ABSTRACT.

The Library List Of 1783: Being a catalogue of books, composed and arranged by James Madison, and others, and recommended for the use of Congress on January 24, 1783, with notes and an introduction.

Loren Eugene Smith Ph.D.
Claremont Graduate School.

On January 24, 1783, an ad hoc committee of the Continental Congress, consisting of James Madison, Hugh Williamson, and Thomas Mifflin, recommended the establishment of a congressional library. The committee report contained a list of books -- 309 titles arranged in thirteen classes according to subject -- and was urgently but unsuccessfully supported by James Madison.

Although the recommendation met with defeat in the subsequent voting, the Library List of 1783 which it contained is an important document for several reasons. It represents the judgment of its authors concerning the desirability of a congressional library, and their belief that such a library should contain more than works of reference. The library they proposed may be thought of as a "statesman's library"; besides reference works on law and legislative practice it included, in overwhelming proportion, works on history, politics, political theory, and an extensive list of "Americana" that constituted an important, if rudimentary, national archive.

Assessment of its historical importance involves examination

of the Library List from several different perspectives. First, James Madison is established as the principal author while Thomas Jefferson and Hugh Williamson are found to have contributed significantly to the project. Second, the List is viewed as an episode in the history of the Library of Congress, particularly important in tracing the conceptual origins of the present institution. Third, the great emphasis placed by Madison and his collaborators upon works of history reflects a characteristic aspect of the intellectual climate in which they lived.

They believed that political wisdom resulted from a scientific use of history, that the constancy of human nature and of natural law made past situations analagous to present and provided the basis for a science of human behavior which ought to inform the deliberations of statesmen. Fourth, such a science -- based to a considerable degree on the materials presented in the Library List -- did guide the deliberations of the statesman, James Madison. In the Federal Convention, and later when, as Publius, he collaborated in the writing of The Federalist, Madison relied upon ideas about the nature of republics and federal sovereignty which had originated in his study of the sources cited four years earlier in the Library List.

The study is in two parts. The first, a critical introduction deals with the general question of historical importance in the several ramifications noted above. Part II is the List itself presented as an annotated catalogue. The works cited By Madison are identified by author and full title in the belief they will thus be more accessible and generally useful to students of the early national period in American history.

T H E

L I B R A R Y

L I S T

O F

1 7 8 3

Being a catalogue of books, composed
and arranged by James Madison, and
others, and recommended for the use
of Congress on January 24, 1783, with
notes and an introduction.

by

Loren E. Smith

A Dissertation presented to the General Faculty
of the Claremont Graduate School in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1 9 6 9

Z
733
UN3
SM6

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this dissertation and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

William R. Jacobs

Visiting Examiner

Chas. M. Rice

Faculty Reader

John Rini

Faculty Reader

Supervisory Committee:

John Rini

Chairman

Date

January 30, 1969

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
-------------------	---

I.

Questions of Authorship.....	7
Organization, Style, and Scholarship.....	24
Toward A Library Of Congress.....	39
History -- The 18th Century View.....	67
Madison, The Library List, and The Constitution.....	97
Bibliography.....	112

II.

Editorial Note.....	117
The Library List.....	121
Index.....	217

INTRODUCTION

During the year end of 1782-83 the United States Continental Congress was, understandably, preoccupied with matters related to the conduct of the war. Despite this, there were several members concerned, intermittently at least, with a longer range difficulty: improving the quality of congressional legislation. One facet of the problem seemed amenable to direct action. Congress lacked adequate library facilities. Surely, with opportunity to study government and politics, and to research legislative issues, Congressmen would become wiser and legislation more enlightened.

That is not to say that the picture was completely black; in fact, the case was pretty much the contrary. Many members had private libraries which were more than adequate by the standards of the time, and it was their custom to bring several of the more indispensable volumes with them to the sessions at Philadelphia. James Madison was such a Congressman. Education, temperament, and experience as a legislator (in Richmond as well as Philadelphia) had led him to orient his own book collecting toward treatises on public and international law, treaties, and histories of republics.¹

Of greater importance than these fugitive representatives of

¹ Irving Brant, James Madison, (Indianapolis, 1941-50) Vol. II, p. 309.

private collections was the impressive collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Its directors, who obviously shared Madison's views on the importance of good library resources to good legislation, had made their collection available to members of Congress on very liberal terms.

Still, none of these really constituted a congressional library. The private collections, for obvious reasons, were not readily accessible to all members who might need them. Even the value of the more accessible Library Company collection was limited in that its directors had their regular clientele to consider and had, ultimately, to regulate access and acquisitions in their own, rather than in Congress' interest.

Unquestionably it was a sense of the inadequacy of these several library resources which resulted in Congress' decision of November 21, 1782. On a motion by Colonel Theodorick Bland, of the Virginia delegation, James Madison--also of Virginia--Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, and Hugh Williamson of North Carolina were designated a committee to report a list of books to be purchased for the use of Congress.²

Unfortunately, whatever sense of mission was behind the November action of the members failed to survive the two-month period between Colonel Bland's motion and James Madison's presentation of the committee report. That report, containing some three hundred and nine works in

² Journals Of The Continental Congress, XXIV, 83_n & 92_n.

short-title form, and accompanied by Madison's urgent plea that they be purchased as soon as possible, was rejected, -- "Passed", according to Madison, "in the negative."³

Madison represented the list to his fellow Congressmen as containing two classes of titles: "Law of nations, treaties, negotiations, etc." and "American antiquities." It was in respect to the second class of titles that Madison's sense of urgency was most apparent. He urged the immediate collection of " ... every book and tract which related to American antiquities and the affairs of the U.S. since many of the most valuable ... were ... becoming extinct." Haste was crucial. The extinction of these "antiquities", as Madison called them, would be a serious matter. Without them a proper history of the country could never be written. Nor could the United States defend its territorial claims against "other powers which had shared in the discoveries and possessions of the New World."⁴

But to no avail. Congress, short of funds, worried about the army, and preoccupied with the war, was in no mood for books. Nor could a second motion by James Wilson, newly arrived delegate from Pennsylvania, save even the "most essential" works. The entire project went down in defeat by what Madison recorded as a considerable majority.⁵

³ Journals, XXIV, p. 90.

⁴ Journals, XXIV, 858-9.

⁵ Ibid. There is a minor discrepancy as to the dating of this episode. Madison's record of the proceedings suggests that the rejection of the Library List took place on Thursday the 23rd of January, 1783. The Journals place it on Friday, the 24th. Although the Journals are notoriously sketchy and incomplete they are more reliable in this case than is Madison.

Thus ended the first attempt to establish a congressional library. The project, however, was no more dead than was the sense of need which had fathered it, and was revived in the spring of 1790 under the aegis of Elbridge Gerry in circumstances and with consequences similar to those of 1783. No library was actually established until after 1800, but the events of 1783 provide the basis for an important, though neglected, "first chapter" in that later Library of Congress.⁶

The Library List of 1783 is of considerable interest to students of American history if only because of its place in the larger history of the Library of Congress. But it is important for other reasons as well, two of which are of special interest to this study.

First of all, there is the intriguing fact that the List represents an educated 18th century view of what the legislator-statesman ought to be reading. As such, it affords us a window on the culture of the period, particularly on the thinking and political values of that group which provided most of America's leaders during the formative years of the Republic.

Of special interest in this regard, is the fact that the list is primarily a history list. Indeed, it may represent the first attempt to bring together the materials for an American history. But more than that, it is a list of history titles recommended to those Americans

⁶David C. Mearns traces the Library's history from its presumed beginnings in the Gerry episode of 1790. (The Story Up To Now, Washington, 1947, pp. 1-4.) However, Irving Brant (James Madison, II, 288-290) and Julian Boyd (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VI, 198n.) both comment on the eventual establishment of the Library of Congress. But that relationship has remained until the present largely unexplored.

politically responsible for the public welfare. As such, it becomes something of an index to the views of its author, or authors, concerning the nature of history and its relevance to the calculations of statesmen.

Lastly, and of greatest importance to this study, the Library List of 1783 ought to be viewed as a gloss on the Constitution of the United States, not merely because they are artifacts of the same culture but because of a far more direct and immediate connection between the Library List and the Constitution. The fact is that they both come to us, in great part, from the hands of the very same artisan: James Madison! And consequently it seems appropriate to suggest that this plan for a "statesman's library" compiled in 1783 identified many of the very books with which Madison, the statesman, prepared himself for the ordeal of the Constitutional Convention four years later.

There are, then, three major points of historical relevance to be considered in connection with the Library List: its role in the larger history of the Library of Congress, its function as a window on the mind of the 18th century, and the magnificent opportunity it affords for broadening our understanding of the Constitution through a closer study of the sources from which it was drawn. To each of these we shall return in some detail. Taken together they constitute a compelling reason for trying to rescue the Library List from the comparative obscurity which has surrounded it during the last one hundred and seventy-five years, and to render it more accessible to students of the early national period of American history.

To meet these objectives it has seemed appropriate to pursue several distinct, though related projects: first, to explicate the list itself--beginning with the question of authorship, and concluding with a discussion of organization, style, and quality of scholarship; second, to explore in some detail the avenues of historical relevance already identified; third, to identify as clearly as possible the titles on the list, for having been presented by Madison in an abbreviated, even cryptic form, they have become over the years quite obscure to the modern reader.

This study has two parts. Chapters one and two of Part I discuss the questions of authorship, organization, style, and scholarliness. Chapters three and four, and the epilogue, are together a consideration of the historical importance of the List. Part II is an edited and annotated presentation of the List itself, which identifies for the modern student the works which Madison had in mind.

CHAPTER ONE

Questions of Authorship

Establishing the identity of the author, or authors, of the Library List is a more complicated and difficult matter than appearances indicate. Although three men were appointed to compile the List, the handiwork of only one is clearly visible in the finished product. With the exception of entry number 205, Naval Architecture by Marmaduke Stalkartt (obviously penned by someone else) the final draft of the committee report of January 24, 1783, was written by James Madison. The original manuscript of the report survives⁷ and is unquestionably in Madison's hand. So far as there is any question, then, about the authorship of the List, it concerns not whether Madison had anything to do with it, but rather whether someone else might also have had a hand in its preparation--and if so, who?

Fulmer Mood's essay, "The Continental Congress and the Plan for a Library of Congress in 1782-1783"⁸ suggests rather uncritically that all three committee members shared, more or less equally in the work of compiling the list. Madison's biographer, Irving Brant, and

⁷"Papers of the Continental Congress: Miscellany", Library of Congress, Manuscript Division. A printed version of the report is available in Volume 24 of the Journals, (edited by Gaillard Hunt) p. 90.

⁸Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXII, (1948) pp. 3-24.

Julian Boyd -- editor of the Jefferson Papers -- both suggest that Thomas Jefferson was involved in the Library Project.⁹ Thus, the number of putative authors is expanded to four, and since Colonel Bland initiated the project by his motion of November 21, he too must be considered a candidate for joint authorship.

A fair reading of the evidence, then, presents us with a slate of five candidates from which to select the author or authors of the Library List. Aside from Madison, the two most obviously eligible are those who shared the committee assignment with him: Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, and Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania. Colonel Bland was Madison's fellow delegate from Virginia. Though he initiated the project there is no evidence to connect him with its implementation. Thomas Jefferson, the third Virginian on the slate of candidates, was a close friend and confidant of Madison. He was also the other half of what Adrienne Koch has called, interestingly enough, "the great collaboration."¹⁰

Discovery of the exact nature and extent of each candidat's involvement in the Library Project appears to be impossible. Aside from the handwriting, and the circumstances of the List's presentation to Congress, which establish Madison's involvement, there is practically no "hard" evidence to connect him, or anyone else with the actual work

⁹ Brant, James Madison, II, 288. and Boyd, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, VI, 212n.

¹⁰ Jefferson And Madison, The Great Collaboration, (Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1964.) Although Miss Koch's title refers to a much broader relationship than concerns us here, it nonetheless suggests the likelihood of collaboration on the Library List -- providing the opportunity were present.

of the committee. Were it not for the disquieting contrast between what was implied by the creation of a three-man committee, and what appears on the fact of it to be a one-man production, there would be little reason for even raising the question of authorship.

But the contrast does exist and the question must be raised -- and the net cast wide enough to catch all likely contributors. Since "hard" evidence is non-existent, answers must be sought in the realm of inference and conjecture -- in the implications of internal and circumstantial evidence regarding motive and opportunity.¹¹

Opportunity Colonel Bland had in ample degree, but there is little reason to presume he also had motive. The known facts of his life suggest little interest or special competence in areas relevant to the Library Project. Medical training, early identification with the Revolutionary cause, a brief pamphleteering career, an army commission, legislative experience in the Continental Congress and Virginia's House of Delegates -- these are the measure of Bland's public life.

The Marquis de Chastellux thought him "tall and handsome", and his legislative career has been described as "honorable." Of the Colonel's military service, General Henry Lee wrote, "Col. Bland was

¹¹ If the Committee kept any records of its proceedings, non survive. Nor do the presently available collections of the several "candidates" writings contain epistolary or other documentary materials relating to the Library project. The newest, and most exhaustive edition of the Madison papers is presently complete only to the end of 1782. (The Papers of James Madison, William T. Hutchinson and William E. Rachal eds. Vol. V. / August, 1782 - December, 1782 /

noble, sensible, honorable, and amiable, but never intended for the department of military intelligence." General Lee's doubts about the intellectual capacity of the good colonel were shared by others. The editor of The Bland Papers (Charles Campbell, 2 vols, 1840) described Bland's political career as one not "... distinguished for extraordinary exhibitions of genius, but for plain, practical qualifications."¹²

The absence of evidence to the contrary suggests the conclusion that Colonel Bland had nothing to do with the project beyond giving voice to the originating motion. All things considered, even that degree of involvement, may be evidence more of Madison's parliamentary style than of Bland's interest in the project. It is far from unlikely that on November 21, Bland was but serving as spokesman for his more interested and eminently more qualified countryman.

Pretty much the same negative conclusion may be drawn about Thomas Mifflin. He had the opportunity to participate, and his membership on the committee might indicate motive as well. But again, the character and interests of the man seem ill suited to the bibliophile enterprise that the Library Project was.

The current of pre-Revolutionary events drew Mifflin first from business into politics and then from the Continental Congress into the Army. His military career -- a near disaster -- was terminated in 1778

¹²This account, though much abbreviated, follows that by E.G. Swem in the Dictionary of American Biography (Dumas Malone, ed., Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1933) II, 356.

by resignation, two jumps ahead of a court-martial. Earlier, as General Washington's political liaison, he had quickly succeeded in alienating most of the Congress. While that may not be entirely to his discredit, it was at least inconvenient for Washington.

Mifflin had positive qualities as well -- he could scarcely have stayed so constantly in public office without them. In appearance he was impressively handsome. Blessed by an athletic constitution and a talent for persuasive public speaking, he had unquestionable leadership qualities.

But throughout a long, fluctuating, public career, ending in a period of increased "negligence and moral laxity",¹³ (whatever that might mean) the Pennsylvanian betrayed no significant interest in, nor acquaintance with, books or research. His appointment to the Library Committee might more easily be explained on other grounds -- internal legislative politics, or an attempt at sectional balance. Or perhaps, since he was President of Congress at the time, his membership on the committee was merely ex officio. Whatever the explanation, the sole circumstance of his membership does not appear sufficient to credit him with actual involvement in the Library Project.

The question of Hugh Williamson's participation presents an interestingly different situation. The evidence, again mostly circumstantial, warrants something less than absolute certainty.¹⁴ But while considerations

¹³ James H. Peeling, "Thomas Mifflin", Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 606-608.

¹⁴ But see discussion of internal evidence, pp. 12-15, Ch II, Infra.

of character, interest, and circumstances make participation by Bland and Mifflin most unlikely, the opposite is true of Williamson. Since the likelihood of his involvement is great because of the kind of man he was, a more extensive sketch of his life seems in order.

Hugh Williamson was born in Pennsylvania in 1735, a little more than eight years before Mifflin. Like his fellow congressman, he attended the College of Philadelphia -- more lately known as the University of Pennsylvania. He graduated in 1757, then studied theology in Connecticut, and was a preacher for a time. Finding the ministry unsatisfying for some reason, he left off preaching and went abroad to study medicine, was awarded the M.D. at the University of Utrecht, and returned to practice in Philadelphia. Things did not go as well as they might have. Patients were plentiful enough, but the physician was psychologically incapable of treating their afflictions without himself experiencing discomfort. Any patient in really serious difficulty was certain to make him feverish. Although he seems to have outgrown this inconvenience later on, he and the practice of medicine had come -- temporarily -- to a parting of the ways. Turning to the study of mathematics and science, he soon became interested in education and was on his way to Europe to drum up business for an academy at Newark, Delaware, when he found himself an unintended, but very interested, spectator at the Boston Tea Party.

He heard about the Declaration of Independence while in Europe. Upon returning to his adopted home in North Carolina, he went into the mercantile business, trading with the French West Indies. That didn't

last very long either. War had become the reality, and the West Indies trade was less important to a loyal -- if new -- North Carolinian than was the health of Carolina's militiamen.

Pressed into service as Surgeon General, he acquitted himself extraordinarily well. Experiments he conducted during that time, on the relationship of cleanliness and sanitation to the incidence of smallpox, had most salutary effects upon the health of troops under his charge. He became a champion of preventive inoculation and responded generally with empirical, scientific modernity.

Williamson's political career spans the decade between 1782 and 1793. He served during most of the remaining years of the "old" congress, and was -- with indifferent success -- a member of the Federal Convention of 1787. During the ratification struggle in North Carolina he supported the Constitution and was elected to the "new" Congress where he served until 1793.

Throughout his adult life Williamson displayed interest as well as competence in research and writing. Involvement in the cause of education, ironically, had brought him to the scene of the Boston Tea Party. His interest in science, like that of Ben Franklin and Tom Jefferson, his friends, was catholic, and produced several treatises on topics ranging from educational theory to the life of the Gymnotus Electricus (electric eel).

Retiring from public life in 1793, Williamson devoted full time to research and writing. He did work that was both original and highly

regarded in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, and climate. He also produced a "mediocre" two-volume history of the state of North Carolina. Throughout his life, but especially in retirement, he was associated as trustee with several colleges and was active in such learned communities as the American Philosophical Society and the New York Historical Society.¹⁵

What all of this proves, of course, is that Williamson was the kind of person who, if he ran true to form, ought to have been vitally interested in the Library Project. He was a committee member because he wanted to be, and intended to participate in the task of creating a library for Congress.

None of this would need saying were it not for the strong presumption (despite Fulmer Mood's suggestion to the contrary [See p. 1 supra].) that Madison alone was responsible for the form and content of the Library List. That presumption is based on two considerations: first, the negative evidence, the apparent absence of proof to the contrary; second, the positive evidence -- the known facts of Madison's career, and the very persuasive fact that the surviving list is unquestionably in his handwriting. Small wonder Madison's biographer should conclude that the Library List was "... a one-man production."¹⁶

¹⁵ J.G. de R. Hamilton, "Hugh Williamson", Dictionary of American Biography, XX, 298-300.

¹⁶ This opinion, clearly implied in Irving Brant's James Madison, II, 288-290, was explicitly stated in a letter to this writer, March 6, 1968.

What these considerations prove, however, is only that Madison was unquestionably the central figure in the project. What they cannot prove is that he was in it alone. In the absence of such proof, Williamson's "candidacy" must be taken more seriously than that of either Mifflin or Bland. The necessities of the case seem clear enough: Williamson had both opportunity and ample motive to collaborate with Madison in preparing the List, and that creates a presumption too strong to be overruled by lack of documentary proof.

Fortunately, when we come to the matter of Thomas Jefferson's role in the preparation of the list, we are on considerably firmer ground. Although Fulmer Mood apparently did not suspect Jefferson's involvement at all (since he was not a member of the committee), Irving Brant, and Julian Boyd leave little room for doubt on the subject. His involvement granted, it is vital to discover its extent and nature as well.

It is a virtual certainty that Jefferson contributed nothing to Madison's project until after the 27th of December when he arrived in Philadelphia and took up temporary residence in the same house where Madison was living. But so far as one can know from the record, Madison may not have begun work on the project until after Jefferson's arrival. Neither Virginian's correspondence during the month of December betrays any hint of activity on behalf of a congressional library. More than that, it is entirely unlikely that Jefferson, deep in mourning over the recent death of Martha, his wife, was involved in anything beyond his

own suffering until after the project was already underway.

Madison had been unwilling to believe the reports of Jefferson's extreme despondency -- thinking his friend "too philosophical" for such complete surrender to personal grief. But the weeks of self-imposed isolation, the fainting spells, and the wild, lonely horseback rides over the Virginia countryside were real enough, and were attested to by Edmund Randolph who visited Monticello in late September.¹⁷ Jefferson's mind was once again focused on living by the time he accepted his commission as peace negotiator in late November, but the depth of his earlier depression was such that very possibly nothing but his sense of responsibility to the children kept him from doing away with himself.¹⁸

The Virginian's departure from Monticello on December 19th was more than just the beginning of yet another journey; it symbolized his decision to return to public life. In the wake of Martha's death, her husband found himself repenting his early retirement from politics. The charms of Monticello and the simple pleasures of the gentleman farmer were no match for the insistent pleas of friends and the call of duty. The decision to retire had, after all, been occasioned by his wife's ill health as much as by his own political misfortunes.

Having accepted Congress' commission to help negotiate peace

¹⁷Letter to Madison, Sept. 20, 1782. Boyd, Papers, VI, 199-200.

¹⁸Jefferson to Elizabeth Wayles Eppes (Martha Jefferson's sister) November, 1782. Ibid., p. 200-1

with England -- a commission which in his retirement he had earlier refused -- he arrived in Philadelphia on the 27th of December and threw himself eagerly into the task of doing his homework. Days were spent reading Madison's notes on the proceedings of Congress¹⁹, and reviewing the records and diplomatic correspondence related to his new duties.

After a month of studying official papers in the office of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Jefferson departed for Baltimore. There he awaited the sailing of his ship for Europe. But that ship, the French frigate Romulus, was stuck in the ice. After cooling his heels in Baltimore for about a month, Jefferson returned once again to Philadelphia and the company of his friend Madison, in the home of Samuel House.

The decision to return had, of course, not been born of impatience with the ice in Chesapeake harbor, but of news from Europe. A preliminary peace had already been signed. Congress agreed that his negotiating skills were no longer needed and obligingly relieved him of his commission. He soon left for home, arriving at Monticello on the 10th of May.

The significance of Jefferson's itinerary during the year-end of 1782-83 is, obviously, that it places him in close and prolonged association with James Madison during the time that gentleman was

¹⁹The habits and skills thus acquired by the younger Virginian stood him -- and his country -- in good stead when, four and a half years later, he recorded the events of the Federal Convention.

unquestionably working on the Library List. Opportunity being thus easily established, one need anticipate no great difficulty in respect to motive.

That Jefferson and Madison were already good friends scarcely needs to be proved. They had known each other since 1776. Madison, the younger of the two, had been a member of the Virginia Council of State during Jefferson's rather unhappy term as governor. Subsequently, when Jefferson's conduct as governor was under attack, Madison defended him. And when Jefferson, terribly wounded by the attempted impeachment of his record, went into exile at Monticello, it was again Madison who worked hardest to re-engage his interest and his talents in the affairs of the public. It is most certainly no accident that upon arriving in Philadelphia Jefferson took quarters in the same house where Madison was staying.

Interestingly enough, Adrienne Koch's study of the relationship between these two men suggests that it was from just this period that their warm personal and political friendship really began to develop.²⁰ Jefferson's motive for the more general collaboration described by Miss Koch, as well as for the specific one which concerns us here, is further illuminated by the extent to which his friendship with Madison was based on shared interests -- particularly a shared interest in books and scholarship.

²⁰The Great Collaboration p. 7.

Jefferson brought with him to Philadelphia a rather lengthy list of book titles sometimes referred to as the "1783 catalogue" of his library at Monticello. Actually, it was less a catalogue of his library than a book-buying list. Some of the titles he had already purchased, but others he intended to purchase while in Europe attending the peace negotiations.²¹ But whether a catalogue or a shopping guide, the list bears eloquent testimony of its author's interest in the kind of library project which was just then engaging the efforts of his friend and housemate, James Madison.

That Jefferson, then, like Hugh Williamson, had both opportunity and motive to take part in the preparation of the Library List is too clear to be doubted. Happily in this case, however, judgment need not rest solely on reasonable inference. For not only does Jefferson's 1783 book list clearly establish his competent interest in bibliography, and therefore a strong presumption of motive, but it also provides the kind of documentary evidence so conspicuously lacking in Williamson's case.

We can know very little, unfortunately, about the Library Committee's procedures. How were the important methodological questions resolved: what sources were to be used? what criteria should determine inclusion of titles on the List? how should the catalogue be organized so as to render the collection as accessible and useful as might be?

Definitive answers to these questions are hard to come by. But

²¹Boyd, Papers, VI, 216 and Brant, Madison II, 288-290

comparison of the Library List with Jefferson's 1783 list does provide some answers. Madison certainly relied to some degree upon the research which his friend had already done. There is a close relationship between the Library List and the Jefferson list. A high incidence of similar titles on the two lists is readily apparent -- only about a third of Madison's titles fail to appear also in Jefferson's catalogue. Frequently, similar titles appear in the same sequence on both lists.²²

To absolutely prove the point, notice the very interesting entry 252 of Madison's list. (Part II, Infra.) Here, in entering Tracts relating to N. England by Cotton Mather, Madison exactly repeats the error of Jefferson in attributing to Cotton Mather the authorship of a tract about him -- written, in fact, by Robert Calef.

It is not crystal clear, even so, just how Madison used the Jefferson list. While it may be that his friend simply made the list available so that he could copy off the titles that suited his design, it is also possible that Madison exerted a reciprocal, if lesser, influence upon Jefferson's list as well.

There are, for example, strong indications that Jefferson's catalogue of books "bought and to be bought" was incomplete when he arrived in Philadelphia. In that event, though Jefferson was certainly the more experienced scholar, his catalogue may reflect the influence of

²²Brant, II, 288

Madison's Library List as well as the other way around.²³ Certainly Madison was not utterly dependent upon his more famous countryman. Some of his bibliographical research was unquestionably done in other sources--perhaps in the catalogues of the various booksellers of his acquaintances.²⁴

Abundantly clear from the bibliographical portion of this study (part II) is the fact that Madison must have spent considerable time consulting the Catalogue of the Philadelphia Library Company. One hundred and sixty-six (slightly more than half) of Madison's titles appear also in the Catalogue's 1789 edition. Many of these are not among the one hundred and eighty-nine which appear also in the Jefferson catalogue. Worth mentioning also, is the fact that the phrasing of Madison's short-titles is often strikingly similar to that of the Library Company Catalogue.²⁵

Of course, titles appear in all three places for no more mysterious reason than that they were commonly held in high regard by educated men of the 18th century. If, ultimately, the precise boundary of each contributor's involvement in the project is impossible to discover, it is of some moment, nonetheless, to identify the bibliographical resources

²³ Boyd (Ibid), in a note on p. 216, Vol. VI, suggests that Jefferson may have been still working on his catalogue during his "second" stay in Philadelphia when he returned there from Baltimore in March, 1783. Boyd thus finds it easy to believe that both lists could have been the subject of many discussions between the two Virginians.

²⁴ Brant, (II, 288) cites in particular one such bookseller named boinaud with whom Madison had dealings.

²⁵ See especially entries 3, 9, 35, 199, 224, and 225, Part II, Infra.

from which the List was drawn (only sixty-eight of the titles appear in neither the Library Company Catalogue nor that of Jefferson), and to establish the involvement of Madison's two collaborators.

The available evidence does place Madison squarely at the center of the Library Project: the book list is preserved in his hand; it was he who presented the list to Congress, and his arguments carried the burden of its unsuccessful defense. As for Williamson's role, the evidence though less than overwhelming, is at least adequate to shift the burden of proof to the shoulders of those who would deny him joint authorship. Moreover, there can no longer be any doubt that Jefferson was involved, if indeed only through the influence of his so-called catalogue of 1783. The evidence, however, suggests the more pervasive influence of frequent consultations with Madison at least, during the long winter evenings of their shared residence in the home of Samuel House.

What results from this discussion of authorship? Simply that the Library List was the fruit of the labors and conversations of three of the most able and scholarly Americans of the time. The List can thus be said to represent bibliographical judgments which educated Americans would generally have accepted -- more so than had Madison been the sole author, and the List a one-man production. That is not to disparage Madison's judgment in any degree, but merely to state what seems obvious: One man working alone is likely to reflect a narrower spectrum of tastes and values than is a committee of three -- other things being equal.

The Library Project launched by Madison, Jefferson, and William-son never achieved its intended purpose. The establishment of an actual library was not realized until 1800. Faced with the prospect of being totally without library facilities in its new home along the shores of the Potomac River, Congress was finally moved to establish another Library Committee and appropriate money for the actual purchase of books.

But the Library List, itself, survived the short-run failure of its supporters. And it remains today what it was then -- a monument to the bibliographical assumptions which Madison shared with his colleagues and countrymen. As such, it is a genuine artifact, deserving of the careful scrutiny which is appropriate to these survivors from the age of the Founding Fathers.

CHAPTER TWO

Organization, Style, and Scholarship

An assumption basic to this study is that the Library List of 1783 was something more than just a catalogue of books thought desirable by three 18th century American gentlemen. Rather it is a genuine artifact of the cultural environment in which these gentlemen lived. Who they were is, of course, important in itself. But their names should not obscure what is equally important: That their tastes and their ideas about bibliographical propriety were shared by most contemporaries of similar station in life. The broadly representative quality of the List is what makes it such a significant clue to the intellectual and social character of late 18th century America.

The List sheds light upon the lives, ideas, beliefs, and assumptions of a people and of a class who are all too dimly revealed in the more conventional historical records. Yet that function can become operative only if the artifact itself receives close attention and careful analysis. The next most pressing question to be answered about the Library List would be: What kind of object is it?

The list has, first of all, a certain size and shape: 309 entries, organized in thirteen major categories according to subject matter. One major category is, in turn, broken down into a number of

sub-headings. But the Madison List does not display the elaborately deductive extension of diminishing sub-categories, characteristic of Jefferson's mature library catalogue.

Madison's thirteen categories are: I, Encyclopedias; II, Law of Nature and Nations; III, Treaties and Negotiations; IV, General History; V, Chronology; VI, Geography; VII, Particular History; VIII, Politics; IX, Law; X, War; XI, Marine; XII, Language; XIII, America. The heading of the first category appears to have been supplied by Gaillard Hunt in preparing the list for publication in the Journals of The Continental Congress (Vol. 24, p. 83). All the other subject headings, however, are rendered here just as they came from Madison's hand, excepting only that roman numerals have been added.

Madison's use of the term "Law of Nature and Nations" reflects the common practice of the time. It is a phrase which was common in the speech of the 18th century as well, and its use here, as by Jefferson, and again in the catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia, testifies to the influence of the classical tradition of thought on law. The Romans, as their empire grew, fell into the habit of assuming an essential identity between natural law and international law. Writers in the modern period tended to agree that the relationship between the two was much more immediate than between either of them and statute law -- or municipal law as it would now be called. The latter was generally assigned a special category labelled simply "Law."

Under the heading, "Treaties and Negotiations", Madison has

suggested what is, in fact, a kind of manual for diplomatic practice. Included are basically two kinds of works, one providing accurate data about past treaties and negotiations, and the other dealing more directly with the conduct of diplomacy and the behavior of diplomats. The two lead-off entries indicate the general quality of the selections made by Madison and his colleagues. The Corps Diplomatique and Rymer's Foedera were for the French and the English, respectively, as they still are, the best collections of treaties, memorials, royal proclamations and the like for the period between the 11th and 18th centuries.

Regarding the fourth category, "General History", it would appear that the trio of bibliophiles found themselves in some technical difficulty. Actually under several of the headings are titles which appear there under some duress. The bibliographical concept of "general history" was clearly intended as the logical opposite of "particular history", but it was a difficult concept to live with. The Universal History, Voltaire's Historical Works, and Warner's Ecclesiastical History Of England are a most reluctant bibliographical family. The first clearly belongs, but several of Voltaire's "histories" were essentially national, or "particular", histories. The inclusion of Warner's History provides an interesting clue to Madison's thinking.

The common library practice of including a section on ecclesiastical or religious history was observed in Jefferson's catalogue as well as in that of the Library Company. Madison clearly did not think such a category appropriate for a congressional library -- perhaps because of his

views on the separation of church and state. But why did he not put Warner's History under "Particular History - British?" The answer is indicated by the nature of Madison's "Particular History" selections which are fairly straightforward political histories, while those of Warner and Voltaire are not. Warner's Ecclesiastical History is obviously different. Voltaire's Works include general European history and philosophy of history, as well as the ostensibly national histories of Charles XII, and Louis XIV. But even these latter two are less political than socio-political histories. Madison's "General History", then, was not only the opposite of "Particular History" but a sort of catchall which might well have been styled "Miscellaneous" instead of "General."

Categories V and VI, "Chronology" and "Geography", are also, in some degree, an oddity. The first, containing only two entries, is understandable enough -- as far as it goes. But impossible to guess is why the latter, in addition to works on geography should include Priestly's Biographical Chart, the Historical Chart by the same author, and Jeffery's Historical and Chronological Chart.

Under "Particular History," one of the longest series of the List, Madison grouped the political histories of individual nations. The eighteen sub-headings constitute a roster of the nations with which the United States might have to deal. However, the German States and Holland are paired under one heading as also are Spain and Portugal. "Scotch" and "Irish" history on the other hand are each given a separate

heading -- with one entry each -- despite the fact that they follow on the heels of a separate "British" section. Most of the sub-headings have only one or two entries, but French history is allotted seven titles and British (really English) history, seventeen.

Extra emphasis on the history of France and England is, of course, an appropriate reflection of their special relevance to the history -- no less than the diplomatic well-being -- of the United States. Nor is it surprising that English history should be even more heavily emphasized than French. But the disproportion is greater than might be anticipated from the fact that France was an ally of the United States while England was its enemy and the symbol of much that was detested by many Americans. Madison, however, surely recognized that most of his contemporaries -- even potential congressmen -- read and spoke only English. Unless a work was particularly valuable, the lack of an English translation would probably disqualify it from inclusion on the List. That this was true is indicated by the style of Madison's notation.¹

In heading VIII, "Politics," Madison has again presented us with something of a mixed bag. Titles classed as "politics" include such wildly diverse books as Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Petty's Political Arithmetic, Anderson's Dictionary of Commerce, Necker on Finances, and

¹For example, where the work was available in translation in either the Jefferson Catalogue, or that of the Library Company, Madison's short title notation is distinctively English, as in D'Avila History of Civil Wars of France. But where there is no translation available, or where that available is not satisfactory, the citation is in French. Item no. 99 is an excellent example: Histoire de France de l'abbé Velly[,] Villaret, Garnier et continueteurs. It is clear that Madison intended the 30 volume work by Velly, et al, published in Paris 1760-1786. He meant to exclude the excellent, but incomplete, translation by Thomas Nugent which appeared in 1769.

Arbuthnot on Weights and Measures. Such grouping confuses the modern eye, conditioned as it is, by the compartmentalized thinking of a more specialized Age. But reflected in this section are the assumptions of mercantilism, a dominant theme of 18th century thought. Although interest in free trade, or at least freer trade, modified American mercantilism considerably, American thought and policy continued to identify property, money, and commerce as the central concerns of politics.

Of "Law", little needs to be said except that it conforms to the assumptions noted earlier and consists of works on statute or municipal law rather than natural or international law. "War" and "Marine", however, are an interesting pair. First, the latter -- "Marine" -- contains the only entry not in Madison's handwriting. Naval Architecture by Marmaduke Stalkartt was added at the end of the group, between "Marine" and "Language", in a hand that is neither Madison's nor Jefferson's.² In the main the titles refer to technical works on the science of warfare by land and sea, as well as shipbuilding and navigation. Neither category is very extensive but, as seems fitting for a maritime nation, the "Marine" section is considerably more extensive than "War."

Interestingly, one "Marine" entry is History of the several Voyages around the Globe. While it is difficult to know exactly what Madison intended in this instance, this entry could very well be a cross-reference to the extensive list of voyages cited under the "America" heading. If

²Whether the addition was made by Williamson has not been determined. The entry, in an excellent, bold hand, and obviously written over a "straight-edge" is most likely the work of a clerk, but at whose suggestion it is impossible to guess.

that was his intention then not only is the disproportion between "Marine" and "War" overwhelming, but the larger of the two is overwhelmingly non-military. However, Madison -- an essentially political animal -- did leave an unusually wide space at the end of the "War" section -- suggesting that he might have expected someone more familiar with the subject than he was to supply the deficiency.

The brevity of the twelfth heading, "Language," is deceptive. Actually the lone entry is a catchall recommending the purchase of the best grammar and dictionary for the Latin language, as well as for "each of the Modern languages." Since Madison did not specify which languages he considered "modern" the best assumption is that he meant to include the languages spoken by those modern nations with which America would have diplomatic and commercial relations. (See entry 206, Part II, Infra)

"America," the thirteenth, and final, section is in some ways the most extraordinary of the lot. By far the largest of all the groupings "America" is, as one might expect, also the most heterogeneous. Thus, alas, XIII is the least useful as an organizational device if considered in terms of the future library's needs. Since it is at the end of the list, and contains a wide variety of histories, voyages, charters, and documentary collections of various sorts, one is tempted to suggest that Madison had really but two major categories instead of thirteen: one for things American and one for the rest of the world. Many of the entries under this heading would be more appropriately placed in an "American" sub-heading under VII, "Particular History." (See p. Supra)

It is clear, however, that Madison wanted all things American in one place. And the key to his reasoning is contained in the language of his presentation of the List to the Congress in January 1783. He felt a special need to have this collection of Americana assigned a clearly separate identity so that its importance might be emphasized. Not only did it contain the materials for future histories of America, but -- more immediately pertinent -- also those materials were the subject matter upon which were based the government's territorial claims. Should those claims produce diplomatic confrontations with Spain, England, or France, the "America" section would become absolutely crucial to the success of the United States.³

Any discussion of the Library List itself would not be complete without some account of other aspects of Madison's scholarship -- questions of style, thoroughness of research, and accuracy of presentation. Available records show that a period of two months elapsed between the authorizing of the committee and the presentation of its report, but we do not know how much of that time was actually available for work on the project. There is some internal evidence suggesting that the compilers, and particularly Madison who prepared the final draft, were under pressure for time. Some of the inconsistencies of classification already discussed might have been the product of haste. Spelling errors or inconsistencies, variations of form, and errors of citation all seem to argue that the Library List was something of a rush job.

³Journals XXV, 858.

One must be cautious about forming judgments on internal evidence alone, however. Many of the inconsistencies of spelling, for example, can be attributed rather to the Age's general indifference about such matters than to carelessness in the usual sense. Still, Madison, whose spelling of proper names is generally reliable, repeatedly cites the famous and widely read histories of William Robertson as Robinson's History of Scotland, or Robinson's History of Charles V.

A greater source of confusion to 20th century eyes, however, is Madison's persistent -- and somewhat idiosyncratic -- use of the short-title form of citation. Here again, ample precedent can be found in the prevailing practice of the time. Even the formal Catalogue of the prestigious Library Company of Philadelphia relied heavily on the short-title form. Moreover, Madison's practice of citing works now in English, now in French, and again in Spanish appears to be a consistent index to the editions he intended to identify. (See note, p. Supra) Occasionally, however, works are cited only by title, or only by author, with confusing results. Thus we have Cabala and Corps Diplomatique (Nos. 119 and 34, Part II. Infra) on the one hand, and Philip de Comines (actually the memoirs of) and Strada (Histoire de la guerre de Flandres) on the other.

By far the most baffling of Madison's scholarly aberrations are the outright errors. In some ways the happiest of these is the one already remarked upon (Ch. I, p.) with respect to entry number 252: Tracts relating to N. England by Cotton Mather. The error is an exact duplication of the mistake made initially by Jefferson in his book list of 1783.

