

A Parcel of Books for the Province in 1700

BOOKS were not common or easy to come by in Philadelphia during the half century of its existence before the Library Company was founded in 1731. Yet, there were probably more books available than has been recognized. Penn's advice to his children, cited by Frederick B. Tolles at the beginning of his chapter on books—"Have but few Books, but let them be well chosen and well read"¹—and Franklin's dictum in his autobiography—"At the time I establish'd my self in Pennsylvania, there was not a good Bookseller's Shop in any of the Colonies to the Southward of Boston"²—have led astray most writers on the culture of the times.

William Penn was willing to use his credit to encourage the London booksellers, Awnsham and John Churchill, to send a shipment of recent publications to the province for sale. His interest in making books available in Pennsylvania has not been fully documented.

The starting point of this transaction is an invoice made out to Penn on February 1, 1699 [1700], and docketed in the hand of James Logan, his agent and general factotum, "Churchills Acct of Books."³ Identification of some titles which did not appear in print before 1700 makes it certain that the date on the invoice was old style.⁴ It is apparent from a letter of Penn that the business venture was entered into at the booksellers' initiative and for their benefit.⁵ The Church-

¹ Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 144.

² Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography* (New Haven & London, 1964), 141.

³ Taylor Papers, 3309, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. All manuscripts cited are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Tolles, 145, in accepting the date 1699 stated that Penn placed the order before leaving England. However, *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, An Account of the Court of Portugal* [by John Colbatch], Vincent Wing's *Geodaetes practicus redivivus*, the two-volume edition of Sir William Temple's *Letters*, and *Parrhasiana* [by Jean Le Clerc] were not published until Hilary Term [February], 1699/1700, Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogue, 1668-1709 A.D.* (London, 1903-1906), III, 170, 171, 173, 174.

⁵ William Penn to James Logan, July 11, 1704, Logan Papers, I, 50.

ills were to be paid as the books were sold, and Penn was considered responsible for the payment. We do not, however, know whether Penn made the arrangement before he left on his second visit to Pennsylvania or corresponded with the Churchills after his arrival in America. We do not know whether he suggested some or any of the titles; certainly, Penn could not have known about the most recently issued works.

On May 29, 1704, James Logan wrote to the Churchills:

Our Proprietor and Gov^r W^m Penn Esq having recvd from you in the year 1700, a parcel of Books sent over hither for sale he was Pleas^d to Commit them to my Charge and accordingly I disposed of some to such Persons as wanted them Immediately for their own use, and a larger quantity I put into the Hands of others to Sell But the remainder being left in my Hands, a dishonest Serv^t. found the way to them, and being new and not unsuitable to fill a Young Man's Study carried them all of [f] but two that he thought not fitt for his purpose. He also found Means (as by his other Actions I may reasonably Judge) to Come att y^e Inventory or Catalogue you sent wth. them, that I might be less Capable having lost it to find out what were gone & make up y^e Acc^{ts}.

This Thief however is discovered, and his fr^{ds} both Willing & Able to Make All good. What I now want is an Inventory w^{ch} I would Request you to furnish me wth., and be pleas^d further to Inform me what Kind of Pay you Expect I mean whether to be p^d. the sum Charged for the Books there or Any Advance here w^{ch} on this Kind of Goods, is but little, and Notwithstanding it has been so long delay'd, You shall have all the Justice can be done You. . . .⁶

This letter was only the most specific account of what took place. The parcel of books had turned out to be a petty annoyance in a huge mixed bag of problems faced by Penn, and, by referral, Logan. In spite of Penn's good intentions and the paucity of books in his province, they did not prove to be readily saleable. On June 12, 1702, Penn had suggested to Logan that it would be well to do something about the Churchills' account, "at least writt to him how y^t matter stands."⁷ In reply, Logan answered on December 1, 1702, "I can make no acc^t wth y^e Churchill's yet many of y^e Books lying near these 2 years in R Jansen's hands unsold, and will by no means

⁶ Logan Letterbook, II, 41.

