew John Thomson. The elder Thomson had been a schoolmaster in his youth, was the long-time secretary first of the United States, and devoted the later years of his long life to an original translation of the Old Testament from the Greek and other biblical studies. The manuscript of that translation is at Alleghany. A number of books came as gifts from the nephew, most of them without Charles Thomson's name in the volumes, but certainly his originally. One of these was Crinitus's *De Honesta disciplina*, Lyon, 1561, which had belonged in 1753 to Jacob Duche, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia in 1757, rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and first chaplain of the Continental Congress. Another was Grotius's *Annales et Historiae De Rebus Belgicis*, Amsterdam, 1658, with an old inscription, "Assembly of Pennsylvania," indicating that Thomson had "borrowed" it from the State House library. A copy of Thomson's own *Synopsis of the Four Evangelists*, Philadelphia, 1815, has a long note by Timothy Alden on the longevity of the Thomson family.

Some other miscellaneous volumes had an interesting earlier history. In John Brown's *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*, Dublin, 1765, is the printed book label of Aitken's Circulating Library, at Buchanan's Head, Paisley. It is the only example which has turned up this record of the early Scottish career of Robert Aitken, Philadelphia bookseller, binder and printer, who by authority of Congress printed the first English Bible to appear in America. An imperfect Dutch Bible,

Amsterdam, 1671, bears the signature of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who arrived in 1742 and became the first Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania; and an imperfect Caesar of about 1750 belonged to his son Frederick Augustus Muhlenburg, also a Lutheran clergyman, who was elected the first speaker of the House of Representatives in 1789. And another German minister, Georg Heinrich Loskiel, who wrote several accounts of the American missions and who was consecrated bishop of the Moravian Church in 1802, was the former owner of his church's collection of hymns, *Barbysche Samlungen Alter und Neuer, Barby, 1760*.

A copy of John Lilly's *Continuation of the Practical Register*, London, 1710, was once owned by George Read, a lawyer and a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Delaware. In addition to several of her own works the New England historian, Hannah Adams, gave the college a copy of *Fete Religieuse celebree a Paris... par les Francais du Culte Judaique, a l'occasion Du Couronnement de Napoleon*, Paris, 1805. Also of Jewish interest are two books, a pseudo-Aristotle in Hebrew, Frankfurt, 1800, and *Der arabische Mentor*, Cleve, 1788, which had been owned by Jonas Horowitz, who married the granddaughter of Hyman Salomon and prepared the first Hebrew Bible printed in America in 1814.

This summary of books with provenances of interest is far from complete. Unquestionably, a detailed book by book scrutiny of the old library of Alleghany will uncover many more. However, it is clear that these books are part of a cultural chain going far back into American history before the founding of Alleghany College. Here is rich material for new studies of the culture of the colonies, particularly of the culture of early New England.