Having copied Jefferson's error, Madison removed whatever doubt there might otherwise have been that he had used the Jefferson list.⁴

Errors of duplication are also glaringly apparent -- possibly as many as five, involving ten titles. Nor is it possible that the duplications could have been intentional -- they were certainly accidents. Under Spanish history, for example, Madison cites (No. 125) Mariana's History of Spain followed immediately by Miniana spaced down in the appropriate manner for the next entry. Both are, in fact, one work -- Joseph Manuel Miniana having completed the sixteen volume history begun by Juan de Mariana.⁵

Numbers 207 and 208 are also a single work, with duplication producing a veritable comedy of errors. Number 207 is cited wrongly as a consequence of Madison's having transposed a title in French from "Derniers Decouvertes ..." to "Les Nouvelles decouvertes ..." Having wrongly cited the work by title he proceeded in the very next entry to cite the same work by author. And even then he was careless enough in his orthography to make the author's name appear to be Forti rather than Tonti as it should have been.⁶

⁴Jefferson had mistakenly catalogued the work as a tract by Mather when in fact it was about him and written by Robert Calef. See note at Number 252, Part II, Infra.

⁵Mariana, who died in , wrote only the first volumes, Miniana who continued the work for the Lyon edition of 1737-9 was not the only one to have undertaken the task. John Stevens' translation (London, 1699) was based on an earlier continuation by Ferdinand Camarago de Salcedo and Basil Veren de Soto. See Nos. 125 and 126, Part II, Infra.

⁶See note, No. 208, Infra.

Two of the remaining pairs, numbers 217-218 and 299-300, present a different problem -- they may be only apparent duplications. The first pair is cited by Madison as follows: Wafer's Voyages, with Dampier's Voyages immediately following as number 128. Accounts of both voyages are found bound together in the Jefferson collection and do not appear to have been available in separate publications. However, it is difficult to explain the separation of these two famous accounts if Madison's source was, in this case, the Jefferson list. Perhaps, therefore, Madison did know of these voyages from earlier and separate editions.⁷

The second pair is cited as Garcilasso de la Vega's History of the Incas of Perou followed by Histoires des Guerres Civiles des Espagnols dans des Indes, De Garcilasso de la Vega. These are really parts I and II of the famous Inca's History, originally published separately in 1608 and 1617. Separate editions of both parts survived in 1783 and the Library Company did, in fact, have Part I bound separately. However the Jefferson list shows them combined in a single work as does also the 1789 Catalogue of the Library Company. Perhaps Madison was unfamiliar with the work except by reputation and happened onto this citation in some source other than the Jefferson list or the Library Company Catalogue -- possibly the catalogues of a bookseller such as Boinaud.⁸ On the other hand, perhaps he knew about the later combined editions but preferred the original, separate editions.

⁷Also possible is that the Jefferson booklist of 1783 may have cited these works separately after all. Since his "catalogue" was in reality a list of books "bought and to be bought," Jefferson may have set these two down as separate works to be purchased, and then subsequently acquired them combined in the Paris edition of 1705.

⁸Brant, Madison II, 288-290

The last pair is the most interesting of the lot. Entries 88 and 154 are the only duplicates separated by intervening entries and not included in the same subject-category. They are, in addition, the one duplication which cannot be explained readily as a confusion about divergent short titles. Nor did the error result from inadequate knowledge of current editions as may have been the case in the pair just discussed.

Number 88, cited under VII, "Particular History--Italian," is rendered as Padre Paolo on the Venetian Republic. The same work appears again in VIII, "Politics," some sixty-six entries later, as Father Paul on the Venetian Republic. The most unattractive explanation would be that Madison's research brought him into contact with both renderings of the title and he failed to recognize Padre Paolo and Father Paul as the same author. Such a mistake is almost unthinkable for a man of Madison's background. Scarcely less dubious is the suggestion that the duplication was intentional, on the supposition that this work by Father Paul Sarpi was in fact appropriate for both subject categories. The catalogue, after all, was a list of books to be purchased. If Madison intended duplicate purchases for convenience of shelving and use, many other works were better candidates for duplication than this one.

What this pair of entries suggests most forcefully might also explain other minor lapses from good scholarship; i.e., they resulted from the difficulties intrinsic to any committee project. It seems highly plausible that the researchers involved submitted variant forms of the same title. In the final collation, the redundancy was overlooked by Madison, who was under pressure of other important duties and not able to

give the Library List his undivided attention.

The distinctive nature of this duplication lends considerable support to the view that the Library List was not, as some have supposed, a "one-man production." Nor, in fact, does it seem to have been a two-man production. It is perfectly clear that Jefferson was party to the Library Project, but circumstantial evidence urges the conviction that he had no part in creating this error. Jefferson's participation may be assumed to have been direct, but was almost certainly limited to suggestions and criticism advanced in conversation with his good friend and housemate. Not being a responsible member of the committee, and primarily concerned with preparations for his diplomatic mission, Jefferson is unlikely to have engaged in separate and independent research on behalf of the Library List. But someone other than Madison must have been so engaged in order for this error to have occurred.

The error originated in a duplication of research and was then perpetuated by the compiler. Had it originated later, in the final collation of materials, both entries would necessarily have been drawn from the same bibliographical source and would have taken the same form. That they did not makes it virtually certain that a second researcher was involved. Under the circumstances, he must have been Hugh Williamson.

In any event, the errors are real. Significant or otherwise, explainable or not, they remain an interesting aspect of the Library List -- if only because they remind ordinary mortals that even demi-gods, engaged in the high business of founding a republic, are eminently capable of

human oversight.

The List itself is more important than the few trifling errors it contains, and to discover James Madison engaged in such a project is not surprising. Books were important to him, and the education of American legislators must have seemed even more important. But what is surprising -- and curious too -- is that he should have chosen to launch the Library Project just at that particular moment. The burdens of the war were certainly great and they were forced daily upon Congress' attention by the brooding presence in Philadelphia of unpaid, unhappy troops. It would be difficult to imagine a less propitious time for Madison and his colleagues to consider asking Congress to spend money for something so exquisitely irrelevant as a library.

One clue to this extraordinary decision may be found in the surviving half of a communication between Congressman Madison and Governor Harrison of Virginia. On November 30, 1782, Harrison wrote to his congressman friend that the books sent to him from Philadelphia had been received and were appreciated.⁹ The identity of the books, and other details of the transaction have been lost. Perhaps the order had been placed with Madison verbally, during one of his visits to Richmond -- perhaps in a letter, since destroyed. But certain it is that the affair began before the initiation of the Library Project on the twenty-first of the month. Could the Governor's request for books have been the stimulus which evoked in Madison the idea of a congressional library?

⁹ Madison Papers, V, 341.

It was common enough for 18th century gentlemen to borrow books from each other, and to serve as a friend's purchasing agent when the occasion presented itself -- Madison used his friend Jefferson for that purpose when the latter was abroad. But Governor Harrison's request must have struck Madison as unusual -- and significant. It was unusual because the bluff and gouty, but good humored Harrison was more at home with good horses and good madeira than with good books. The request was significant because, though Harrison lacked intellectual distinction, he was known for his excellent judgment -- and he was Governor.

If the Governor of Virginia felt the need of books, how much more might Congressmen need them? Madison was certainly aware that few of his fellow delegates could match his own scholarly erudition. How better educate them to the responsibilities and possibilities of their legislative office than to give them a library?

CHAPTER THREE

Toward A Library Of Congress

The project to establish a library for the use of Congress was hampered from the start. Other library resources were available, and other matters always seemed more pressing. During the early years Congressmen were able to rely upon the collections of either the New York Society or the Library Company of Philadelphia. Not until the new Capitol site in Washington was ready for occupancy was Congress faced with the prospect of being without an adequate library. Only then was money actually appropriated and books purchased.

The United States of the 1780's was the baby in the family of nations, and, like many youngsters, came somewhat reluctantly to a full appreciation of the value of books and libraries. Private collections there were, of course, but a national library paid for with public money was something quite different. From 1783 until the 1820's, any discussion of books to be purchased by the government was certain to reflect prevailing assumptions of laissez-faire and limited government: "Let the government do for the people only those things which they cannot do for themselves." What government should not do for the people it should obviously not do for the people in the government.

A Library for Congressmen? Most citizens thought public servants

should supply their own books -- at their own expense. Even those who supported the Library Project were likely to view it as an unfortunate necessity -- to supplement the private libraries of individual congressmen. Notice, for example, the plaintive language of Elbridge Gerry, in June of 1790, as he almost apologizes for his belief in the need for a congressional library.

...nevertheless, without further provision of books on laws and government, to which reference is often necessary, members of the Legislature, and other officers of government, may be either deprived of the use of such books when necessary, or be obliged at every session to transport to the seat of the General Government, a considerable part of their libraries; it seldom happening, that they can otherwise command such books, when requisite, without trespassing too much on the indulgence of their friends.¹

The Gerry Committee recommendations, limited though they were, seemed outrageously extravagant to some. One writer of that persuasion made his views known in an anonymous letter to the Boston Independent Chronicle. He was roundly critical of any public expenditure for books and found the venture indefensible.

It is supposed that the members of Congress are acquainted with history; the laws of nations; and possess such political information as is necessary for the management of the affairs of the government. If they are not, we have been unfortunate in our choice ...They may with equal propriety charge the public with all the expence of their cloathing, boarding &c. as to touch the Revenue for Books for their own convenience, entertainment or instruction.

¹ June 23, Committee report (Elbridge Gerry, Aedanus Burke, Alexander White), "a catalogue of books necessary for the use of Congress." The report, preserved in the National Archives as part of the records of the House of Representatives, contains in its preface this explanation of why the books were needed. The views expressed are certainly those of Elbridge Gerry, the committee chairman. For circumstances surrounding the appointing of the committee and the presentation of its report see Annals of Congress, Vol. II, PP 1603 and 1703.

The Constitution itself appeared to stagger under such a burden. As the Bostonian's argument advanced it became a remarkable foretaste of Jefferson's strict constructionist attack on the constitutionality of the Bank of The United States. Convenience or prudence notwithstanding, Congress had no right to spend the people's money to buy books for itself. " ... 'The Powers of Congress' do not give them this privilege -- our Union does not require it -- neither does the establishment of justice -- the promotion of the general welfare; the security of liberty to ourselves and posterity."³

The language of the anonymous critique is drawn from the Preamble to the Constitution instead of the more explicit description of Congress' powers in Article I, Section 8. The letter makes no mention of the "necessary and proper" clause so central to Jefferson's argument seven months later. Yet the similarity between the two arguments is striking -- and it justifies some doubt as to the consistency of the Virginian's constitutional scruples. If, as Jefferson was to argue in 1791, acts of Congress (those not specifically authorized by the Constitution) are proper only if they are also necessary -- then the limitation applies to the founding of libraries as well as banks. A semi-Jeffersonian library might indeed be more useful -- and less dangerous -- than a Hamiltonian bank, but that consideration is irrelevant to the logic of strict construction as Jefferson explained it.

² May 13, 1790. Quoted in David C. Mearns, The Story Up To Now, (Washington, 1947) p. 3.

³ Ibid.

That is not to say that Jefferson had ever denied the legitimacy of implied powers; the "strictness" of his constitutional formula stopped short of that. It incorporated three distinct propositions which may have been calculated to tie Hamilton's hands but were not intended to strangle the central government. Implied powers, according to Jefferson, may only be derived from powers specifically granted by the Constitution; the derivation is legitimate only if the specific power, or powers, are clearly identifiable; and the legitimacy of an implied power is, besides, a function of its indispensableness. Thus, the Bank's constitutionality was questioned because it was not, in Jefferson's view, indispensible to any identifiable grant of a specific power.

Had Jefferson thought to apply that same logic to the library project he would certainly have found himself in some difficulty. In paragraph eight of Article I, Section 8, the Constitution grants to Congress the power to "promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts". Even so, that power is limited by implication to the granting of patents and copy rights. To have argued the necessity of a library for this purpose would have placed Jefferson at odds with a constitutional phrase he (as a strict constructionist) was bound to construe as a clear expression of intent to limit Congress to a much lesser exercise of power.

The only other approach was to review the proposed library as a necessary adjunct of Congress itself, involving an "inherent" power which, like that of conducting investigations, was indispensable to the legislative function. But here too there are difficulties. A very good case might be made on such grounds for the necessity of having adequate reference

materials to ensure legislative accuracy. But Plutarach's Lives?

Thought of in terms of congressional need, the library proposed by Madison's committee (and indirectly by Jefferson himself) was in fact two libraries -- one for reference purposes, the other a history library broadly conceived. Madison had conceded as much in approving James Wilson's last ditch effort to secure passage of the "most essential" items on the list. Had not his own interest in the project blinded him to the fact, Jefferson must have seen that any argument of necessity urged in behalf of the entire list had to rely on a definition of "necessary" more appropriate to Hamilton's views than to his own.

Jefferson's later involvement with the Library of Congress came at a time when its constitutionality was perhaps no longer subject to challenge. The issue had been resolved by 1815 in the illogical but thoroughly American way of accepting established precedent. Also Jefferson's own strict constructionist views may have been mellowed by his eight years' experience as President. But at the time of his great confrontation with Hamilton over the bank issue (1791), Jefferson's view of the Constitution seems strangely at odds with his earlier involvement in the Library Project of 1783.

During the War of 1812 British forces sacked Washington and burned as much of the Capitol as they could -- including the Senate building where the Library of Congress was housed. Jefferson, rather uncomfortably in debt, offered his library for sale as a replacement for the one destroyed, at whatever price and on whatever terms Congress might set.⁴ The offer

⁴Mearns, pp. 16-17

was accepted -- with reluctance among good Federalists. Passage of the enabling legislation owed as much to resentment over British vandalism as to generosity or love of books, and the margin of victory was narrow. Practically without opposition in the Senate, the bill to purchase got by the House, as a party measure, with only ten votes to spare.⁵

Objections raised against the purchase of Jefferson's books were less of a constitutional nature than they were political and personal. Considerations of economy were urged, and some thought the price too high. Others thought the collection too "miscellaneous and ... literary".⁶ But the greatest difficulty was Jefferson himself. Even in retirement the Virginian was still a controversial political figure, and his bibliographical tastes were the object of considerable suspicion.

Congressman Cyrus King, half-brother of Rufus, tried first to forestall the project altogether by characterizing it as "...true Jeffersonian, Madisonian philosophy, to bankrupt the treasury /the price was \$23,900.00/, beggar the people, and disgrace the nation". That move failed, but King did not give up. Books collected in France by the likes of Thomas Jefferson were certainly tainted, he argued, and the collection -- if it had to be bought -- must also be purified. Failure to do so was to invite re-enactment of the French Revolution in America! Accordingly he moved that a committee be appointed to weed out all books "of an atheistical,

⁵ Ibid, pp. 21-24

⁶ Ibid, p. 18

irreligious, and immoral tendency, if any such there be, and send the same back to Mr. Jefferson without any expense to him".⁷

Though King's motion was subsequently withdrawn it serves to demonstrate the durability and diversity of American anti-intellectualism. Small wonder that no attempt was made to emulate the great national libraries of Europe until well into the 19th century.

Fortunately, there were more positive attitudes as well. Despite the real progress made by that late date, in August 1823 the Daily National Intelligencer thought the Library of Congress still too meager and neglected. In England, the processing of George III's will had just added 65,000 volumes to the 150,000 already in the British Museum collection. Such magnificence defied comparison with the most optimistic description of the Library of Congress. Even more disheartening was comparison with the French library in Paris "...said to contain 450,000 volumes".⁸

The editors of the Intelligencer wished, a bit uncertainly, that they might promise themselves

...to see the day, when it /the Library's new quarters, then being built/ should be more than half filled with books... We should like it, also, to be something more national, and truly literary ... than it has hitherto been. Why should it not be accessible ... to every citizen ... It is obvious, that a certain class of books may, and ought to be excluded; but there should be no work of high character ... published in any part of the world, which ought not, in time, to find its way into the National Library of the United States.⁹

⁷Arthur Bestor, J. Daniels, and D.C. Mearns, Three Presidents And Their Books, (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1955) p. 3

⁸Editorial, August 28. Quoted in Mearns, p. 31

⁹Ibid

These were, as David Mearns has pointed out, "slender straws", but they were the stuff of the Library's future.

The editorial writer of 1823 would not be unhappy with what the Library of Congress has become. Although he might wish to question the "high character" of some works found there, the present Library more than fulfills the terms of his wishful prescription. Its multitude of volumes, the scope of its collections, and the incredible array of its services to the people -- in or out of government -- make it a truly national library and a major influence in the lives of the American people. But it was a long time coming, and is a far different institution than was perhaps even dreamed of by many who were involved in its early history.

No less impressive than the evolution of the Library is the change which has taken place in American attitudes toward it. The wistful quality of the Intelligencer's hope reflected in large part a knowledge of the Library's previous history of neglect and hostility. The report of Madison committee had been overshadowed by the urgencies of war, that of Gerry by the threat of war. Both the Gerry report of 1790 and the proffer of the Jefferson library in 1815 had been greeted by outbursts of hostility and resentment. From the time of its actual founding in 1800 to its destruction in the fires of 1814, the Library was itself a model of republican frugality if not outright anti-intellectualism. The stringency of its acquisitions policy was matched by its restraint in dispensing service. Under the terms of the original charter, only the President and Vice President shared the library privileges of congressmen. Not until later were Supreme Court justices admitted to this select group.

Occasionally congressmen were able to wangle reading privileges for a visiting dignitary. But in the main, the Library of Congress -- though public property -- was certainly not a public, let alone a national, library.

Establishing a congressional library is not a simple task. Congress and the people must first be educated to the need. And the library itself must be given some thought. There are questions to answer and decisions to make. What kind of library should it be? Whom is it to serve -- and how?

The Library of Congress has, at various stages of its development, reflected different answers to these questions; it has reflected different ideas, that is, about what kind of library it should be. There is thus a substantive dimension to the Library's history which demands to be studied as the history of an idea. The first purchase of books, or the first recommendation of books to be purchased, these are events to be noted for their chronological importance too, but what makes them exciting events is their relationship to the conceptual origins of the Library of Congress.

Although the Library List of 1783 does constitute the chronological beginning of the Library of Congress, its significance is not limited to just being first.¹⁰ Far more important is the nature of the library "idea"

¹⁰David C. Mearns began his history of the Library of Congress (The Story Up To Now) with the Gerry episode of 1789-90. It seems unlikely he could have deliberately excluded the earlier efforts of the Madison committee in 1783. Those efforts did antedate the present form of government under the Constitution, but that is scarcely relevant to their role in the Library's history. The Library List was excluded because it was overlooked -- Mearns may not have known about it.

which is implied in the substantive decisions it embodied.

That library concept, though rudimentary by comparison with that underlying the present Library of Congress, was yet more akin to it than were even some of the later episodes in the Library's history. Although the Gerry book list, for example, was composed seven years later, it bears little relationship, conceptually, to that of 1783 and almost none to the present Library. The contrast is worth noting in more detail.

Both lists were, in one sense, shopping lists, and since no shopping was actually done in either case, both were failures. But they also both reflect the views of their respective authors about the purposes of books and libraries, and the demands of statesmanship. The Gerry list, with its meager ration of seventy-one titles -- in law, commerce, and legislative practice -- infers a more stringent model than does the much broader Madison catalogue.

The differences between the two lists may reflect, in part, the constitutional changes that had taken place by 1790. Congress, in 1783, was the government of the United States, while in 1790 it was but the legislative branch. At a time when the proper theater for statesmanship may have been thought to be the executive branch, the Gerry committee was interested in creating nothing more than a reference shelf for Congress. Members of the other two branches of government were apparently to shift for themselves. In 1783, Congress -- though not much of a government -- was still the only existing arena for the American statesman. And nothing can be clearer than that Madison intended to create a statesman's library -- something

broader, more educative, and more generally useful than a collection of "expert" references on legislative practice.

The "statesman's library" proposed by Madison was one such as he might well have collected for his own use. His book buying habits were aimed less at providing himself with a well rounded collection than with one reflecting his special interest in politics, history, and international law.¹¹ These categories, broadly conceived, cover most of the titles suggested by him for inclusion in the future congressional library.

There is no better way of assessing the influence of Madison's bias than to take a look at other "model" library lists of the period. One of these, compiled in 1771 by Thomas Jefferson for Robert Skipworth (husband of his wife's half sister) provides an interesting contrast. The list contains some 148 titles organized under nine major subject headings:

- Fine Arts, seventy-seven titles
- Criticism on the Fine Arts, seven titles
- Politics, Trade, eight titles
- Religion, fifteen titles
- Law, three titles
- History, Ancient, twelve titles
- History, Modern, eight titles
- Natural Philosophy. Natural History, &c. thirteen titles
- Miscellaneous, five titles.¹²

Another list of the same genre was composed in 1793 by Thaddeus M. Harris, Librarian at Harvard College. The Harris list followed the

¹¹Brant, Madison, V, 309.

¹²Boyd, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, I, 74, 76-81

popular tri-partite classification system of Francis Bacon. Subject categories reflected the three faculties of the human mind: Memory (history), Reason (Philosophy), Imagination (fine arts). Harris has included the following headings in each category:

Memory:

Sacred History, eight titles
 Ecclesiastical History, two titles
 Civil History, including biography, forty titles
 Natural History, six titles
 Voyages and travels, twenty-four titles
 Geography & Topography, eight titles

Reason:

Theology, thirty-four titles
 Mythology, three titles
 Ethics, eight titles
 Grammars & Dictionaries, seven titles
 Logic, Rhetoric & Criticism, five titles
 General & Local Politics, ten titles
 Law, five titles
 Metaphysics, three titles
 Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, four titles
 Natural & Experimental Philosophy, four titles
 Chemistry, three titles
 Agriculture, three titles
 Arts & Manufactures, eighteen titles

Imagination:

Poetry & Drama, thirty titles
 Works of Fiction, eleven titles
 Fine Arts, five titles
 Miscellanies, thirty-five titles¹³

The Harris list with its 276 entries is similar to the Library List in length, but far different in purpose. Both the Harris and the Skipworth lists were intended as guides for the gentleman bibliophile. Madison and his colleagues, on the other hand, had set out to influence statesmanship -- not to refine the tastes of gentlemen. The consequence

¹³ E.L. Bradsher, "A Model American Library" Sewanee Review, XXIV (1916) p. 458.

of their decision is plainly visible in the Library List. The "statesman's library" which they proposed lacked any representation whatever of Belles lettres or of the fine arts.

It was those books which related most clearly to the task of governing that were needed. Madison had argued as much in his presentation of the List to Congress. "Congress" he pointed out, "should have at all times at command such authors on the law of nations, treaties, negotiations, etc., as would render their proceedings in such cases conformable to propriety." He went on to remark on the several existing laws which proved how much error could be expected from the lack of such resources.¹⁴

The bother with Madison's prescription is that it only partially fits the booklist actually under consideration. It may represent that part -- or more correctly, one of the two parts -- of the List which Madison was willing to settle for as a minimum collection. But it is incomplete as a description of the catalogue submitted, and could in fact be applied more aptly to the Gerry proposals of 1790 than to the Library List of 1783.

There is another dimension of the contrast between these two library efforts which deserves attention. Notice the heading of Madison's committee report: it describes the body of the report as a list of books "proper for the use of Congress" (emphasis added). By contrast, the Gerry committee reported a list of books "necessary" for the use of Congress. Was Gerry's choice of words a deliberate attempt to forestall the kind of criticism his proposals received anyway?¹⁵

¹⁴ Journals, XXIV, 858-9

¹⁵ See pp. supra

The contrast between "proper" and "necessary" offers an intriguing clue to the conceptual differences that distinguish Gerry's efforts from those of Madison. Elbridge Gerry was, in 1789, a veteran of the Constitutional Convention and certainly knew something of the famous (or infamous) "necessary and proper" clause. Whether his choice of the restrictive "necessary" was deliberate, is, of course, difficult to say. But his book list did include only seventy-one titles as compared to the 309 in Madison's "proper" list.

Madison's use of the term "proper", on the other hand, contrasts markedly with his choice of arguments in urging congressional acceptance of the Library List. Perhaps he knew that fellow delegates had not studied the List carefully -- or were unfamiliar with many of the works cited in it. Certainly he knew that in terms of Congress' perception of its needs, there were two classes of books on the List -- reference works and documentary Americana on the one hand, and works of history, broadly conceived, on the other. The former were urgently needed, while the latter were "needed" too, but in a different and less immediate way. Clearly Madison believed Congress ought to have a broad-based "statesman's library"; moreover he was apparently willing to disguise the real dimensions of the Library List in order to get it. Unable, in the end, to secure its acceptance, he supported James Wilson's suggestion to buy only "the most essential" works. (see p. 3, Introduction)

The Library List has two identifying marks which clearly distinguish it from the Gerry committee report. The first of these is Madison's Category XIII, "America". The second is the overwhelming importance which

he ascribes to history titles. Category XIII, which Madison defended as the means of securing United States' territorial claims contributes also in a sense to the general emphasis on history. It is difficult, in fact, to avoid the suspicion that most entries in Category XIII are less for the use of Congress than of historians.

Of the 309 entries on the List, eighty-one are formally classed as either history or chronology. There are, besides, several titles buried in other categories which could just as easily have been classed as history. If one adds from the list of Americana just those works which are ostensibly histories, leaving out all those which are perhaps best described as materials for a history, even then, it appears that something approaching three fifths of the entire Library List is devoted to history.

To underscore the significance of this fact, it need only be noted that the Gerry list has no category at all for history. Only five entries out of the seventy-one are even titled as histories, and these are such as Steven's History of Taxes, or A History of Controverted Elections by Douglas, which Madison would probably not even have classed as history. A third distinguishing aspect of the Madison list is the classification scheme under which it is organized. The Gerry list has practically no system to it at all, and such as there is seems to have been presented with considerable diffidence.

Gerry began by listing, without headings, collections of the statutes of the several states and of foreign countries. Without warning

the emphasis shifts to what Madison would have called "Law of Nature and Nations", and then again to titles best thought of -- again in Madison's terms -- as "treaties and negotiations". Half-way through the list we encounter for the first time a classification label: "Books relating to Commerce and Navigation". This category, unknown to the Madison list, includes works that are really more fiscal than commercial, and no works at all on navigation as such.

The second heading encountered in "Parliamentary Books". Again, this is a category not found in the Madison List, although a somewhat less extensive group of such works does appear under "Particular History--British". The last two groups, both quite small, are "Common Law" and "Books on the Criminal Law". Both would have been subsumed by Madison, under Category IX, Law, though none of Gerry's titles on Criminal law actually appear in the Madison List.

Here again is evidence of the changes wrought by the adoption of the Constitution. "Criminal Law" was a category which bore no real relationship to the affairs of Congress as it was constituted in 1783. Congress was little more than an ambassadorial council; it had nothing to do with crime and criminals. Such matters are the concern of governments and it was the state that governed.

When compared to Madison's, Gerry's classification system is rudimentary to say the least. But then, Madison's system would seem almost too elaborate, unless one recognized that Madison intended to do more than guide acquisitions. It is difficult to resist the belief that Madison,

unlike Gerry, deliberately exceeded such limited requirements in order to suggest how the books should be organized once the new library was established.¹⁶

Just how Madison arrived at his classification system is an interesting mystery. It does not follow the memory-reason-imagination system of Bacon employed by most 18th century libraries -- including that of Jefferson and the Philadelphia Library Company. Although Madison's categories are all such as would be found under Bacon's first two groupings, Memory and Reason, they follow one another according to some non-Baconian principle. Madison, who was certainly aware of the Baconian system, can scarcely be supposed to have avoided it by accident.

Since Madison does not tell us what his principle of order was, we may label it simply "practicality". The Library List was intended to create a special collection whose special requirements were that it be organized according to the essentially political interests of those expected to use it. By modern standards the classification system of the Library List is less than impressive. But in that context so is the Library List. What makes a system workable seems less a matter of its transcendent rationality than of its ability to cope with the specific qualities of the collection upon which it is imposed and the needs of those who will use it.

¹⁶ Madison's reasons for bothering with a classification system were probably two-fold: First, to facilitate research and ensure adequate coverage. Second, to protect against the very real possibility that the future library would be cared for by clerks -- if at all -- who would know very little about such matters.

This page was left
blank in the original.

¹⁸ W. L. Bush, *A Catalogue of the Books of John G. Bush*, (Boston, 1900), p. 12. Bush would undoubtedly have been aware of the distinction and he pointed out the error when he was asked for a printing order in 1911 (see below, p. 11).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

in 1800 contained fewer than 1500 volumes and was not even housed in separate quarters until 1802.¹⁸ The collection, according to Ford, was "boastfully and erroneously" described as containing the "most rare and valuable works in different languages". In reality, it was "poorly protected from the weather and readers and so inadequate as to be little used". John Quincy Adams noted in his diary borrowing of only one book from it during a period of five years.¹⁹

David Mearns' judgment is a bit more restrained but he does not challenge Ford's major premise. It was, he tells us, a "vertical library". The books in it were to be consulted "standing up". There was no polite literature. Works on history and law, yes -- but they were limited in number and to English-language publications. American histories and travel accounts were exceptions to the rule. In fact, serious efforts were made to acquire as many of such books as were available. But generally Mearns thought the library was best described as:

/having/ ... a little philosophy, but no theology, no technology, no bibliography, no pedagogy, no music, no record of the fine or graphic arts. It was (where possible) reserved for English texts ... more useful for debate than fundamental preparation of legislation. It was, in other words, to be practical and very dull.²⁰

¹⁸ W.C. Ford, A Catalogue of The Books of John Q. Adams, (Boston, 1938) p. 12. Ford would undoubtedly have been even more distressed had he realized that the books were not even removed from packing crates until 1802 (see Mearns, p. 9).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Mearns, p. 13.

Together, the comments of Ford and Mearns constitute a fairly harsh bill of particulars. Their perspective, however, is essentially negative, and they share an unfortunate bias. Both Mearns and Ford, at the time of their writing, had enjoyed a long and productive association with what was a relatively mature Library of Congress, and their critiques are flawed by the kind of distortion which occurs when the friends of giants try to describe a race of pygmies. Of course John Quincy Adams was unlikely to haunt a library in so many respects just like his own. Of course there was no polite literature, very little philosophy, and no theology. But it is a risky jump from there to the conclusion that scarcely anyone used the Library -- and then only standing up!

A survey of the Library's first Catalogue, published in 1802, shows that its collection was interesting in many respects. Its 213 titles comprised some 990 volumes and included many works the foregoing criticisms would scarcely prepare one to expect. Although the collection was skewed toward the kind of sources one might consult in preparation for debate, these same sources were for the most part highly regarded works that one might consult for a wide variety of other reasons.

Just why Smith's Thucydides, the Journals of the Lords and Commons, Humes History of England, the Encyclopedia or Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws would not be useful in the "fundamental preparation of legislation" is a bit difficult to understand. Seventy-three or almost exactly one third of the titles in the collection were histories -- which, according to J.B. Black, was the most popular form of literature in the late

18th century.²¹

Voltaire's Charles XII, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, and Robertson's Scotland were immensely popular. The collection included all three and dozens of other works by authors such as Belknap, Gibbon, Hume, Hutchinson, Robertson, and Rollins, ranging in quality from good to excellent. Thaddeus Stevens included them all in his "model library" of 1793. More than a century later, E.L. Bradsher affectionately judged them still "names to conjure with".²²

The collection that was catalogued in 1802 consisted of fifty-five holdover works accumulated piecemeal by both houses of Congress, and 158 new titles purchased in one lot from the London booksellers Cadell and Davies. The order was placed June 20, 1800 by Senator William Bingham and Congressman Robert Waln. These men were no babes in the bibliographical woods, for both were, or had been, directors of the Philadelphia Library Company.²³

The books they ordered did not arrive in America until the Spring of 1801. In Washington, they languished in their packing crates, unopened and unchecked, until late January or early February, 1802.²⁴ Then, under a new Library Committee, (which would never have approved the purchase order of 1800), things took a new turn -- decidedly for the worse.

²¹The Art of History (London, 1926), p. 14.

²²"A Model American Library", p. 459

²³Mearns, p. 8-9.

²⁴Ibid.

The truth is that by contrast with acquisitions after 1800 the collection acquired by Waln and Bingham was something of a marvel. The criticisms leveled against the Library by Mearns and Ford make sense if applied to acquisitions policies after 1802, but when applied to the collection as a whole, they seem a bit anachronistic.

Whether Jefferson had anything to do with making up that first book-order prior to the election of 1800, is doubtful.²⁵ Early in 1802 he was petitioned by Senator Abraham Baldwin, to suggest a guide for future book selections. The Senator, head of the new library committee, laid down a policy of constraint that Jefferson was to follow in making his recommendations. One cannot read Jefferson's reply to the Georgia Senator without experiencing sympathy for the President tied hand and foot, as it were, by the Senator's instructions:

I have prepared a catalogue for the Library of Congress in conformity with your ideas that books of entertainment are not within the scope of it, and that books in other languages ... are not to be admitted freely. I have confined the catalogue to those branches of science which belong to the deliberations of the members as statesmen, and in these have omitted those classical books, ancient and modern, which gentlemen generally have in their private libraries, but which can not properly claim a place in a collection made merely for the purpose of reference. (emphasis added)²⁶

²⁵ Randolph G. Adams, (Three Americanists, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, p. 83) is almost certainly mistaken in his belief that Jefferson dominated the selection of books appearing in the Catalogue of 1802. He seems to have been unaware that the books in question were ordered en masse before Jefferson took office and remained in their packing crates until a month or two prior to the appearance of the Catalogue. (See Mearns, pp. 9-10)

²⁶ Mearns, p. 12.

Of historical works, Jefferson admitted to including only "... chronological works which give facts and dates with a minuteness not to be found in narratives composed for agreeable reading". But in respect to the laws of nature and nations he had "put down everything worth possessing" that he knew of. The President of the United States was obviously trying not to violate the policy clearly laid down in the Senator's request: the Library of Congress was to be considered primarily a legislative reference room.²⁷

Jefferson's letter to Baldwin, however, is not entirely consistent. There are echoes of earlier and less confining criteria. One cannot help wincing at the exclusion of histories "composed for agreeable reading", but there were, after all, many such books already in the collection. The wily Virginian, moreover, admits to being swayed by the requirements of statesmanship -- and one might well conjecture what that means. There is in Jefferson's letter, also, a haunting echo of that more generous library project of 1783, in which he had been involved.²⁸

He had, so he pointed out, included "the two great encyclopedias" to supplement the sciences, otherwise too much neglected in the collection.

²⁷ The "catalogue" composed by Jefferson would make interesting reading, but it has apparently been lost, along with the letter cited and quoted here from Mearns' account. Perhaps the whole transaction will surface again when the appropriate volume of Boyd's Papers of T. Jefferson appears.

²⁸ Of all the historical and closely related works in the Library List, less than a dozen seem to fit the formula laid down by Senator Baldwin. A few of these, relating to the history of Parliament, he placed under British history. The others he set apart as "Chronology" (V) or -- unaccountably -- "Geography" (VI).

What encyclopedias did he mean? That of Diderot and D'Alembert was then being revised and comes most readily to mind, but that was already in the collection. In any case, the Library List of 1783 also began with two encyclopedias. More reminiscent still of 1783 is the bit of advice with which Jefferson closed his letter to Baldwin:

The travels, historyes / and / accounts of America previous to the Revolution should be obtained. It is already become all but impossible to make a collection of these things. Standing orders should be lodged with our ministers in Spain, France, & England and our Consul at Amsterdam to procure everything within that description which can be hunted up in those countries.²⁹

Jefferson's advice to the Library Committee Chairman was nothing less than a plea to revive Madison's concept of an Americana collection. "Travels, historyies / and / accounts of America previous to the Revolution" describes exactly the materials in category XIII of the Library List. Even the language of Jefferson evokes Madison's futile warning that "the most valuable / documents / ... were ... becoming extinct". (Supra, p. 3)

If Senator Baldwin's selection criteria had been operant from the beginning, the first Library of Congress would indeed have been the utilitarian horror described by Ford and Mearns. The library concepts of the Georgia Senator were firmly planted in the philistine tradition represented by Elbridge Gerry's abortive book list of 1790. But the Library did not develop that way. Gerry's prescription was ignored, and Baldwin arrived on the scene too late to prevent the purchase of a collection that went back to an older tradition.

²⁹ Mearns, p. 13.

Senator Baldwin notwithstanding, the first Library of Congress traces its conceptual origins to ideas that were enshrined in the Library List of 1783 -- not to the truncated notions of the Gerry committee. Madison's organizational scheme was not followed, and only a fourth of his recommended titles were included in the Catalogue of 1802. But his two most noteworthy library concepts were adopted. They produced in 1802 an emphasis upon history and Americana that was similar to that of the Library List of 1783 -- and utterly foreign to the Gerry committee's report.

The two ideas reflected in that emphasis were, of course, that statesmanship is blind when cut off from history, and that a congressional library should also be an American archive. Any library thus conceived was meant to serve national purposes beyond the purely political requirements of statesmanship -- and far beyond the narrow requirements of legislative reference.

The collection portrayed by the 1802 Catalogue did not realize either idea completely, not even so well as the Library List had done. Its Americana collection was but a slight reminder of Madison's category XIII. Yet the continuity of ideas is plainly observable in the two documents and clearly established them as products of the same library tradition.

That tradition survived and even profited from the disastrous vandalism of 1814. Jefferson's collection, from which the present Library grew, was itself the mature product of his 1783 list of books "bought and

to be bought", the prime resource as well for the development of Madison's Library List. In 1815 the Library at Monticello was a liberal extension of the two ideas embodied in the Library List and included, besides, considerable representation from the world of polite literature and the fine arts. It was, in effect, two libraries: one for Jefferson the statesman, and one for Jefferson the Virginia Squire.

It is worth remembering that about two thirds of Madison's titles appeared also in Jefferson's 1783 "catalogue", and that Jefferson, himself, was a collaborator in the original library project. The ideas shared by the two Virginians in 1783 bridge the years and the catastrophes -- Senator Baldwin included, and tie the Library List to the later, as well as to the early, history of the Library of Congress.

Even the later inclusion of "polite literature" -- poetry, fiction, the arts -- is not wholly without precedent in the Library List. Notice the contrast between it and the Gerry-Baldwin idea of a congressional library. There was, after all, a literary quality about the great 17th and 18th century histories that were so prominently represented in Madison's proposals. These were histories "composed", as Jefferson put it, "for agreeable reading". They necessarily expanded the horizons of any library in which they were included. The works of Gibbon, Plutarch, and Hume are far removed from the chronicler's meager art. They will not be confined within the narrow limits of a legislative reference room. They are literature, and during the 18th century they rivaled even the popularity of works more conventionally thought of as belles lettres. How could they

have failed to open the door a little (even if by accident) for the later admission of other literature -- and that in turn, for the arts in general?

The 103 entries Madison included in his "America" section must also be seen as the thin edge of a wedge -- no matter how very thin. Consider the position of this category as number thirteen -- the last of Madison's subject groups. Why out there by itself? Why not simply the nineteenth sub-heading under Particular History? Madison answered those questions in his plea for the immediate purchase of the materials. He viewed them as the basis of the nation's territorial claims, and as the materials for a future history of the United States. He viewed them, in other words, as an American archive -- and there is, therefore, no reason to suppose he intended his list to be exclusive. Even the Gerry report was sensible enough to recommend annual appropriations of money for the expansion of the library. The seeds of a national archive planted by Madison in 1783, and warmed by the fires of 1814, sprouted and became a reality when Congress purchased the priceless collection of Americana that went along with Jefferson's library.

Finally, it must be conceded that the differences between the first and second phases of the Library's history are as real as the similarities. The Jefferson library, hauled by wagon train to its new home in Washington, was not a perfectly balanced collection either. But it was a monument to catholicity, and the liberating influence of a genuine love of learning, far exceeding the most optimistic inference to be wrung from either its immediate predecessor, or its more chronologically

remote cousin, the Library List of 1783.

But real differences are seldom absolute. And although the Library List cannot be said to have been the "substratum" of a truly national library, it was certainly an important indication of the road to be traveled.

During the years which followed the purchase, by Congress, of Jefferson's library -- as a fuller appreciation of what they had bought with the peoples' money began to dawn on congressional minds, a slow but marvelous transformation took place. Having been dragged, kicking, into possession of the nucleus for a truly national library, Congressmen soon forgot that they had ever wanted anything else.