⁷ Logan Papers, I, 40.

go off.”⁸ Understandably this explanation was not satisfactory to the booksellers. On April 1, 1703, the Proprietor mentioned the matter again: “Churchill calcs on me for his mony. Pray write & retorne w^t is sould, & w^t I must say to him.”⁹ In the same letter, Penn indicated that he was confident that Pennsylvanians would read books even if they hesitated to buy them, for he informed Logan that he had sent to the province two or three hundred anti-Keithian treatises.

Sandwiched in among dozens of requests for money, records, and information, the affair of the books was a recurring minor irritant. On January 10, 1704, Penn asked Logan to “pray say something to Churchills about their forty pd. Cargoe.”¹⁰ Alas, what had poor Logan to say? Then, unfortunately, he was able to send news to the London booksellers. A young man, who had worked as a clerk for Logan, turned out to be an overenthusiastic book collector. His thievery was probably discovered when Logan and William Penn, Jr., moved into William Clarke’s house on Chestnut Street near Third and there set up the headquarters of the Penn agency in Philadelphia.¹¹ He had rifled not only the Churchill stock but Penn’s private library as well, and, in addition to the list of the booksellers’ shipment, as reported to them, he abstracted the catalogue of Penn’s own books.

Although Logan wrote to the Churchills in May, giving them an account of the unhappy event, it was apparently not until November 22, 1704, that he informed the Proprietor of what had happened.¹² He had found the catalogue of the Penn books “thrown in among the Jersey Deeds in the little Trunk.” Upon examination he could report that Raleigh’s *History* and Purchas’ *Pilgrims* were missing—but they may not have been there when the books were moved from Governor Markham’s—and that the only other folio gone was Brathwaite’s *English Gentleman*. “There was never a greater Villain known than he that plaid that abominable trick, yet was never discoeverd nor suspected till the day after he left me by a remarkable

⁸ Logan Letterbook, I, 61. Reynier Jansen was Philadelphia’s second printer. He worked there from 1699 to 1705.

⁹ Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹ Logan to Penn, May 25, 1704, “Mr W^m & I have taken W Clarks great House in Chesnut street,” Logan Letterbook, I, 139.

¹² *Ibid.*, 168a.

Providence, that the Innocent might be cleared." The culprit's name was not mentioned, for, Logan continued, "His father made me promise to be private in it engaging to make full satisfaction, and hoping it would be the last of the kind but he is mistaken I doubt." Philadelphia's first known book thief promptly made his exodus from the province. Returned to London, he had the presumption to call on Penn, who recognized him and described him as "the Bookthief, dada's own Image," but "used him softly enough."¹³

The theft had evoked Logan's previously quoted letter to the Churchills. Penn, still unaware of this letter, once more begged his agent on July 11, 1704, to write and give them some accounting "y^t he may not have reason to reflect, tho his act, not our."¹⁴ A month later he complained that no letter had yet arrived.¹⁵ The maddening difficulties of transoceanic communication were but an additional factor in Penn's mounting troubles. On April 5, 1705, Logan had to tell him that his letters to the Churchills and others had been sent down after the fleet had sailed and were put on board a ship that had been left behind.¹⁶ On September 14, 1705, Penn wrote that he had sought out Awnsham Churchill, elected a Member of Parliament from Dorchester that year, and that he was still waiting for Logan's "Advice."¹⁷

Lest it be thought that the affair of the books was a major responsibility of Logan's, it should be recorded that the political, personal, and financial matters he was handling on Penn's behalf were so multitudinous, so complicated, and so aggravating that, while his loyalty was constant, his patience was sorely tried. At times he suggested that he give up his responsibilities and that Penn find another agent. Perhaps, if he came to England and had the opportunity of seeing Penn personally, he could settle some things. "I must defer answering Churchill till I come over my self," he told Penn on October 9, 1705.¹⁸ It was, however, to be four years before he could be spared in Pennsylvania.

¹³ Penn to Logan, Jan. 16, 1705, Logan Papers, I, 56.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 50.

¹⁵ Penn to Logan, Aug. 12, 1704, Edward Armstrong, ed., *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan* (Philadelphia, 1870-1872), I, 313.

¹⁶ Logan Letterbook, I, 177.

¹⁷ Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 25.

¹⁸ Logan Letterbook, I, 211.