But there had always been others, like Congressman Waln and Senator Bingham, who shared Madison's conviction that historical knowledge is the stuff from which statesmanship grows. Their conviction dictated an emphasis on works of history -- broadly conceived -- during the early phases of the Library's history, which, together with Madison's modest plan for a national archive, provided a real, portent of that Library of Congress which began finally to evolve in the years after 1815.

CHAPTER FOUR

History -- The 18th Century View

The assumed link between statesmanship and historical knowledge which characterized Madison's view was in no sense peculiar to him alone. That assumption, amounting almost to an obsession, was shared by most of his contemporaries in Europe as well as in America. Not even those at home who opposed the Madisonian concept of a history oriented Library of Congress can be written off as exceptions to the rule.

Opposition stemmed from a variety of causes. Some opposed expenditure for books out of a strong and understandable conviction that the exigencies of the time imposed other priorities upon Congress. Both the Madison List in 1783, and that of Gerry in 1790, were, after all, proposed while the nation was either at war, or seemed on the verge of it. Others were opposed out of an equally strong, if less admirable, conviction that a Library was in any circumstances a frill to be avoided by republican governments. And still others fought the library's growth for no better reason than that they hated Jefferson, mistrusted the influence of his books on the public mind, and were, besides, simply unwilling to put into his pocket the purchase price of his library.¹

¹Cyrus King, of Federalist sympathies, opposed the bill to purchase Jefferson's collection by arguing that "The bill would put \$23,900.00 in Jefferson's pocket for about 6000 books, good, bad, and indifferent, old, new, and worthless, in languages many can not read, and most ought not". Quoted in Arthur Bestor, et al, Three Presidents and their Books, (Illinois University Press, 1955) p. 3.

Some, like the anonymous critic in the Boston Chronicle, could oppose the Library because preparation for statesmanship was, in their view, the private responsibility of public servants -- who, "it is supposed ... are / already/ acquainted with history...". But the point to be remembered is this: none of the Library's critics were apparently any more willing than was Madison to disregard what they were often pleased to call "the lessons of history".

History, the universal teacher, was claimed almost as a patron saint by nearly everyone -- regardless of political or religious persuasion and without respect to sectional biases.² Patrick Henry avowed in 1775, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past".³ Like John Dickinson's much-quoted, "Experience must be our only guide".⁴ Henry's statement refers to more than the immediate experience of the recent past; it is an appeal to the long sweep of experience through the ages of human history.

John Adams thought the American statesman needed a "comprehensive knowledge of Law and History", and that in 1787 the people had a special need for knowledge of Greek history. This they should use, he suggested,

² For a masterful account of the interaction between American history and American views of history, see H. Trevor Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (University of North Carolina Press, 1965), Passim.

³ Ibid, Frontspiece

⁴ C.C. Tansill, Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of The American States, (Washington, 1927) p. 533-4. Dickinson was reminding delegates to the Federal Convention that the long sweep of experience was more reliable than the short range of American political experience.

as they would a "boudoir", with mirrors all around, in which multiple reflections of themselves and their times could be caught and studied.⁵

Nor was respect for historical knowledge limited to the public pronouncements of American statesmen. Colbourn's survey of 18th century libraries in America discloses that whether in college libraries, or collections like that of the Philadelphia Library Company, or in private collections -- in all cases, "History was the main field of interest". And when combined with law, history was the largest single category of books in all libraries and booksellers' catalogues.⁶

Somewhat less certain testimony comes from another source.

E.L. Bradsher, commenting upon the model library list compiled by Thaddeus Harris in 1793, suggests that the novel may have been the most popular form of literature. Bradsher, who identifies women (with a taint for novels) as the most active consumers of "culture", seems -- strangely enough -- not to include history in his category of literature.

A survey of Harris' model library, however, substantiates exactly the conclusion arrived at by Professor Colbourn. Harris' prescription for enlightened reading incorporated forty titles from "Civil History, including biographies", an additional sixteen titles from "Sacred", "Ecclesiastical", and "Natural" history, and, for good measure, twenty-four "Voyages and Travels". But he could recommend only eleven titles under "Works of Fiction".⁷

⁵ From Adams' Defense of the Constitutions (1787), quoted in Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience, p. 102.

⁶ Ibid, p. 20.

⁷ Bradsher, "A Model American Library", p. 460-461.

Under the circumstances it is no surprise to discover J.B. Black's judgment that history was the most popular form of literature in the 18th century.⁸ But his explanation of the phenomenon is well worth noting. The popularity of history is explained by the fact that it was self-consciously literate. Non-specialized in nature, it was written for general consumption rather than for a specialized audience. Furthermore, it was written by non-specialists -- men of affairs, for the most part, who were persuaded that history was important enough to be written well. Style to the 18th century writer, was no less important in historical writings than elsewhere. What he wrote was to be read with enjoyment; form was de rigueur. And no literary production was considered finished until innumerable re-writings had effected just the right "pace, syntax, cadence, color, and texture".⁹

Beyond style, however, history was popular because it spoke to the interests and needs of the 18th century. The men and women of that revolutionary age were engrossed in the study of politics. What they wanted was the wherewithall from which to create new institutions and new political systems. History contained the record of Man's political experience, and it was the special conceit of the century that the evidence of history was to the study of politics, what the records of celestial movement had been to the study of physics. What Newton could do, so also could others.

And so other philosophers, searching for a science of politics, looked to the example of Sir Isaac. His scientific faith in the rational order of the universe they accepted without reservation. His proof that

⁸ The Art of History: A Study of Four Great Historians of the 18th century. (London, 1926) p. 14.

⁹ Black, pp. 16-18

nature had her own laws, they applied without question to the nature of Man and Society. And not even the most skeptical of them doubted that a study of man and society would disclose the operation of those natural laws Newton had "proved" were there.

The science of politics, thus created, assumed the existence of a timeless uniformity in human nature -- that regardless of time and place, all human behavior proved the axiom: like causes produce like effects. Its methods, based on that assumption, were those of the historian and the philosopher, and have been described variously as "analysis by analogy"¹⁰ or "historical-comparative Synthesis."¹¹ Its task was to discover the principles of human nature so that Man's behavior could be predicted -- and controlled. The objective, toward which the new science worked, was to reduce or eliminate the social and political evils which human nature in the past had always produced. The prize to be gained was nothing less than a real increase in the sum of human happiness.

A more detailed description of the assumptions and methods of the new science is provided by David Hume, one of its foremost advocates:

¹⁰ Page Smith, Historians and History (N.Y., 1964), p. 26

¹¹ Douglass Adair, "Experience Must Be Our Only Guide", p. 133. The view being described here stems from the Scottish tradition of social enquiry. The Scots, along with most of their American disciples, held that human nature was immanent in human behavior. Thus, in the mass at least, Man was by nature a far less noble, or rational, creature than he was believed to be by some of the more rationalistic thinkers of the time -- particularly in France.

Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature by showing men in all varieties of circumstances and situations, and furnishing us with materials from which we may form our observations and become acquainted with the regular springs of human actions and behavior. These records ... are so many collections of experiments, by which the politician or moral philosopher fixes the principles of his science, in the same manner as the physician or natural philosopher becomes acquainted with the nature of plants, minerals, and other external objects, by the experiments he forms concerning them.¹²

The view of John Adams, an American practitioner of the new science, echoes that of Hume with startling exactness. On diplomatic station in London, the New Englander had written to Jefferson to introduce the new second volume of his Defense Of The Constitutions. That work, written to extol the virtues of mixed constitutions and to point out the vices of top-heavily democratic ones, Adams described as " ... containing/ three long courses of experiments in Political Philosophy". And as if to emphasize the experimental nature of his work, he went on to say, "every Tryal was intended and contrived to determine the Question Mr. Turgots System would do. The Results you may read ... I shall be suspected of writing romances to expose Mr. Turgots Theory. But I assure you it is all genuine History".¹³

It is not difficult to understand the 18th century's fixation upon history; it was the touchstone of truth for any and all ideas about

¹²"An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding" in The English Philosophers From Bacon To Mill, ed., E.A. Burt, (New York, 1939), p. 635

¹³August 27, 1787, Cappon, ed. Adams-Jefferson Letters, (University North Carolina Press, 1959) p. 192.

Man, and thus the tool par excellence whereby men could resolve the problems of their present. But underlying their approach to the past was a network of assumptions which warrants closer examination. Convinced, as they were, that historical knowledge could be made the basis of a social science, they set out in pursuit of the goals which science has ever pursued: prediction and control.

The assumptions about history which validated that scientific enterprise have not survived intact to the present day. The changes from then to now are, of course, not surprising, but they do create something of a problem in establishing "communication" across the intervening years. Understanding the history of any period -- including the present -- is very much a matter of understanding what people thought they were doing -- and why. But that kind of insight into the past is impossible to achieve unless one accounts for the historical shift in what people take for granted about the world as they have seen it.

The 18th century social-political scientist, for example, was convinced that historical experience provided valid analogies to present situations. That assumption was fundamental to their historical-scientific enterprise. From it they concluded, over and over again, that "experience proves" thus and so is the case "today" -- or will be tomorrow. Historical knowledge was the raw material from which scientific predictions could be made about the future. That faith survives only in a much altered form, and is almost totally absent from the philosophy of history generally accepted at mid-twentieth century.¹⁴

¹⁴ Altered by the deletion of all a priori assumptions about human nature,

A similar difficulty of understanding results from the conceptual distance between philosophical relativism -- 20th century style -- and the 18th century belief in permanent values and absolute truth. Again, the climate of opinion has changed radically. Ours is an age of revolt against absolutism of all kinds -- against "formalism" as Morton White has called it. And that revolt has engendered a gentle and slightly amused -- but potentially destructive -- contempt for the ethical and moral assurance of the 18th century. One consequence of this change in perspective has been a tendency to oversimplify 18th century secular thought -- to overlook, or underrate the importance of its reliance upon historical-empirical analysis.

Carl Becker's beautifully written classic, The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers, is an excellent example of the problem. Becker, having exposed the rationalistic faith of the Enlightenment, left his readers with the impression that there was nothing more to be said on the subject. Faith is faith -- whether rational or religious and that of the philosophers was in no significant respect different from that of the priests.

But there was, in fact, a world of difference. The faith which the enlightened mind fought, and labelled superstition, was, in social and intellectual terms, relatively static. Immune to the world, rendered

¹⁴ and the addition of statistically derived assumptions about human behavior, that faith does survive. It constitutes, in fact, the basic assumption of much that is currently being done in Sociology, Psychology, and the "scientific" wing of contemporary Political Science. Cf. Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics (N.Y.: Randon House, 1963) passim. See especially Chapter Four, "The Personal Basis", where the term "human nature" makes one of its rare appearances, only to introduce a discussion of "personality" which then proceeds on the apparent assumption that both terms mean the same thing.

impregnable by the combined force of revelation and authority, religious faith was inaccessible to rational analysis or empirical evaluation. The rationalistic faith of the Enlightenment was a faith in Man -- in the power of reason to understand the world and to shape Man's destiny in it. It too had its dogmas and creeds, but they were of the world and unprotected by anything except their own "reasonableness". They were, in short, vulnerable to disproof and thus, dynamic.¹⁵ The "mere" fact that it was a secular faith makes all the difference in the world.

Recognition of this disparity between rational and religious faith is the first step toward understanding one particularly important aspect of 18th century political thought: its persistently moralistic tone.. Contemporary scholarship has had very little to say on the subject¹⁶ but it is one which does call for some explanation. Where did it come from? What were its assumptions? How did it relate to an intellectual climate that was so self-consciously scientific?

The moralistic tone of 18th century political science was the product of a particular view of history. The assumptions of that view were secular, and socially, rather than individualistically, oriented; and it was the basis of the value system which gave direction -- and respectability -- to the scientific enterprise.

¹⁵ There is no intent here, to overlook similarities between this aspect of rationalism and sectarian disputes among theologians. But even this similarity demonstrates the real difference between the two modes of thought. Sectarian disputes, in the Enlightenment view, were no more relevant to the world of sense and experience than were the things being disputed.

¹⁶ Stowe Persons ("The Cyclical Theory of History", p. 154) remarks the present-day lack of interest and finds it difficult to account for.

Recall for a moment the words of David Hume: Politics is to be a history based science; but history's "chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature ... the regular springs of human actions and behavior". For what purpose? His description implies no purpose at all, except to know -- it is morally neutral. In fact, the flavor of Hume's statement invokes the spirit of Machiavelli, one of the most controversial political thinkers of all time.

The works of the great Florentine writer were well known and widely read, and he was not without admirers among the social scientists of the 18th century.¹⁷ They approved his detached and "scientific" political observations. But the term "Machiavellian" was, as it is now, a widely popular pejorative. Whatever purposes actually drove Machiavelli to his work, he has been remembered mostly as an intellectual villain. The point to be noted, however, is that the odiousness of his popular reputation followed from the presumed immorality of his purposes, not the amorality of his methods.

The methods described by Hume and John Adams were not unlike those of Machiavelli. They may have been more history-oriented than he, but all were realists -- they wanted to know how people actually behaved. And their immediate purposes were identical -- to discover what causes could be relied upon to make people behave as one might wish them to. Listen to Hume once more: "The same motives always produce the same actions; the same events follow the same causes. Ambition, avarice, self-love,

¹⁷cf. Entry 153, Part II, Infra, Madison cited "Machiavelli's Works".

vanity, friendship, generosity, public spirit: these passions ... have been ... and still are, the source of all actions and enterprises ..."¹⁸ Clearly, the logic of such observations is explainable only in terms of results. The "springs of human actions" can be manipulated in the service of the evil prince as easily as of the good society. But the science of human behavior was saved from being "Machiavellian" in the popular sense, by its discovery, in history, of the basis for secular morality.

That "discovery" was inspired by the perception of history as a cyclical process. Nations rose and fell -- became great, and then disappeared from view. So much had been conceded by intelligent observers since the days of the ancient Greeks. But explanations of that process had always attributed it to the will of God -- or the gods. It was the great good fortune of the Enlightenment to discover that God was not directly involved in the process at all. Rather, the cyclical pattern of history resulted from the interaction of two factors: one, a timeless, immutable moral law that may have been divinely ordained (but that was a matter about which good deists were not disposed to argue), the other, human will.

The function of the moral law was to repay virtue with happiness and vice with misery. Consequently, the changing fortunes of nations throughout history had been a reflection of their behavior viewed in relation to the demands of the moral law. Morality, thus conceived, had little to do with individual conscience in the religious sense -- it had everything

¹⁸ Burt ed. The English Philosophers, p. 635.

to do with consequences in the social or political sense. That is, those actions would be judged good which had good consequences for society. The measure of difference between such a view and the traditional morality based on religious faith is seen in the opportunity now created for an open conflict between them. Having based morality on consideration of the social consequences of human actions, the way was cleared for an ironically Machiavellian application of the new science. Statesmanship might well require the encouragement of private vices if they should be found to have social consequences.

The discovery thus made added another dimension to the scientific enterprise. The principles of human nature must be found out, and the springs of human action devined; but the historical process must itself be studied so as to discover the principles of the moral law as well. Discover what kind of actions offend the moral law, and knowledge of human nature might be used to bend behavior in the right direction.

Such was the two-sided nature of what David Hume called "Moral philosophy, or the science of human nature".¹⁹ Its hopes for success rested in part on the prevailing assumption that man was part of a mechanistic universe in which like causes always produced like effects. More directly in point were the epistemological views developed in John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Locke had demolished the concept of innate ideas, to the satisfaction of most 18th century thinkers, and showed that ideas were, in fact, the creatures of sense perception -- or of reflection

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 585.

about perceptions. Thus even the mysterious citadel of the mind had been breached; it too -- the very seat of man's special identity -- was the product of a cause and effect relationship between the individual and his environment. The lesson was clear enough: if ideas reflect perception, then he who controls the environment -- i.e., the thing perceived -- has the power to shape men's minds.

Social and political institutions constituted one portion of the environment that was susceptible to manipulation. And to that task political scientists directed themselves. But in so doing they established the basis for a radical change in Man's historical expectations. Perception of history as a cyclical process implied a limitation on what one might expect for the future. If nations had always risen and declined, would not the future hold more of the same? Perhaps. But if science could deliver the goods, what effect might that not have upon the pattern of history?

That many 18th century thinkers eagerly embraced a view of history, based on the idea of progress, is perfectly clear. But did the scientific political thinkers? Did most Americans? The questions are crucial. What the Revolutionary generation of Americans thought they were doing, can be understood only in terms of what they expected -- or perhaps hoped -- for the future. Understanding those hopes or expectations requires, in turn, that we know with some exactness what pattern they attributed to history.

Even a casual survey of the literature shows conclusively that

Americans did hope that they expected a great deal from the future. But their optimism has seemed to us ambiguous. Did it signify a belief in the progress of the human mind? Or was it born of pride that America, the newest of the nations, was embarked on a career of greatness that would outshine the grandeur that was Rome?

An example in point is provided by General Washington's circular letter to the state governors at the end of the Revolution. Written in June of 1783 (a bare six months prior to the establishment of Madison's Library committee), the great Virginian's letter is fervently optimistic about America's future:

The foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy age of Ignorance and Superstition, but at an Epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period; the researches of the human mind after social happiness, have been carried to a great extent, the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labours of Philosophers, Sages, and Legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the Establishment of our forms of Government ... At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a Nation, and if their Citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.²⁰

General Washington was not alone in his optimism. Nor was his hope for the future a new development in American thought. Rutherford E. Delmage has done a thorough job of identifying a veritable tradition of American optimism, going back to and beyond the beginning of the 18th century --and expressed in both religious and secular terms.²¹

²⁰ F.C. Ford ed. Writings of George Washington, X, 256.

²¹ "The American Idea of Progress, 1750-1800", Proceedings Of The American Philosophical Society, (Vol. 91, No. 4, October, 1947.) pp. 307-314.

The problem is, however, that Washington's precise meaning is not obvious on the face of his statement, not obvious enough, at least, to prevent some disagreement as to his intended meaning. Was his faith for America exclusively, or for mankind in general with America leading the way? The difference between the two possibilities is nothing less than the difference between a cyclical theory of history and one based on belief in human progress and perfectibility. If America's star was just the latest to rise in the wake of others, then she -- like the others -- might look forward to no more than a moment of glory before the inevitable, cyclical movement of rise and fall should deliver her to the same fate as that dealt Egypt, Babylon, Carthage, and Rome.

Washington, though no scientist himself, was aware of his audience. How did he mean to be understood by John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison? Was he implying that America's allotted moment of glory might be stretched into an hour? Or had the new science opened up the door on a new age for mankind?

Professor Delmage, in his survey of American optimism, (particularly during the significant period of the 1780's) comes down squarely on the side of progress despite an occasional nod to the scattering of pessimists, or cyclical theorists.²² A decade later, Douglass Adair saw

²² Cf. Joel Balrsow, July 4, 1787: "America/ will excite emulation through the kingdoms of the earth, and meliorate the condition of the human race." John Lathrop, Pastor of Boston's Second Church: "The dark night of error and ignorance, is far spent: the day of truth and knowledge is at hand... when love, and peace and joy shall universally prevail." James Wilson, Pennsylvania legislator and collaborator with James Madison in the debates of the Federal Convention, in 1787: "The vastness of the prospect before us opens up immense vistas in space and time. Numerous states yet un-

no reason to disagree with the main thrust of the Delmage thesis. Citing Washington's circular letter of 1783, Adair observed that the General's optimism was an expression of belief in "the Progress of the Human Mind".²³

But Stowe Persons, writing in 1954, challenged the currency of the idea of Progress during the late 18th century. And he specifically denied that General Washington's letter should be interpreted as reflecting a belief in the progress of the human mind. He conceded the optimistic nature of Washington's sentiments but went on to point out: "similar sentiments /i.e., like Washington's/ ... are frequently encountered and if taken out of the cyclical context may be misunderstood to indicate a belief in unlimited progress".²⁴

Persons' dissent, though dubious in several particulars, constitutes a useful reminder of the complexity of the problem. Briefly put, his view is that the idea of progress was not typical of American historical views until the evening years of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the last survivors of the American Revolution. Then it involved a species of "intellectual abdication" signifying the end of the American enlightenment--

²²formed, myriads of the human race, who will inhabit refions hitherto uncultivated .../will/ be affected ... /America/ will be subservient to the great design of Providence with regard to this globe -- the multiplication of mankind, their improvement in knowledge, and their advancement in happiness." (*Ibid*, pp. 311-312)

²³"That Politics May Be Reduced To A Science : David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist", (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, XX No. 4 (1957), p. 343-360.) p. 343

²⁴"The Cyclical Theory of History in 18th Century America", (*American Quarterly*, 6 [2]: 147-163 [Summer, 1954])p. 156.

at which time "the enlightened mind thus became something else".²⁵ The process can be dated with ample precision from Persons' description of the American enlightenment which began in reaction to the Great Awakening of the 1740's and ended with the War of 1812.²⁶

In the meantime, during the enlightenment, General Washington's optimism (like that in the numerous examples cited by Delmage) is to be understood as reflecting a faith in America only, not in the progress or perfectibility of mankind. "To put it bluntly:", Persons wrote, "the notion of progress was repugnant to the characteristic convictions and temper of the class of men who in the generation prior to the Revolution had synthesized enlightened ideas in America." But then he went on to observe that "... at the same time it held a fatal fascination for them. Much of their practical experience recommended its validity ... and in the end those of them who lived long enough, like Adams and Jefferson, embraces it heartily".²⁷

In other words, during the American enlightenment educated Americans generally denied the validity of the idea of progress. Persons' observation is the more striking because the period referred to is precisely that which saw the rise of the new science of human behavior. It stemmed from the Scottish universities and, by the 1770's, had thoroughly permeated the textbooks in use at Princeton, William and Mary, Pennsylvania,

²⁵ Ibid, p. 158

²⁶ Ibid, p. 148

²⁷ Ibid, p. 158

Yale, Harvard, and King's College.²⁸

Persons' thesis appears at first glance to be nearly self-evident. Were not the basic assumptions of the new science anti-progressive? Surely David Hume suggests as much by telling us "that there is a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages, and that human nature remains still the same, in its principles and operations ... Would you know the sentiments, inclinations, and course of life of the Greeks and Romans? Study well the temper and actions of the French and English ..."²⁹

But if human nature is presumed to remain always the same, and the pattern of history unchanged and unchangeable, how account for the optimism? Persons' solution is found in the cyclical theory itself: every 18th century American knew that the future looked bright, but educated, enlightened minds perceived that future in the context of a cyclical pattern in history. America's star was surely on the rise, but it would just as surely descend.

Persons' argument incorporates a brilliant analysis of the relationship between secular and religious thought, and adds considerably to our understanding of the 18th century view of history. He came to his belief in the prevalence of the cyclical view from consideration of the socio-religious struggle set off by the enthusiastic revivalism of the Great Awakening. The conservative protestant establishment, attempting to discredit the radical opposition, developed a cyclical view of history. That

²⁸ Adair, "That Politics May Be Reduced To A Science", p. 345

²⁹ From Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1748), Quoted in *Ibid*, pp. 345-6

view, according to Persons, was generally accepted by enlightened -- and equally conservative -- secular thinkers, including practitioners of the new science of human behavior.

To the radical opposition, however, history was the unfolding of God's plan for man on earth; the direct agency of divine providence caused it to unfold, and it would culminate finally in the millenium. As to the first and last of these propositions the conservatives had no choice but to agree. The middle proposition was the trouble maker. The conservatives raised a determined opposition to the radical notion that God intervened directly in human affairs. But also, while forced to agree that the millenium had to come some time, they disputed the notion that men could know when.

That was the crux of the matter. Having imbibed liberally of scriptural prophecy, the radical revivalists were more than a little drunk. Mid-18th century America fit, in numerous particulars, the conditions "prescribed" for the second coming of Christ. And the revival itself (signifying spiritual purification) was the capstone of proof. The millenium was unquestionably at hand!

But this notion that history moved by means of special providences, by divine intervention, implied that men could experience the operation of divine will, and carried with it the supposition that men, individually, could have direct knowledge of divine intentions. That proposition constituted a radical undermining of the authority of the established clergy and they enthusiastically rejected it. The clergy, an educated

elite themselves, shared the long-held conviction of their secular counterparts that God worked in history only through the immutable operation of divine law -- the natural, moral law.³⁰

Their commitment was to the orderly society, implied by the steady operation of that law, and essential to the maintenance of their ecclesiastical authority no less than of their privileged social position. The spectacle of their flocks deserting the congregation, hanging upon every emotional word of itinerate evangelists, and neglecting the work of the church to prepare for the imminent coming of Christ -- all that was a bit much. What kind of a world had it become, after all, when "many of the meanest Rank and of inferior Capacities, are puffed up with ... Pride ... /and/ think themselves sufficient to direct Statesmen, dictate to Legislators, and teach Doctors and Divines"?³¹

Thus, for essentially partisan reasons, did religious conservatives work out the assumptions that were basic also to the historical view of the social-political scientists. Human nature was constant over time and without regard to cultural differences or the uniqueness of different civilizations. Equally constant was the operation of the divinely ordained

³⁰ Kenneth B. Murdock has shown that one American historian, at least, was beginning, in the late 17th century, to dig out from under the burden of Puritan theology which had helped perpetuate the generally held Elizabethan view that "Providence intervened in the government of the world". "William Hubbard and the Providential Interpretation of History", Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, N.S. 52 /1/: 15-37 /April, 1942/ See especially pp. 18, 24-25.

³¹ From a 1743 tract by New England Congregationalist, Charles Chauncey. Quoted by Persons, p. 151.

moral law, establishing an inevitable connection between happiness and virtuous behavior on the one hand, and between misery and vice on the other.

The variables were human behavior, and the environmental factors peculiar to different times, cultures, and civilizations. The whole fit together beautifully and scientifically. Human nature, a constant, interacted with environment -- a variable -- to produce behavior. Behavior, in turn, might exert a dynamic effect upon those portions of the environment susceptible to such influence, such as customs, institutions, etc. At the same time, the society produced by these relationships was being judged, as it were, by the steady operation of the immutable moral law with consequences observable in the historic rhythm of rising and declining nations.

An impressive argument, but there is a disconcerting squint to it. Does Persons intend to distinguish between conservatives and radicals by attributing cyclical views to one and something else to the other? By implication the religious radicals, like political radicals, seem to have been tarred with the brush of progressivism. But the rise and fall of nations throughout history was as obvious to the revivalists as it was to the conservatives. Consequently the radicals did not -- nor could they -- deny the basically cyclical pattern of history. What they did challenge was the conservative assertion that not God, but God's law supplied the motive power of history.

Similarly, the conservatives were as committed as were the revival-

ists to the historical inevitability of Christ's second coming. Consequently they could not, nor did they, deny the possibility of spiritual progress which is inferred in the biblical description of what God intended for the last days. What they challenged was the naive assumption of the radicals that the Great Awakening had to be the revival prophesied for the last days. Men could not, they argued, read worldly events as a source of revelation disclosing either God's will, or his timetable. In short, the cyclical view of history was neither peculiar to the conservatives nor did it exclude the possibility of spiritual progress!

Persons' argument fails to distinguish between the mediate, or secondary historical pattern created by the rising and falling of empires, and the cosmic pattern stipulated by Christian theology. To be sure, that cosmic pattern -- paradise, the fall, redemption, and paradise again-- is cyclical too. But it is a one-shot cycle and vastly different in its implications from the cycles of the secondary pattern. Man's fallen nature notwithstanding, the sacrifice of Christ held out the possibility of individual redemption, salvation, and return to paradise. And what personal salvation could do for individuals the millenium -- whenever it came -- could do for society. For it was not to be supposed that Christ would establish his kingdom on earth except a place had been prepared for it.³²

³² Samuel Sewal was more explicit than most, and perhaps more extreme, in his hope that "the plantation will not be one, two, or three centuries only: but very long lasting. ...I propound the New World ... it stands fair for being made the seat of the Divine Metropolis. (Delmage, p. 308) More contemporaneous, and more reserved, was the Rev. John Rodgers of New York: "Perhaps there never was a nation, that had the fair opportunity of becoming the happiest people upon earth that we have now. But misery as well as happiness lies before us ... They are both at our option. And Heaven and earth are looking with eager expectation to see which we shall choose ... How glorious

The complexity of religious historical views was repeated almost exactly among secular thinkers. There was an ambiguity, for example, about the assumptions of science which will repay closer scrutiny: it was deterministic and conservative with respect to the immutability of nature's laws, but it was also (and continues to be) a self-conscious agent of change. The basic commitment of science has been to the acquisition of knowledge about the objects of science. But for what reason? To what purpose? Because, as Francis Bacon put it, "Knowledge is power".³³ The function of power, in the hands of scientists, has meant one thing above all else: the ability to increase man's control over the environment in which he lives. For the social scientist, society was the thing to be controlled.

History "proved" that the principles of human nature were constant, despite the infinite variety of human actions. History also showed that actions inevitably brought, in their train, consequences for the welfare and happiness of men. The importance of the constants in both propositions is real, but misleading.

The dream of 18th century behavioral scientists was to devise institutions that would inhibit vice and encourage virtue in men -- to build institutions which would mediate between the vagaries of human action and the demands of the moral law. So much American practitioners shared

³²the prospects which these scenes open upon human nature!" (Sermon preached Dec. 11, 1783. *Ibid*, p. 31). There are echoes, mainly rhetorical, of the role of providence in all of this -- but the point to be noted is the clear statement of belief that progress is possible, and as a reflection of human choice.

³³Adair, "That Politics May Be Reduced", p. 344

even with their more radically rationalistic contemporaries in Europe. But the Americans went further. Expecting less of human nature than did certain of the philosophes, they expected more of science. They sought the philosopher's stone itself, whereby the dross of private vice might become the gold of public virtue.³⁴

These dreams were possible, however, only if men -- despite their individuality -- generally shared the same needs, the same desires, the same passions. The new science was based not only on the moral quality of the natural law but on the immutability of human nature as well. The paradoxical truth about the scientific enterprise is that the discovery of constant principles is precisely that which validates the hope for purposeful change.

What does it mean, then, to say that the idea of progress was "repugnant" to the enlightened mind of 18th century America? John Adams, reading Condorcet's glowing hopes for the future of American political science, wrote "Fool! Fool!" in the margin of the page.³⁵ But it was not Condorcet's faith in science that shook Adams -- his own Defense of the Constitutions was a monument to the same faith. Rather he took exception to the Frenchman's characteristic habit of assuming that progress was inevitable, that man was ultimately reasonable, and that reason rather than experience (historical experience, be it noted) was the foundation of political science.

³⁴ It is perfectly clear that Madison, in No. 10 of the Federalist, was relying upon structural factors to do what Hamilton later sought to do administratively--convert self interest--the vice upon which republics had ever foundered--into an engine of stability and strength for the American republic.

³⁵ J.S. Schapiro, Condorcet And The Rise of Liberalism, New York, 1934) p. 227.

Stowe Persons quotes the despairing cry of John Adams to Jefferson in December of 1819: "Will you tell me how to prevent riches from producing luxury? Will you tell me how to prevent luxury from producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, vice and folly?" (p. 154) The sentiment is vintage Adams. Six years earlier, Adams had complained to Jefferson in the same vein that the science of government was "at a stand" -- little farther along than it had been three or four thousand years before. But Adams' explanation of the lack of progress is as interesting as his complaint. He suspected a pervasive vandalism on the part of men in power throughout history. Kings and prime ministers, princes and generals -- anxious to soften the judgments of posterity -- had shuffled the records so completely that despite the best work of historians, the present was cut off from the true story of the past.³⁶ The lesson is clear: better record keeping will improve the science of politics.

The attempt to paint Adams as inveterately skeptical about the possibility of progress until after the War of 1812 fails to convince -- partly because the magnificent New Englander was seldom inveterately anything except honest. A truly educated man, and one of the most penetrating intellects of his time, Adams viewed the world through an inescapable compulsion to be accurate, to reprove dogma with evidence of its own credulity, to recognize and bemoan the inevitable incompleteness of human knowledge. No surprise then, surely, that he should see the world as "a mixture of the sublime and the beautiful, the base and contemptible, the whimsical and ridiculous ... a riddle and an enigma".³⁷

³⁶To Jefferson, July 9, 1813, Cappon ed. p. 351.

³⁷Letter to Jefferson, Sept. 15, 1813, Ibid, 376.

The world, to John Adams could not be explained or understood in terms as simple as those suggested by the "either-or" historical theories attributed to him by Professor Persons.

More destructive of Persons' argument is the letter (which he, himself, cites) from Adams to Jefferson, December 18, 1819. There, in Adams' lament about the permanence of human folly, we find as thoroughgoing and cyclical an expression of historical pessimism as one is likely to find anywhere, anytime. The striking thing is that it comes well after the time when Persons would have us believe that Adams' enlightened cyclicalism had been eroded by a non-enlightenment faith in progress.

Can this be the same man who two years later would confess a "hope for splendid improvements in human society, and vast amelioration in the condition of mankind"?³⁸ Of course. The same Adams whose Discourses on Davilia (May, 1791) exposed his belief that "the rise and fall of empires" followed from the operation of universal human passions, had written just four years earlier of his belief in the power of wisely constructed institutions to reform human behavior.³⁹

Shortly after the "Revolution of 1800", while relations between them were somewhat strained, Jefferson criticized Adams for a two-year old episode during which Adams had purportedly extolled the "education of

³⁸Persons, p. 154

³⁹"The best republics will be virtuous, and have been so, but we may hazard a conjecture, that the virtues have been the effect of the well ordered constitutions rather than the cause." Defense of the Constitutions. Quoted in Cappon ed. p. 167.

our ancestors ... declaring that we were never to expect to go beyond them in real science".⁴⁰ Some twelve years later, when the breach had been healed and correspondence revived between them, Adams undertook to defend himself by explaining to his friend just what meaning he had intended at the time. In doing so, he clearly labeled himself then, and at the time of the incident in 1798, as a believer in the possibility of progress.

In his 1798 speech to the young men of Philadelphia, he had, so he wrote, stressed only the importance of "general principles" -- not the static quality of human life or knowledge. One of those principles was that checks and balances are indispensable to republican governments. And with just a touch of sharpness he observed that "Checks and Ballances, Jefferson, however you and your Party may have ridiculed them, are our only Security for the Progress of Mind /emphasis added/, as well as Security of Body".⁴¹

If Adams, inclined to pessimism, fits ill in Persons' category of monolithically cyclical theorists, how will the sanguine Jefferson be so confined? And if in Adams' or Jefferson's mind a cyclical view of history existed comfortably alongside hope for progress, are the two ideas less likely to have co-existed in American society at large during the enlightenment?⁴²

⁴⁰ Letter to Joseph Priestly, March 21, 1801. Ibid, p. 288.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² That Persons is straining mightily to make Jefferson fit the cyclical mold is indicated by the letter to Joseph Priestly in 1801. More interesting, and more disturbing, is the contrast between what Jefferson

How persuasive is it, then to assert that Washington's optimistic statement of 1783 can be understood only in the "cyclical context"?

In different ways, Persons and Delmage are both victims of what has become a tradition of oversimplification regarding the 18th century idea of progress. Both are quite apparently under the misapprehension that no single philosophy of history is big enough to accommodate, at

⁴² wrote on another occasion and the way he was then quoted by Persons. In point is a letter to Adams, October 28, 1813 -- quoted by Persons to show "the weakening of the cyclical theory" in Jefferson's thought during his "later years" (Persons, p. 160).

Persons observes that "Even in Europe, which was lagging behind America in these respects, a sensible change was occurring." And then he has Jefferson say: "Science has liberated the ideas of those who read and reflect, and the American example has kindled feelings of right in the people. An insurrection has begun ... Science is progressive, and talents on the alert." (Ibid p. 161)

The letter, correctly quoted, implies something quite different: "But even in Europe a change has sensibly taken place in the mind of Man. Science had liberated the ideas of those who read and reflect, and the American example had kindled feelings of right in people. An insurrection has consequently begun ... It has failed in its first effort, because the mobs of the cities ... could not be restrained to rational action. But the world will recover from the panic of this first catastrophe. Science is progressive ..." (Cappon ed. p. 391.) (Emphasis added in both quotations)

The misquotation of verb tense makes Jefferson appear to be describing current, or present, phenomena, when he is actually talking about the past. Far from proving a latter-day conversion from cyclical to progressive theory, the letter clearly indicates that Jefferson, in 1813, was long accustomed to thinking of science and the American political experiment as instruments of progress. His reference to the failure of the French Revolution is a superb example of the compatibility of the cyclical pattern with the idea of progress.

the same time, a cyclical view of history and a belief in progress.⁴³ But it is equally apparent that just such a marriage of views was typical of 18th century America. Moreover, it was precisely that union of the cyclical view and the idea of progress which inspired and informed the Scottish-American science of human behavior. The assumptions of that scientific persuasion were an integral part of the 18th century approach to history. The founding fathers had read their history well. They knew only too well that its pattern was cyclical; and they labored mightily to break out of that pattern.

The idea of progress thus implied had little about it to suggest inevitability. It had to do with the possibility of improving Man's lot on earth. If Americans were reluctant to talk about improving human nature, they labored as hard as any philosophe to improve, or modify the effects of human behavior. Their faith, after all was in the efficacy of reason, not in the inevitability of human reasonableness.

⁴³The scope of this study does not allow a detailed examination of the origins of this mistaken idea, but certainly it is related to American views of the French Revolution. The 18th century idea of Progress tends to be identified with the extreme form of French rationalism -- which in turn gets blamed for the excesses of the French Revolution. Thus not only does progress get defined, retrospectively, as straight-line, inevitable progress, it also has the dubious distinction of having caused, and been disproved by, the Reign of Terror. The contemporaneous American reaction against the French excesses was real enough -- though nowhere near so complete as some have supposed -- and seems to be the root of the problem. Subsequent histories, like popular tradition, have portrayed the founding fathers as devoid of all rationalistic assumptions -- even to the point of denying that theorizing played an important role in the formation of the Constitution. (For a persuasive refutation of such views see Douglass Adair, "Experience Must Be Our Only Guide: History, Democratic Theory, and the United States Constitution".) pp. 130-131

The effect of their scientific aspirations upon their understanding of history's pattern appears to have been negligible. Nations might well continue to rise and fall. But the real pattern of history had to do with man, not nations. Science had become a factor in that pattern and science was "progressive."

The strong historical emphasis of the Library of Congress was neither an accident nor a reflection of a peculiarly American quality. A passion for history was characteristic of the age, and respect for historical knowledge Madison shared with most of his educated contemporaries. What is peculiar to Madison, and what explains his stature in history is the peculiar blend of the scholar-scientist and man of affairs which he represented — and the fact that he was in the right place at the right time.

Other men as capable as Madison, in their own way were present in 1787, but none was available in quite the same way as he. Jefferson and Adams were both abroad during that summer; Benjamin Franklin, though

Thomas Mair, in a brilliant exposure of the per-dominant thesis advanced by Forrest McDonald in The Founding Fathers: The American Revolution 1775-1790, Baltimore, 1965, states that Madison and others of the Founding Fathers were very much aware of the great debt they had been handed by history. The 18th century "climate of opinion," as Carl Becker's useful phrase, looked upon nearly all others the founders of nations. The threat for them which Madison called "the ruling passion of the noblest minds" is to be seen, according to Mair, — as a generous and ennobling influence — and as a warning to those who would define the self-interest of the founding fathers solely in the greedy language of material advantage. Madison and the Founding Fathers, See Mair, 1967, pp. 31, 42-43.

CHAPTER FIVE

Madison, The Library List, and The Constitution

The strong historical emphasis of the Library List of 1783 was neither an accident nor a reflection of a peculiarly Madisonian quirk. A passion for history was characteristic of the age; and respect for historical knowledge Madison shared with most of his educated contemporaries. What is peculiar to Madison, and what explains his stature in history is the peculiar blend of the scholar-scientist and man of affairs which he represented -- and the fact that he was in the right place at the right time!¹

Other men as capable as Madison, in their own way were present in 1787, but none was available in quite the same way he was. Jefferson and Adams were both abroad during that summer; Benjamin Franklin, though

¹ Douglass Adair, in a brilliant critique of the new-Beardian thesis advanced by Forrest McDonald (The Formation of the American Republic 1776-1790, Baltimore, 1965) shows that Madison and others of the founding fathers were very much aware of the great boon they had been handed by history. The 18th century "climate of opinion, in Carl Becker's useful phrase, honored above nearly all others the founders of nations. The thirst for fame which Hamilton called "the ruling passion of the noblest minds" is to be seen, according to Adair, - as a generous and ennobling influence -- and as a warning to those who would define the self interest of the founding fathers solely in the grubby language of material advantage. (Fame And the Founding Fathers, San Marino, 1967, pp. 31, 48-50)

well-read, brilliant and witty, was old, a little tired, and perhaps less a social than a natural scientist. No one can doubt the talents of men like Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, Hamilton, Pinckney, or a dozen others of that minor host who made up the Convention. They were men whose combined abilities would honor any nation, young or old. But even in that collection of luminaries, Madison stands out, uniquely -- not least of all because he, more than any other single person, had viewed the forthcoming Convention less as a political occasion than as an occasion for the application of political science.