Finally, copies of the invoice arrived, one of which still survives. Logan again communicated with the booksellers—still not very satisfactorily from their standpoint, it must be confessed:

I recvd y^{rs}, wth a Copy of y^e Invoice of Books last Year, & wth sundry Duplicates w^{ch} I deferr'd answering in hopes of being able to doe it in a little time the most effectual way. but y^e great Discouragem^{ts} this place has faln under by y^e Decay of its Trade & y^e exportation of almost all our Money makes even the minutest affair of that kind very troublesome. these books were at first very unhappily scattered. Several of y^e most considerable remain yet unsold, So that unless I will pay out of my own pocket for what I was never concerned with nor am in any wise answerable for otherwise than 'tis putt upon me I can not yet give You the satisfaction you desire & therefore must request yo^r further Patience till I can bring it better to bear w^{ch} I hope you will be pleased to grant, Since all I gett by it is my own trouble for yo^r security. I should be much better pleased to serve you more to yo^r advantage being Y^r real & hearty fr^d.¹⁹

The last mention we have of the business is in a letter from Penn to Logan of May 18, 1708, in which he repeated the old refrain: "I am teized with Churchill ab^t. his Books, makeing me his Deb^{tr}." The records do not disclose when, how, or if the matter was settled.²⁰

There were sixty-nine separate entries in the invoice, a few representing more than one bibliographical entity bound together, for example Locke's letters on toleration. Counting multiple copies sent, a total of 125 titles in 138 volumes was shipped. By comparison, the first shipment of books received by the Library Company in 1732 consisted of 56 works in 141 volumes, including of course, no duplicates. The booksellers' choice of works in 1700 provides as interesting a study of the culture and popular publications of its times as does the later list for its generation.²¹

Most striking is the dominance of the works of John Locke. Not only were there more titles by him than any other author, but more copies of his books were chosen, accounting for almost one quarter of the shipment. It has long been known that Locke greatly influenced colonial American thinking. Furthermore, he was a friend of Penn, and, possibly even more important, in this instance, the

¹⁹ Aug. 16, 1706, Logan Papers, I, 63, and also Logan Letterbook, II, 82.

²⁰ Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 42.

²¹ Edwin Wolf, 2nd, "The First Books and Printed Catalogues of the Library Company," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVIII (1954), 45-55.

Churchills were Locke's publisher. It cannot be proved, but there is a possibility that *An essay concerning humane understanding*, 1700, *The reasonableness of Christianity*, 1696, bound with Locke's succeeding works on the same subject, *Several papers relating to money, interest, and trade*, 1696, and *Some thoughts concerning education*, 1699, all of which are in James Logan's library now at the Library Company of Philadelphia, were acquired from this shipment.²² Another copy of the last work in the Library Company almost certainly was in the Churchill consignment, for a note in Isaac Norris' hand states that it had been given to him by Logan in 1701.

There were no Quaker theological texts in the parcel sent to the Quaker City—proof, perhaps, that the selection was the booksellers' and not Penn's—and, indeed, very little theology at all. Locke's deistical work was joined by Thomas Emes's *Atheist turn'd deist*, one of only two of the religious works not published by the Churchills. It was rather a curious selection, with only the imprint in common: the sermons of Benjamin Whichcote, a forerunner of the Cambridge Platonists; a fundamentalist work, Jean Le Clerc's *Treatise of the causes of incredulity*, and the same French cleric's miscellaneous essays, *Parrhasiana*, the chief of which are on poetry and poets and the decay of learning; and the Cartesian Nicolas Malebranche's *Treatise concerning the search after truth*, which his biographer tells us enjoyed "un succès prodigieux" after its first appearance in 1674. An expected choice was the "Cambridge" concordance of the Bible by Samuel Newman, a nonconformist exile who went to New England in 1636. This early example of American scholarship was owned by many Philadelphians whose library consisted only of it, a Bible, and a few other books. Locke's *Common-place book*, a subject anthology of biblical quotations, was a companion volume; the Churchills' "New Edition of the large Cambridge Concordance, in Folio" is advertised on a preliminary page of Locke's anthology. Of these religious works the only one which Logan owned in the appropriate edition was Le Clerc's *Parrhasiana*.

There were no law books at all, and no classics in their original. It is obvious that the choice was not intended for gentlemen of

²² All books mentioned as having been owned by Logan are in the Loganian Library, Library Company of Philadelphia. I have not mentioned copies of other editions than those cited which he owned.

cultured leisure—no Homer, Horace, or even Cicero. The only works of antiquity were histories, books which would have been esteemed for their content rather than their Greek or Latin style, the Greek Diodorus Siculus' universal history, Livy's classic account of Rome, and Suetonius' lives of the emperors. The periodical book review of the period, *The History of the Works of the Learned*, speaking of the new translation of Diodorus Siculus, reflects pretty well the temper of a growing mercantile society with Puritanical drives. "There are some, who are for locking up *History*, as well as other things, from the knowledge of the Vulgar," the article stated. However, translations opened the door: "By this means not only the Learned, but even the Illiterate Reader (provided he be but Master of his own Mother-Tongue) may be inform'd of the Wonderful Providence of God, in Ruling and Governing the World in all Ages to this day, in his setting up and pulling down of States, Kingdoms, and Empires in certain Periods of Time."²³ To the translated classics mentioned must be added Aesop's *Fables* in Sir Roger L'Estrange's version, which included the works of other fabulists as well. So much have fables become a part of the culture of every country that one frequently forgets their classical origin. The histories and the Aesop were costly books, the Aesop at one guinea the most expensive volume in the cargo. One wonders whether these were not among the "several of y^e most considerable" still unsold in 1706.

Dictionaries and encyclopedic compilations were stock-in-trade of every bookseller, and should have been readily saleable in the colony. Abel Boyer's French dictionary and French grammar were standard works for over a century, as was Elisha Coles' English-Latin dictionary. Hailing Boyer's *Royal dictionary*, a contemporary reviewer defended it against the pinpricks of its compiler's competitor in the field, Guy Mieke, by citing an epigram of Martial:

Don't Damn this Work, till you can shew
One more Correct compos'd by you.²⁴

Bookbuyers followed this advice so far as Coles' English dictionary was concerned; it was esteemed the best of its kind until the appearance of Bailey's dictionary in 1721. Cornelius Schrevelius' Greek-

²³ *The History of the Works of the Learned* (London, 1699), I, 571.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 316.

Latin lexicon was the only book in the whole shipment not in English. It would have appealed only to a man of broader education than most Philadelphia merchants. Such a one was Logan, but he had other Greek dictionaries. However, his copy of Boyer's *Royal dictionary* had earlier belonged to Henry Brooke, "a Young Man of the most Polite Education and best Natural parts that I have known,"²⁵ who may well have bought it from the Churchills' lot. Francis Tallent's *View of universal history* and Aegidius Strauch's chronology were both ready reference books. The latter had been highly recommended by Locke, whose puff was quoted in the review of the book. Writing of the study of chronology, he had said, "The most useful Book I have seen in that part of Learning, is a small Treatise of *Strauchius*."²⁶ Once again, Logan's copy of this useful compilation may have come to Philadelphia in 1700.

In the general area of philosophy and government Locke's works were the most numerous. In addition to his treatise on economics, the only other work on current fiscal problems was Charles Davenant's *Discourse upon grants and resumptions* in which the author urged that forfeited estates not be suffered to fall into the hands of venal ministers, but be sold to reduce the public debt. Broader in scope were two volumes on the theory of government; the works of Niccolò Machiavelli, whose hard-headed study of power politics was widely read, and *Discourses concerning government* by Penn's friend, Sir Algernon Sidney, widely revered as one of the victims of Stuart tyranny. These were supplemented by John Milton's prose works in their first collected form. It may be surprising that his poetical writings were not chosen before his now lesser known ones, but *belles lettres* was almost disregarded in the selection. Except for the Aesop, the only work of literature included was *Don Quixote*, as highly esteemed then as now, but then read as well.

History, which Locke called "the great Mistress of Prudence and Civil Knowledge,"²⁷ was definitely emphasized. As noted, the classical works were almost all histories. Others were among the most popular of the day: Bartolomeo Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, a Protestant-slanted work which found great favor in England and

²⁵ Logan to Penn, July 26, 1704, Logan Letterbook, I, 157.