The basic contention of this study has been that the importance of the Library List is to be seen: first, in its relationship to the history of the Library of Congress, second, as it reflects a distinctive 18th century view of history, and third, as a bibliographical index to the ideas which informed the writing of the Constitution of the United States. The personality of James Madison ties these last two considerations together. The man primarily responsible for composing the Library List is also conceded to have the best claim upon the title, "Father of the Constitution", and he has been described by Douglass Adair as "the most creative and philosophical disciple of the Scottish school of science and politics in the Philadelphia Convention."²

The ideas which did inform the writing of the United States Constitution were diverse. They represented 18th century answers to a wide variety of questions about the nature of man, the bases of society,

²"That Politics Might Be Reduced To A Science", p. 348.

the nature of government, and the possibilities of politics. The question relevant here is this: of what value is the Library List in studying the origins of American Constitutional ideas?

The calling of the Convention was itself the product of a certain view of history, and of certain assumptions about the nature of government which are reflected in the substance of the List. Students of American history have disagreed actively over whether the Convention ought to have been called at all. This debate -- active a generation or two ago but simmering still -- has reflected conflicting views about the nature of the "crisis" which ended the "critical period", as John Fiske called it, by evoking the Convention call and the drafting of the Constitution.³

The truth of the matter is that the crisis was in some degree artificial as the Anti-Federalists charged at the time (and the Beardians since), though not altogether for the reasons they alleged. Concern for the safety of the republic as expressed by Washington, Hamilton, and Madison was real enough, but it sprang from their reading of history as much as from anything they actually saw in the events of the time.

Much of the nit-picking legalism of pre-Revolutionary resistance

³ The Beard Thesis is, of course, well known, and Merrill Jensen, a very talented disciple of Beard, elaborated his critique of the Federalists into a full-blown defense of government under the Articles of Confederation -- describing it as a democratic experiment that "failed on the verge of success, defeated by a counter-revolution that succeeded on the verge of failure". (The New Nation, New York: Knopf, 1950. p. 428.

to British "tyranny" can be understood best in the contest of the American taste for "whig" history. Similarly, one must read the patriotic fears of the Federalists in 1787 as a reflection of their reading of classical history. In the former case, a steady diet of "whig" histories had nourished in America (more thoroughly than in England, as the Revolution showed) the mythic tradition of a pristine Saxon constitution which George III was obviously trying his best to subvert.⁴ In the latter, the Federalists' sense of crisis followed naturally from certain political assumptions based on their reading of the classics. Republican governments were -- and had ever been -- susceptible to certain endemic weaknesses. With their eyes fixed upon the classical models they were prepared to see in Shay's Rebellion the same class warfare which had ever signaled the beginning of the end for all republics.⁵

The delegates who gathered in Philadelphia held conflicting views about the seriousness of the crisis, but agreed that the Articles of Confederation were in need of an overhaul. They were particularly interested, therefore, in questions having to do with the relationship between the nature and structure of government. In addressing themselves to those questions the delegates relied upon ideas drawn from their reading of ancient and modern history as well as from the American experience of colonies and states.

⁴Colburn, The Lamp of Experience, p. 193. Although the Library List is a bit more even-handed than a good many of the libraries studied by Professor Colburn, it too gives ample space to "whiggish" authors. (See nos. 106-143, Part II, Infra).

⁵Adair, "Experience Must Be Our Only Guide", p. 136.

Government, as they understood the matter, was basically of three kinds: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy -- depending upon where the power to govern was placed. Each system was prone to a particular brand of corruption and degenerated eventually into its characteristic "bad" form: tyranny, oligarchy, or mob rule. The classical formula assumed that in each case the person -- or group -- in power was the direct agent of its own authority.

Refined by the wisdom of experience (available to the delegates in John Adams' very timely Defense of the Constitutions), the formula had acquired a certain flexibility. Pur forms were modifiable by the principle of representation, or republicanism, and that made it possible to have mixed governments in which representatives of the various groups and interests in society might share the powers of government. The conflict of interests within government created by such structural mixing was, however, a source of danger. And it could be rendered stable and durable only if the entire structure were propped up and protected from itself by a system of checks and balances.

The delegates also brought to their deliberations an awareness of the peculiar demands of the American situation. Whatever the details of the final constitution, its substance would certainly be both federal and republican. The new government would be conducted by elected representatives, responsible to existing local interests, and committed to preserve the federal relationship among the states. The difficulty they faced was that upon closer inspection many delegates found these two requirements incompatible -- not with each other, but with the purpose for which the

Convention had been called: to increase the powers of the central government.

Government under the Articles had been republican and federal in the only way that was possible as those terms were they understood. Republics needed to be small, because there was a limit to the size of the area which representative legislatures could "represent" without themselves becoming too large and unwieldy. Small too, because closeness of the people to their government was essential in order to govern well, while yet preventing those who governed from becoming tyrannical.

Republican assumptions fitted nicely with the American experience. They also served as a theoretical justification for state sovereignty-- the hall mark of American federalism under the Articles, and of all confederacies since the beginning of time. National government was a misnomer: government was from the states. All that Congress could do without infringing on the sovereign independence of the respective states was to coordinate their activities in certain regards whenever they were willing to be coordinated.

But that was precisely the problem and to cure it the Convention had been called. The basic issue can be expressed in a single question: how increase the powers of the central government without denying the sovereign right of the states to veto, severally, the acts of Congress? Putting the question differently -- and more to the point -- how increase the powers of Congress without destroying the federal nature of the Union?

The other half of the problem was equally a conundrum! Any move

to increase the powers of Congress -- to make it a government instead of an ambassadorial council -- threatened not only the federal nature of the Union, but the republican nature of American political institutions as well. As surely as Congress acquired the power to govern, government by the states must cease, and with it the power of the people to oversee and control their representatives -- the very test of republicanism. With that power gone, it was merely a question of time until the new government -- isolated by distance and preoccupied with its own interests -- would become self-perpetuating, then arrogant, and then tyrannical.⁶

Very thorny problems indeed were these. And upon reading Madison's notes on the Convention debates one is overwhelmed by the conviction that they were practically beyond resolution! Yet the Constitution does exist and the nation under it survives -- solutions were achieved. But what were those solutions and how were they arrived at? The answer usually given is "compromise." Fair enough! But easily overlooked is the fact that the important compromises were not just between contending factions; they were also between conflicting theories of government. At issue were theories about sovereignty, on the one hand, and the nature of republican government, on the other.

Resolution of the theoretical points at issue (to the extent they were resolved) in the finished Constitution, was almost singlehandedly

⁶For an elaboration of this point of view see Luther Martin's speech to the Convention, June 27. Martin, Attorney General and Delegate from Maryland, was one of the chief spokesmen for those who opposed Madison's "Virginia Plan" because of its tendency to abridge the sovereignty of the states and to create a "national" state from the wreckage of what had been a federal system. (Anonymous ed. Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled at Philadelphia ..., Cincinnati: Alston Mygatt, 1838, p. 33.

the work of James Madison. The battles inspired by those conflicts can be observed to excellent advantage in Madison's own "Notes on the Debates".⁷ Madison's perspective in those debates is further illuminated by his subsequent writings, as Publius, in the Federalist papers. But the full significance of the Virginian's performance in the Convention, and later as Publius, is not to be appreciated without some reference to the historical-scientific assumptions with which he approached the matters at hand, and to the historical sources from which he derived his ideas about republics and federations. The historical importance of the Library List stems in large part from the light it sheds on this broader context of the Constitutional Convention.

Federalist Number Thirty-Nine, and Number Ten are excellent cases in point. In "Thirty-Nine", Madison is at great pains to explain how, under the Constitution, the United States could be both national and federal at the same time -- no mean feat! In "Ten", also written by Madison, we see the rationale, and what can be expected from the operation of republicanism in the "enlarged orbit" created by the Constitution. The point to be observed is that Publius, in these two essays, has provided us with the Constitution's answer to the two great theoretical issues of the Convention.

The argument advanced in "Ten" is nothing less than a complete refutation of most traditional notions about republics. Republics did not

⁷ Madison's "Notes" are available in several publications, but the most generally useful is the compilation of documents by Charles C. Tansill, Documents Illustrative of The Formation of the Union, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927).

have to be small, as Montesquieu had argued; their very smallness had in fact had occasioned their greatest difficulties -- had caused their lives to be short, and their ends violent. The argument is worth quoting at length:

The smaller the society, the fewer probably will be the distinct parties and interests composing it; the fewer the distinct parties and interests, the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party; and the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority, and the smaller the compass within which they are placed, the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens: or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other ... Hence it clearly appears, that the same advantage which a republic has over a democracy, in controlling the effects of faction, is enjoyed by a large over a small republic, -- is enjoyed by the Union over the states composing it.⁸

Equally revolutionary is the view advanced in "Thirty-Nine."

There was not, Publius insisted, a necessary incompatibility between nationalism and federalism. Sovereignty, despite the force of logic and the weight of historic opinion, was not the unitary absolute implied by Hamilton's statement that, "Two sovereignties can not co-exist within the same limits."⁹ On the contrary, sovereignty was divisible and could be shared by the two spheres of government -- state and national. Again the argument deserves quotation:

⁸Federalist, p. 61.

⁹Speech to the Convention, June 18. Max Farrand ed., The Records Of The Federal Convention of 1787, (New Haven, 1911) I, 287.

The proposed constitution, therefore, is in strictness, neither a national nor a federal constitution, but a composition of both. In its foundation it is federal ... in the sources / of its / ... ordinary powers ... it is partly federal and partly national ... in the extent of them, again, it is federal ... and, finally, in the authoritative mode of introducing amendments, it is neither wholly federal nor wholly national.¹⁰

The specific details of these controversial arguments, however, are of less moment in the present context than is the fact that they were controversial. The solutions worked out by Madison remain today pregnant with ambiguities which can be understood only in that larger context to which the Library List is one key. What precisely does sovereignty mean, as redefined by Madison? How does redefined republicanism affect those ends which republics have always been presumed to serve? Whence came the inspiration for these ingenious reformulations of prevailing political theory?¹¹

This study can do no more than point out that these are questions of transcendent importance to an understanding of the Constitution, and suggest that the materials represented in the Library List are an important resource in that regard. Two examples are relevant: one has to do with the background of Madison's approach to the question of sovereignty in

¹⁰ Federalist, p. 250.

¹¹ Unfortunately, Madison -- as Publius -- did not identify the source from which he had formed his ideas. Hamilton, however, did. And it is worth noting that many of the sources cited are works included by Madison in the Library List: Plutarch, Mably's Principes des Négociations, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, the Encyclopedia, Burgh's Political Disquisitions, Blackstone's Commentaries, Rutherford's Institutes, Grotius, and the Essays of David Hume.

in confederations, the other with the origins of his ideas on the nature of republics. In both cases, works cited by Madison in the Library List were an important influence upon his later conclusions.

Madison had prepared himself for the work of the Convention as one might expect -- by working out a clear formulation of the problem to be resolved. Then he reviewed the literature, researching the bases for a possible solution. In its historical-scientific dimension the question was this: what was the nature of sovereignty and how had it functioned historically in confederated groups of sovereign states? Whatever the precise nature of Madison's answer to that question, the materials used in working it out were contained in a heavily documented research paper brought with him to the Convention.¹²

Thirty-nine pages long, written on small sheets of note paper, and bound as a pocket-size reference book, Madison's researches constituted an exhaustive catalogue of the historic weaknesses of confederacies -- with descriptions of how they had "died." The "lessons" of history were clear, and they validated the inferences Madison had drawn from his own observations of American experience under the Articles of Confederation: The sovereignty of member states made federations essentially unstable. Either state sovereignty must be modified or the American confederacy must, like its predecessors break apart.

That startling conclusion was based to a considerable degree on research done in the Library List sources. Madison's study, with approxi-

¹²"Of Ancient and Modern Confederacies", Hunt, Writings, Vol. II, pp. 369 ff.

mately 200 footnotes, shows that he used nineteen works by different authors and intended to look into two others. Of the nineteen, nine-- nearly half -- are by authors represented on the Library List.

More direct and dramatic is the relationship between Federalist Number Ten and the writings of David Hume, represented on the Library List as an historian and as a political thinker. That relationship was first pointed out by Douglass Adair and elaborated in an essay entitled: "'That Politics May Be Reduced To A Science': David Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist".¹³

Again, the particulars of that relationship do not concern us here so much as the fact of the relationship itself -- illustrating as it does the seminal influence of the sources cited by Madison four years earlier in the Library List. In working out the details of Madison's reliance upon Hume, Adair has documented the basis of hope for greater understanding of the Constitution, and has shown that Madison typifies exactly that historical-scientific persuasion so typical of the educated 18th century mind.

Perfectly clear from Adair's reading of the Tenth Federalist, and clearly indicated by Madison's researches into the history of confederacies, is the fact that the Constitution was not the work of merely "practical men, drawing on the lessons and examples of their own past

¹³ Huntington Library Quarterly, XX No. 4 (1957) 343-360. See especially pp. 348-9: "It was David Hume's speculations on the 'Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth' ... that most stimulated Madison's thought on factions. ... At the very end of Hume's essay was a discussion that could not help being of interest to Madison. For here the Scot casually demolished the Montesquieu small-republic theory; and it was this part of his essay ... that was 'to serve Madison in new-modeling a 'botched' confederation...'"

experience."¹⁴ The naked truth of the matter is that experience -- immediate and historical -- offered no examples upon which the new constitution could be modeled.

Neither the classical models nor later variations of them had remained stable for very long. Switzerland, a notable exception, offered no real hope to an American statesman. It was too small and its problems too different. Sovereignty, though nominally attributed to the confederacy as a unit, Madison found to be monopolized by the cantons individually. The Confederacy, as such, had no treasury, no troops, no currency, no judiciary, "nor any common mark of sovereignty".¹⁵

Madison's research paper was, for the most part a dreary roll call of failures. Moreover, the theoretical pattern from which Madison formed his idea of the enlarged republican orbit was so utterly destitute of historical precedent that David Hume -- its creator -- had consigned his hopes to" ... some future age, /when/ an opportunity might be afforded of reducing the theory to practice, either by a dissolution of some old government, or by the combination of men to form a new one, in some distant part of the world /emphasis added/"¹⁶ How those last words must have caught Madison's eye!

The scientific mind of the 18th century was accustomed to using the materials of history as a base from which to infer general principles.

¹⁴ Adair, "Experience Must Be ...", pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ Hunt Writings, Vol. II, p. 377.

¹⁶ Adair, "That Politics May ...", p. 349.

Even Adams and Hamilton, whose conclusions led them to rest their hopes for America on a mixed constitution (patterned after that of Great Britain), had arrived at those conclusions by generalizing about historical experience rather than merely seeking to emulate precedent.

But it was Madison's special genius to see the American problem as one that could be resolved only by synthesizing a new wisdom about republics and confederacies. Drawing upon historical knowledge and the methods of the new political science (both of which he had earlier enshrined in the Library List of 1783) he struck out in new directions.

He had that certain spark of optimism, born of confidence in the methods of scientific-historical analysis, which enabled him to see the American problem in terms of a theoretical model.¹⁷ That model, inspired by Madison's reading of Hume, and creatively molded to fit the American situation, held out the attractive possibility of stabilizing the American confederacy and breaking loose from the dreary round of past republican failures.

¹⁷ See also Richard Mott Gummere, The American Colonial Mind and the classical Traditions, (Cambridge: Howard University Press, 1963) p. 176. Gummere shows the theoretical aspects of even traditional political wisdom by pointing out that, "the theory of our Constitution derives from Aristotle."

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

SOURCES:

/Beckley, John James and Josiah Wilson King/, Catalogue Of The Books, Maps, and Charts, Belonging To The Library Of The Two Houses Of Congress. Washington: William Duane, April, 1802.

Boyd, Julian, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. 17 vols.; Princeton University Press, 1952 - /present/.

Burt, E.A., ed., The English Philosophers From Bacon To Mill. N.Y.: Modern Library, 1939.

Cappon, Lester J., ed., The Adams-Jefferson Letters. University of North Carolina Press, 1959.

Farrand, Max, ed., The Records Of The Federal Convention Of 1787. 4 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911.

Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, and James Madison, The Federalist: A Commentary On the Constitution Of The United States. N.Y.: Modern Library, no date.

Hunt, Gaillard, ed., The Writings Of James Madison. 9 vols.; N.Y.: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900 - 1910.

Hutchinson, William T., and William E. Rachal eds., The Papers of James Madison. 5 vols.; University of Chicago Press, 1962 - /present/.

Library Company of Philadelphia, A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1789.

Secret Proceedings And Debates Of The Convention Assembled At Philadelphia in the year of 1787 ... Cincinnati: Alston Mygatt, 1838.

Sowerby, E. Millicent, A Catalogue Of The Library Of Thomas Jefferson. 5 vols.; Washington: G.P.O., 1953.

Tansill, Charles C., ed., Documents Illustrative Of The Formation Of The American States. Washington: G.P.O., 1927.

U.S., Congress, (ad hoc) Library Committee, Report On A Catalogue Of Books Necessary For The Use Of Congress, Together With The Expense Thereof, June 23, 1790. Ms., "Records of The House of Representatives", National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S., Congress, Annals Of Congress, 1789 - 1824. Washington: G.P.O., 1789 - 1824.

U.S., Continental Congress, (ad hoc) Library Committee, Report Of Books Proper For The Use of Congress, January 24, 1783. Ms. "Papers of the Continental Congress; Miscellany", Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

U.S., Continental Congress, Journals Of The Continental Of The Continental Congress, 1774-1789, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al 34 vols.; Washington: G.P.O., 1904-1937.

SECONDARY WORKS:

Adair, Douglass G. Fame And The Founding Fathers. San Marino, 1967.

Adair, Douglass G. "'Experience Must Be Our Only Guide': History, Democratic Theory, And The United States Constitution."

Adair, Douglass G. " ' That Politics May Be Reduced To A Science': Danid Hume, James Madison, and the Tenth Federalist", Huntington Library Quarterly, XX (August, 1957), 343-360.

Adams, Randolph G., Three Americanists: Henry Harris, Bibliographer; George Brinley, Book Collector; Thomas Jefferson, Librarian. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939.

Becker, Carl, The Heavenly City Of The 18th Century Philosophers.

Becker, Carl, Every Man His Own Historian: Essays on History and Politics. N.Y., 1935.

Bliss, Henry Evelyn, The Organization of Knowledge In Libraries. N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co., 1934.

Black, J.B., The Art of History: A Study of Four Great Historians Of The 18th Century. London, 1926.

Bradsher, E. L., "A Model American Library", Sewanee Review, XXiv (1916), 458-470.

Brant, Irving, James Madison, 6 vols., Indianapolis, 1941-1950.

Cannon, Carl L., American Book Collectors And Collecting From Colonial Times To The Present. N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co., 1941

Cohen, Morris R., American Thought: A Critical Sketch. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.

Coulbourn, H. Trevor, The Lamp Of Experience: Whig History And The Intellectual Origins Of The American Revolution. University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

Curti, Merle, The Growth Of American Thought. N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1943.

Delmage, Rutherford E., "The American Idea Of Progress", Proceedings Of The American Philosophical Society, XCI (1947), 307-314.

Elton, G.R., The Practice Of History. N.Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967.

Ford, Worthington Chauncey, A Catalogue Of The Books Of J. Q. Adams. Boston, 1938.

Gates, Jean Key, Guide To The Use Of Books And Libraries. N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1962.

Gummere, Richard Mott, The American Colonial Mind And The Classical Tradition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Jensen, Merril, The New Nation. A History Of The U.S. During The Confederation, 1781-1789. N.Y.: Knopf, 1950.

Jones, Howard Mumford, O Strange New World. N.Y.: Viking Press, 1964.

Malone, Dumas, Dictionary Of American Biography. N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

Mearns, David Chambers, The Story Up To Now; The Library Of Congress, 1800-1946. Washington: G.P.O., 1947.

Mearns, David Chambers, Arthur Bestor, and Jonathon Daniels, Three American Presidents And Their Books. University of Illinois Press, 1955.

Mood, Fulmer, "The Continental Congress And The Plan For A Library Of Congress in 1782-1783." Pennsylvania Magazine Of History And Biography, LXXII (1948), 3-24.

Murdock, Kenneth, B., "William Hubbard & The Providential Interpretation of History" Proceedings Of The American Antiquarian Society, N.S. 52(1): 15-37 (April, 1942).

Persons, Stowe, "The Cyclical Theory of History in 18th Century America", American Quarterly, 6 (2) : 147-63 (Summer, 1954).

Richardson, Ernest Cushing, The Beginnings Of Libraries. London: Archon Books, 1963.

Schapiro, J.S., Condorcet And The Rise Of Liberalism. N.Y., 1934.

Smith, Page, The Historian And History. N.Y.: Knopf, 1964.

Schneider, Herbert, A History Of American Philosophy. N.Y.:
Columbia University Press, 1946.

THE

LIBRARY

LIST

OF

1783

EDITORIAL NOTE

The presentation of the Library List which follows tries to do the following things: (1) identify the author and full title of all the works included by Madison and his colleagues in their committee report of January 24, 1783. (2) Indicate whether those titles were present in the two sources used most extensively by Madison: the Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia and Thomas Jefferson's 1783 list of books "bought and to be bought" which he had with him during his January stay in Philadelphia.

The reason for the first objective is perhaps clear enough to avoid much explanation: Many of Madison's short-title entries are simply too obscure for convenient use by present-day students. The second endeavor began as an attempt to discover the extent of Madison's reliance upon these two bibliographical resources, and became also a means of identifying many of the entries on the List, and finally of evaluating the List itself. All but sixty-eight of Madison's titles appear in one or both of these sources: one the foremost "public" collection, and the other the foundation of what became the foremost private collection. This relationship provides compelling testimony of the generally representative quality of the committee's bibliographical decisions.

For convenience's sake roman numerals have been supplied for the major subject headings and arabic numbers 1 through 309 for each entry

to indicate its position in the List. Each entry is presented in the order of its appearance, accompanied by the following items of information:

Item one, the entry just as it appears in the Library List, preceded by its sequence number.

Item two, the name of the author.

Item three, indented, the full title of the work cited, followed immediately, on the same line if possible, by a notation showing whether and where it is to be found in the Jefferson Catalogue. Should the entry not be found there the notation will indicate the same information in respect to the Library Company Catalogue. and failing that will be absent.

Item four, not indented, a notation showing the location of the work in the Library Company Catalogue, followed by the title as rendered in that place. Where appropriate, the same will be indicated for the Jefferson Catalogue. If the work is cited in neither source, the notation will be simple LCP (Library Company Catalogue): No entry, or JEFF: No entry.

Item five, not indented, editorial notes and comments.

Thus a useful pair of sample entries might be :

60. Burnett's History of his own times.

BURNETT, Gilbert.

Bishop Burnet's History of His own Time ... To which is added, The Author's Life, by the Editor [The Bishop's youngest son, Thomas Burnet] ... London, 1734. 2 vols. Fol. JEFF: 397.

LCP: 14-172. Bishop Burnet's history of his own time; from the restoration of Charles the Second, to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht; with the life of the author, by the editor. 2 vols. London, 1734. Fol.

This title was interlined as an afterthought but still in Madison's hand.

62. Warner's Eccles: History of England

WARNER, Ferdinando.

The ecclesiastical History of England to the eighteenth century. 2 vols. London, 1734. Fol. LCP: 5-151.

JEFF: No entry.

Two remaining sources of confusion are the "JEFF" and "LCP" notations. In the sample entry (no. 60.) the notation JEFF: 397 means simply that the work appears as the 397th entry in E. Millicent Sowerby's A Catalogue Of The Library of Thomas Jefferson, (Washington, G.P.O., 1953).

Actually each entry in Miss Sowerby's remarkable Catalogue is numbered twice, once at the beginning to indicate its position in that particular subject-category, or chapter as Jefferson styled them, and once again as the last item in the entry to indicate its position in the whole collection, which is numbered seriatim throughout. It is this latter number which is used here since it provides the most convenient access to Miss Sowerby's valuable work.

The notation, LCP: 5-151, appearing in entry 62, provides direction for finding the work thus cited in the 1789 Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia [The Catalogue actually in use in 1783 is no longer available]. Thus, 5-151, is a combination of the Catalogue page (i.e., 5) and the acquisition, or shelf number assigned the work by the Library Company cataloguer. To locate Warner's History, then, one would look on page five of the 1789 Catalogue and then find, along the left-hand margin, number 151.

For the purpose of identifying author and title of the various works a number of bibliographical sources have been relied upon without specific citation. The most rewarding of these was the remarkable storehouse of such information that the late Professor Douglass Adair always dispensed so graciously upon request. Thanks to his efforts and collecting skill many of Madison's titles, particularly those in the categories of History and Politics, are available for study in the Lee-Barnard collection of the

Francis Bacon Foundation Library in Claremont, California.

Of the more conventional sources of bibliographical information, the most consistently useful have been the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, The Library of Congress Catalogue and Union Catalogue, Joseph Sabin's Bibliotheca Americana, Charles Evans' American Bibliography, and the French Bibliothèque Nationale.

I. [ENCYCLOPEDIAS]

1. Encyclopedie Methodique.

PANCKOUCKE, Charles Joseph et al (literary heirs of Diderot and d'Alembert).

Encyclopedie Methodique, ou par Ordre de Matieres; par une Societe de Gens de Lettres, de Savans et d'Artistes; Precedee d'un Vocabulaire universel, servant de Table pour tout l'Ouvrage, ornee des Portraits de MM. Diderot & d'Alembert, premiers Editeurs de l'Encyclopedie. 136 1/2 vols., 4o. Paris and Liege, 1782-1815. JEFF: 4889.

LCP: No entry. See, however, 347-1079. Select essays from the Encyclopedy; being the most curious, entertaining and instructive parts of that very extensive work, written by Mallet, Diderot, D'Alembert, and others. London, 1772. 8o.

If Congress had chosen to buy the latest edition of Diderot's Encyclopedia available in 1783, rather than await Panckoucke's revision which was not finally finished until 1815, they would have purchased the Encyclopedie ou Dictionnaire raisonne, ... etc., the same set John Adams owned. There were 17 vols. of the original edition, A-Z, which were originally published 1751-1765; plus 11 vols. of plates, 1762-1772; and in addition, the Supplement (4 vols. of plates, and the Table Generale in 2 vols.) 1776-1780.

2. Dictionnaire de l'homme d'Etat.

Not identified.

II. LAW OF NATURE AND NATIONS

3. Cudworth's Intellectual System.

CUDWORTH, Ralph.

The intellectual system of the universe, by Ralph Cudworth; wherein the reason and philosophy of Atheism is confuted; with a discourse on the Lord's supper and two sermons. To which is added, an account of the life and writings of the author, by Thomas Birch. Second edition. 2 vols. London, 1743. 4o. LCP: 115-121.

JEFF: No entry.

4. Cumberland's Law of Nature.

CUMBERLAND, Richard, Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

A treatise of the laws of Nature. By the Right Reverend Father in God, Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Made English from

the Latin by John Maxwell, M.A. . . .To which is prefix'd an Introduction concerning the mistaken Notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Morality, whence the Usefulness of Revelation may appear. London, 1727. 4o. JEFF: 1418.

LCP: 232-937. A brief disquisition of the law of nature, according to the method of Doctor Cumberland's Latin treatise on that subject; with a confutation of Mr. Hobbes principles. London, 1692. 8o.

5. Wolffius's Law of Nature.

WOLFF, Christian.

Institutions du Droit de la Nature et des Gens, dans lesquelles, par une chaine continue, on deduit de la Nature meme de l'Homme, toutes ses obligations & tous ses droits. Traduites du Latin de Mr. Christian L.B. De Wolff, . . .Par Mr. M . . . A Leide, MDCCLXXII 1772. 6 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 1410.

LCP: 292-557. L. Christiani Wolfii elementa matheseos universae. Tomi duo. Halae Magdeburgicae, 1713. 4o.

6. Hutchinson's Moral Philosophy

HUTCHESON, Francis.

A short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, in three Books; Containing the Elements of Ethicks and the Law of Nature. By Francis Hutcheson, LLS . . . Translated from the Latin. Third Edition. Vol. I. Glasgow, 1764. 12 mo. JEFF: 1256.

LCP: 160-529. Hutcheson's introduction to moral philosophy; containing the elements of ethics, and the law of nature. Translated from the Latin. Second edition. Glasgow, 1753. 12 mo.

LCP: 151-141. Francis Hutcheson's system of moral Philosophy. To which is prefixed, some account of the life and writings of the author, by William Leechman. 2 vols. Glasgow, 1755. 4o.

7. Beller's delineation of universal Law.

BELLERS, Fettiplace.

A Delineation of Universal Law: being an abstract of an Essay

towards deducing the Elements of Universal Law, from the first Principles of Knowledge; and the Nature of Things; in a Methodical and connected series. In Five Books . . . By Fettiplace Bellers, Esq; The Third Edition. London, 1754. 4o.

JEFF: 1403.

LCP: 227-155 & 237/1 A delineation of universal law. By Fettiplace Bellers. London, 1750. Third edition. London, 1754. 4o.

8. Ferguson's analysis of Mor: Philosophy.

FERGUSON, Adam LLD.

Institutes of Moral Philosophy. For the use of students in the College of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 1769. 12 mo.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

9. Rutherforth's Institutes of Natural Law.

RUTHERFORD, Thomas.

Institutes of Natural Law; being the substance of a Course of Lectures on Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1754-6, 8o. LCP: 230-303

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

10. Gortius's Law of Nature and Nations.

GROTIUS, Hugo.

Hugonis Grotii de Jure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres, in quibus jus Naturae & Gentium, item juris publici praecipus explicantur. Editio nova cum Annotatis Auctoris, ex postrema ejus ante obitum cura multo nunc auctior. Amstelodami; 1651. 8o.

JEFF: 1404

JEFF: 1405 Le Droit de la Guerre, et de la Paix. Par Hugues Grotius. Nouvelle Traduction, par Jean Barbeyrac, . . . Avec les Note de l'Auteur meme, qui n'avoient point encore paru en Francois; & de nouvelles Notes du Traducteur. Tome Premier /Second/. Amsterdam, 1724. 4o.

LCP: 222-54 The rights of war and peace; wherein are explained the law of nature and nations. Written in Latin, by Hugo Grotius, and translated into English. With the notes of Mr. Barbeyrac. London, 1738. Fol.

11. Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations with notes by Barbeyrac.

VON PUFENDORF, Samuel.

Le Droit de la nature et des gens, ou systeme general des principes les plus importants de la morale, de la jurisprudence, et de la politique. par le Baron de Pufendorf, traduit de Latin par Jean Barbeyrac . . . Avec des notes du Traducteur; & /Troisieme/ Londres, 1740. 4o.
JEFF: 1406.

JEFF: 1407. The Law of Nature and Nations: or, a General System of the most important principles of Morality, Jurisprudence, and Politics in Eight Books. Written in Latin by the late Baron Pufendorf, . . . Done into English by Basil Kennet . . . To which is previx'd, M. Barbeyrac's Prefatory Discourse . . . Done into English by Mr. Carew. . . carefully corrected. London, 1749. Fol.

LCP: 223-258 Pufendorf on the law of nature and nations: with the notes of Mr. Barbeyrac. To which is prefixed, Mr. Barbeyrac's historical and critical account of the science of morality, and the progress it has made in the world. London, 1729. Fol.

12. Puffendorf de officio hominis et civis.

VON PUFENDORF, Samuel.

S. Puffendorffii de Officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem, libri duo. London, M. DCC. XV. / 1715 / 12 mo. JEFF: 1253.

LCP: 161-886 L.S. Puffendorffii de officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem libri duo. Cantabrigiae, 1701. 12 mo.

13. Vattel's Law of Nature and Nations.

VATTEL, Emeric de.

Le Droit des Gens, ou Principes de la Loi naturelle, appliques a la conduite & aux affaires des nations & des souverains. Par M. de Vattel . . . Tome I / -III / . A Londres, M. DCC. LVIII (1758). 12 mo. JEFF: 1411.

JEFF: 1412: Shows a 1775 edition in 2 vols. quarto also in French

LCP: 228-224 The law of nations; or principles of the law of nature, applied to the conduct and affairs of nations and sovereigns. Translated from the French of M. De Vattel. 2 volumes in one. London, 1760. 4o.

14. Vattell's Questions in Natural Law.

VATTEL, Emeric de.

Questions de Droit Naturel, et Observations sur le Traite du Droit de la Nature de M. le Baron de Wolf. Par M. de Vattel . . . A Berne, MDCCCLXII / 1762 /. 12 mo. JEFF: 1413.

LCP: No entry.

15. Burlamaque's Law of Nature and Nations.

BURLAMAQUI, Jean Jacques.

Principes du Droit Natural, par J. J. Burlamaqui. Nouvelle Edition revue & corrigee. Geneve et a Coppenhague, 1756. 4o. JEFF: 1409.

LCP: 229-77 The principles of natural law; in which the true systems of morality and civil government are established; and the different sentiments of Grotius, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Barbeyrac, Locke, Clarke, and Hutchinson, occasionally considered. By J. J. Burlamaqui. Translated by Mr. Nugent. London, 1748. 8o.

16. Grotius's Mare Liberum.

GROTIUS, Hugo.

Mare liberum, sive de jure quod Batavi competit ad Indicana commercia dissertatio. By Hugo de Groot. 1609. Lugdini, Ba.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

17. Selden's Mare Clausum.

SELDEN, Joh.

Ioannis Seldini Mare Clavsvm sev de Dominio Maris Libri dvo, Quorum argumentum pagina versa. Iuxta exemplar Londinense, VVIII. Stanesbell pro Richardo Meighen. Leyden, 1636. 12 mo. JEFF: 1420.

JEFF: 1421. Mare Clausum; The Right and Dominion of the Sea in two Books . . . written at first in Latin by that late famous and learned Antiquary John Selden, Esquire. Formerly translated into English / by Marchant Nedham /, and now perfected and restored by J. H. Gent. London, 1663. Fol.

LCP: No entry.

18. Molloy de jure maritimo.

MOLLOY, Charles.

De Jure Maritimo et navali: or, a Treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce. In three books. The seventh edition carefully corrected, with the addition of several hundred references and many modern cases never before printed. By Charles Molloy, late Barrister at Law. London, 1722. 8o. JEFF: 2112.

LCP: 218-187 De Jure Maritimo et navali; or a treatise of affairs maritime and of commerce. By Charles Molloy. Seventh edition. 1722. 4o.

19. Beaux lex mercatoria.

BEAWES, Wyndham.

Lex Mercatoria Rediviva; or, The Merchant's Directory. . . . The second edition, with large additions. By Wyndham Beawes, Esq; London, M. Dcc. LXI (1761). Fol. JEFF: 2101.

LCP: 217-57 Lex Mercatoria Rediviva; or the merchant's directory. By Windham Beawes. Second edition, London, 1761. Fol.

20. Jacob's lex mercatoria.

JACOB, Giles.

Lex Mercatoria; or, The Merchant's companion. Containing all the laws and statutes relating to merchandize . . . With an introduction, setting forth the laws of nature and of nations, dominion of the sea, &c. . . The second edition corrected, with the addition of three entire new chapters. And also a Merchant's dictionary, of words and terms, &c. London, 1729. 8o. JEFF: 2100.

LCP: No entry.

21. Lee on Captures.

LEE, Richard.

A Treatise of Captures in War. By Richard Lee, Esq . . . London, 1759. 8o. JEFF: 1419.

LCP: No entry.

22. Ordinances of Marine of France.

EMERIGON, Balthazard Marie.

Nouveau Commentaire sur l'Ordonnance de la Marine, du mois d'Aout 1681. Par M. Avocat en Parlement. Tome Premier / second / A Marseille, . . . A Paris, M. DCC. LXXX. (1780). 12 mo. JEFF: 2221.
(This is the first edition and apparently the earliest published collection of these laws) Ordonnances et Reglemens concernant la Marine. A Paris, M. DCCLXXXVI. (1786) 8o. JEFF: 2222.

LCP: No entry.

23. Admiralty Laws of G. Britain.

Anonymous

The Laws, Ordinances, and Institutions of the Admiralty of Great Britain, civil and military ... Interspers'd with Dissertations, notes and comments etc. 2 vol. A. Millar: London, 1746. 8o. LCP: 231-827.

A collection of the Statutes relating to the Admiralty, Navy, Ships of War and incidental matters; to the eighth year of King George the third. pp. 1017. L.P. Printed by M. Baskett, etc: London, 1768. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

24. /Admiralty Laws/ of the several others of Europe.

This is the first of several entries which do not appear to be bibliographical entries, properly so called, but are more in the nature of suggestions or directives to be carried out by a future hoped-for librarian

of Congress. Numbers 24, 36, 50, 73, 193, 204, 206, 249, 257, 279, 280, and 289 all have in common a certain lack of specificity indicating quite strongly that Madison had no particular work in mind. For some of these it has been possible to identify works of one sort or another which seem to answer the need, and which, indeed, Madison may have had in mind. As for the rest, however, it has been necessary to settle for much less--identifying where possible examples of the type of works indicated, or of the resources that were available to provide access to the desired material.

SPAIN:

El Rey ... Titulo III. Del tratado X. de las ordenanzas generales de la Real Armada, / etc. /. Madrid, 1751. 4o.

Ordenanzas Reales, para la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla, y para otras casas de los Indias, y de la navegacion y contratacion de ellas. F. De Lyra: Sevilla, / 1647 /. Fol.

NETHERLANDS:

Recueil Van alle de placaten ordonnantien, resolutien, instructien, lysten en waarschouwingen betressende de admiralilleyten, convoyen, licenten, en verdere Zee-saaken. 12 vols. 1701-73.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

25. Wiquefort's Ambassador.

WICQUEFORT, Abraham de.

L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions par Monsieur de Wicquefort, ... Dernière Edition, augmentee des Reflexions sur les Memoires pour les Ambassadeurs. Première / -Second / Partie. A Cologne, M.DCC.X V. (1715). 4o. JEFF: 1428.

LCP: No entry.

26. El Embaxadore. Par Antoine de Vera.

VERA FIGUEROA Y ZUNIGA, Juan Antonio, Conde de la Roca.

El Enbaxadore pr Don Ivan Antonio de Verai Cvniga comedadore de la Barra en la orde de S. Tiago. Senor de las Villas D. Sierra Brava IS. Lorenzo. En Seuilla, 1620. 4o. JEFF: 1423.

LCP: No entry.

27. L'Ambasciatore Politice Christiano, par le prince Charles Mario Carafe.

CARAFa, Carlo Maria, Prince di Buteria.

Opere politiche-cristiane di Carlo Maria Carafa, ... divise in tre libri. Mazzarine, per G. Vanberge, 1692. 3 parites en 1 vol. fols. I. II Principel II. L'Ambasciatore. III. Scrutinio politico centre la falsa ragien di state di Niccolo Macchiavelli.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

28. De la charge et dignite de l'ambassadeur, par Jean Hotman.

HOTMAN, Jean.

De la charge et dignite de l'ambassadeur. Seconde edition, augmentee. Paris, 1604. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

29. Le Ministre public dans les cours etrangers &c. de la sarraz du Franquesnay.

LA SARRAZ DU FRANQUESNAY, Jean de.

Le Ministre public dans les cours etrangeres; ses fonctions et ses prerogatives. Par le Sieur J. de la Sarraz du Franquesnay. A Paris, M.DCC.XXXI. (1731), 12 mo. JEFF: 1421.

LCP: No entry.

30. De foro legatorum par Bynkershock traduit en Francois par Barbeyrac, sous le titre de traite du juge competent des Ambassadeurs &c. with all his other works.