²⁶ *The History of the Works of the Learned*, I, 438.

²⁷ John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (London, 1710), 276-277.

America at a time when Catholicism was equated with Stuart subversion; *The General History of Spain* by Juan de Mariana of whom it was said that he was "of such an Established Reputation, that 'tis needless to add any thing to it";²⁸ and George Buchanan's standard *History of Scotland*. Logan may have gotten his copies of the Platina and Mariana from this shipment.

More modern writers, dealing mostly with more recent history, formed an even greater part of the selection. Four titles by Sir William Temple, diplomat and patron of Swift, went in the lot to Philadelphia: his brief history of ancient England, *Observations on the Netherlands*, *Letters*, and *Miscellanea*. Of the *Letters*, edited by Swift, a contemporary critic wrote that their author was "so well known to the Learned, as well as to the Political part of the World, that nothing but what is extraordinary can be expected from his extraordinary Pen."²⁹ The fact that the Churchills were Temple's publisher may also have had something to do with the choice.

Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs*, giving an account of the Cromwellian era with a strong Whiggish, anti-Commonwealth bias, and David Jones's survey of seventeenth-century Europe were valuable background books for the turbulent times. The interest in Poland, Russia, and Portugal can be explained by the events in those countries. In 1683, the great Polish hero, John Sobieski, rescued Vienna from the Turks; upon his death in 1696, eighteen candidates offered themselves for the throne of Poland. La Bizardière's work, for example, tells in detail of the machinations of the various contenders. With the ebbing of the Turkish threat in Europe came the expansionism of Russia; after several murders and a few rebellions, Peter the Great became Czar, and in 1700 began his campaign for the hegemony of the north. Of this Foy de la Neuville's book treated. In 1668, Spain, long England's bitter enemy, recognized the independence of Portugal, and the emergence of the independent kingdom was the subject of works by Colbatch and Faria e Sousa. The flux and reflux of war and intrigue was news in 1700, and it may have been at that time and from the Churchill shipment that Logan bought his copies of Ludlow's *Memoirs* and of La Bizardière's and Gaspard de Tende's accounts of Poland.

²⁸ *The History of the Works of the Learned*, I, 564.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 748.

"*Voyages, Historical Accounts, and Secret Memoirs*, have of late been much in Vogue, not only in our own, but also in Foreign Nations," a commentator on books wrote in 1699.³⁰ He continued, "Every Body is desirous to know what is done Without, as well as Within Doors; and the same Itch of Hearing or Relating some New Thing may be observ'd in Ours, as well as in the *Athenian's* Times." The London booksellers, therefore, expected there to be a considerable appetite for books of travel. Since the economy of Philadelphia was based upon mercantile trade, the appetite should have been there. Most of the works were sent in two or more copies. William Dampier's account of his voyage around the world was both topical and informative. It would be, we are told, "of great Use to all, who only desire to be acquainted with the different Customs, Trade, Manners, and Religion, of other more remote Countries of the Earth."³¹ *The New Atlas* was another travel book, of a more anecdotal nature, the account of the wanderings, chiefly in Asia, Africa, and America, "Performed by an *English Gentleman*, in Nine Years."

Of particular interest to men whose trade lay mostly in the Caribbean would have been Thomas Gage's *New Survey of the West Indies*, largely about Mexico; William Hacke's collection of voyages; Lionel Wafer's expedition to Panama; some of the pamphlets about the abortive attempt by a group of Scots to settle at Darien; and, to a lesser degree, Cristóbal de Acuña's discoveries in the Amazon region, and François Froger's relation of a French expedition down the east coast of South America. Much closer to home were Henri de Tonti's account of the exploration of the Lake region and the Mississippi valley by La Salle, and Louis Hennepin's description of the same expedition, telling of an area into which Pennsylvania traders had not yet penetrated, but in time would. American ships had not yet ventured around the Horn to exploit the China trade, but already the English were beginning to go around the Cape to bring back tea, spices, and other oriental commodities. Louis Daniel Le Comte's account of China was the best then available, and Abraham Duquesne and Christopher Frikius told of the riches and curiosities of the East Indies. Of these books Logan owned only copies of Dampier and Hennepin and Ferguson's Darien tract.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 753.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 98.