BYNKERSHOEK, Cornelius Van.

Traite du Juge competent des Ambassadeurs, tant pour le Civil,

que pour le criminel. Traduit du Latin de Mr. De Bynkershoek, ...
par Jean Barbeyrac, ... A. La Haye, 1723. 8o. JEFF: 1427.

LCP: No entry.

Whether Madison is asking for the rest of Bynkershoek's works here or those of Barbeyrac is not clear - but see #11 for another of Barbeyrac's famous translations.

31. De legationibus par Alberic Gentilis.

GENTILIS, Albericus.

A. G. de legationibus, libri tres. Londini, 1585. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

32. Legatus par Charles Paschal.

PASQUALE, Carlo Viscount di Quente.

Legatus, ... Accessit Graecarum dictionum interpretatio, etc.
pp. 539. Apud R. Parvivallium: Rothomagi, 1598. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

33. Legatus par Frederick Marsalaer.

MARSELAER, Frederick.

Legatus, libri duo, Sumtibus Matthaei Birckneri ... Vinariae,
typis, Thomae Eylikers, 1663.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

III. TREATIES AND NEGOCIATIONS

34. Corps diplomatique.

DU MONT, Jean and J. Rousset (editors)

Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens. 8 vols.
By Jean Du Mont. Amsterdam, 1726-1731.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

35. Rymer's Foedera.

RYMER, Thomas, and Robert Sanderson (editors)

Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliae, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Vel communi 'ates (sic), ab anno 1101, ad nostre usque tempora, habita aut tractata; ex autographis, infra Secretiores Archivorum Regiorum thesaurarias ... Editio Secunda ... studio G. Holmes (tom 15-16 ... edit R. Sanderson. Tom 17-20 accurante R. Sanderson.) 20 tom. Londini, 1704-32. fol.

LCP: 18-301 Rymer's Foedera. 20 vols. London, 1727. Fol.

JEFF: No entry.

The Corps Universel Diplomatique was for France what Rymer's Foedera was for England. The single most comprehensive collection of Treaties, Conventions and the like - Furthermore the 2nd ed. of the Foedera is generally considered the best of the several editions of the work which were available in 1783.

36. A complete collection of Treaties.

ANONYMOUS.

Treaties. Viz. Portugal & Russia. 1787. Spain & Algiers. 1786. France & Great Britain. 1786. --France & Russia. 1787. 4o. JEFF: 1431.

CHALMERS, George.

JEFF: 1432. A collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other powers. By George Chalmers, Esq. Vol. 1/-II/. London, 1790. 8 vo.

36. (continued)

Whatever collection or collections Madison may have had in mind, this one, compiled by George Chalmers, was apparently the first one purchased by Congress - see David C. M , The Story up to Now, Wash. 1947, p. 4
See also entry No. 24 Supra

DUMONT / Du Mont /, Jean, Baron de Carlsroon.

JEFF: 1433. Nouveau recueil de Traitez, d'Alliance, de Treve, de Paix, de Garantie, et de Commerce, faits & conclus entre les Rois, Princes, et Etats Souverains de l'Europe, depuis la paix de Munster jusques a l'annee M.DCC.IX. (1709) . . . Recueillis & Publies par le sieur J. Du Mont.
Tome Premier /-Seconde/. A Amsterdam, 1710. 12 mo.

JEFF: 1434. A General Collection of Treatys, Declarations of War, Manifestos, and other Publick Papers, relating to Peace and War, among the Potentates of Europe, from 1648 to the present time . . . London, 1710.
/2 vols 8 vo in first edition followed by two more up 'till 1732. Volume II enlarged the scope of Volume I by calling for treaties since 1495/.

LCP: 37-244. A General collection of treaties of peace and commerce, renunciations, manifestoes, and other public papers; from the year 1642, to the year 1731. 4 vols. London, 1732. 8 vo.

LCP: 55-1175. A collection of all the treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, between Great Britain and other powers, from the revolution in 1688, to the present time. 2 vols. London, 1782. 8 vo.

37. Abbe Mably's public law of Europe.

MABLY, Gabriel Bonnot de.

Le droit public de l'Europe, fonde sur les traites. Par M. l'Abbe de Mably . . . /3 vols./ A Geneve, 1776. 12 mo. JEFF: 2398.

LCP: No entry.

38. Principles of Negotiation.

Des principes des negociations, poue /sic/ servir d'introduction au droit public de l'Europe, fonde sur les traites . . . Par M. l'Abbe de Mably . . . A La Haie, 1767. 12 mo. JEFF: 2397.

LCP: No entry.

39. Other Political Works.

Entretiens de Phocion, sur le rapport de la Morale avec la politique; traduit du Grec de Nicocles, avec des remarques, par M. l'Abbe Mably . . . A Amsterdam, 1767. 12 mo. JEFF: 2392.

JEFF: 2393. Doutes proposes aux philosophes economistes, sur l'ordre naturel et essential des societes politiques. Par Monsieur l'Abbe Mably. A la Haye, 1768. 12 mo.

JEFF: 2396. De la Legislation, ou principes des loix. Par M. l'Abbe de Mably . . . (w v-ls in 1) A Amsterdam. 1776. 12 mo.

JEFF: 2399. Observations sur le gouvernement et les loix des Etats-Unis d'Amerique, Par Mr. l'Abbe de Mably. A Amsterdam. A Paris, 1784. 12 mo.

JEFF: 2401. Principes de Morale. Par M. l'Abbe de Mably. A Paris, 1784. 12 mo.

JEFF: 2402. Des droits et des devoirs du citoyen. Par M. l'Abbe de Mably. A Kell, 1789. 12 mo.

JEFF: 2403. Du Gouvernement et des loix de la Pologne. A Londres, (Paris). 1781. 12 mo.

LCP: 65-49. Mably's observations on the romans. London, 1751. 12 mo.

LCP: 154-1053. Phocian's conversations on the relation between Morality and Politics. Translated from a Greek manuscript of Nicoteles, by abbe Mably; with notes, by William Mac Bean. London, 1769.

40. De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains
&c. par Callier.

CALLIERES, Francois de.

De la Maniere de negocier avec les Souverains. De l'utilite des Negotiations, du choix des Ambassadeurs & des Envoyes, & des qualites necessaries pour reussir dans ces emplois. Par Monsieur De Calliers. Premiere /-Seconde/ partie (2 vols. in one) A Londres, 1750. 12 mo.
JEFF: 1426.

LCP: No entry.

41. Discours sur l'art de negocier par Pequet.

PECQUET, Antoine.

41. (continued)

Discours sur l'art de negocier. A Paris, MDCCXXXVII. (1737)
12 mo. JEFF: 1425.

LCP: No entry.

42. Histoire due traite of Wesphalie par le P. Bougeant.

BOUGEANT, Guillaume Hyacinthe.

Histoire des Guerres et des Negociations qui precederent le traite de Westphalie, sous le Regne de Louis XIII. & le Ministere du Cardinal de Richelieu & du Cardinal Mazarin. Couposee sur les Memoires du Comte d'Avaux, . . . Par le Pere Bougeant. Tome I [-VI/] A Paris, 1751.
12 mo. JEFF: 1446.

LCP: No entry.

43. Burche's view of negociations between F. & England.

BIRCH, T. (Thomas).

An historical view of the negociations between the courts of England, France and Brussels from the year 1592 to 1616. By T. Birch. London, 1749.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

44. Negociations du P. Jeannin. [Pierre Jeannin, 1540-1622]

CASTILLE, Nicolas de, abbe.

Les negociations de Monsieur le President Jeannin. Tome I [-IV]
A Amsterdam, 1695. 12 mo. JEFF: 1447.

LCP: No entry.

45.[Negociations] . . . du Carinal D'ossat.

Lettres de l'illustrissims . . . Cardinal d'Ossat au roy Henry le Grand et a Monsieur de Villeroy depuis l'annee 1594 a l'annee 1604. Paris, 1624, 1627, 1641, 1698.

45. (continued)

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

46. . . .[Negociations] . . . du Maral. d'Estrades.

D'ESTRADES, Godefroi L., comte.

Lettres, memoires, et negociations (1663-68). 5 vols. Brussels, 3 vols.
The Hague, 1710.JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

47. . . .[Negociations] . . . de la paix de Westphalie.

MEIREN, Johann Gottfried Von

Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica, Oder Westphalishe Freidens-
Handlungen und Geschichte, etc. 6 thle. L.P. Hannover, 1734-36. fol.JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

48. . . .[Negociations] . . . du Maral. de Noailles.

NOAILLES, Adrien Maurice.

Memoires politiques et litteraries pour servir a l'histoire de
Louis XIV et de Louis XV. Noailles, Adrien Maurice, duc de, Marechal
de France. Paris, 1776.JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

49. . . . [Negociations] . . . de la paix d'Utrecht.

ANONYMOUS.

The Compleat History of the Treaty of Utrecht, as also that of Getruydenberg containing all the Acts, Memorials . . . Treaties and other authentic pieces . . . To which are added the Treaties of Radstat and Baden [between the Empêror Chas. IV & Louis XIV.]. 2 vols. A Roper and S. Butler: London, 1715. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

50. [Negociations] des autres Paix de ce siecle.

ALMON, John.

A Collection of all the Treaties of Peace, Alliance and Commerce between Great Britain and other powers from the Revolution of 1688 to the present time. [Compiled by J.A.] 2 vol. London, 1772. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

51. Lamborty's Memoirs & negociations.

LAMBORTY, Guillaume de (ed.)

Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du XVIII sieclé contenant les negociations traitex, resolutions et autres documens authentiaues. Ed. by Guillaume de Lamberty. 14 vols. The Hague and Amsterdam, 1724-40.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

52. Cardl. Mazarine's Letters.

MAZZARIN, Guilio, cardinal.

Cardinal Mazzarins Letters to Lewis XIV . . . on his love to the Cardinal's niece: together with his secret negotiations with Don Lewis d'Harro, Chief Minister to the King of Spain. pp 286. R. Bentley: London, 1691. 12 mo.

52. (continued)

Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin ou l'on voit le secret de la negotiation de la paix des Pirenees; et la relation des conferences qu'ill a eues pour ce sujet avec D. Louis de Haro, Ministre d'Espagne, Avec d'autres lettres tres-curieuses, etc. Amsterdam, 1690. 12o.

Memoires et negociations secretes de la cour de France . . . contenant les lettres . . . de S.E. le Cardinal Mazrin, etc. arranged by C***, [i.e. N. Clement]. 1710. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

53. DeWitt's letters.

WITT, Jan de.

Lettres et negociations entre Mr. Jean de Witt, . . . Et Messieurs les Pleni potentiaire des provices des Pais-Bas. Aux cours de France, d'Angleterre, de Suede, de Danemarc, de Pologne &c. depuis l'annee 1652. jusqu'a l'an 1669. incus. Traduites du Hollandois. Tome Premier [-Quatrieme] . . . A Amsterdam, 1725. 5 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 1448.

LCP: No entry.

IV. GENERAL HISTORY54. Universal History.

ANONYMOUS

The ancient and modern universal history, from the earliest account of time; compiled from original authors; with maps, cuts, notes, and a general index to the whole. 64 vols. London, 1747, &c. 8 vo. LCP: 43-129.

LCP: 17-256. An universal history, from the earliest accounts to the present time, compiled from original authors; with maps, cuts, notes, chronological and other tables. Second edition. 7 vols. London, 1740. Vol. [The "ancient" portion only]

An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time Compiled from Original Authors; and illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes &c. with a general index to the whole. 20 vols. London, 1747-8. 8o. JEFF: 128. (volume XXI printed in 1754 was not in Jefferson's collection)

55. Modern History.

SALMON, Thomas.

Modern History: or, The Present State of all Nations . . . By Mr. Salmon. Illustrated with Cuts and Maps accurately drawn according to the Geographical Part of this Work, by Herman Moll. Third Edition in Three Volumes. London, 1744-6. Fol. JEFF: 155.

This is probably not the author and work referred to here by Madison. What is more likely is that in items 52 & 53 he is referring to the two parts of the complete Universal History. What makes this a likely supposition is that Jefferson had only the "Ancient" portion of the work--i.e. the first 20 vols--to which were subsequently added, (See E. M. Sowerby) 44 volumes constituting the "Modern" portion. The total, then, of 64 vols corresponds with the following entry from the LCP.

LCP: 34-129. The ancient and modern universal history, from the earliest account of time; compiled from original authors; with maps, cuts, notes, and a general index to the whole. 64 vols. London, 1747 &c. 8 vo.

56. Raleigh's History of the World.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter.

The History of the World, in five Books. By Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. The Eleventh Edition . . . To which is prefix'd the Life of the Author . . . by Mr. Oldys. Also his Trial, with some Additions; Together with a new and more copious Index to the whole Work. In two Volumes. London, 1736. Fol. JEFF: 130.

LCP: 17-257. Raleigh's history of the world; with the life of the author by Mr. Oldys. Also his trial, with some additions. Eleventh edition. 2 vols. London, 1736. Fol.

57. Voltaire's Historical Works.

VOLTAIRE, Francois Marie Arouet de.

Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire. 40 vols. Geneve, 1775. 8 vo. JEFF: 4923.

The History of Charles XII: King of Sweden. By M. de Voltaire. Translated from the French. The seventh Edition. With a complete index, London, 1740. 12 mo. JEFF: 259.

JEFF: 1281. La Philosophie de l'Histoire. Par feu l'abbe Bazin. Geneva, 1735. 8 vol.

57. (continued)

LCP: 359-123. The works of Monsieur de Voltaire. Translated from the French, with notes, by T. Smollet and others. Second edition. 34 vols. London, 1762. dd. (12 mo.)

LCP: 32-69. Voltaire's general history and state of Europe, from the time of Charlemain, to Charles the fifth; with a preliminary view of the oriental empires. Translated from the French. London, 1754. 8 vo.

LCP: 39-320. Voltaire's age of Lewis the fourteenth. Translated from the French. 2 vols. London, 1752. 8 vo.

LCP: 49-826. Voltaire's philosophy of history. London, 1766. 8 vo.

58. Abbe Millot Histoire generale.

MILLOT, Claude Francois Xavier.

Elemens d'Histoire Generale. Premiere Partie. Histoire Ancienne. Par M. l'Abbe Millot, 4 vols. Paris, 1778. 12 mo. JEFF: 126.

JEFF: 154. Elemens d'Histoire Generale. Second Partie. Histoire Moderne. Par M. l'abbe Millot, . . . 5 vols. Paris, 1777-78. 12 mo.

LCP: 55-1173. Millot's elements of general history. Translated from the French. 2 vols. London, 1778. 8 vo.

59. Dictionaire of Bayle.

BAYLE, Pierre.

Dictionaire Historique et Critique, par Mr. Pierre Bayle. Cinquieme Edition Revue, Corrige, et Augmentee. Avec La Vie de l'Auteur, par Mr. Des Maizeaux. 4 vols. Amsterdam, Leide, La Haye, Utrecht, 1740. Fol. JEFF: 143.

LCP: 12-100. Bayle's dictionary, historical and critical. Second edition. With the life of the author, by Mr. Des Maizeaux. 5 vols. London, 1734. Fol.

60. Burnett's History of his own times.

BURNET, Gilbert.

Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time . . . To which is added, The Author's Life, by the Editor [The Bishop's youngest son. Thomas Burnet] . . . London, 1734. 2 vols. Fol. JEFF: 397.

60. (continued)

LCP: 14-172. Bishop Burnet's history of his own time; from the restoration of Charles the second, to the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Utrecht; with the life of the author, by the editor. 2 vols. London, 1734. Fol.

This title was interlined as an after thought but still in Madison's hand.

61. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

VON MOSHEIM, Johann Lorenz.

An Ecclesiastical History, Antient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ, to the Beginning of the Present Century . . . By the late learned John Lawrence Mosheim . . . Translated from the original Latin . . . by Archibald Maclaine . . . 6 vols . . . London, 1782. 8 vo. JEFF: 621.

LCP: 7-229. Mosheim's ecclesiastical history, from the birth of Christ - Translated from the original, by Archibald Mac-Laine. 2 vols. London, 1765. 4o.

62. Warner's Eccles: History of England.

WARNER, Ferdinando.

The Ecclesiastical History of England to the eighteenth century. 2 vol. London, 1734. Fol. LCP: 5-151.

JEFF: No entry.

V. CHRONOLOGY63. Lenglet du frenoy tablettes chronologiques de l'Histoire universelle.

LENGLET DU FRESNOCY, Nicolas.

Tablettes Chronologiques de l'Histoire Universelle, Sacree et Profane, Ecclesiastique et Civile, depuis la Creation du Monde jusqu'a l'an 1775 . . . Par M. l'Abbe Lenglet du Fresnoy . . . Nouvelle Edition, revue, corrigee & augmentee, par J.L. Barbeau de la Bruyere. Paris, 1778. 2 vols. 8 vo. JEFF: 160.

LCP: No entry.

64. Blair's chronological tables.

BLAIR, John.

The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the Year of Christ, 1753. . . London, 1754. Fol. JEFF: 134.

LCP: 245-6. The chronology and history of the world; from the creation to the year of Christ, 1753. By John Blair. London, 1754. Fol:

VI. GEOGRAPHY

65. Bushing's Universal Geography.

BUSCHING, Anton Friedrich.

A New System of Geography: in which is given, A General Account of the Situation and Limits, the Manners, History, and Constitution, of the several Kingdoms and States in the known World . . . By A.F. Busching . . . Translated from . . . The German . . . In Six Volumes. London, 1762. 4o. JEFF: 3860.

LCP: No entry.

66. Smith's System of Geography.

Not identified.

67. Guthrie's Geographical Grammar.

GUTHRIE, William.

A New System of Modern Geography: or, A Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar; and present State of the Several Nations of the World . . . By William Guthrie, Esq. The Astronomical Parts Corrected by Dr. Rittenhouse. In Two Volumes. The First American Edition . . . Philadelphia, 1794. 4o. JEFF: 3826.

LCP: 107-437. Guthrie's new system of modern geography; or a geographical, historical, and commercial grammar. The astronomical part by James Ferguson. Third edition. London, 1786. With a volume of maps--No. 512, Fol. [i.e. LCP: 106-512] 4o.

This was first published in 1770, with several editions intervening between then and 1794 at least one of which, 1785, Jeff. had owned. But there is no evidence that either Jeff. or the Library Co. owned a copy in Jan., 1783.

68. Le Martinier Dictionnaire Geographique.

LA MARTINIÈRE, Bruzen de.

Historisch-politisch-geographischer Atlas der gantzen Welt; Bruzen de La Martiniere. Leipzig, 1744-50.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.69. Salmon's Gazetteer.

SALMON, Thomas.

Modern Gazetteer. Thomas Salmon. London, 1762.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.70. Priestly's Historical Chart.

PRIESTLEY, Joseph.

Description of a new chart of history containing the principal revolutions of empire. Joseph Priestly. London, 1729.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.71. . . . [Priestly's] . . . Biographical Chart.

PRIESTLY, Joseph.

A Description of a Chart of Biography; with a Catalogue of all the Names Inserted in it, And the Dates annexed to them . . . By Joseph Priestly, LL.D. F.R.S. . . London, 1785. 12 mo. JEFF: 118.

It does not appear that Jefferson had a copy of this work in January, 1783.

LCP: No entry.

72. Jeffery's Historical & Chronological Chart.

JEFFERYS, Thomas.

The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America. With an Historical Detail of the Acquisitions and Conquests made by the British Arms in those parts . . . London, 1761.
 Fol. JEFF: 4000.

LCP: No entry.73. Collection of best maps.

Not identified. (see note, entry #24.) Had Madison wished to indicate an existing collection it would not have been difficult for him to do so. There were several good collections of maps available at that time, such as Vol III. of The Universal History (Entries #52 & 53), and he could have had access to many others through existing bibliographical aides. Cf: R.J. Julien. Nouveau Catalogue de cartes geographiques et topographiques, plans de Villes, sieges & batailles; cartes marines, cartes astronomiques & de geographie ancienne. 1763. (supplemented in 1764.). It may be worth noting that in December of 1800, Messrs. Codell and Davies, London book sellers, were unable to honor the new Congressional Library's request for a "collection of maps of America", there being "no collection but what is included in the American Atlas." (see David C. M - The Story up to Now, Wash. 1947

VII. PARTICULAR HISTORYGRAECIAN74. Goldsmith's History of Greece.

GOLDSMITH, Oliver.

The History of Greece from the Earliest State to the Death of Alexander the Great. London, 1774.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.75. Stanyan's History of Greece.

STANYAN, Temple.

The Grecian History. From the Original of Greece, to the End of

75. (continued)

the Peloponnesian War. Containing the Space of about 1684 years. In Two Volumes. By Temple Stanyan, Esq; . . . London, 1739. 8 vo. JEFF: 39.

LCP: 49-770. Stanyan's Grecian history; from the origin of Greece to the end of the Peloponnesian War; containing the space of about 1684 years. Second edition. 2 vols. London, 1739. 8 vo.

76. Potter's Grecian Antiquities.

POTTER, John.

Archaeologia Graeca: Or, the Antiquities of Greece. The Seventh Edition. By John Potter . . . (2 vols). London, 1751. 8 vo. JEFF: 40.

LCP: 42-421. Potter's antiquities of Greece; containing an account of the laws, customs, civil government and religion of Greece. Sixth edition. 2 vols. London, 1740. 8 vo.

ROMAN77. Coussin Histoire Romaine.

COUSIN, Louis.

Histoire Romaine, ecrite par Xiphilin, par Xiphilin, par Zonare, et par Zosime. Traduite sur les Originaux Grecs, par M. Cousin . . . Amsterdam, 1686. 2 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 97.

LCP: No entry.

78. . . . [Coussin] . . . Histoire de Constantinople.

COUSIN, Louis.

Histoire de Constantinople depuis le regne du l'ancien Justin, jusqu'a la fin de l'Empire.. Traduite sur les originaux Grecs par Mr. Cousin . . . Amsterdam, 1685. 8 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 96.

LCP: No entry.

79. Goldsmith's Roman History.

GOLDSMITH, Oliver.

The Roman History, from the Foundation of the City of Rome, to the Destruction of the Western Empire. By Dr. Goldsmith. The Second Edition . . . (2 vols.) London, 1770. 8 vo. JEFF: 100.

LCP: 62-1607. Goldsmith's Roman history, from the foundation of the city of Rome, to the destruction of the western empire. 2 vols. London, 1786. 8 vo.

80. Hooke's Roman History.

HOOKE, Nathaniel.

The Roman History from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Commonwealth. Illustrated with maps and other plates. 6 vols. Dublin, 1767. 8 vo. LCP: 53-978.

JEFF: No entry.

81. Vertot's Revolutions of Rome.

VERTOT, Rene-Aubert de.

Histoire des Revolutions arrivees dans le Gouvernement de la Republique Romaine. Par Mr. l'Avve de Vertot . . . Quatrieme Edition . . . (3 vols.) A La Haye, 1734. 12 mo. JEFF: 66.

LCP: 41-406. Vertot's history of the revolutions that happened in the government of the Roman republic. Written in French. Fifth edition. 2 vols. London, 1740. 8 vo.

82. Gibbon's on the decline of the Rom. Empire.

GIBBON, Edward.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, esq. (13 vols). London, 1783; Basil, 1788-89. 8 vo. JEFF: 101.

LCP: 26-337. Gibbon's history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire; with maps. 6 vols. London, 1782 and 1788. 4o.

83. Kennet's Roman Antiquities.

KENNETT, Basil.

Romae Antiquae Notitia: Or, The Antiquities of Rome. In Two Parts . . . By Basil Kennett . . . The Eleventh Edition . . . London, 1746. 8 vols. JEFF: 114.

LCP: 53-961. Kennet's Romae antiquae notitia; or the antiquities of Rome; with two essays concerning Roman learning, &c. Twelvth edition. London, 1754. 8 vo.

84. Plutarch's Lives.

PLUTARCH.

Plutarch's Lives. In Six Volumes. Translated from the Greek . . . by Mr. Dryden. Edinburgh. 1774. 12 mo. JEFF: 69.

LCP: 31-11. Plutarch's Lives; with plates. Translated from the Greek, with notes, by M. Dacier. 8 vols. London, 1727. 8 vo.

ITALIAN85. Guicciardini's History.

GUICCIARDINI, Francesco.

Della Istoria d'Italia de M. Francesco Guicciardini . . . (2 vols). In Venezia, 1738, 9. Fol. JEFF: 166.

LCP: 30-543. L. La historia D'Italia de M. Francesco Guicciardini. Genevae, 1645. 4o.

LCP: 50-837. The history of Italy, from the year 1490, to 1532. Written in Italian, by Francesco Guiccardini. Translated into English by Austin Parke Goddard. Second edition. 10 vols. London, 1755. 3 vo.

86. Giannini History of Naples.

GIANNONE, Pietro.

Istoria civile del regno di napoli di Pietro Giannone . . . (5 vols.). Palmyra /Geneva/, 1760, 62, 63. 4o. JEFF: 167.

LCP: No entry.

87. Nani History of Venice.

NANI, Giovanni Battista Felice Gasparo.

The History of the Affairs of Europe in this present age, but more particularly of the Republic of Venice. Written in Italian . . . Englished by Sir. R. Honywood. London, 1673. Fol. LCP: 17-234.

JEFF: No entry.

88. Padre Paolo on the Venetian Republic.

SARPI, Paolo.

The opinion of Padre Paolo, of the order of the Servites, Consultor of the State, given to the Lords, the Inquisitors of State. In what manner the republic of Venice ought to govern themselves both at home and abroad to have perpetual dominion. London, 1689. 12 mo.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

The Library Co. Catalogue of 1789, oddly, shows no title in its collection by Sarpi whose most famous work The History of the Council of Trent went through innumerable editions from 1619 on. Jefferson owned two editions of the History [JEFF: 615-161] as well as Grisellini's basic biography AL760 based on Sarpi manuscripts destroyed. The Virginian, however, did not own the Opinion, Supra. NOTE: "See entry #154."

GERMAN AND HOLLAND

89. Histoire d'Allemagne par Barre.

BARRE, Joseph.

Histoire generale de l'Allemagne, depuis l'an de Rome 648 (jusqu'en 1730). 10 vols. Paris, 1748. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

90. Pfeffel Abrege chronolo: de l'hist: d'Allema.

PFEFFEL, Chretien Frederic.

Nouvel Abrege chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit public d'Allemagne, par M. Pfeffel . . . (2 vols). A Paris, 1777. 12 mo. JEFF: 273.

LCP: No entry.

91. Puffendorf de origine imperii german: notis Titii.

VON PUFENDORF, Samuel.

De statu Imperii Germanici Liber unus . . . Samuelis de Pufendorf. Colonia ad Spream, 1706.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

92. Robinson's History of Charles V.

ROBERTSON, William.

The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. with a View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. In three volumes. By William Robertson . . . London, 1769. 4o. JEFF: 178.

LCP: 24-316. Robertson's history of the reign of the emperor Charles the fifth; with a view of the progress of society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire, to the beginning of the sixteenth century. 4 vols. London, 1769. 4o.

93. Bentivoglio History of war in Flanders.

BENTIVOGLIO, Guido, Cardinal.

Della Guerra de Fiandra, descritta dal Cardinal Bentivoglio, Colonia (i.e. Leyden), 1635, 1636, 1640. 3 vols. 8o. JEFF: 283.

LCP: 16-216. Cardinal Bentivoglio's history of the wars of Flanders; with plates. Written in Italian, and translated into English, by Henry, earl of Monmouth. London, 1678. Fol.

94. Le Clerk's History of the United Provinces.

LE CLERK, Jean.

Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas; Jean Le Clerk, Amsterdam, 1728.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

95. Strada.

STRADA, Famianus.

Histoire de la guerre de Flandres, de Famianus Strada, Traduite par P. Du-Ruer . . . A Anvers, 1705. 2 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 286.

Jefferson had also a 2 vol. 16 s edition of 1648, in Latin; a 7 vol. 12 mo. edition of 1748, in Spanish; and a 2 vol. folio edition of 1659/60 in French.

LCP: 71-928 & 947. Famiani Stradae Romani de bello belgico decas prima, (Vol II apparently missing) ab exoessu Caroli V. Usque ad initia praefecturae Alexandri Farnesli. Romae (probably Amsterdam), 1648.

96. Grotius de rebus Belgicia.

GROTIUS, Hugo.

Hvgonis Grotii Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis. Amstelae-dami, 1657. Fol. JEFF: 295.

LCP: 72-972. L. Hugonis Grotii Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis. Amstelaedami, 1558. 12 mo.

97. De Witt's State of Holland.

WITT, Jan de.

Political Maxims of the State of Holland . . . By John De Witt . . . Translated from the Dutch Original . . . To which is prefixed Historical Memoirs of the two illustrious Brothers Cornelius and John De Witt /by John Campbell/. London, 1743. 8o. JEFF: 289.

97. (continued)

LCP: 50-838. The true interest and political maxims of the republic of Holland, by Joh de Wit; with historical memoirs of Cornelius and John De Wit, by John Campbell, London, 1746. 8o.

According to E. M. Sowerby, this work ought to be catalogued with LA COURT, Pieter de. as the author, along with De Witt, since De Witt's contribution seems to have been that of an un-authorized revisor. See #162 which seems to be a duplication of this entry.

98. Watson's History of Philip II.

WATSON, Robert.

The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain. By Robert Watson . . . In Three Volumes . . . London, 1779. 8o. JEFF: 179.

LCP: 26-343. Watson's history of the reigns of Philip the second and Philip the third. 3 vols. London, 1778 and 1783. 4o.

FRENCH99. Histoire de France de l'abbe Veli Villaret, Garnier et continuateurs.

VELLY, Paul Francois--Villaret, Claude--Garnier, Jean Jacques.

Histoire de France depuis l'Establissement de la Monarchie jusqu'au Regne de Louis XIV. Par M. l'Abbe Velly /M. Villaret, M. Garnier/ . . . (30 vols) Paris, 1760-1786. 12 mo. JEFF: 188.

There were in addition 18 volumes which Jefferson did not have: 2 12 mo. vols. of tables, and 15 40 vols. of plates.

LCP: 54-1070. Velly's history of France, from the foundation of the monarchy, to the reign of Lewis the fourteenth. Translated from the French, by Thomas Nugent. London, 1769. 8o.

100. D'avila History of Civil Wars of France.

DAVILA, Enrico Caterino.

Istoria delle guerre di Francis (dopo l'anno 1559 al 1598). Venezia, 1745. 5 vols. 8o.. JEFF: 198.

100. (continued)

LCP: 23-143 & 144. Davila's history of the civil wars of France; during the reigns of Francis the Second, Charles the ninth, Henry the third, and Henry the fourth. Translated from the Italian, by Ellis Farnsworth. 2 vols. London, 1758. 4o.

101. Philip de Comines.

COMINES, Philippe de, Sieur d'Argenton.

Les Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, Seignevr D'Argenton, Contenans l'Historire des Roys Lovys XI, & Charles VIII. depuis l'an 1464. iusques en 1498 . . . (edited by Denys Godefroy) A Paris, 1649. Fol.
JEFF: 196.

LCP: No entry.

102. Sully's Memoires.

SULLY, Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de.

Memoires de Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de Sully, Ministre de Henry IV . . . (8 vols.) A Londres, 1778, 12 mo. JEFF: 199.

LCP: 34-121. Sully's memoirs; containing the history of the life and reign of Henry the Great, and his own administration under him. Translated from the French; with the trial of Ravillac, for the murder of Henry the Great. 5 vols. London, 1757. 8o.

103. Prefixe Henry IV.

PEREFIXE, Hardoin de Beaumont de.

Histoire dv Roy Henry le Grand. Composee par Messire Hardovin de Perefixe, . . . A Paris, 1662. 12 mo. JEFF: 197.

LCP: No entry.

104. Cardinal de Retz Memoirs.

RETZ, Jean Francois Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de.

Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, contenant ce qui s'est passe de plus remarquable en France, pendant les premieres Annees du regne de Louis XIV . . . (5 vols.).. Amsterdam, 1718. 12 mo. JEFF: 203.

104. (continued)

Two of the five volumes contain the Memoires de Mr. [Guy] Joli which were printed separately from those of De Retz but apparently sold with them as a single set.

LCP: 66-167: De Retz Memoirs; containing the particulars of his own life, with the most secret transactions at the French court, during the administration of cardinal Mazarin. Translated from the French. 4 vols. London, 1747. 12 mo.

105. Voltaire's Louis XIV.

VOLTAIRE, Francois, Marie Arouet de.

Voltaire's age of Lewis the fourteenth. Translated from the French. 2 vols. London, 1752. 8o. LCP: 30-320.

JEFF: No entry. But see #55, Oeuvres.

BRITISH106. Matthew Paris by Watts.

PARIS, Matthew.

Matthaei Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major . . . Londinense, 1571. Editore Willielmo Wats. Londini. 1640, 1639. 2 parts in one. Fol. JEFF: 343.

LCP: 19-462. L. Matthaei Paris historia major. Editore Gulielimo Watts. Londini, 1640. Fol.

107. William of Malmbury.

MALMESBURIENSIS, Willelmi.

Willelmi Malmesburiensis. de Gestis regum Anglorum. Ejusdem historia novellae. Ejusdem de gestis Pontificum Anglorum. 1596.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

108. Polydore Virgil.

VERGILIUS, Polydorus.

Historiae Anglicae xxvii. Autore Polydoro Virgilio . . . Ex nova editione Antonii Thysii, J.C. Lugduni Batabovum, 1651. 8o. JEFF: 348.

LCP: 20-496. L. Polydori Virgilii urbinatis anglicae historiae libri xxvi. Basiliaea, 1534. Fol.

109. Rappin's History of England.

RAPIN THOYRAS, Paul d.

Histoire de 'Angleterre, par Mr. De Rapin Thoyras . . . (10 vols.)
Seconde Edition. A La Haye, 1727. 4o. JEFF: 369.

LCP: 33-97 & 542. Rapin's history of England; with genealogical tables, and plates. Translated from the French into English, with a continuation by N. Tindal. First edition. 30 vols. London, 1728. Fourth edition. 21 vols. London, 1757. 8o.

110. Hume's History of England.

HUME, David.

The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688. 6 vols. London, 1762. LCP: 23-136.

JEFF: 370. Shows that in 1815 he owned Hume's History in the 1790-91 edition, 6 vols. 8o.

111. Kennett's English History.

KENNETT, White.

A Complete History of England: with the Lives of all the Kings and Queens thereof; from the Earliest Account of Time to the Death of his late Majesty King William III . . . In Three Volumes . . . London, 1706. Fol. JEFF: 377.

LCP: No entry.

112. Clarendon's History.

HYDE, Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in 1641 . . . and the happy conclusion thereof by the King's blessed restoration in the year 1660 . . . Oxford, 1720. 6 vol. (3 vols. in 6) 8o. JEFF: 364.

LCP: 12-62. Clarendon's history of the rebellion and civil wars of England, from the year 1641, to the year 1660. 3 vols. Oxford, 1704. Fol.

LCP: 43-475. The life of Edward, earl of Clarendon; with a continuation of his history of the grand rebellion, from the restoration, in 1660, to his banishment in 1667. Written by himself. 3rd edition. 3 vols. Oxford, 1761. 8o.

113. Ludlow's Memoirs.

LUDLOW, Edmund.

Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq . . . 3 vols. Vivay [probably London], 1698-9. 8o. JEFF: 365.

LCP: No entry.

114. Littleton's History of Henry II.

LYTTELTON, George, Baron Lyttelton.

The History of the Life of King Henry the Second, and of the Age in which he lived in Five Books: to which is Prefixed, a History of the Revolutions of England from the Death of Edward the Confessor to the Birth of Henry the Second; By George Lord Lyttelton, The Third Edition. 4 vols. London, 1769. 8o. JEFF: 342.

LCP: 20-12 & 13. Lyttleton's history of the life of King Henry the second, and of the age in which he lived; with a history of the revolutions of England, from the death of Edward the Confessor, to the Birth of Henry the second. Second edition. 3 vols. London, 1767. Fol.

115. Parliamentary History.

The Parliamentary or constitutional history of England; from the earliest times, to the restoration of King Charles II. Collected . . . by several hands. The second edition in twenty-four volumes. London, 1762-61. 8o. JEFF: 2925.

115. (continued)

LCP: 35-166. The Parliamentary or constitutional history of England; from the earliest times to the restoration of King Charles the second. By several hands. Second edition, 24 vols. London, 1762. 8o.

116. Parliamentary Debates.

Historical collections; or, an exact account of the proceedings of the four last Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth of famous memory. Wherein is contained the compleat Journals both of the Lords & Commons . . . by Heywood Townshend Esq. . . London, 1680. Fol. JEFF: 2920.

JEFF: 2927. (Timberland, Ebenezer)

The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, from the Restoration in 1660, to the present time . . . (8 vols.) London, 1741-2-3. 8o.

JEFF: 2928. (Chandler, Robert)

The History and proceedings of the House of Commons from the Restoration to the present time . . . (14 vols.) London, 1742-3-4. 8o.

JEFF: 2934. (Grey, Anchitell)

Debates on the House of Commons, from the year 1667 to the year 1694. Collected by the Hon'ble Anchitell Grey, Esq. . . In ten volumes. London, 1763. 8o.

LCP: 33-117. The history and proceedings of the house of commons from the restoration to the year 1746. 16 vols. London (no date). 8o.

LCP: 33-118. The history and proceedings of the house of lords, from the restoration, to the year 1741. 8 vols. London, (no date). 8o.

LCP: 40-337. A collection of the parliamentary debates in England, from the year 1668, to the present time. 9 vols. London, 1741. 8o.

LCP: 31-28. Grey's collection of the debates of the house of commons, from the year 1667, to the year 1694. 10 vols. London, 1763. 8o.

117. Annual Register.

Dodsley's Annual register, or a view of history, politics and literature; from the year 1758, to the year 1783. 31 vols. London (N.D.).
LCP: 340-292.

JEFF: 398. The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature, of the Year 1761 [-for the year 1778]. 2 vols. [one vol. for each year]. London, 1762, 1779. 8o.

Although the precise extent and duration of his involvement remains unknown, Edmund Burke, like Dodsley, did serve for a time as ed. of the Regrites.

118. History of the Reign of Geo: III.

ANONYMOUS

The History of the Reign of George the third, from his accession [1760], to the throne, to the year 1780. 2 vol. London, 1782 & 1783.
LCP: 56-1194

JEFF: No entry.

MACFARLAN, Robert.

The History of the Second Ten Years of the Reign of George the Third . . . 1770 to . . . 1780. London: Printed for the author, and sold by T. Evans, 1782 [4 vol]

LCP: 58-1382. The history of the reign of George the third, from the year 1770 to 1780. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

This la-ter entry from the Library Co. appears to be vol. 2 of the MacFarlan work of which MacFarlan appears to have authored only the first and last volumes, with the others remaining anonymous. The former entry from the Library Co. Catalogue, however, may be the work listed in Jefferson's Manuscript catalogue but not sold to congress with the rest of the collection and which was titled: Burke's History of the reign of Geo. III. 8o.

119. Cabala.

Cabala, mysteries of state, in letters of the great ministers of K. James and K. Charles . . . Faithfully collected by a noble hand. London, 1654. 4o. JEFF: 2724.

. . . (a later edition) . . . To which is added in this third edition, a second part, consisting of a choice collection of original letters and negotiations, never before published . . . London, 1691. Fol. JEFF: 2725.

LCP: No entry.120. Rushworth's Collection.

RUSHWORTH, John.

Historical collections of private passages of state, weighty matters in law . . . beginning the sixteenth year of King James, anno 1618 . . . [--to the death of King Charles the First 1648] by John Rushworth. (8 vols.) London, 1721-2. Fol. JEFF: 2723.

120. (continued)

LCP: 16-204. Rushworth's historical collections of private passages of state, weighty matters in law, and remarkable proceedings in five parliaments, beginning in the sixteenth year of King James, 1618, and ending the fifth year of King Charles, 1629. Digested in order of time. 8 vols. London, 1721. Fol.

121. Thurloe's State Papers.

THURLOE, John.

A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq. Secretary to the Council of State and the two Protectors Oliver and Richard Cromwell: to which is prefixed the life of Mr. Thurloe, with a complete index to each volume by T. [Thomas] Birch. 7 vol. London, 1742. Fol. LCP: 14-162.

JEFF: No entry.

122. Parliamentary Register.

The Parliamentary Register; or history of the proceedings and debates of the House of Commons [--House of Lords]; containing an account of the most interesting speeches and motions; accurate copies of the most remarkable letters and papers; of the most material evidence, petitions, &c. laid before and offered to, the House . . . London, 1776-1777. 7 vols. 8o. JEFF: 2935.

LCP: 55-1179. The parliamentary register; or a history of the proceedings and debates of the house of commons, from November, 1774, to August 2, 1785. 18 vols. London. (N. D.). 8o.

SCOTCH

123. Robinson's History of Scotland.

ROBERTSON, William.

The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his accession to the crown of England; with a review of the Scotch history previous to that period; and an appendix containing original papers. 2 vol. London, 1759. 4o. LCP: 20-21.

123. (continued)

JEFF: No entry. However, Robertson's Scotland. 2 vols. 8o appears in the Ms catalogue for the years 1783-1814, but was not sold to Congress with the rest of the library.

IRISH124. Leland's History of Ireland.

LELAND, Thomas D.D.

The History of Ireland, from the Invasion of Henry II., with a preliminary Discourse on the ancient state of that kingdom. 3 vol. London, 1773. 4o. LCP: 25-289.

JEFF: No entry.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE125. Mariana's History of Spain.

&

126. Miniana.

MARIANA, Juan de [& MINIANA, Joseph Manual].

Historia general de Espana, compuesta, emendada, y anadida por el Padre Juan de Mariana . . . (and) Continuacion de la Historia de Espana, . . . (por) el R.P. Fray Joseph Manual Miniana . . . En Amberes [Lyons], 1737-39. 16 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 172.

LCP: 14-160. The general History of Spain, from the first peopling of it, to the death of King Philip the third. Written in Spanish by John de Mariana. With two supplements, the first by F. Ferdinand Camargo de Salcedo, the other by F. Basil Veren de Soto, bringing it down to the present reign. The whole translated into English, by John Stevens. London, 1699. Fol.

The Jeff. Ms catalogue has one entry for this work and credits both Mariana and Miniana as authors. Just how Madison acquired the erroneous assumption that these were two different works is impossible to say with certainty.

127. Revolutions d'Espagne du P. D'Orleans du Vertot.

ORLEANS, Pierre Joseph D'.

Histoire des Revolutions d'Espagne; depuis la destruction de l'Empire des Goths, jusqu'a l'entiere . . . reunion des Royaumes de Castille et d'Arragon en une seule monarchy . . . Revue et Publiee par les pp. Rouille et Boumoy. 3 tom. Paris, 1734. 4o.

LCP: 62-1597. Vertot's history of the revolutions in Spain, from the first formation of the monarchy, to the accession of Lewis the first. Translated from the French, by Mr. Morgan. 5 vols.

JEFF: No entry.

128. Revolutions of Portugal by Vertot.

VERTOT, Rene Hubert de.

The Revolutions of Portugal by the Hbbot De Vertot . . . Done into English from the last French edition [by Gabriel Roussillon]. Dublin M. DCC.XXIV (1724)

LCP: 41-407. Vertot's history of the Revolutions of Portugal. Fifth edition. London, 1754. 8o.

Jefferson did not own a copy of this work until November 1788, when he purchased the Paris edition of 1786. (See Sowerby's Note JEFF: 182.)

PRUSSIAN

129. Memoires of the House of Brandenburg.

FREDERICK II, called The Great, King of Prussia.

Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg. Translated from the original written [by Frederick II] etc. [London?], 1748. 8o. LCP: 51-891/6.

JEFF: No entry.

RUSSIAN130. History of Peter the Great by Voltaire.

AROUET DE VOLTAIRE, Francois Marie.

Histoire de l'Empire de Russie Sous Pierre le Grand. Par l'Auteur de l'Histoire de Chareles XII. 1759. 8o. The History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great. Ms note. 2 vol. London, 1763. 8o. Title page engraved.

JEFF: No entry. But see, #55, Oeuvres.

LCP: 17-238: The history of the life of Peter the first emperor of Russia; containing a description of Russia, Siberia, Crim (sic) Tartary, etc. London, 1739. Fol.

This is very likely a first edition of Mottley's History, a second edition of which by the same title is attributed to him and imprinted as follows: 2nd edition, 3 vols. London, 1740. 12 mo.

DANISH131. Molesworth's account of Denmark.

MOLESWORTH, Robert, Viscount Molesworth.

An account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692. Glasgow, 1752. 12 mo. JEFF: 262.

LCP: 63-1694. & 39-272. An account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692. London, 1694. 8o.

132. History of Denmark by Mallet.

MALLET, Paul Henri.

Histoire de Dannemarc. Geneva, 1763. 6 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 263.

LCP: 54-1029. Mallet's northern antiquities; or a description of the manners, customs, religion and laws of the ancient Danes, and other northern nations. 2 vols. London, 1700. 8o.

This is Bishop Percy's english translation of the first, or introductory, portion of the Histoire - i.e., vols i & ii of the Geneva edition owned by Jefferson.

SWEDISH133. Dallin's History of Sweeden.

DALIN, Olof.

Svea Rikes Historia ifran des begynnelse til wara tider . . .
 forfatted af Olof Dalin . . . Stockholm, tryckt hos L. Salvius. 1747-1762.
 3 tomes en 4 vol. in 4o. I. Som Innehaller hela Hedniska Tiden. II. Som
 Innehaller Pafviska Tiden. III. (1.) Som Innehaller K. Gustafs och K.
 Erickx Tider. (2.) Som Innehaller K. Johans, K. Sigismunds och Carl den
 IX des Tider.

Geschichte des Reiches Schweden, aus dem Schwedischen ubersetzt durch
 J. Benzelstierna und J.C. Dahnert . . . Greifswald, H.J. Struck, 1756-63.
 3 toms en 4 vol. 4o.

No english translation seems to have been available.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

134. Mallet's form of govt. in Sweden.

MALLET, Paul Henri.

Forme du gouvernement du Suede, avec quelques autres pieces . . .
 traduites en Francois [par P.H.M.] sur les originaux Suedois ("Acta publica
 horande til Sueriges rikes Fundamental Lag"), etc. Copenhagen et
 Geneve, 1756. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

135. Vertot's Revolutions of Sweeden.

VERTOT, Rene Hubert de.

The History of the Revolutions in Sweden . . . Translated into
 English, by J. Mitchel. The third edition. 2 pts. London, 1711. 8o.

This work went through several editions both in French and English during
 the 18th Century.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

136. Sheridan's do. of so. (Revolutions of Sweden).

SHERIDAN, Charles Francis.

A History of the late Revolution in Sweden . . . preceded by a short Abstract of the Swedish History . . . By Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq. . . London, 1778. 12 mo. JEFF: 261.

LCP: 55-1176 & 1312. Sheridan's history of the late revolutions in Sweden, preceded by a short abstract of the Swedish history. London, 1778. 8o.

POLISH

137. Abbe Coyer's History of J. Sobiesky.

COYER, Gabriel Francois.

The history of John Sobieski, king of Poland. Translated from the French of M. L'Abbe Coyer. London, 1762. 8o. LCP: 42-461.

JEFF: No entry.

138. Williams History of the Nortn. Govts.

WILLIAMS, John Esq.

The rise, progress, and present state of the Northern Governments, viz. the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, & Poland, etc. 2 vols. London, 1777. 4o. LCP: 26-327 & 459.

Though the Jefferson catalogue bears no trace of this work, T. J. did know it and valued it highly enough to take notes on it during his stay in Philadelphia during January of 1783. Possibly he made use of the Library Company's copy. See J. Boyd, The Papers of T. Jeff. vol 6, p. 213.

SWISS

139. Stanyan's History of Switzerland.

STANYAN, Abraham.

An account of Switzerland. Written in the Year 1714. Edinburgh, 1750. 12 mo. JEFF: 296.

LCP: No entry.

GENEVAN140. Keate's History of Geneva.

KEATE, George.

A short account of the ancient history, present Government and laws of the Republic of Geneva. London, 1761. 12 mo. LCP: 69-573.

JEFF: No entry.

TURKIS141. Mignot's History of the Ottoman Empire.

MIGNOT, Vincent.

The History of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, from its foundation in 1300 to the peace of Belgrade in 1740. To which is prefixed an historical discourse on Mohamet and his successors. Translated . . . by A. Hawkins. 4 vols. Exeter, 1787, 8o.

Though this edition could not have been available in 1783, this is certainly the work referred to by Madison.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

142. P. Recaut's do. (History of the Ottoman Empire)

RYCAUT, Sir Paul.

The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire . . . In three Books. By Sir Paul Ricaut & c. London, 1701. 8o. JEFF: 324.

LCP: 17-236. Ricaut's present state of the Ottoman empire; containing the maxims of the Turkist polity, etc. with plates. Third edition. London, 1760. Fol.

CHINESE143. Duhalde's History of China.

DU HALDE, Jean Baptiste.

143. (continued)

The General History of China. Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political, and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet . . . Done from the French of P. Du Halde. [by R. Brookès.] London, 1736. 4 vols. (Jeff. Had only vol I.) 8o. JEFF: 311.

LCP: 39-280 & 901. Du Halde's general history of China; with maps and plates. Third edition. 4 vols. London, 1741. 8o.

VIII. POLITICS144. Plato's Republic by Spend.

PLATO.

The Republic of Plato. In ten books. Translated from the Greek by H. Spens. D.D. With a preliminary discourse concerning the philosophy of the ancients by the translator. Glasgow: M, DCC, LXIII. (1763). 8o. JEFF: 2345.

LCP: 357-7 & 135. The Works of Plato abridged . . . With notes by M. Dacier. Translated from the French . . . Second edition. 2 vol. London, 1720. 12 mo.

LCP: 176-442. Divini Platonis opera omnia quae extant Graece et Latine. Lugdoni, 1590. Fol.

145. Aristotle do [Republic].

ARISTOTLE.

A Treatise on Government. Translated from the Greek of Aristotle. By William Ellis, A.M. . . London; MDCCLXXVII. (1778.) 4o. JEFF: 2357.

The first edition of the translation appeared in 1776.

LCP: 180-544. L. Aristotllis de optimo statu reipublicae, libri octo. Parisiis, 1556. 4o.

Also a Gr. Lat. edition of the Works, Paris, 1629, as well as the second edition of the Ellis Translation, supra.

146. More's Utopia.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Utopia: or the happy republic; a philosophical romance in two books . . . Written in Latin by Sir Thomas More, Lord High Chancellor of England. Translated in English by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. sometime professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. Glasgow, MDCCXLIII (1743). Sm 8o. JEFF: 2337.

Jefferson also owned in 1815 two other editions.

LCP: 321-47. Utopia. London, 1684. 12 mo.

This is the first edition of the Burnet translation. The Library Company, unlike Madison, had this work classed under Imagination, works of fiction, wit and humor.

147. Filmer on Government.

FILMER, Sir Robert.

Observations concerning the original and various forms of government, as described, viz, 1st upon Aristotle's Politiques. 2d. Mr. Hobbes' Leviathan. 3d. Mr. Milton against Salmatius. 4th Hugh Grotius, de Jure Belle. 5th. Mr. Hunton's Treatise of Monarchy, or the nature of a limited or mixed monarchy. By the learned Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet. To which is added the Power of Kings. With directions for obedience to government in dangerous and doubtful times. London, 1696. 8o. JEFF: 2328.

JEFF: 2329. Patriarchia; or the natural power of Kings. By the learned Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet . . . London, 1680. 8o.

LCP: No entry.

148. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

HOOKER, Richard.

The works of that Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr. Richard Hooker, in Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, completed out of his own manuscripts. Dedicated to the King's most excellent majesty, Charles II. By whose Royal Father (near his martyrdom) the former five books (thn only extant) were commended to his Dear Children, as an excellent means to satisfy private scruples, and settle the publick peace of this Church and Kingdom. To which are added, several other Treatises by the same Author. All revised and corrected in numberless places of the former Editions, by a diligent Hand. There is also prefixed before the

148. (continued)

Book, the Life of the Author, written by Isaac Walton. To this Edition is added a large alphabetical Index. London M DCC XXIII. (1723), JEFF: 2334.

LCP: 113-45 & 358. Two copies of this same edition.

149. Hobbes' Works.

HOBBS, Thomas.

The moral and political works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury. Never before collected together. To which is prefixed, the Author's life, extracted from that said to be written by himself, as also from the Supplement to the said life by Dr. Blackbourne; . . . With historical and critical remarks on his writings and opinions. London, 1750. Fol.

Neither the Library Company Catalogue of 1789 nor Jefferson's catalogue of 1815 lists an edition of Hobbes' collected works, nor do either list the author's most famous single title, Leviathan. Jefferson (#2388) owned a copy of de Cive, Amsterdam, 1669 and the first edition of Hobbes' Translation of Thucydides (1629); the Library Company owned the 1657 edition of de Cive, and the third edition of the Thucydides, London, 1723. Madison's own copy of Leviathan, one of the few volumes from his library to survive, originally owned by William Byrd II of Westover is today owned by the American Philosophical Society.

150. Harrington's Works.

HARRINGTON, James.

The Oceana and other Works of James Harrington, esq.; collected, methodized, and reviewed; with an exact account of his life prefixed, by J. Toland. To which is added an Appendix containing all the political tracts wrote by the author omitted in Mr. Toland's edition. London, 1737. Fol. LCP: 176-220.

JEFF: 2335. Commonwealth of Oceana . . . London, 1656. Fol.

This is the first edition of the Oceana, purchased from the library of William Byrd of Westover.

151. Sidney on Government.

SIDNEY, Algernon.

Discourses concerning Government by Algernon Sidney, with his Letters,

151. (continued)

Trial, Apology, and some Memoirs of his Life. London, MDCCLXII (1760).
JEFF: 2330.

LCP: 176-77 & 181-127. Two Editions; London, 1704. Fol; London, 1750.
 2 vol. 8o.

152. Locke on Government.

LOCKE, John:

Two treatises of Government; in the former the false principles and foundation of Sir R. Filmer are detected and overthrown. The latter is an Essay concerning the true original, extent and end of Civil-Government. Fifth edition London, 1728. 8o. The gift of Dr. B. Franklin.
LCP: 181-393.

JEFF: 4918. Works. London, 1751. 3 vols. fol.

Jefferson lists no separate entry for the Two Treatises, but in addition to the Works owned separate issues of other titles. The Library Company besides the seventh edition of the Works, London, 1768. 4 vols. 4o. owned various editions of Locke's other writings.

153. Macchiavelli's Works.

MACHIIVELLI, Niccolo.

The Works of Nicholas Machiavel, Secretary of State to the Republic of Florence. Translated from the Originals, and Illustrated with Notes, Anecdotes, and the Life of the Author; with plans on the Art of War, by Ellis Farnsworth. London, 1762. 2 vols. 4o. JEFF: 2353.

LCP: 23-120. The Farnsworth edition supra, as well as separate imprints of the History of Florence, London, 1674; Princeps, 1589; Disputationum de republica, Frankfort, 1708. The two latter titles from the Logan library.

154. Father Paul on the Venetian Republic.

SARPI, Father Paul.

The opinion of Padre Paolo . . . In what manner the republic of Venice ought to govern themselves . . . London, 1689. 12 mo.

JEFF: No entry.

154. (continued)

LCP: No entry.

This duplication of entry #88 is interesting. Like the four other pairings, #125-126, 207-208, 217-218, and 299-300, this one was certainly unintended. Unlike the others, however, this one doesn't seem to have been caused by uncertainty about the identity of the works of their authors. Perhaps the best explanation is that having divided the work among themselves the three contributors produced several duplications and this one simply slipped by them in their final compilation.

155. Montague's Rise and Fall of ancient Republics.

MONTAGUE, Edward Wortley.

Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Ancient Republics. Adapted to the Present State of Great Britain. By Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. London, MDCCLIX (1759). 8o. LCP: 183-578.

JEFF: No entry.

Madison probably first made his acquaintance with this volume while at Princeton since it was one of the works recommended by President Wither-spoon in his senior course on Moral Philosophy.

156. Montesquieu's Works.

MONTESQUIEU, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Bred et de.

Oeuvres, de Monsieur de Montesquieu, nouvelle edition, revue, corrige'e & considerablement augmentee par l'auteur . . . A Londres: Chez Nourse, M.DCC. LXVII. (1767). 3 vols. 4o. JEFF: 2325.

LCP: 229-70 & 73. On The Sprit of the Laws, London, 1750. 2 vol. 4o. Also a second edition of the same, London, 1752.

LCP: 212-72. Reflections on the causes of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire . . . , Glasgow, 1758, 12 mo.

LCP: 361-293. Persian Letters. 4th edition. London, 1762. 2 vol. 12 mo.

LCP: 346-989. Miscellaneous pieces of M. De Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. London, 1759.

157. Beccaria's Works.

BECCARIA, Cesare Bonesana, Marchesi di.

An essay on crimes and punishments. Translated from the Italian of the Marquis Becarria; with a commentary attributed to Monsieur de Voltaire, translated from the French. 8 vol. LCP: 230-122.

This is the first English edition.

JEFF: No entry.

158. Ferguson's History of Civil Society.

FERGUSON, Adam.

An essay on the History of Civil Society, by Adam Ferguson, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. The second edition, corrected. London, MDCCLX (1767). 4o. JEFF: 2348.

LCP: 177-43. Same edition. (The first had been published at Edinburgh.)

The Library Co. also had Ferguson's Institutes of Moral Philosophy, (see No. 8.) and the first edition of his History of the Roman Republic, London, 1783. 3 vols. 8o.

159. Miller on Distinction of Ranks.

MILLER, John.

Observations concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society. By John Miller, esq. Professor of Laws in the University of Glasgow. London, MDCCLXXI [1771]. LCP: 151-254 & 382.

JEFF: No entry.

160. Steuart's Principles of Political Economy.

DENHAM, Sir James Steuart.

An inquiry into the principles of Political Economy: being an essay on the science of domestic polity in free nations. In which are particularly considered population, agriculture, trade, industry, money, coin, interest, circulation, banks, exchange, public credit, and taxes. By Sir James Steuart, Bart. . . . In two volumes . . . London, MDCCLXVII [1767]. 4o. JEFF: 3555.

LCP: 377-11. The same edition.

161. Smith on the Wealth of Nations.

SMITH, Adam H.

An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations. By Adam Smith, LL.D. and F.R.S. of London and Edinburgh: one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs in Scotland; and formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. The third edition, with additions in three volumes. London, MDCCLXXXIV. (1784). 8o. JEFF: 3546.

LCP: 178-336. The second edition, London, 1778. 2 vols. 4o. (The first edition appeared in 1776.)

162. Baron Biefeld's Political Institutions.

VON BIELFIELD, Jacob Friedrich,

Institutions Politique: nouvelle edition, revue, corrigee et augmentee Leide, 1767-72. 3 vols. 8o. [First edition: 3 vols. Leyden, 1759-1762]. JEFF: 3570.

Jefferson in 1815 owned the first volume only of the three, translated and printed in Spanish in 1781.

LCP: No entry.

163. Histoire politique du siecle par Maubert.

MAUBERT DE BOUVEST, Jean Henri.

Histoire Politique Du Siecle, Ou Se Voit Developee La Conduite de Toutes Les Cours, etc. Lausanne, 1754. 2 vols. 12o.

Neither Jefferson's nor the Library Company's catalogue shows copies of this once famous view of diplomacy.

164. Richelieu's Political Testament.

[HAY, P., Sieur Du Chastelet, The Younger.]

The Will and Legacies of Cardinall Richelieu, the grand politician of France; together with certaine instructions which he left the French King. Also some remarkable passages that hath happened in France, since the death of the said cardinall. Translated out of the French copie by C. Dugres. [London,] January 5, 1643. 4o.

This famous work on state craft, believed to have been written by Richelieu

164. (continued)

for nearly two centuries, went through more than eighteen European editions before 1750.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

165. De Witt's Maxims.

[LA COURT, Pieter De.]

Political Maxims of the State of Holland, comprehending a general view of the civil Government of that Republic, and the Principles on which it is founded; the Nature, Rise, and Progress of the Commander of his subjects, of their true Interests with respect to all their Neighbours. By John de Witt, Pensionary of Holland. Translated from the Dutch Original, which contains many curious passages not to be found in any of the French versions. To which is prefixed, Historical Memoirs of the two illustrious Brothers Cornelius and John De Witt. (De will-sic). London, 1743. 8o.

JEFF: 289.

LCP: 50-838. The True interest and political maxims of the republic of Holland, by John De Wit . . . London, 1746. 8o.

Originally published by La Court in 1662 as Interest Von Holland, it was reprinted with certain additions (and without La Court's consent) by Jean de Witt in 1669. See #95 De Witt's State of Holland, and #51 de Witt's Letters.

166. Petty's Political Arithmetic.

PETTY, Sir William.

Several essays in political arithmetic. The titles of which follow in the ensuing pages. By Sir William Petty, late fellow of the Royal Society. London. 1699. 8o. JEFF: 2937.

LCP: No entry. But the Library Company did have a copy of Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, London, 1691. 12 mo.

167. Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind.

WALLACE, Robert.

A dissertation on the numbers of mankind, in ancient and modern times, in which the superior populousness of antiquity is maintained; with an appendix, containing additional observations on the same subject, and some remarks on Mr. Hume's "Political discourse of the populousness of ancient nations." Edinburgh, 1753. 8 vol. LCP: 347-1084.

JEFF: No entry.168. Davenant's Works.

DAVENANT, Charles.

The Political and Commercial Works of that celebrated writer, Charles D'Avenant . . . relating to the Trade and Revenue of England, the plantation trade, the East-India trade, and the African trade. Collected and revised by Sir Charles Whitworth . . . To Which is annexed a copious index. 5 vols. R. Horsfield, etc.: London, 1771. 8o. LCP: 185-1027.

JEFF: No entry. He did, however, own two of Davenant's essays on British revenue . . . JEFF: 2953 & 2956.

169. Temple's Works.

TEMPLE, Sir William.

The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart. In two volumes. To which is prefixed, the Life and Character of Sir William Temple. Written by a particular Friend [Jonathan Swift]. London, 1750. 2 vols. sm. Fol. JEFF: 366.

LCP: 328-168. Works. London, 1731. 2 vol. Fol.

170. Hume's Political Essays.

HUME, David.

Essays and Treatises on several subjects. By David Hume. London, 1764. 2 vol. 8o. LCP: 344- 723.

It is impossible to tell from the catalogue of 1815 which edition of Hume's essays Jefferson owned at that time. At his death he had the Georgetown edition of 1817.

171. Postlethwayt's Works.

POSTLETHWAYT, Malachy.

The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce; with large additions and improvements, adopting the same to the present state of British Affairs in America, since the last Treaty of Peace made in the year 1763. With great variety of new remarks and illustrations and incorporated throughout the whole, together with every thing essential that is contained in Savary's Dictionary . . . By Malachy Postlethwayt, Esq. The third edition. London, MDCCLXVI (1766).

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: 219-587. Britains commercial interest Explained and Improved; in a Series of Dissertations on Several Important Branches of her Trade and Police . . . By Malachy Postlethwayt, Esq; Author of the Universal Dictionary of Trade . . . London, MDCCLVII. (1757). 2 vols. 8o.

The Library Co. had also the somewhat less extensive Second edition of the Dictionary, Supra in two Volumes Folio, London, 1757 (LCP: 217-26).

172. Anderson's Dictionary of Commerce.

ANDERSON, Adam.

An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the origin of Commerce, from the earliest accounts to the present time. Containing an history of the great commercial Interests of the British Empire . . . With an appendix, containing the modern politico-commercial geography of the several countries of Europe. London, 1764. 2 vol. Fol. JEFF: 3545.

LCP: 217-12. The same first edition of 1764.

173. Burgh's Political Disquisitions.

BURGH, James.

Political disquisitions; or, an enquiry into public errors. defects and abuses. Illustrated by, and established upon facts and remarks, extracted from a variety of authors, ancient and modern . . . By J. Burgh, gentleman; author of the Dignity of Human nature, and other works. Philadelphia, 1775. 3 vols. 8o. JEFF: 2720.

LCP: 186-1127. The same edition as well as The Dignity of Human Nature [LCP: 152-45]. London, 1767. 2 vols. 8o.

The first two volumes of the Political Disquisitions were issued in 1774, the third in 1775.

174. Price's Political Works.

PRICE, Richard.

Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America. To which is added an appendix, containing the State of the National Debt, etc. Philadelphia, 1776. 8o. JEFF: 3109.

LCP: 208-1594-15. The same, plus a London edition of the same year (189-1231).

JEFF: 3688. Observations on Reversionary Payments; on schemes for providing annuities for widows . . . and on the National Debt. By Richard Price. Second edition with a supplement. London, 1772.

LCP: 220-1037. The same.

JEFF: 2993. Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the World. London, 1784. 8o.

LCP: 186-1106-3. An Appeal to the public on the Subject of the National Debt. London, 1772. 8o.

175. Gee on Trade.

GEE, Joshua.

The Trade and navigation of Great Britain Considered . . . By Joshua Gee. A new edition, with many interesting notes, and additions, By a Merchant. Glasgow, MDCCLXVII (1767), 12 mo. JEFF: 3565.

LCP: 221-140. The fourth edition, 12 mo. London, 1738.

176. Child on Trade.

CHILD, Sir Josiah.

A New Discourse of Trade, wherein are recommended several weighty points relating to companies of merchants. The Act of Navigation. Naturalization of strangers. And our manufactures. The Ballance of trade. And the nature of plantations, and their consequences in relation to the kingdom, are seriously discussed . . . By Sir Josiah Child. The second edition. London, 1694. 8o. JEFF: 3568.

LCP: 221-183 & 542. Two copies of an undated 4th edition, 12 mo.

177. Tucker on Trade.

TUCKER, Josiah.

An essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain; with regard to trade. With some proposals for removing the principle disadvantages of Great Britain. By Mr. Josiah Tucker, of Bristol. The fourth edition. Glasgow, MDCCLVI (1756). 8o. JEFF: 3599. (The first edition appeared in 1749).

LCP: 188-1146, 1476 & 1481. The true interest of G.B. set forth in regard to the Colonies. By Doctor Tucker, Norfolk, 1774.

178. Law on Money and Trade.

LAW, John.

Money and Trade Considered; with a proposal for supplying the nation with money. First published in Edinburgh MDCCV. By the celebrated John Law, Esq; afterwards the Comptroller-General of the Finances of France. Glasgow: MDCCLX (1760). Sm. 8o. JEFF: 3603.

LCP: 221-616. Glasgow, 1760. 12o. (The first edition had appeared in 1705.)

179. Arbuthnot on Weights and Measures.

ARBUTHNOT, John.

Talbes of the Grecian, Roman, and Jewish Measures, Weights and Coins; reduced to the English Standard. Second edition. To which is added, an appendix containing observations on Dr. Arbuthnot's dissertation . . . by Benjamin Langwith. 2 pt. London, 1754. 4o. LCP: 22-101.

JEFF: No entry.

180. Locke on Money.

LOCKE, John.

Some Considerations of the Consequences of the lowering of interest, and raising the value of money. [London], 1692. 8o.

Further Considerations . . . where in Mr. Lownde's arguments . . . in his late Report . . . are examined. London, 1695. 8o.

Short observations on a Printed Paper, entitled, 'For encouraging the Coming (sic) of Silver Money in England.' London, 1695. 8o.

180. (continued)

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

Although both Jefferson and Library Co. owned Locke's political works neither seems to have had any of the above works on money.

181. Lownd's on do. (Money).

LOWNDES, William.

A report containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin.
[London, 1795.] 8o.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.182. Necker on Finances.

NECKER, Jacques.

De l'administration des finances de la France. Par M. Necker . . .
Tome I [-III]. Paris, 1784. (the 1st ed.) JEFF: 2437.

LCP: 193-1365. A treatise on the Administration of the Finances of
France . . . Translated from the French by Thomas Mortimer. 3 vols.
London, 1785. 8o.

IX. LAW183. Justinian's Institutes by Harris.

JUSTINIAN ---[Harris, George.]

D. Justiniani Institutionum libri quatuor. The Four Books of
Justinian's Institutions, translated into English, with notes, by George
Harris, LL.D. The Second edition. London, 1761. 4o. JEFF: 2191.

LCP: 227-64. The four books of Justinian's Institutions. Translated into
English, with notes, by George Harris. Second edition. London, 1761. 4o.

184. Codex Juris Civilis.

JUSTINIAN, (Denys Godefroy, ed.)

Corpus Juris Civilis . . . ex Dionysii Gothofredi recognitione.
 Excudebat Gullielmus Laemarius, Anno Dom. M.D. XCVIII. (1598). JEFF: 2197.

JEFF: 2196. [The same work but enlarged considerably by the addition of notes and commentary by several persons]. Anteverpiae: apud Joannem Baptistam Verdussen, M.DCC.XXVI. (1726). 2 vol. Fol.

LCP: 235-924. Justiniani Constitutionum libri quatuor. Lugdoni Batavorum, 1670 - (From the Logan collection).

The first edition of this work appeared in Lyons in 1583.

185. Taylor's elements of Civil Law.

TAYLOR, John.

Elements of the Civil Law. By John Taylor, LL.D. London, 1769.
 4o. JEFF: 2209.

LCP: No entry.

186. Domat's Civil Law.

DOMAT, Jean.

The Civil Law in its natural order; together with the publick law.
 Written in French by Monsieur Domat . . . and translated into English by William Strahan, LL.D. . . . 2 vols. London, 1722. Fol. JEFF: 2212.

LCP: 222-123. Civil law, in its natural order; with the public law.
 Written in French by Msr. Domat, and translated into English, by William Strahan. To which are added, remarks on some material differences between the civil law and the law of England. Second edition. 2 vols. London, 1738. Fol.

187. Coke's Institutes.

COKE, Sir Edward.

The First Part of the Instivts of the Lawes of England: or a
 Commentary upon Littleton, not the name of the author only, but of the
 law itselfe . . . Authore Edw. Coke Milite. London, 1639. Fol. [4th ed.].
JEFF: 1781.

187. (continued)

JEFF: 1782. The Second Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England. . .
 Authore Edw. Coke Milite . . . London, 1662, Fol.

JEFF: 1784. The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England:
 Concerning High Treason, and other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminal
 Causes. The fourth edition . . . Authore Edw. Coke Milite . . . London,
 1670-- The Fourth Part of The Institutes of the Laws of England: con-
 cerning the Jurisdiction of Courts . . . London, 1648. (2 parts in 1 vol.)
 Fol.

LCP: 223-224. The third and fourth parts of the institutes of the laws
 of England. By Sir Edward Coke. Sixth edition. 2 vols in one. London,
 1680 and 1681. Fol.

LCP: 224-266. The first part of the institutes of the laws of England;
 or a commentary upon Littleton. By Edward Coke. 12th edition. In the
 Savoy, 1738. Fol.

188. Blackstone's Commentaries.

BLACKSTONE, Sir William.

Commentaries on the Laws of England. In four books. By William
 Blackstone, Esq. . . . The Fourth edition. [4 vols.] Oxford, 1770. 4o.
JEFF: 1806.

LCP: 227-42 & 257. Commentaries on the laws of England. By William
 Blackstone. Third edition. 4 vols. London, 1768; and Oxford, 1770. 4o.

189. Cunningham's Law Dictionary.

CUNNINGHAM, Timothy.

A New and complete Law-Dictionary, or, general abridgment of the
 law . . . By T. Cunningham, Esquire . . . In two volumes. The third edition.
 London, 1781, 1783. Fol. JEFF: 1814.

LCP: 225-374. Cunningham's law dictionary. 2 vols. London, 1783. Fol.

190. Statutes at large by Ruffhead.

RUFFHEAD, Owen.

The statutes at large, from Magna Charta, to the end of the last parliament, 1761. By Owen Ruffhead. 8 vols. London, (n.d.). 4o. LCP: 227-41.

JEFF: No entry.191. Lex Parliamentaria.

PETYT, George.

Lex Parliamentaria: or, a treatise of the law and custom of the Parliaments of England. By G.P. Esq. . . . From an original French manuscript, translated into English . . . London, 1690. 8o. JEFF: 2893.

LCP: No entry.192. Cunningham's law of Exchange.

CUNNINGHAM, Timothy.

The Law of Bills of Exchange, promissory notes, bank notes and insurances . . . Together with rules and examples for computing the exchange between England and the principal places of trade in Europe . . . By T. Cunningham, Esq; the third edition . . . London, 1766. 8o. JEFF: 2107.

LCP: 218-55. The law of bills of exchange, promissory notes, bank notes and insurances; with the rules for computing the exchange between England and the principal places of trade in Europe. By T. Cunningham. Second edition. London, 1761. 8o.

193. Collection of Laws to prevent frauds in the Customs.

No such collection was identified. See note, #24.

194. Book of rates.

EDGAR, William.

Vectigalium Systema; or, a New Book of Rates. Containing, A complete View of the Revenue of Great Britain, called Customs. Wherein I. The several Branches of that Revenue are distinctly treated of, and explain'd

194. (continued)

by examples. II. The Manner and Method of computing both in the Custom-Houses, and at the Waterside, are demonstrated . . . III. The Rates of all Merchandizes inwards and the Net Duties to be paid or secured . . . IV. The Laws relative to the customs, navigation, and trade . . . By William Edgar. Examiner of the Customs in Ireland. The second edition. London, 1718. JEFF: 3613.

SIMS, William, and FREWIN, Richard.

JEFF: 3614. The Rates of Merchandize, as settled by the Acts of 12 Car. II. cap. 4. II. Geo. I. cap 7. and Subsequent Acts of Parliament. With the Duties and drawbacks payable on all goods imported, exported, and carried coastwise. Together with the bounties, premiums and allowances, on importation and exportation. And also a list of goods prohibited to be imported into, or exported from, Great Britain. Compiles . . . By William Sims and Richard Frewin, of the Long Room, Custom-House, London. London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, M.DCC.LXXXII. (1782).

LCP: No entry.

See note, #24.

195. Clark's practice of Courts of Admiralty.

CLERKE, Francis.

The Practice of the Court of Admiralty of England. Written originally in Latin, by . . . Francis Clerke . . . Now first translated into English . . . London, 1722. 12 mo. (Sowerby says 16 mo.) JEFF: 2110.

LCP: No entry.

196. Frederician Code.

FREDERICK, William II.

The Frederician Code; or, a Body of Law for the Dominions of the King of Prussia. Founded on Reason, and the Constitutions of the Country. Translated from the French. In two Volumes. Edinburgh, 1761. 8o. JEFF: 2189.

LCP: 231-833. The Fredrician code; or a body of law for the dominions of the king of Prussia, Translated from the French. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1761. 8o.

X. WAR197. Vauban's Works.

LE PRESTRE DE VAUBAN, Sebastian, Baron--Marshal of France.

De l'attaque et de la defense des places. (Traite pratique des mines: et un autre de la guerre en general, par un officier de distinction) 2 tom La Haye. 1732-42. 4o.

The new Method of Fortification, as practised by . . . de Vauban . . . with an explication of all terms appertaining to that art. Made English [by A. Swall] . . . Second Edition. In which is added, exact draughts of Dunkirk, Maestricht, etc. London, 1693. 8o.

Dufay, (?) l'abbe. Veritable maniere de bien fortifier de M. de Vauban . . . Explique . . . par l'abbe Dufay. 1629. 12o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

198. Bellidore's Works.

BELIDOR, Bernard Forest de.

Architectura hydraulique, ou l'art de conduire, d'elever et de menager les eaux pour les differens besoins de la vie. 2 tom. Paris, 1737-53. 4o.

Dissertation on the force and physical effects of gunpowder. [in Manningham, Henry. A complete Treatise of Mines etc., London, 1752.]

There seems to have been no collected Works.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

199. Fouquier's Memoirs.

FEUQUIERES, Antoine Manasses de Pas, Marquis de.

Memoires historiques et militaires, composees par feu . . . le marquis de Feuquieres . . . Amsterdam, 1735. 2 vols. 12 mo. JEFF: 1152.

199. (continued)

JEFF: 1153. Memoires de M. le Marquis de Feuquiere, Lieutenant General des Armees du Roi . . . (4 vols.) Londres, 1750. 4o. [Jeff had only vols. I, III & IV].

LCP: 44-583. Feuquieres' Memoirs; being an account of all the wars in Europe, from the year 1672 to 1710. Translated from the French. 2 vols. London, 1737. 8o.

200. Falconer's Universal Dictionary of Marine.

FALCONER, William.

The universal dictionary of the marine; or an explanation of the technical terms and phrases used in the construction and operation of a ship; with original designs of shipping. By William Falconer. Second edition. London, 1771. 4o. LCP: 251-250.

JEFF: No entry.

XI. MARINE

201. Burchett's Naval History.

BURCHETT, Josiah.

A complete history of the most remarkable transactions at sea, from the earliest accounts of time to the conclusion of the last war with France, etc. London, 1720. Fol. LCP: 16-228.

JEFF: No entry.

202. History of the Several Voyages round the Globe.

ANONYMOUS.

Histoire de la Navigation, son commencement, son progres et ses decouvertes . . . Traduite de l'Anglais [of John Locke?]. Le Commerce des Indes Occidentales. Avec un catalogue des meilleures cartes geographiques et des meilleurs livres de voyages et le caractere de leurs auteurs. 2 tom. Paris, 1722. 12 mo.

LCP: No entry.

JEFF: No entry.

203. Murray's Ship Building and Navigation.

MURRAY, Mungo.

A treatise on ship-building and navigation; with tables of the sun's declination, etc. By Mungo Murray. To which is added an English abridgement of Duhamel's treatise on naval architecture; with plates. London, 1754. 4o. LCP: 251-24.

LCP: 251-239/2. Murray's supplement to the treatise on ship-building; containing extracts translated from M. Bouger's Traite du Navire with M. Duhamel's method of finding the center of gravity, etc. London, 1765. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

204. Collection of Best Charts.

Not identified; see entry #24 & #71.

205. Naval Architecture. By Marmaduke Stalkartt. Fol. 6.6

STALKARTT, Marmaduke.

Naval Architecture; or, the rudiments and rules of Ship Building, exemplified in a series of draughts and plans with observations. F. P. London, 1781. Fol.

LCP: No entry.

XII. LANGUAGES

206. Best Latin Dictionary with best Grammar & Dictionary of each of the modern languages.

A. (Latin).

AINSWORTH, Robert.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Compendarius, or a Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Tongue designed for the use of the British Nation. First published by Mr. Robert Ainsworth [1736] . . . London, 1783. 3 vol 4o.

JEFF: 4802.

RUDDIMAN, Thomas.

The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue; or, a plain and easy introduction to the Latin Grammar . . . By Thomas Ruddiman, M.A. Edinburgh, 1715. [Jefferson

206. (continued)

owned the 25th edition, Philadelphia, 1809.]

B. (English)

JOHNSON, Samuel.

A Dictionary of the English Language: In which The Words are deduced from their Originals . . . To which are prefixed, A History of the Language, and An English Grammar. By Samuel Johnson . . . The Fourth Edition . . . Dublin, M.DCCLXXV. (1775) JEFF: 4874.

C. (French)

FURETIERE, Antoine, & BRILLIANT., Abbe

Dictionnaire Universel Francois et Latin, vulgairement appele Dictionnaire de Trevoux . . . Paris, 1771. JEFF: 4824.

MIEGE, Guy.

The Great French Dictionary. In Two Parts . . . To Which are Prefixed The Grounds of Both Languages, in Two Grammatical Discourses; The one English, and the Other French. By Guy Miede, Gent. London, 1688. JEFF: 4821.

D. (Spanish)

REAL ACADEMIA ESPANOLA.

Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana, compuesto por la Real Academia Espanola. Madrid, 1783. Fol. JEFF: 4816.

REAL ACADEMIA ESPANOLA.

Gramatica de la Lengua Castellana, compuesta por la Real Academia Espanola. Madrid, 1771. 8o. JEFF: 4814.

E. (Italian)

REALE ACCADEMIA Della CRUSCA.

Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca. Napoli, 1746-48. 6 vol Fol. in 5 vols. JEFF: 48-6.

ANTONINI, Annibale.

Grammaire Italienne pratique et raisonnee, par M. l'abbe Antonini. Lyon, 1763. 12 mo. JEFF: 4805.

F. (Scandinavian)

VERELLI, Olai.