It does seem somewhat extraordinary that there were not more books of a practical nature. Do-it-yourself books in law, medicine, and the useful arts were common, and one would think that in a provincial environment, where there were few professionals, they would have been needed. The Churchills did send three medical works for colonists who, like William Byrd of Westover, wanted to make their own diagnoses and prescribe their own cures. Thomas Gibson's anatomy, based on an earlier work of Alexander Read, was an illustrated handbook bringing together facts concerning the human body as they were known to the practitioners of the seventeenth century. Two of Nicholas Culpeper's books, his pharmacopeia and *The English physitian*, were found to be so useful that they were reprinted over and over again well into the nineteenth century. Frequently they were to be found in the hands of laymen who boasted no other medical works.

In the newly settled land where farms, estates, and city lots had to be laid out almost day by day, three copies of Vincent Wing's *Art of Surveying* were certainly not too many. Upon its publication, it was remarked that Wing had "much outdone what ever has appear'd hitherto in *English* of the like Nature."³² More technical was William Leybourn's explanation of "Gunter's Line," which consisted of a series of logarithmic numbers inscribed in a line for figuring out numbers, sines, and tangents of arcs. Essential, too, in the province, where the raising of food for home consumption and for export was the base of the economy, were books on farming. Gervase Markham was the most popular author in this field; three copies of his *Way to Get Wealth* through agriculture and two of *Markham's Master-piece* crossed the ocean. To these was added one of the books we know Penn had at Pennsbury, Leonard Meager's *English gardener*. We wonder if Penn, Logan, and the Churchills might not have been saved years of fretting had there been more of these practical books and fewer of Locke's works.

Surprisingly enough, the shipping expenses of the books were minimal, a little over three per cent of the total cost. We do not know what the Churchills answered to Logan's question about charging an advance, but Logan told them that only small advances

³² *Ibid.*, I, 687.

on books could be expected. (This statement of his is contradicted by a note the merchant William Fishbourne wrote in his copy of Robert Barclay's *Apology* which he bought in 1707 from a fellow Philadelphian, "prime Cost In England 4/- Cost here 8/-.")³³ The prices set by the Churchills were generally in line with those given in the *Bibliotheca Annua*, the booksellers' list for 1699.³⁴ The folios ranged from a guinea to fourteen shillings. Boyer's French dictionary, a thick quarto, was nineteen shillings, but less bulky quartos were no more expensive than the smaller sizes. The range for octavos and duodecimos was from 1s 6d to six shillings a volume, the dictionaries being at the top of the scale and the voyages at the bottom. While the Churchills sometimes charged exactly the price listed in the trade publication, they sometimes cut it from two shillings to sixpence. In both the Penn inventory and the annual catalogue, Locke's *Essay concerning humane understanding* was listed at fourteen shillings; the Diodorus Siculus was one pound in the former, £1 2s in the latter. Strauch's chronology was 4s 6d in the inventory, five shillings in the catalogue; Sidney's *Discourses* fifteen shillings in the former, sixteen shillings in the latter. It would be interesting to know to whom Logan disposed of the books and what the purchasers paid for them.

Library Company of Philadelphia

EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

To the Hon^{ble}. W^m: Penn Esq^r. Feb^{ry}: 1: 1699³⁵

6 Lock Essay foli £ 4. 4.0

*John Locke, *An essay concerning humane understanding*, London, 1700. [Wing L2742]

6 Education 8^o I. I.0

*John Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education*, London, 1699. [Wing L2764]

³³ Copy in the Library Company of Philadelphia of Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the true Christian divinity* (London, 1701).

³⁴ *Bibliotheca Annua: or, The Annual Catalogue for the Year, 1699* (London, 1694), *seriatim*.

³⁵ I have used the latest possible edition of the indicated size listed in Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951). An asterisk denotes the fact that the Churchills published or were joint-publishers of the edition cited.

- 3 Trade o. 9.0
 *John Locke, *Several papers relating to money, interest and trade*, London, 1696. [Wing L2757]
- 1 3 lett's g^t Bp Worcest^r o. 8.6
 *John Locke, *A letter to Edward L^d Bishop of Worcester*, London, 1697; *A letter to the Right Reverend Edward L^d Bishop of Worcester*, London, 1697; *Mr. Locke's reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's answer*, London, 1697. [Wing L2748A, 2749, and 2753]
- 6 Two treatises Governm^t 8° I. 1.0
 *John Locke, *Two treatises of government*, London, 1698. [Wing L2768]
- 2 Ltt^{rs} Toleratⁿ Comp^t o.11.0
 *John Locke, *A letter concerning toleration*, London, 1690; *A second letter concerning toleration*, London, 1690; *A third letter for toleration*, London, 1692. [Wing L2748, 2755, and 2765]
- 4 Reasonableness of Xanity Comp^t I. 8.0
 *John Locke, *The reasonableness of Christianity*, London, 1696; *A vindication of The reasonableness of Christianity*, London, 1695; *A second vindication of The reasonableness of Christianity*, London, 1697. [Wing L2752, 2769, and 2756]
- 2 Dampier Voyages 2 vols I. 4.0
 William Dampier, *A new voyage round the world*, London, 1699; *Voyages and descriptions*, Vol. II, London, 1699. [Wing D164 and 165]
- 2 Fryke Travells o. 8.0
 Christopher Frikius, *A relation of two several voyages*, London, 1700. [Wing F2230A]
- 2 Henepen Voyages o.11.0
 Louis Hennepin, *A new discovery of a vast country in America*, London, 1699. [Wing H1452]

- 3 Wafer Voyage 0.10.0
 Lionel Wafer, *A new voyage and description of the isthmus of America*, London, 1699. [Wing W193]
- 3 Wing Survey folio 2. 0.0
 *Vincent Wing, *Gordaetes practicus redivivus: the art of surveying*, London, 1699. [Wing W2992]
- 1 Talent Tables 0.16.0
 *Francis Tallents, *A view of universal history*, London, [1695]. [Wing T130]
- 3 Ludlow Memoirs 3 vols 2.10.0
 Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs*, Vivay [London], 1698-99. [Wing L3460, 3461, and 3462]
- 2 Sidney Govrmt folio 1.10.0
 Algernon Sidney, *Discourses concerning government*, London, 1698. [Wing S3761]
- 2 Milton Works folio 2. 0.0
 John Milton, *Works*, [London], 1697. [Wing M2086]
- 1 Buchanan Scotland folio 0.16.0
 *George Buchanan, *The history of Scotland*, London, 1690. [Wing B5283]
- 1 Lives Popes p Ricaut folio 0.14.0
 Bartolomeo Platina, *The lives of the popes* [translated by Sir Paul Rycaut], London, 1688. [Wing P2404]
- 1 Livij Roman history folio 0.15.0
 *Titus Livius, *The Roman history*, London, 1686. [Wing L2615]
- 2 Gibson Anatomy 8° 0.12.0
 *Thomas Gibson, *The anatomy of human bodies epitomized*, London, 1697. [Wing G676]
- 2 Atheist turn'd Deist 8° 0. 4.0
 Thomas Emes, *The atheist turn'd deist*, London, 1698. [Wing E707]

- 2 Culpep Dispensatory 8° o. 4.0
 *Nicholas Culpeper, *Pharmacopoeia: or, the London dispensatory*, London, 1695. [Wing C7537]
- 2 Engl Physitian 8° o. 4.0
 *Nicholas Culpeper, *The English physitian enlarged*, London, 1695. [Wing C7514]³⁶
- 1 Lestrang Esop Compt foli I. 1.0
 *Aesop, *The Fables*, London, 1699. [Wing A709]
- 1 Suetonius Lives Emper^s 3 vols o.15.0
 *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The lives of the twelve Caesars*, London, 1698. [Wing S6152]
- 1 Boyer french Dictionary 4° o.19.0
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³⁶ Although not in Wing, a Churchill edition of 1699 is listed in *The History of the Works of the Learned*, I, 60-61.

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