Olai Verelli Index Linguae Veteris Scytho-Scandicae sive Gothicae; Upsaliae, 1691. Fol.

G. (German)

BACHMAIR, John James.

A Complete German Grammar, in two Parts. The First Part Containing The Theory of the Language through all the Parts of Speech; The Second Part the Practice in as ample a Manner as can be desired . . . By John James Bachmair, M.A. . . . London, MDCCLXXII (1772) JEFF: 4838.

206. (continued)

ANONYMOUS.

Glossarium germanicu, contnens origenes & antiquitates totius linguae germanicae, omnium pene vocabulorum vigentium & defitorum &c. Opus bipartitum. Lipsiae, Gleditsh, 1737. Fol.

H. (Russian)

Lexicon Germanico-latino-russicum; una primes elementes linguae Russicae. Petropoli, Typ. Acad. Scientiar. 1731. 4o.

I. (Portugese)

BLUTEAU, Raphael.

Vocabulario Portuguez e latino autorizado con exemplos dos meeiores Escritores portugueses e latinos; pelo p. Raphael Bluteau. En Coimbra, no collegio ea comp. de Jeso. 1712-1721. 8 vol Fol.

J. (Dutch)

SEWEL, Willem.

A Large Dictionary English and Dutch, in Two Parts: . . . To which is added a Grammer, for both Languages . . . T'Amsterdam, 1754. 4o. JEFF:4869.

XIII. AMERICA.

207. Les nouvelles descouverts dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. Paris 1697.

208. *Tonti's account of la Sale's voiage to N. America.

TONTI, Henri, Chevalier de.

Dernieres Decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au Jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti, Gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis, aux Islinois. A Paris, 1697. 12 mo. JEFF: 4072.

LCP: No entry.

Madison appears to have created a "ghost" title by substituting "Les nouvelles" for "Dernieres" in #207, which entry is in fact #208, Tonti's, Descouvertes . . . de M. de la Sale. *He further clouded matters by a bit of careless penmanship which tricked editor Hunt into rendering the author's name as Forti rather than Tonti as Madison intended. See Hunt Journals, vol 24, p. 90.

209. Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale par Bacqueville de la Potherie, Rouen 1722.

BACQUEVILLE De La Potherie, Claude Charles Le Roy de.

Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Devisée en quatre Tomes . . .
Par Mr. de Bacqueville de la Potherie . . . A Paris, 1722. (4 vols.) 12 mo.
JEFF: 3999.

LCP: No entry.

210. Description géographique et historique des cotes de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Par le Sieur Denys.

DENYS (also Denis)

Description géographique et historique des cotes de l'Amerique septentrionale . . . par M. Denis, . . . Tome I--Histoire naturelle des peuples, des animaux, des arbres et plantes de l'Amerique septentrionale et de ses divers climats, avec une description exact de la pesche des malues . . . Par M. Denys, . . . Tome II.--Paris, 1671. 2 vols. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

211. Oldmixon's Brit: Empire in America.

OLDMIXON, John.

The British Empire in America, Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and present State of all the British Colonies, on the Continent and Islands of America. In Two volumes . . . London, 1708. 8o. JEFF: 470.

LCP: No entry.

212. Kalm's travels through N. America.

KALM, Pehr.

Travels into North America; containing its natural History, and a circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture in general, with the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Commercial State of the Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and several curious and important Remarks on various

212. (continued)

subjects. By Peter Kalm . . . Translated into English by John Reinhold Forster . . . The Second Edition. In Two volumes. London, 1772. 8o.
JEFF: 4026.

LCP: 97-1021 & 1496. Kalm's travels into North America; with plates.
 3 vols. Warrington, 1770. 8o.

213. Carver's travels through N. America.

CARVER, Jonathan.

Three years travels throughout the Interior Parts of North America, for more than Five Thousand Miles, containing an Account of the Great Lakes, and all the Lakes, Islands, and Rivers, Cataracts, Mountains, Minerals, Soil and Vegetable Productions of the North-West Regions of that vast Continent . . . By Captain Jonathan Carver. Boston, 1797. 12 mo. JEFF: 3994.
 [First edition was printed in London, 1778.]

LCP: 98-1171, 1172 & 1333/1. Carver's travels through the interior parts of North America, for more than five thousand miles, in the years 1766, 1767 and 1768; to which is prefixed an account of the author's life. With plates. Third edition. Dublin 1779. 8o.

214. Ogilvie's America.

OGILBY, John.

A description of America; containing the original of the inhabitants; the remarkable voyages thither; the conquest of the empires of Mexico and Peru; with an appendix, containing a survey of the discoveries of the south land and the Arctic region. Collected and translated from various authors, with plates, by John Ogilby. London, 1671. Fol. LCP: 104-15.

JEFF: No entry.

215. Novus orbis, autore Joanne de Laet: fol: Basiliae 1555.

LAET, Johannes De. (?)

L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales, contenant dixhuit Liures, Par le Sieur Tean de Laet, d'Aneurs . . . A Leyde, 1640. Fol. JEFF: 4090.

215. (continued)

First edition was in Dutch, 1625, and subsequently in Latin, Madison's reference should probably read: Basiliae, 1655.

LCP: No entry.

216. Novae novi orbis historiae, i.e. rerum ab Hispanis in India occidentali gestarum calvetonis Geneva 1578.

BENZONI, Girolamo.

Novae Novi Orbis Historiae, Jd est, Rerum ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestarum, & acerbo illorum in eas gentes dominatu, Libri tres, Urbani Calvetonis opera industriae ex Italicis Hieronymi Benzonis Mediolanensis, qui eas terras XIII . . . Geneva, 1578. 8o. JEFF: 4105.

LCP: No entry.

217. Wafer's Voyages.

&

218. Dampier's Voyages.

DAMPIER, William & WAFER, Lionel.

Nouveau Voyage autour de Monde ou l'on decrit en particulier l'Isthme de l'Amerique, plusieurs Cotes et Isles des Indes Occidentales, les Isles du Cap Verde, le passage par la Terre del Fuego, les Cotes Meridionales de Chili, du Perou, & du Mexique . . . Par Guillaume Dampier, . . . [vols I to III] . . . Avec le Voyage de Lionel Wafer. Ou l'on trouve la Description de l'Isthme de Darien dans l'Amerique, &c . . . [Vol. IV]. Paris, 1701-1705. [4 vols in all] 12 mo. JEFF: 4145.

LCP: No entry.

219. Chancellor's [voyages].

CHANCELLOR, Richard [Adams, Clement].

Anglorum navigatio ab Moscovitas. [a narrative of the voyage of R.C. by Clement Adams. In Marnius & Aubrius. Rerum Moscovitarum auctores varii. 1600. Fol.]

219. (continued)

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.220. Borough's [voyages].

BURROUGH, Christopher.

Advertisements and Reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the Company of English Merchants for the discouvrie of new trades in the yeeres 1579, 1580, & 1581. [see #239, Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. I.]

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.221. Forbisher's [voyages].

FORBISHER (or Frobisher), Martin. [BEST, George Captain.]

A true discourse of the late voyages of discouvrie for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the North-weast, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, General, etc. 3 pts. B L. Henry Bynnyman: London, 1578. 4o. [By Captain George Best. See also #239, Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. 3.]

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.222. Hudson's [voyages].

HUDONS, Henry.

Divers Voyages and Northerne Discoveries of . . . H.H. . . In 1607. Written p-rtly by J. Playse. . . and partly by H.H. A Second Voyage . . . of H.H. for finding a passage to the East Indies by the North-East [in 1608]: written by himselfe--the third voyage of H.H. . . .Written by R. Ivet. An abstract of the Journal of H.H. for the discoverie of the North-west Passage, begun the 17th of April 1610, ended with his end. --A larger Discourse of the same Voyage [See #238, Purchas his Pilgrimes, pt 3.]

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.

223. Davis's [voyages].

DAVIS, John.

The Voyage of Captain J.D. to the East Indies, written by himself. The second Voyage of J.D. [in Harris, J. Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca vol I. 1705. Fol.--- See also #239, Hakluyt, Voyages, and #238, Purchas His Pilgrimes.]

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.224. Baffin's [voyages].

BAFFIN, William.

Journal of the Voyage made to Greenland . . . in 1613. The 4th voyage of James Hall to Greenland . . . anno 1612 . . . A briefe and true relation or journal, contayning such accidents as happened in the fifth voyage for the discoverie of a passage to the north-west . . . performed in the yeere 1616. [no date or place of publication].

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.225. James's [voyages].

JAMES, Thomas. [Watts, William.]

The strange and dangerous voyage of Captaine T.J. in his intended discovery of the Northwest Passage into the South-Sea . . . with an advise concerning the philosophy of these late discoveries, by W[illiam] W[atta] . . . J.Liggatt for J. Partridge: London, 1633. 4o.

226. Wood's [Voyages].

WOOD, John. [Anonymous, editor. (Hocke?)]

Voyage through the Streights of Magellan etc. [In, A Collection of Voyages. 1. Captain Dampier's Voyages round the world. 2. the Voyages of L. [ionel] Wafer . . . 3. A voyage round the world containing an account of Captain Dampier's expedition into the South Seas . . . by W. Tunnell . . . 4. Captain Cowley's Voyage round the Globe . . . 5. Captain Sharp's journey over the Isthmus of Darien . . . 6. Captain Wood's Voyage through the Streights of Magellan . . . 7. Mr. Roberts Adventures . . .

226. (continued)

among the Corsairs of the Levant . . . Illustrated with maps. 4 vol. London, 1729. 8o.]

LCP: 96-796. Hacke's collection of voyages; containing Cowley's voyage round the globe; Sharp's journey to the isthmus of Darien, and expedition to the South Seas; Wood's voyage through the Straights of Magellan; and Robert's adventures among the corsairs of the Levant. London, 1699. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

227. Ellis's voyage to Hudson's Bay.

ELLIS, William.

An authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in his Majesty's ships Resolution and Discovery During the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780; in search of a North-West Passage Between the Continents of Asia and America. Including a faithful Account of all their Discoveries, and the unfortunate Death of Captain Cook . . . By W. Ellis, assistant surgeon to both vessels. London, 1784. 2 vols. 8o. JEFF: 3939.

LCP: 95-664. Ellis's voyage to Hudson's Bay, in the years 1746 and 1747, for discovering a north-west passage . . . with plates and a chart of the countries adjacent. London, 1748. 8o.

228. Voyage au pays des Hurons par Gabl. Sabard Theodat. Paris, 1632.

SAGARD-THEODAT, Gabriel.

Le Grand Voyage dv Pays des Hvrons, situe en l'Amerique vers la Mer douce, es derniers confins de la nouvelle France, dite Canada. Ou il est amplement traite de tout ce qui est du pays . . . (etc.) Par F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat . . . A Paris, 1652. 2 vols in one. 12 mo. JEFF: 3991.

LCP: No entry.

229. Moeurs des Sauvages de l'Amerique per Lafitau.

LAFITAU, Joseph Francois.

Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains, comparees aux Moeurs des Premiers Temps. Par le P. Lafitau, de la Compagnie de Jesus . . . (2 vols). A Paris, 1724, 4o. JEFF: 3995.

LCP: No entry.

230. Adair's History of the American Savages.

ADAIR, James.

The History of the American Indians; particularly those Nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia; containing an Account of their Origin, Language, Manners . . . [etc.]. By James Adair, Esquire, a Trader with the Indians, and Resident in their Country for Forty Years. London, 1775, 4o. JEFF: 3997.

LCP: No entry.

231. Hennepin's Voyages.

HENNEPIN, Louis.

Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays situe dans l'Amerique, entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale, avec les Cartes, & les Figures necessaires, & de plus l'Histoire Naturelle & Morale, & les avantages, qu'on en peut tirer par l'establissement des Colonies . . . Par ne R.P. Louis Hennepin . . . A Utrecht, 1697. 12 mo. JEFF: 4066.

JEFF: 4067. Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. . . A Utrecht, 1698. 12.mo.

The Nouveau Voyage is a continuation of the Nouvelle Decouvert.

LCP: 93-249. Hennepin's new discovery of a vast country in America, extending above four thousand miles, between New France and Mexico; with a description of the lakes, cataracks, rivers, plants, and animals . . . London, 1698. 8o.

232. La Hontan's do [Voyages.]

LA HONTAN, Louis Armand de Lom D'Arce, Baron de.

New Voyages to North-America. Containing an Account of the several Nations of the vast Continent; their Customs, Commerce . . . [etc.]. Written in French by the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfoundland . . . Done into English. The SECOND Edition. In Two Volumes . . . London, 1735. 8o. JEFF: 3992.

JEFF: 3993. Voyages du Baron de La Hontan dans l'Amerique Septentrionale . . . A Amsterdam, 1705. 2 vols. 12 mo.

LCP: No entry. (1789 catalogue). however, the catalogue of 1741 (p. 38) shows the same 1735 edition which was owned by Jefferson.

233. Jones Journal to the Indian nations.

JONES, David.

A Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773. By the Rev. David Jones, Minister of the Gospel at Freehold, in New-Jersey. Burlington, 1774. 8o. JEFF: 4005.

LCP: 98-1110/1. Jones journal of two visits made to some nations of indians on the Ohio, in the years 1772, and 1773. Burlington, 1774. 8o.

234. Voyage de la nouvelle France par le Sieur Champlain.

CHAMPLAIN, Samuel de.

Les Voyages de la Novvelle France Occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du ponant, & toutes les Descouverts qu'il a faites en ce pais depuis l'an 1603. iusques en l'an 1629 . . .A Paris, 1632. 4o. JEFF: 4003.

LCP: No entry.

235. Histoire de la Nouvelle France par l'Escarbot. Paris.

LESCARBOT, Marc.

Histoire de la Novvelle-France. Contenant les navigations, descourvertes, & habitations faites par les Francois es Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France, par commission de noz Royz Tres-Chretiens, & les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'exécution de ces choses, depuis cent ans jusques a hui . . . Par Marc Lescarbot . . .Troisieme Edition . . . A Paris, 1618. 12 mo. JEFF: 4002.

LCP: No entry.

236. Histoire de la Nle. France avec les fastes chronologiques du nouveau monde par le pere Charlevoix.

CHARLEVOIX, Pierre Francois Xavier De.

Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par order du Roi dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. Par le P. De Charlevoix, . . .[6 vols.]. A Paris, 1744, 12 mo. JEFF: 4004.

236. (continued)

LCP: 95-760. Charlevoix's journal of a voyage to North America, undertaken by command of the French king. Translated from the French. 2 vols. London, 1761.

237. Memoirs des rois de France & de l'Angleterre sur les possessions &c. en Amerique 1755. 4 vol: 4o.

ANONYMOUS.

Memoires Des Commissaires Du Roi et de ceux de sa Majeste Britanique, sur les possessions et les droits respectifs des deux couronnes en Amerique; Avec les Actes public et Pieces justificatives contenant les Memoirs sur l'Acadie et sur l'Isle de Saint-Lucie. 4 vols. Paris, 1775. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

238. Relation d'un voyage en Acadie par Dierville. Rouen 1708.

DIREVILLE, (?)

Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France; . . . On a ajoute le detail d'un combat donne entre les Francois it les Acadiens contre les Anglois [partly in verse]. Rouen, 1708. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

239. Josselyn's account of New England.

JOSSELYN, John.

Josselyn's account of two voyages to New England. London, 1674. 12 mo. LCP: 103-829.

LCP: 85-506. New England's rarities discovered; in birds, beasts, fishes, plants, etc. of that country. By John Josselyn. London, 1672. 12 mo.

JEFF: No entry.

240. Thomas's account of Pennsyva. & N. Jersey.

THOMAS, Gabriel.

An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America; with a map. London, 1698. 12 mo. LCP: 71-816.

JEFF: No entry.

241. Purchas Pilgrimage. 5 vols fol:

PURCHAS, Samuel.

Pvrchas his Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation vnto this Present. In Fovre Parts . . . The second Edition, . . . by Samvel Pvrchas . . . London, 1614. Fol. JEFF: 3971.

LCP: 87-74. Purchas's pilgrims; containing the voyages made by ancient kings, patriarchs, apostles, philosophers, and others to the remote parts of the known world . . . 5 vols. London, 1625. Fol.

242. Hackluyt's Voyages.

HAKLUYT, Richard.

The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres: Deuided into three seuerall parts, according to the positions of the Regions wherunto they were directed . . . By Richard Hakluyt . . . London, 1589. Fol. JEFF: 4007.

LCP: 87-244. Hackluyt's voyages. 2 vols. London, 1600. Fol.

243. Abbe Reynal's Hist: Pol: & Philos: of East & W. Indies.

RAYNAL, Guillaume Thomas Francois.

A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. Translated from the french [of C. P. F. Raynal] by J. Justamond. Third edition, revised . . . with maps, etc. 5 vols. London, 1777. 8o. LCP: 55-1170.

JEFF: No entry.

244. Robinson's History of America.

ROBERTSON, William.

Robertson's history of South America; with plates. 2 vols.
London, 1777. 4o. LCP: 26-313. [First edition]

JEFF: 468. [Robertson's History of America, in 3 vols. is listed in Jefferson's manuscript catalogue but was apparently lost soon after being sold to the Library of Congress.]

245. Russell's Hist. of do. [America].

RUSSELL, Walter.

The History of America, from its discovery by Columbus to the conclusion of the late war. With an appendix containing an account of the rise and progress of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies. 2 vol. London, 1778. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

246. Colden's History of the 5 Nations.

COLDEN, Cadwallader.

The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, Which are dependent on the Province of New-York in America, and are the Barrier between the English and French in that part of the world . . . By the Honourable Cadwallader Colden, Esq. London, 1747: 8o. JEFF: 445.

LCP: 71-824. Colden's history of the five indian nations depending on the province of New York. 1727. 12 mo.

247. Burke's account of the Europ: Settlements in America.

BURKE, William.

An account of the European Settlements in America. In six Parts . . . In Two Volumes . . . London, 1766. 12 mo. JEFF: 446.

LCP: 59-1508. An account of the European settlements in America. Second edition. 2 vols. London, 1758. 8o.

248. Douglas's Summary.

DOUGLASS, William.

A Summary, Historical and Political of the First Planting, progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North-America . . . By William Douglass . . . (2 vols.) London, 1760. 8o. JEFF: 447.

LCP: 59-1509. Douglass's summary, historical and political, of the first settlements, etc. of North America. 2 vols. Boston, 1749. 8o.

249. Collection of Charters.

ALMON, John.

The Charters of the British Colonies in America. London, 1774. Printed for J. Almon.

ANONYMOUS.

Charters of the following provinces of North America; viz. Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts Bay and Georgia, [with] a faithful Narrative of the Proceedings of the North American Colonies in consequence of the Stamp-Act. London, 1766. 4o.

JEFF: 3149. American Charters: i. Maryland ii. Connecticut iii. Rhode-Island iv. Pennsylvania v. Massachusetts Bay vi. Georgia.

The Virginia Charter is catalogued separately in a section devoted exclusively to Virginia. (JEFF: 1824)

LCP: Catalogues no collection of charters but lists separately those of Pennsylvania (226-431) and Maryland (233-1568/5).

250. Neal's History of New England.

NEAL, Daniel.

The History of New England; containing an impartial account of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country to the year 1700. To which is added the present state of New England. With a . . . map . . . and an appendix, etc. Second edition . . . 2 vols. London, 1747. 8o. LCP: 60-1520.

JEFF: No entry.

251. Prince's Chronological History of N. England.

PRINCE, Thomas.

A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals, . . . from the discovery by Captain Gosnold in 1602 . . . with an introduction, containing a brief epitome of . . . events abroad, etc. 2 vol. Boston, 1736 [-1754]. 8o. LCP: 60-1555.

JEFF: No entry.

252. Tracts relating to N. England by Cotton Mather.

CALEF, Robert.

More Wonders of the Invisible World; or, the Wonders of the Invisible World, display'd in Five parts . . . London, 1700. 4o. JEFF: 451.

LCP: No entry.

This erroneous entry, even if there were no other evidence, would offer proof positive that Madison had relied on Jefferson's library catalogue to prepare his list of books; for the entry perpetuates exactly Jefferson's original error in identifying this tract about Mather as one by him. Jefferson's copy of Calef's attack on Mather, lacking a printed title page, is still preserved in the Library of Congress where Miss Sowerby's brilliant detective work laid the ghost. See her comments, JEFF: 451.

253. Mather's ecclesiastical History of N. England.

MATHER, Cotton.

Magnalia Christi Americana; or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from its First Planting in the Year 1620, unto the Year of our Lord, 1698. In Seven Books . . . By the Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather. . . London, 1702. (in 1 vol.) Fol. JEFF: 452.

LCP: No entry.

254. Hubbard's History of N. England.

HUBBARD, William. Minister of Ipswich, Mass.

A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607 to . . . 1677. But chiefly . . . in . . . 1675 and 1676 to which is added a Discourse about the Warre with

254. (continued)

pequods in the year 1637. [with "A Map of New England, being the first that ever was here cut"] 2 pt. J. Foster: Boston, 1677. 4o. LCP: 29-475.

LCP: 38-265. Hubbard's present state of New England; being a narrative of the troubles with the indians in New England, from the first planting thereof, in the year 1607, to the year 1677. London, 1677. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

255. Morton's New England's Memorial.

MORTON, Nathaniel.

New Englands Memorial: or, a brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New-England in America . . . By Nathaniel Morton . . . Boston, 1721. 12 mo. JEFF: 453.

LCP: 29-474. Morton's New England's memoriall. Cambridge, 1669. 4o.

LCP: 54-1065/1. Morton's New England memorial. New port, 1772. 8o.

256. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts bay.

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.

Hutchinson's history of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, from the first settlement thereof in 1628, until the year 1750. 2 vols. Boston, 1767. 8o. LCP: 46-678.

Jefferson owned a copy of the History but the edition is not identifiable. The first printing was in Boston, 1764.

257. Collection of papers relating to the History of do.
[Massachusetts-Bay.]

HUTCHINSON, Thomas.

A collection of original papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. Boston, 1769. 8o. JEFF: 455.

LCP: No entry.

258. Smith's History of N. York.

SMITH, William.

The History of the Province of New-York, from the First Discovery, To which is annexed a Description of the Country, an Account of the Inhabitants, their Trade, Religious and Political State, and the Constitution of the Courts of Justice in that Coloney . . . By William Smith . . . London, 1776. 8o. JEFF: 502.

LCP: 22-81. Smith's history of the province of New York, from the first discovery of it to the year 1732. London, 1757. 4o.

259. Smith's History of N. Jersey.

SMITH, Samuel.

The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey: containing, an account of its first settlement, progressive improvements, the original and present constitution, and other events to the year 1721 . . . By Samuel Smith. Burlington, in New Jersey, 1765. 8o. JEFF: 458.

LCP: 31-25. Smith's history of the colony of New Jersey; from its first settlement, to the year 1725; with some particulars since, and a view of its present state. Burlington, 1765. 8o.

260. Historical review of Pennsa. ("by-Franklin")

FRANKLIN, Benjamin.

An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin; so far as regards the several Points of Controversy, which have, from Time to Time arisen between the several Governors of that Province, and their several Assemblies . . . London, 1759. 8o. JEFF: 459.

LCP: 32-60, 503, 1499, 1763. An historical review of the constitution and government of Pennsylvania, from its origin. London, 1759. 8o. (crossed out by another hand, possibly that's who wrote in #202)

261. Franklin's other works.

FRANKLIN, Benjamin.

Political, miscellaneous and philosophical pieces. By Doctor Benjamin Franklin. London, 1779. 4o. LCP: 335-321.

261. (continued)

If Jefferson's earlier collection contained the 1779 edition Supra it did not survive to be catalogued with the other works sold to Congress in 1815. By that time Jefferson had acquired a later edition of Franklin's works (JEFF: 4931) which included his Diplomatic Correspondence as well as those pieces collected in the London edition of 1779. Vol. II (V). Philadelphia, 1809. 8o. Vol I, a biography of Franklin, was not published until 1818.

262. Smith's History of Virga.

SMITH, John.

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning An.^o 1584. to this present 1626 . . . Divided into sixe Bookes By Captaine Iohn Smith sometymes Governour in those Countreyes & Admiral of New England. London, 1632. Fol. JEFF: 461.

LCP: 17-245. Smith's general history of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles; with the names of the adventurers, planters and governors, from 1584 to 1624. London, 1624. Fol.

263. Beverley's do. of do. [History of Virginia].

BEVERLEY, Robert.

Histoire de la Virginie, contenant I. L'Histoire du premier Etablissement dans la Virginie, & de son Gouvernement jusques a present. II. Les productions naturelles . . . III. La Religion, les Loix, & les coutumes des Indiens Naturels . . . IV. L'Etat present du Pais . . . Par un Auteur natif & habitant du Pais. Traduite de l'Anglois . . . A Amsterdam, 1707. 12 mo. JEFF: 503.

LCP: No entry.

264. Keith's do. of do. [History of Virginia].

KEITH, Sir William.

The History of the British Plantations in America . . . Part I. Containing the History of Virginia . . . London, 1738. 4o. JEFF: 462.

264. (continued)

LCP: 24-162. Keith's history of the British plantations in America; with a chronological account of the most remarkable things which happened to the first adventurers. Part I. containing the history of Virginia, etc. London, 1738. 4o.

265. Stith's do of do. [History of Virginia].

STITH, William.

The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia: Being an Essay towards a General History of the Colony. By William Stith . . . Williamsburg, 1747. 8o. JEFF: 463.

LCP: 40-363. Stith's history of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia. Williamsburg, 1747. 8o.

266. De incolis Virginiae ab Anglico Thoma Heriot.

HERIOT, Thoma.

Admiranda narratio . . . de commodis . . . et incolarum ritibus Virginiae, Anglico Scripta Sermona a T.H. nunc Latio donata a C.C.A. [in T. de Bry, America (part I) Admiranda Narratio, etc. 1590. fol.]

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia etc. [with a preface by R. Lane]. London, 1588. 4o.

See Also #239; Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. 3.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

267. Discourses of Virginia.

HAMOR, Raphe (or Ralph).

A True Discourse of The Present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June 1614 . . . Written by Raphe Hamor the younger, late secretary in that Colony. Printed at London by John Beale for William Welby . . . 1615.

PERCI, George.

A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. [See Purchas His Pilgrimage, entry 238]

267. (continued)

WINGFIELD, Edward Maria.

Discourse of Virginia. [This, Wingfield's apologia, delivered to his superiors in England in 1608, seems to have remained unpublished in 1783.]

perhaps this entry should be included with the others cited and remarked on in entry 24. Although there is no evidence that a publication bearing this title existed, there were many titles which quite properly might be considered discourses of Virginia, and in some of them the word "discourse" itself appears. Of the latter sort, the following three references are probably the most eligible examples.

None of these is to be found in either the LCP or Jefferson catalogues.

268. Virginia by E.W.

WILLIAMS, Edward.

Virginia: More especially the South party thereof, Richly and truly valued: viz. the fertile Carolana, and no lesse excellent Isle of Roanoak, of Latitude from 31. to 37. Degr. relating the means of raysing infinite profits to the Adventurers and Planters. The second Edition . . . By E.W. Gent. London, 1650. 4o. JEFF: 4008.

LCP: No entry.

269. Jones's Present State of Virginia.

JONES, Hugh.

The present state of Virginia; giving a . . . short account of . . . the inhabitants of that Colony . . . from whence is inferred a short view of Maryland and North Carolina; to which are added schemes . . . for the better promotion of learning, etc. in Virginia and the other Plantations. London, 1724. 4o.

LCP: 38-264/2. The state of Virginia. by Hugh Jones. (no date or place of publication.) 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

270. A discourse & view of Virga. by Sr. Wm. Berkeley Govr. 1663.

BERKELEY, Sir William.

270. (continued)

1662. 4o. A Discourse and view of Virginia. By Sir W. Berkeley. [London?].

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

271. An Account of the life & death of Nat: Bacon. 1677.

ANONYMOUS.

Strange News from Virginia, being a full and true account of the life & death of Nat: Bacon, Esquire. London: Wm. Harris, 1677.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

272. History of the present State of Virginia.

BEVERLY, Robert.

The History of the Present State of Virginia, in four parts. By a native and inhabitant of the place. R.B. [i.e. R. Beverley]. London, 1705. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

This appears to be simply a duplication of No. 263. Again not an easy error to explain unless Madison simply knew this title by reputation and was unaware that it was Beverly's work.

273. A Short collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to the dissolution of the Virga. Company. 1651.

WODENOTH, Arthur.

A Short collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to the dissolution of the Virginia company. London, 1651.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

274. Lederer's discoveries in Virginia and Carolina in 1669 & 1670, by Sr. Wm. Talot. 1672.

TALBOT, Sir William, Baronet.

The discoveries of J. [ohn] L. [ederer], in three several marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other parts of the Continent: begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670: together with a general map of the whole territory which he traversed: collected and translated out of Latine from his discourse and writings, by Sir W. Talbot, Baronet. J.C. for S. Heyrick: London, 1672. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

275. Brickell's History of North Carolina.

BRICKELL, John.

The Natural History of North Carolina; with an Account of the trade, amnners and customs of the Christian & Indian inhabitants . . . Dublin, 1737. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

276. Lawson's do. of do. [History of North Carolina.]

LAWSON, John. Surveyor General of N. Carolina.

The History of Carolina: containing the . . .description and natural history of that country. . . with . . .a Journal of a thousand miles, travel'd through several Nations of Indians, giving a particular account of their customs, manners, etc. [with a map]. London, 1714. 4o. LCP: 76-193.

JEFF: No entry.

277. Description of South Carolina with its civil Natural and commercial History. 1762.

GLEN, James. (Governor of So. Carolina, 1738-56.)

A description of South Carolina; containing many curious and

277. (continued)

interesting particulars relating to the civil, natural, and commercial history of that colony . . . London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761.

Despite the discrepancy as to the date of publication this seems to be the work referred to by Madison.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

278. Huet's History S. Carolina.

HEWAT, Alexander.

An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. In two Volumes. [Jeff. had Vol. II only] London, 1779. 8o. JEFF: 504.

LCP: No entry.

279. Collection of papers relative to Georgia.

MARTYN, Benjamin.

Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia, with regard to the trades of Great Britain, the increase of our people and the support it will afford to number's of poor persons; with some account of the country. By Benjamin Martyn. Second edition. London, 1733. LCP: 177-35.

STEPHENS, William.

A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, beginning October 20, 1737. To which is Added, A State of that Province as attested upon oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740. 2 vols. London, 1742. 8o.

MOORE, Francis.

A Voyage to Georgia, Begun in the year 1735. Containing An Account of the settling the Town of Frederica, in the Southern Part of the Province . . . With the Rules and Orders made by the Honourable the Trustees for that Settlement . . . By Francis Moore. London: Jacob Robinson, 1744. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

It is difficult to know precisely what Madison had in mind here. It seems quite certain that no such general collection of Georgia papers had yet

279. (continued)

been published in 1783, or even gathered together as a collection. See entry #24.

280. Laws of each of the United States.

NICHOLSON, John; R. Parker, and R. Smith, and Benj. Tooke.

An Abridgement of the Laws in force and use in Her Majesty's Plantations; (viz.) of Virginia, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Maryland, New-England, New York, Carolina, &c. Digested under proper heads in the method of Mr. Wingate, and Mr. Washington's Abridgements. London: Printed for John Nicholson, R. Parker, and R. Smith, and Benj. Tooke, 1704. 8o. JEFF: 2173.

LCP: No entry.

See entry #24.

281. All Treaties entered into with the natives of N. America.

Not identified. (see entry #24.) Present day students have the advantage of bibliographical research done on this subject especially by Joseph Sabin, W. Eames, & R.W.G. Vail, (Bibliotheca Americana) and Henry F. DePuy, (A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians, including a synopsis of each Treaty. New York, 1917.)

282. All the political tracts which have been or may be published & may be judged of sufficient importance.

This is clearly one of those entries which Madison intended as a directive to the future librarian of congress and is not, strictly speaking, a bibliographical reference at all. See entry #24.

283. Brown's History of Jamaica.

BROWN, Patrick.

Browne's civil and natural history of Jamaica; with plates. London, 1756. Fol. LCP: 12-104.

JEFF: No entry.

284. History of Barbadoes.

FRERE, George.

A Short History of Barbados, from its First Discovery and Settlement, to the End of the Year 1767. London, 1768. 12 mo. JEFF: 465.

LCP: 69-574. A short history of Barbadoes, from its first discovery and settlement, to the end of the year 1767. London, 1768. 12 mo.

285. Garcilasso de la Vega's History of Florida.

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, EL INCA.

La Florida del Inca. Historia del Adelantado, Hernando de Soto. Governador y Captain General del Reino de la Florida. Y de otros heroicos Caballeros, Espanoles, e Indios. Escrita por el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. [Bound together in the same volume with: Ensayo Cronologico, para la Historia General de la Florida . . . Escrito por Don Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano.] Madrid, 1723.

JEFF: No entry.LCP: No entry.286. Cox's Account of Florida.

COXE, Daniel.

A Description of the English Province of Carolana. By the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French, La Louisiane . . . By Daniel Cox, Esq; [London], 1741. 8o. JEFF: 4028.

LCP: No entry.287. Roman's History of Florida.

ROMANS, Bernard.

A Concise Natural History of East and West-Florida. Containing, an Account of the Natural Produce of all the Southern Part of British America, in the Three Kingdoms of Nature, particularly the Animal and Vegetable . . . By Captain Bernard Romans. New York, 1776. 12 mo. JEFF: 4079.

LCP: 82-1139 & 1551. Roman's natural history of East and West Florida; with maps and plates. Vol I. New York, 1775. 8o.

288. Memoirs sur la Louisiane par du Pratz.

LE PAGE DU PRATZ.

The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina; containing a Description of the Countries that lye on both Sides of the River Mississippi . . . Translated from the French, (lately published,) by M. Le Page du Pratz. . . In Two Volumes. London, 1763. 12 mo. JEFF: 4068.

LCP: 111-109. The history of Louisiana; or the western parts of Virginia and Carolina; containing a description of the countries that lie on both sides of the Mississippi; with an account of the settlements, inhabitants, soil, climate and products. Translated from the French of M. Le Page de Pratz. 2 vols. London, 1763. 12 mo.

289. Description de la Louisiane par Hennepin.

HENNEPIN, Louis.

Description de la Louisiane, Nouvellement Decouverte au Sud'Ouest de la Nouvelle France, par Ordre du Roy. Avec la Carte du Pays; Les Moeurs & la Maniere de vivre des Sauvages . . . par le R.P. Louis Hennepin. . . . A Paris, 1683. 12 mo. JEFF: 4065.

LCP: No entry.290. Bossu's travels through Louisiane.

BOSSU, Jean Bernard.

Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales; contenant une Relation des differens Peuples qui habitent les environs du grand Fleuve Saint-Louis, appelle vulgairement le Mississippi . . . Par M. Bossu . . . A Paris, 1768. 12 mo. JEFF: 3989.

LCP: No entry.291. Venegas's History of California.

VENEGAS, Miguel.

Noticia de la California, y de su Conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el Tiempo presente. Sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, formada en Mexico ano de 1739. por el Padre Miguel Venegas . . . [3 vols.] Madrid, 1757. 40. JEFF: 4088.

291. (continued)

LCP: No entry.

292. Muratori il christianissimo felice.

MURATORI, Lodovico Antonio.

Il Christianismo felice nelle Missioni de' Padri della Compagnia di Gesu nel Paraguai, descritto da L.A. M. --Venezia, 1743. 4o.

LCP: 102-350. A relation of the missions of Paraguay, wrote in Italian by Mr. Muratori, and now translated into English from the French translation. London, 1759.

JEFF: No entry.

293. Voyages et decouverts des Espagnols dans les Indes Occidentales par Don Bernardo de las Casas.

CASAS, Bartolome De Las.

La Decouverte des Indes Occidentales, par les Espagnols. Ecrite par Dom Balthazar de Las-Casas, Eveque de Chiapa . . .A Paris, 1697. 12 mo. JEFF: 4102.

LCP: No entry.

294. Herera's History of the Spanish colonies in America.

HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, Antonio De.

The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, commonly call'd The West-Indies, from the Forst Discovery thereof: with the Best Accounts the People could give of their Antiquities . . .By Antonio de Herrera . . .Translated into English by Capt. John Stevens . . .[6 vols] London, 1725-26. 8o. JEFF: 4108.

JEFF: 4107. a five volume folio edition in Spanish published in Madrid, 1728.

LCP: 34-136. Herrera's general history of the continent and islands of America, from the first discovery thereof. Collected from original relations sent to the king of Spain. Translated into English, by John Stevens. 6 vols. London, 1725. 8o.

LCP: 106-409. Description des Indes occidentales. Par Antoine de Herrera. Translated d'Espagnol en François. Amsterdam, 1622. Fol.

295. De Solis's History of the Conquest of Mexico
by F. Cortez.

SOLIS, Antonio De.

Histoire de la Conqueste du Mexique ou de la Nouvelle Espagne,
par Fernand Cortez, Traduite de l'Espagnol de Dom Antoine de Solis, par
l'auteur du Triumvirat (i.e. S. De Broe, Seigneur de Citri et de La Guette.)
[2 vols.] A Paris, 1704. 12 mo. JEFF: 4080.

LCP: 13-146. The history of the conquest of Mexico, by the Spaniards.
Translated into English, from the original Spanish of Don Antonia De Solis,
by Thomas Townsend. London, 1724. Fol.

296. Voyages de Gage.

GAGE, Thomas.

Nouvelle Relation, contenant les Voyages de Thomas Gage Dans le
nouvelle Espagne, ses diverses aventures, & son retour dans la Province
de Nicaragua jusqu'a la Havane . . . A Amsterdam, 1721. 2 vols. 12 mo.
JEFF: 4122.

LCP: 105-247. A new survey of the West Indies; containing a journal of
three thousand three hundred miles, within the mainland of America, by
Thomas Gage. London, 1648. Fol. [This is the first edition.]

297. Houston's Memoirs.

HOUSTOUN, James

The Works of James Houstoun, M.D. Containing Memoirs of his
life and Travels in Asia, Africa, America, and most Parts of Europe. From
the Year 1690, to the present Time . . . London, 1753. 8o. JEFF: 4081.

LCP: No entry.

298. Bouguer Voyage au Perou.

BOUGUER, Pierre.

La figure de la terre determinee par les observations de MM.
Bouguer et De la Condamine . . . envoyees par ordre du Roy au perou . . .
avec une relation abregee de ce voyage . . . Par M. Bouguer. Paris, 1749. 4o.

298. (continued)

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

299. Garcilasso de la Vega's History of the Incas of Perou. [part I]

&

300. Histoires des Guerres civiles des Espagnols dans des Indes, de Garcilasso de la Vega. [part 2]

DE LA VEGA, Garcilasso.

Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales, que tratan, de el Origen d sloe [sic] Incas, Reies, qve fveron del Peru de sv Idolatria, Leies, y Gobierno, en Paz, y en Guerra . . .Escritos por el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega . . .[and] . . .Historia General del Peru, trata, el Descubrimiento, de el, y como lo ganaron, los Espanoles: las Guerras Civiles, que Huve entre Pizarros y Almagros, sobre la Partija de la Tierra . . .Escrita por el Ynca Garcilaso de la Vega . . .(2 vols) Madrid, 1723-22. Fol. JEFF: 4131.

Madison's two entries refer to two parts of the same work, Part I originally published in 1608, Part II in 1617.

LCP: 15-201. The royal commentaries of Peru; treating of the original of their laws, government, &c. Written in Spanish, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and translated into English by Paul Ricaut. London, (n.d.)

The LCP catalogue of 1741 lists the same work as follows: The Royal Commentaries of Peru; in two parts. I. Treating of the Original of their Incas of Kings; of their Idolatry; of their Laws and Government both in Peace and War; of the Reigns and conquests of the Incas: With many other particulars relating to their Empire and Policy before such Time as the Spaniards invaded their Countries. 2. Describing the Manner by which that new World was conquered by the Spaniards. Also the Civil Wars between the Picarrists and the Almagrians, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of the Land; of the Rise and Fall of the Rebels; and other Particulars contained in that History. Written originally in Spanish, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. (no date or place of publication).

301. Histoire de l'Orenoque par Gumilla.

GUMILLA, Jose.

Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Geographique de l'Orenoque, et des principales Rivieres qui sy jettent . . . Par le P. Joseph Gumilla . . . Traduite de l'Espagnol sur la seconde Edition, par M. Eidous, ci-devant Ingenieur des Armees de S.M.C. (3 vols.). A Avignon, 1758. 12 mo. JEFF: 4082.

LCP: No entry.

302. Bancroft's Natural History of Guiana.

BANCROFT, Edward.

An essay on the natural history of [Dutch] Guiana . . . with an Account of the religion, manners, and customs of several tribes of its Indian inhabitants. London, 1769. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

303. Les voyages de Coreal. 1722.

COREAL, Francesco.

Voyages de Francois Coreal aux Indes Occidentales, contenant ce qu'il y a vu de plus remarquable pendant son sejour depuis 1666. jusqu'en 1697. Traduits de l'Espagnol . . . Avec une Relation de la Guiane de Walter Raleigh, & le Voyage de Narbrough a la Mer du Sud par le Detroit de Magellan, &c . . . [2 vols.] A Paris, 1722. 12 mo. JEFF: 4149.

LCP: No entry.

304. Falkner's description of Patagonia.

FALKNER, Thomas. [COMBE, William ed.]

A description of Patagonia, and the adjoining parts of South America . . . By T. Falkner [Compiled from his papers by W.C.] [London?], 1774. 4o.

JEFF: 4143. Description des terres Magellaniques et des pays adjacens. Traduit de l'Anglois par M.B. A Geneve, 1787. 16s.

304. (continued)

There is no indication that Jefferson owned either the original of this work, or any subsequent edition early enough to have been seen by Madison in making up this list.

LCP: No entry.

305. Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amerique.

LABAT, Jean Baptists.

Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique. Contenant, l'Histoire Naturelle de ces Pays . . . (6 vols.) A La Haye, 1724. 12 mo. JEFF: 4150.

LCP: No entry.

306. Histoire de St. Domingue par Charlevoix.

CHARLEVOIX, Pierre Francois Xavier De.

Histoire de l'isle Espagnole, ou de S. Domingue, ecrite particulierment sur les memoires manuscripts du P.I.B. le pers . . . et sur les pieces originales (sic) qui se conservent a la Marine. 2 tom. Paris, 1730-1. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

307. Chanvalon's voyage a la Martinique.

CHANVALON, Thibault de.

Voyage a la Martinique, contenant diverses observations sur la physique, la histoire naturelle, . . . faites en 1751 35 dans les annees suivantes. Paris, 1763. 4o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

308. Acougna's relation of the river Amazons.

ACUNA, Christoval de.

Voyages and discoveries in South America, the First up the river of Amazons to Quito, in Peru, and back again to Brazil, performed at the command of the King of Spain, by C. & A . . . Done into English from the originals, etc. London, 1698. 8o.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

309. Tecko's History of Paraguay.

TECHO, Nicolae del. [Toict, Nicolas du.]

Historia Provinciae Paraquariae, Societatis Jesu, authore P. Nicolae del Techo, . . . Leodii, ex off typ. J.M. Hovii, 1673. Fol.

JEFF: No entry.

LCP: No entry.

Index

Abbe Coyer's History of J. Sobiesky, 137

Abbe Mably's public law of Europe, 37

Principles of Negociation, 38

Other Political Works, 39

Abbe Millot Histoire generale, 58

Abbe Reynal's Hist: Pol: & Philos: of East & W. Indies, 243

Abridgement of the Laws in force ... in her Majesty's Plantations, 280

Account of Denmark, 131

Account of Florida, 286

Account of Switzerland, 139

Account of the European Settlements in America, 247

Account of the Life & Death of Nat. Bacon. 1677, 271

Account of two voyages to New England, 239

Acuna, Christoval de, 308

Acouгна's relation of the river of amazons, 305

Adair, James, 230

Adair's History of the American Savages, 230

Adams, Clement, 219

Admiranda narratio ... de commodis ... et incólarum ritibus Virga, 266

Admiralty Laws of Great Britain, 23

(Admiralty Laws) of the several others of Europe, 24

Advertisements and Reports, 217

Advice given to the republic of Venice, 88

Age of Louis XIV, 105

Aler, Paul, 206

All the political tracts which have been or may be published & may be judged of sufficient importance, 282

All Treaties ... with the natives of North America, 281

Almon, John, 50, 249

Ancient and modern universal history, 54, 55

Anderson, Adam, 172

Anderson's Dictionary of Commerce, 172

Anglorum navigatio ab Moscovitas, 213

Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis, 96

Annual Register, 117

Antiquities of Greece, 76

Antiquities of Rome, 83

Appeal to the public on the subject of the National Debt, 174

Arbuthnot, John, 179

Arbuthnot on weights & measures, 179

Archaeologia Graeca, 76

Architectura hydraulique, 198

Aristotle's do. (Republic), 145

Aristotllis de optimo statu reipublicae, 145

Arouet de Voltair, Francois Marie, 19, 57, 105, 129

Aubert de Vertot D'aubeuf, Rene, 81, 135

Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, 227

Bacon, Nathaniel, 271

Bacqueville, De La Potherie, Claude Charles Le Roy de, 209

Baden, Treaty of, 49

Baffin, William, 223

Baffin's (Voyages), 223

Bancroft, Edward, 302

Bancroft's Natural History of Guiana, 302

Barbeau de la Bruyere, J.L., 63

Barbeyrac, Jean, 11, 15, 30

Baron Biefeld's political Institutions, 162

Barre, (?), 89

Basnage de Beauval, Henry, 206

Bayle, Pierre, 59

Beawes, Wyndham, 19

Beaux les mercatoria,

Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, Marchesi di, 157

Beccaria's works, 157

Bellers, Fettiplace, 7

Bellers' delineation of universal law, 7

Bellidor, Bernard Forest de, 198

Bellidor's Works, 198

Bentivoglio, Guido, Cardinal, 93

Bentivoglio's History of war in Flanders, 93

Benzelstierna, J., 133

Benzoni, Girolamo, 215

Berkeley, Sir William, 270

Best, Captain George, 221

Best Latin Dictionary with best grammar & dictionary of each of the modern languages, 206

Beverley, Robert, 263, 272

- Beverley's do of do. (Hist. of Virga), 260
- Birch, Thomas, 121, 43
- Blackbourne, (?), 149
- Blackstone, Sir William, 188
- Blackstone's Commentaries, 188
- Blair, John, 64
- Blair's chronological tables, 64
- Bluteau, Raphael, 206
- Book of rates, 194
- Borough's (Voyages), 220
- Bossu, Jean Bernard, 290
- Bossu's travels through Louisiana. 290
- Bougeant, Guillaume Hyacinthe, 42
- Bouger, (?), 203
- Bouguer, Pierre, 298
- Bouguer Voyage au Perou, 298
- Brickell, J-hn, 275
- Brickell's History of North Carolina, 275
- Briefe and true report of ... Virgiana, 266
- Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved, 171
- British Empire in America, 211
- Broe, S. De., 295
- Brookes, K., 143
- Brown, Patrick, 283
- Brown's History of Jamaica, 283
- Burche's view of negociations between France & Eng., 43
- Burchett, Josiah, 201

Burchett's Naval History, 201

Burgh, James, 173

Burgh's political disquisitions, 173

Burke, William, 118, 247

Burke's account of the Europ. settlements in Amer., 247

Burlamaqui, Jean Jacques, 15

Burlamaque's Law of Nature and Nations, 15

Burnett, Gilbert, 60, 146

Burnett's History of his own times, 60

Burrough, Christopher, 220

Busching, Anton Friedrich, 65

Busching's Universal Geography, 65

Bynkershoek, Cornelius Van, 30

Cabala, 119

Calef, Robert, 252

Callieres, Francois de, 40

Camargo de Salceda, F. Ferdinand, 123, 126

Campbell, John, 97, 165

Carafe, Carlo Maria, Prince di Buteria, 27

Cardinal de Retz' Memoirs, 104

Cardinal Mazarine's letters, 52

Carver, Jonathan, 213

Carver's travels through N. America, 213

Casas, Bartolome De Las, 293

Case of going to war for Trade, 177

Castille, Abbe Nicolas de, 44

Chalmers, George, 36

- Champlain, Samuel, 234
 Chancellor, Richard, 219
Chancellor's (voyages), 219
 Chandler, Robert, 116
 Chanvalon, Thibault de, 307
Chanvalon's Voyage a la Martinique, 307
 Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier De, 236, 306
 Charters, 249
 Child, Sir Josiah, 176
Child on trade, 176
Chronological History of New England, 251
Chronology and History of the World, 64
Civil and Natural history of Jamaica, 283
Civil Law in its Natural Order, 186
Clarendon's History, 112
Clarke's practice of Courts of Admiralty, 195
 Clerke, Francis, 195
Codex, juris civilis, 184
 Coke, Sir Edward, 187
Coke's Institutes, 187
 Colden, Cadwallader, 246
Colden's History of the 5 Nations, 246
Collection of all the treaties of peace, alliance
and commerce..., 36, 50
Collection of best charts, 204
Collection of best maps, 73
Collection of Charters, 249

Collection of Laws to prevent frauds in the Customs, 193

Collection of papers relative to Georgia, 279

Collection of papers relating to the History of do.
(Massachusetts Bay), 257

Collection of the parliamentary debates in England, 116

Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., 121

Combe, William, 304

Comines, Philippe de, Sieur d'Argenton, 101

Commentaries on the Laws of England, 188

Commonwealth of Oceana, 150

Complete collection of treaties, 36

Complete history of England, 111

Complete History of the most remarkable transactions
at sea, 201

Complete History of the Treaty of Utrecht, 49

Complete Treaties of Mines, 198

Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, 287

Coreal, Francesco, 303

Corps diplomatique, 34
(i.e. Corps universal diplomatique du droit des gens.)

Corpus Juris Civilis, 184

Cortez, Fernando, 295

Cousin, Louis, 77, 78

Cousin Histoire Romaine, 77

Cowley, (?), 226

Cox, Daniel, 286

Cox's Account of Florida, 286

Coyer, Abbe Gabriel Francois, 137

Cudworth, Ralph, 3

Cudworth's Intellectual System, 3

Cumberland, Richard, 4

Cumberland's Law of Nature, 4

Cunningham, Timothy, 189, 192

Cunningham's Law Dictionary, 189

Cunningham's law of Exchange, 192

Dacier, 84, 144

Dahnert, J.C., 133

Dallin, Olof, 133

Dallin's History of Sweden. 133

Dampier, William, 218, 226

Dampier's Voyages, 218

D'Avaux, (?) Compte, 42

Davenant, Charles, 168

Davenant's Works, 168

Davila, Enrico Caterino, 97

D'avila History of Civil Wars in France, 100

Davis, John, 223

Davis' (Voyages), 223

De Cive, 149

De foro legatorum par Bynkershoek traduit en Francois
par Barbeyrac, 30

De Gestis regum Anglorum, 107

De incolis Virginiae ab Anglico Thoma Heriot, 266

De Jure Belli ab Pacis, 10

De Jure Maritimo et navali, 18

De la charge et dignite de l'ambassadeur, par Jean Hotman, 28

De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains & c.
par Callier, 40

De l'attaque et de la defense des places, 197

De La Vega, Garcilasso, 285, 299, 300

De legationibus par Alberic Gentilis, 31

De officio homines et civis, 12

De Solis' History of the Conquest of Mexico by
F. Cortez, 295

De statu Imperii Germanici, 91

De Witt's letters, 53

De Witt's maxims, 165

De Witt's State of Holland, 97

Debates of the House of Commons, 116

Decouverte des Indes Occidentales, par les Espangoles, 293

Delineation of Universal Law, 7

Della Guerra De Fiandra, 93

Denham, Sir James Stewart, 160

Dernieres Decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, 207, 208

Des Maizeaux, (?), 59

Description de la Louisiane par Hennepin, 289

Description of a Chart of Biography, 71

Description of a new chart of History, 70

Description of America, 214

Description of South Carolina with its Civil Natural
and commercial history, 1762, 277

Description of the English Province of Carolina, 286

Description des Terres Magellaniques, 304

D'Estrades, Godefrois, L., 46

Diccionaria de la lengua castellana, 206

Dictionaire de l'homme d'Etat, 2

Dictionaire Geographique, 68

Dictionaire of Bayle, 59

Dictionary of the English Language, 206

Dictionnaire Universal de la Langue Francoise,
(i.e. Dictionnaire de Trevoux), 206

Diderot, 1

Dierville, (?), 238

Discours sur l'art de negocier par Pequet, 41

Discourse and view of Virginia, 270

Discourses Concerning Government, 151

Discourses of Virginia, 267

Discoveries of J.L., 274

Discription géographique et historique des cotes de
l'Amerique Septenle par le Sieur Denys, 210

Disputationum de republica, 153

Dissertation on the force and physical effects of gunpowder, 198

Dissertation on the numbers of mankind, 167

Divers Voyages and Northerne Discoveries of .. H.H., 222

Dodsley, J., 117

Domat, Jean, 186

Domat's Civil Law, 186

D'Ossat, Cardinal, 45

Douglass, William, 248

Douglass' Summary, 248

Droit public de l'Europe, fonde sur les traites, 39

Dryden, John (?), 84

Du Halde, Jean Baptiste, 143

Du Pratz -- See Le Page DuPratz

Dufay, Abbe, 197

Dugres, C. 164

Duhaldes History of China, 143

Duhamel, (?), 203

Dumont, Jean, 34, 36

Ecclesiastical History, ancient and modern, 61

Ecclesiastical History of England, 62

Ecclesiastical History of New England, 253

Ecclesiastical Polity, 148

Eidous, (?), 301

El Embaxador, par Antoine de Vera, 26

El Rey ... Titulo III del tratado X. de las ordenanzas
generales de la Real Armada, 24

Elemens d'Histoire Generale, 58

Elements of the Civil Law, 185

Ellis, William, 145, 227

Ellis' voyage to Hudson's Bay, 227

Emerigon, Balthazard Marie, 22

Encyclopedie Methodique, 1

Ensayo Cronologico ... de la Florida, 285

Essay on crimes and punishments, 157

Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively
attend France and Great Britain; with regard to trade, 177

Essay on the History of the Civil Society, 158

- Essay on the natural history of (Dutch) Guiana, 302
- Essays and Treaties on several subjects, 170
- Falconer, William, 200
- Falconer's Universal Dictionary of Marine, 200
- Falkner, Thomas, 304
- Falkner's description of Patagonia, 304
- Farneworth, Ellis, 100, 153
- Father Paul on the Venetian Republic, 154
- Ferguson, Adam, 8, 158
- Ferguson, James, 67
- Ferguson's History of Civil Society, 158
- Ferguson's analysis of Mor. philosophy, 8
- Feuquieres, Antoine Manasses de pas, Marquis de, 199
- Figure de la Terre, 298
- Filmer, Sir Robert, 147
- Filmer on Government, 147
- Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, 35
- Forbisher, Martin, 221
- Forbisher's (voyages), 221
- Forme du gouvernement du Suede, 134
- Forster, John Reinbold, 212
- Forti's account of la Salle's Voyage to N. America, 208
- Fouquier's Memoirs, 199
- Four Books of Justinian's Institutes, 183
- Four Tracts together with two sermons on Political and Commercial Subjects, 177
- Franklin, Benjamin, 261, 260

Franklin's other works, 261

Frederick II, King of Prussia, 128, 196

Frederician Code, 196

French Book on Rates, 194

Frer, George, 284

Funnell, W., 226

Furetiere, Antoine, 206

Further considerations ... where in Mr. Lownde's arguments ... are examined, 180

Gage, Thomas, 296

Garcilasso de la Vega's History of Florida, 285

Garcilasso de la Vega's History of the Incas of Peru, 299

Garnier, Jean Jacques, 99

Gee, Joshua, 175

Gee on trade, 175

General Collection of Treaties, 36

Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles, 262

General History and State of Europe, 57

General History of China, 143

General History of Spain, 125, 126

General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, 294

Gentilis, Albericus, 31

Georgia, papers relating to, 279

Getruydenberg, Treaty of, 49

Giannone, Pietro, 86

Giannini History of Naples, 86

Gibbon, Edward, 82

Gibbon's on the decline of the Roman Empire, 82

Glen, James, 277

Glossarium germanicum, 206

Godefroy, Denys, 101

Goldsmith, Oliver, 74, 79

Goldsmith's History of Greece, 74

Goldsmith's Roman History, 79

Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, 228

Great Britains True System, 171

Grecian History, 75

Grey, Anchitell, 116

Grotius, Hugo, 9, 10, 15, 16, 96, 147

Grotius' de rebus Belgicis, 96

Grotius' Law of Nature and Nations, 10

Grotius' Mare Liberum, 16

Guicciardini, Francesco, 85

Guicciardini's History, 85

Gumilla, Jose, 301

Guthrie, William, 67

Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, 67

Hacke, W., 226

Hakluyt, Richard, 242, 220

Hackluyt's Voyages, 242, 220

Hall, James, 150

Harrington, James, 150

Harrington's Works, 150

Harris, George, 183

Harris, J., 223

Hawkins, A., 141

Hay, P. Sieur Du Chastelet, the Younger, 164

Hennepin, Louis, 231, 289

Hennepin's Voyages, 231

Heriot, Thoma, 266

Herrera Y Tordesillas, Antonio De, 294

Herrera's History of the Spanish colonies in America, 294

Hewat, Alexander, 278

Histoire d'Allemagne par Barre, 89

Historie de Constantinople, 78

Histoire de France de l'abbe Veli Villaret
Garnier et continueteurs, 99

Histoire de la Navigation, 202

Histoire de la guerre de Flanders, 95

Histoire de la Nle. France, 236

Histoire de la Nouvelle France par l'Escarbot, 235

Histoire de la Virginie, 263

Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale par Baquivelle de
la Poterie. Rouen, 1722, 209

Histoire de l'isle Espagnole, ou de S. Domingue, 306

Histoire de l'Orenoque par Gumilla, 301

Histoire de St. Domingue par Charlevoix, 306

Histoire des Guerres et des Negociations qui precederent
le traite de Westphalie, 42

Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, 94

- Histoire des Revolutions d'Espagne, 125
- Histoire du traite of Westphalie par le P. Bougeant, 42
- Histoire du Nouveau Monde, 215
- Histoire du Roy Henry le Grand, 103
- Histoire Generale de l'Allemagne, 89
- Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Geographique de l'Orenoque, 301
- Histoire Politique du siecle par Maubert, 163
- Histoire Romaine, 77
- Histoire Universelle, 54
- Histoires des Guerres Civiles des Espagnols dans des Indes, de Garcilasso de la Vega, 300
- Historia Major, 106
- Historia Provinciae Paraquairiae, 309
- Historiae Anglicae, 108
- Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, 278
- Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce, 172
- Historical and Geographical Account of ... Pensilvania, 240
- Historical collection of private passages of state, 120
- Historical collections ... of the proceedings of the four last Parliaments, 116
- Historical review of Penn., 260
- Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, 260
- Historical view of the negotiations between the courts of England, France and Brussels, 43
- Historisch-politisch-geographischer Atlas der gantzen Welt, 68
- History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, 116
- History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, 116

- History of America, 244, 245
- History of Barbados, 284
- History of California, 291
- History of Carolina, 276
- History of Charles XII, 158
- History of Denmark by Mallet, 132
- History of England, 108, 109
- History of Geneva, 140
- History of Greece, 74
- History of Ireland, 124
- History of Italy, 85
- History of John Sobieski, 137
- History of Louisiana, 288
- History of Naples, 86
- History of New England, 250, 254
- History of Paraguay, 309
- History of Peter the Great by Voltaire, 130
- History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary
and of King James VI, 123
- History of South America, 244
- History of Sweden, 133
- History of Switzerland, 139
- History of Affairs of Europe ... particularly
of the Republic of Venice, 87
- History of the American Indians, 230
- History of the British Plantations in America, 264
- History of the civil wars of France, 100
- History of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, 256

- History of the colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey, 259
- History of the Conquest of Mexico, 295
- History of the Council of Trent, 154
- History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 82
- History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, 265
- History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, 246
- History of the late Revolution in Sweden, 136
- History of the Life of King Henry II, 114
- History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, 142
- History of the present State of Virginia, 272
- History of the Province of New York, 258
- History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, 112
- History of the Reign of George III, 118
- History of the Reign of Phillip II, 98
- History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, 92
- History of the Revolutions of Sweden, 135
- History of the Revolutions of England, 114
- History of the revolutions ... of the Roman republic, 81
- History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great, 130
- History of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, 141
- History of Florence, 153
- History of the wars of Flanders, 93
- History of the World, in five books, 56
- Hobbes, Thomas, 4, 15, 147, 149
- Hobbe's Works, 149

Honywood, Sir R., 87

Hooke, Nathaniel, 80

Hooker, Richard, 148

Hooker's Ecclesiastical polity, 148

Hooke's Roman History, 80

Hotman, Jean, 28

Houston's Memoirs, 297

Houston, James, 297

Hubbard, William, 254

Hubbard's History of New England, 254

Hudson, Henry, 222

Hudson's voyages, 222

Huet's History of South Carolina, 278

Hume, David, 110, 167, 170

Hume's History of England, 110

Hume's Political essays, 170

Hunton, (?), 147

Hutcheson, Francis, 6, 15

Hutchinson, Thomas, 256, 257

Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, 256

Hutchinson's Moral Philosophy, 6

Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 112

Indian Treaties, 281

Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth
of nations, 161

Inquiry into the principles of Political Economy, 160

Institutes of Moral Philosophy, 8

- Institutes of Natural Law, 9
- Institutes of the Laws of England, 187
- Institutions du Droit de la Nature et des Gens, 5
- Institutions Politiques, 162
- Intellectual System of the Universe, 3
- Istoria civile del regno di Napoli, 86
- Ivet, R., 222
- Jacob, Giles, 20
- Jacob's lex mercatoria, 20
- James, Thomas, 225
- James' (voyages), 225
- Jeffery's Historical & Chronological Chart, 72
- Jefferys, Thomas, 72
- Johnson, Samuel, 206
- Jones, David, 233
- Jones, High, 269
- Jones' Journal to the Indian nations, 233
- Jones' present State of Virginia, 269
- Josselyn, John, 239
- Josselyn's account of New England, 239
- Jeannin, Pierre, 44
- Journal of the voyage made to Greenland...in 1613, 224
- Journal of Two Visits ... to some Nations of Indians, 233
- Justinian, 183, 184
- Justinian's Institutes by Harris, 183
- Kalm, Pehr, 212
- Kalm's travels through N. America, 212

Keate, George, 140

Keate's History of Geneva, 140

Keith, Sir William, 264

Keith's do. of do. (History of Virg.), 264

Kennett, Basil, 11, 83

Kennett, White, 110

Kennett's English History, 110

Kennett's Roman Antiquities, 83

La Court, Pieter De, 165

La Florida del Inca, 285

La Hontan, Louis Armand De Lome D'Arce, Baron de, 232

La Hontan's do. (voyages), 232

La Martiniere, Bruzen de, 68

La Philosophie de L'Histoire, 57

La Sarraz du Franquesnay, Jean de, 29

Labat, Jean Baptiste, 305

Laet, Johannes, De, 215

Lafitau, Joseph Francois, 229

L'Ambasciatore Politice Christiano, par le Prince Charles Mario Carafe, 27

L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions, 25

Lamberty, Guillaume, 51

Lamberty's Memoirs & negociations, 51

Langwith, Benjamin, 179

Law, John, 178

Law of Bills of Exchange, Promisory notes ... etc, 192

Law of Nations; or principles of the law of nature, 13

Law of Nature and Nations, 11

Law on money & trade, 178

Laws of each of the United States, 280

Laws, Ordinances, and institutions of the Admiralty of Great Britain, 23

Lawson, John, Surveyor Gen. of North Carolina, 276

Lawson's do. of do. (Hist. of N. Carolina), 276

Le Clerk, Jean, 94

Le Clerk's History of the United Provinces, 94

Le Martinier Dictionaire Geographique, 68

Le Ministre public dans les cours etrangeres &c. par J. de la Sarras du Franquesnay, 29

Le Page, Du Pratz, 288

Le Prestre De Vauban, Sebastian, 197

Lederer, John, 274

Lederer's discoveries in Virginia and Carolina in 1669 & 1670, by Sr. Wm. Talbot. 1672, 274

Lee, Richard, 21

Lee on captures, 21

Leechman, William, 6

Legatus par Charles Paschal, 32

Legatus par Frederick Marsalaer, 33

Leland, Thomas, 124

Leland's History of Ireland, 124

Lenglet du Fresnoy, Nicolas, 63

Lenglet du frenoy tablettes chronologiques de l'Histoire universelle, 63

Les Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, Seigneur D'Argenton, 101

Les nouvelles descouverts dans l'Amerique
Septentrionale. Paris 1697, 207

Les voyages de Coreal. 1722, 303

Les voyages de la Nouvelle France, 234

Lescarbot, Marc, 235

Letter ... Concerning the Case of going to
war for ... trade, 177

Lettres de l'illustrissima ... Cardinal d'Ossat, 45

Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin, 52

Lettres et negociations entre Mr. Jean de Witt,
... et ... les plenipotentaires des ... Pais-Bas, 53

Lettres, memoires, et negociations (of d'Estrades), 46

Leviathan, 149

Lex Mercatoria, 20

Lex Mercatoria Rediviva, 19

Lex Parliamentaria, 191

Lexicon Germanico-latino russicum, 206

Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 112

Littleton's History of Henry II, 114

Locke, John, 15 152, 180

Locke on Government, 152

Locke on money, 180

Lowndes, William 181

Lowndes on do. (Money), 181

Ludlow, Edmund, 113

Ludlow's Memoirs, 113

Lyttleton, George, 114

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de, 37, 38, 39

Machiavelli, Niccolo, 153

Macchiavelli's works, 153

Macfarlan, Robert, 118

Maclaine, Archibald, 61

Magnalia Christi Americana, 253

Mallet, Paul Henri, 134, 132

Mallet's form of govt. in Sweden, 134

Malmesburiensis, Willelmi, 107

Mare Clausum; The Right and Dominion of the Sea
in two Books, 17

Mare liberum, 16

Mariana, Juan de, 125

Mariana's History of Spain, 125

Marselaer, Frederick, 33

Massachusetts Bay, papers relating to, 257

Mather, Cotton, 252, 253

Mather's ecclesiastical History of N. England, 253

Matthew Paris by Watts, 106

Maubert De Bouvest, Jean Henri, 163

Maxims of the Government of Venice, 154

Maxwell, John, 4

Mazzarin, Giulio, Cardinal, 52

Memoires de Maximilien de Bethune, Duc de Sully, 102

Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, 101

Memoires Des Commissaires Du Roi et de ceux de sa Majeste
Britannique ... sur les possessions ... en Amerique, 237

Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, 104

Memoires et negociations secretes de la cour de
France, 52

- Memoires historiques et militaires, 199
- Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du XVIII siecle, 51
- Memoires politiques et litteraries, 48
- Memoirs des rois de France & de l'Angleterre sur les possessions, &c. en Amerique 1755. 4 vol., 42, 237
- Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 113
- Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, 129
- Memoirs sur la Louisiane par du Pratz, 288
- Merchants' Companion, 20
- Mignot, Vincent, 141
- Mignot's History of the Ottoman Empire, 141
- Miller, John, 159
- Miller on distinction of Ranks in Society, 159
- Millot, Claude Francois Xavier, 58
- Milton, John, 147
- Miniana, Joseph Manuel, 125, 126
- Miniana (History of Spain), 126
- Ministre Public, 29
- Modern Gazetteer, 69
- Modern History, 55, see also 54
- Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains, 229
- Moeurs des Sauvages de l'Amerique per Lafitau, 229
- Molesworth, Robert, Viscount, 131
- Molesworth's account of Denmark, 131
- Moll, Herman, 55
- Molloy, Charles, 18
- Molloy de jure maritimo, 18

Monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Major, 106

Money and Trade Considered, 178

Monmouth, Henry, Earl of, 93 . .

Manningham, Henry, 198

Montague, Edward Wortley, 155

Montague's rise & fall of ancient republics, 155

Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brede et de, 156

Montesquieu's works, 156

Moore, Francis, 279

Moral and Political works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, 149

More, Sir Thomas, 146

More Wonders of the Invisible World, 252

More's Utopia, 146

Mortimer, Thomas, 182

Morton, Nathaniel, 255

Morton's New England's Memorial, 255

Mosheim -- See Von Mosheim

Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 61

Muratori, (?), 292

Muratori il christianissimo felice, 292

Murray, Mungo, 203

Murray's Supplement to the Treatise on Ship-building, 203

Mysteries of state, 119

Nani, Giovanni Battista Felice Gasparo, 87

Nani History of Venice, 87

Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in
New England, 254

Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions
in North and South America, 72

Natural History of North Carolina, 275

Naval architecture. By Marmaduke Stalkartt.
Fol 6.6, 205

Neal, Daniel, 250

Neal's History of New England, 250

Necker, Jacques, 182

Necker on Finance, 182

(Negociations) de la paix d'Utrecht, 49

(Negociations) de la paix de Westphalie, 47

(Negociations) des autres paix de ce siecle, 50

(Negociations) de Cardinal D'Ossat, 45

(Negociations) du Maral, D'Estrades, 46

(Negociations) du Maral, de Noailles, 48

Negociations du P. Jeannin, 44

New Discourse of Trade, 176

New England's Memorial, 255

New Method of Fortification, as practiced by
... Vauban, 197

New Survey of the West Indies, 296

New System of Geography, 65

New System of Modern Geography, 67

New Voyage to Carolina, 276

New Voyage to North-America, 232

Nicholson, John (et. al.), 280

Noailles, Adrien Maurice, 48

Northern antiquities, 132

Noticia de la California, 291

Nouveau Commentaire sur l'ordonnance de la Marine,
du mois d'Aourt 1681, 22

Nouveau recueil de Traitez, 36

Nouveau Voyage d'un pais plus grand que l'Europe, 231

Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amerique, 305

Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales, 290

Nouvel Abrege chronologique, 90

Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays situe
dans l'Amerique, 231

Nouvelle Relation, contenant les Voyages de
Thomas Gage, 296

Nouvelles descouverts dans l'Amerique, 207

Novae novi orbis historiae, i.e., rerum ab Hispanis
in India occidentali gestarum calventonis Geneva
1578, 216

Novus orbis, autore Joanne de Laet-fol-Basiliae 1555, 215

Nugent, (?), 15

Observations concerning the Distinctions of Ranks in
Society, 159

Observations concerning the original and various forms
of Government, 147

Observations on Reversionary Payments, 174

Observations on the Importance of the American
Revolution, 174

Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, 174

Oceana and other works of James Harrington, 150

Oeuvres, de Montesquieu, 156

Oeuvres de Voltaire, 57

Ogilby, John, 214

Ogilvie's America, 214

Olai Verelli Index lingua Veteris Scytho-Scandicae
Sive Gothicae, 206

Oldmixon, John, 211

Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in America, 211

On the Spirit of the Laws, 156

Opinion of Padre Paolo ... In what manner ...
Venice ought to govern themselves, 154

Ordenanzas, Reales, para la Casa de la Contratacion
de Seville, 24

Ordinances of Marine of France, 22

Ordonnances et Reglemens concernant la Marine, 22

Orleans, Pierre Joseph D', 127

P. Recaut's do. (History of the Ottoman Empire), 142

Padre Paolo on the Venetian Republic, 88

Paris, Matthew, 106

Parliamentary debates, 116

Parliamentary Register, 122

Parliamentary History, 115

Paschal, Charles -- See Pasquale, Carlo

Pasquale, Carlo Viscount di Quente, 32

Patriarcha; or the natural Power of Kings, 147

Pecquet, Antoine, 41

Perefixe, Hardouin de Beaumont de, 103

Persian Lettres, 156

Petty, Sir William, 166

Petty's political Arithmetic, 166

Petyt, George, 191

pfeffel Abrege chronolo: de l'hist. d'Allemagne, 90

Philip de Commynes, 101

philosophie de l'Histoire, 57 . .

Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements
and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West
Indies, 243

Plato's Republic by Spens, 144

Playse, J., 222

Plutarch's Lives, 84

Political and Commercial works of ... Charles
D'Avenant, 168

Political Disquisitions, 173

Political Maxims of the State of Holland, 165

Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical pieces, 261

Political Testament (Richelieu), 164

Polydore Virgil, 108

Postlethwayt, Malachy, 171

Postlethwayt's works, 171

Potter, John, 76

Potter's Grecian Antiquities, 76

Practice of the Court of Admiralty of England, 195

Prefix Henry IV, 103

Present State of Virginia, 269

Prickett, A, 222

Price, Richard, 174

Price's Political works, 174

Priestly, Joseph, 70, 71

Priestly's Biographical Chart, 71

Priestly's Historical Chart, 70

Prince, Thomas, 251

Princeps, 153

Prince's Chronological History of N. England, 251

Principes des negociations, 37

Principles of Natural law, 15

Principall Navigations, voiges and Discoveries, 242

Puffendorf -- see Von Puffendorf

Puffendorf de origine imperii german: notis Titii, 91

Puffendorf de officio hominis et civis, 12

Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations with notes
by Barbeyrac, 11

Purchas, Samuel, 222, 241

Purchases Pilgrimage. 5 vol., 241

Questions de Droit Naturel, 14

Radstat, Treat of, 49

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 56

Raleigh's History of the World, 56

Rappin Thoyras, Paul de, 109

Rappin's History of England, 109

Rates of Merchandize ..., 194

Raynal, Guillaume Thomas Francois, 243

Recueil Van Alle de placaten, ordonnatien ...
de Admiralileytten, 24

Reflections on the causes of the rise and fall of
the Roman Empire, 156

Reflections on the Rise and Fall of the Ancient
Republicks, 155

Relation du Voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France, 238

Relation d'un voyage en Acadie par Dierville Rouen, 1708, 238

Relation of the Missions of Paraguay, 292

Report containing an Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin, 181

Republic, The, 144

Rerum Moscovitarum, 219

Retz, Jean Francois Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de, 103

Revolutions d'Espagne du P. D'Orleans du Vertot, 127

Revolution of Portugal by Vertot, 128

Ricaut, Paul, 299, 301

Richlieu's Political Testament, 164

Rights of war and peace; wherein are explained the law of nature and nations, 10

Rise, progress and present state of the Northern Govt., 138

Rittenhouse, (?), Dr., 67

Roberts, (?), 226

Robertson, William, 92, 123, 244

Robinson's History of America, 244

Robinson's History of Charles V., 92

Robinson's History of Scotland, 123

Romae Antiquae Notitia, 83

Roman History, 79, 80

Romans, Bernard, 287

Roman's History of Florida, 287

Royal Commentaries of Peru, 299, 300

Ruddiman, Thomas, 206

Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, 206

Ruffhead, Owen, 190

Rushworth, John, 120

Rushworth's Collection, 120

Russell, Walter, 245

Russell's Hist. of do. (America), 245

Rutherford, Thomas, 9

Rutherford's institutes of Natural Law, 9

Rymer, Thomas, 35

Rymer's foedera, 35

Rycaut, Sir Paul, 142, 299, 300

Sagard-Theodat, Gabriel, 228

Salmon, Thomas, 55, 69

Salmon's Gazetteer, 69

Sarpi, Paolo, 88, 154

Short observations on a Printed Paper, entitled 'For encouraging the coining of Silver money in Eng.', 180

Selden, John, 17

Selden's Mare Clausum, 17

Several essays in Political Arithmetic, 166

Sheriden, Charles Francis, 136

Sheridan's do. of do. (Revolutions of Sweden), 136

Short account of the ... Republic of Geneva, 140

Short collection of the most remarkable passages ... of the Virginia Company, 173

Short History of Barbados, 284

Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, 6

sidney, Algernon, 151

Sidney on Government, 151

Smith, Adam, 161

Smith on the Wealth of Nations 161

Smith, John, 262

Smith, Samuel, 262

Smith, William, 258

Smith's History of N. York, 258

Smith's History of N. Jersey, 259

Smith's History of Virginia, 262

Smith's System of Geography, 66

Smollet, T., 57

Sobiesky, Jean, 137

Solis, Antonio De, 295

Solution to the Question ... Whether a poor country
can supplant the trade of a rich manufacturing
Country, 177

Some Considerations of the Consequences of the
lowering of interest, 180

Stalkartt, Marmaduke, 205

Stanyan, Abraham, 139

Stanyan, Temple, 75

Stanyan's History of Switzerland, 139

Stanyan's History of Greece, 75

Statutes at large by Ruffhead, 190

Stephens, William, 279

Steuart's Principles of Political economy, 160

Steuart, -- see Denham

Stevens, John, Capt., 294

Stevens, John, 125, 126

Stith, William, 265

Stith's do. of do. (Hist. of Virga.), 265

Strada, Famianus, 95

Strange and dangerous Voyage of Captain T.J., 222

Strange news from Virginia, being a full and true
account of the life & death of Nat. Bacon, Esq., 271

Sully, Maximien de Bethune, Duc de, 102

Sully's memoires, 102

Summary, Historical and Political of the First
Planting ... of the British Settlements in
North America, 248

Svea Rikes Historia ifran des begynnelse til wara tider, 133

Swall, A., 197

Swift, Jonathon, 169

Tables of the Grecian, Roman and Jewish Measures,
weights and coins, 179

Tablettes Chronologiques de l'Histoire Universelle, 63

Talbot, Sir William, 274

Taylor, John, 185

Taylor's elements of Civil Law, 185

Techo, Nicolae de, 309

Techo's History of Paraguay, 309

Temple, Sir William, 169

Temple's Works, 166

Thomas, Gabriel, 240

Thomas' Account of Pennsylvania & N. Jersey, 240

Thou, Jacques Auguste de, 54

Three years Travels throughout the Interior Parts
of North-America, 213

Thurloe, John, 121

Thurloe's State papers, 121

Timberland, Ebenezer, 116

Tindal, N., 109

Tracts relating to N. England by Cotton Mather, 252

Toict, Nicolas du -- see Techo

Tonti, Henri, Chevalier de, 207, 208

Townshed, Heywood, Esq., 116

Thownshend, Thomas, 295

Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered, 172

Traite du Juge competent des Ambassadeurs, 30

Travels into North America, 212

Treaties, international, 36

Treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce, 18

Treatise of Captures in War, 21

Treatise of the Laws of Nature, 4

Treatise on Government, 145

Treatise on Ship-building and navigation, 203

Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France, 182

True Discourse of the late voyage of dicoveries, 221

True Interest of Great Britain Set Forth in regard to
the Colonies, 177

Tucker, Josiah, 177

Tucker on trade, 177

- Two Treatises of Government, 152
- Universal Dictionary of the marine, 200
- Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, 171
- Universal History, 54
- Urbinitis anglicae historiae, 108
- Utopia: or the Happy Republic, 146
- Utrecht, Treaty of, 49
- Vattel, Emeric de, 14, 13
- Vattell's Law of Nature and Nations, 13
- Vattell's Questions in Natural Law, 14
- Vauban -- see Le Prestre De Vauban
- Vauban's Works, 197
- Vectigalium Systema: or a New Book of Rates, 194
- Velley, Paul Francois, 99
- Venegas, Miguel, 291
- Vengas' History of California, 291
- Vera Figueroa y Zuniga, Juan Antonio, Conde de la Roca, 26
- Veren, de Soto, F. Basil, 125, 126
- Vergilius, Polydorus, 108
- Veritable maniere de bien fortifier de M. de Vauban, 197
- Vertot -- see Aubert de Vertot D'aubeuf
- Vertot's Revolutions of Rome, 81
- Vertot's Revolutions of Sweden, 135
- Villaret, Claude, 99
- Virginia, by E.W., 288
- Virginia: More especially the South part thereof, 268

Vocabolario de gli Academici della Crusca, 206

Vocabulario Portuguez e latino, 206

Voltaire's Historical works, 57

Von Biefield, Jacob Friedrich, Freiherr, 162

Von Meiern, Johann Gottfried, 47

Von Mosheim, Johann Lorenz, 61

Von Puffendorf, Samuel, 11, 12, 15, 91

Voyage a la Martinique, 307

Voyage au pays des Hurons par Gabl. Sabard Theodat,
Paris, 1632,

Voyage au Perou, 298

Voyage de la nouvelle France par le sieur Champlain, 234

Voyage of Captain J.D. to the East Indies, 223

Voyage to Hudson's Bay, 227

Voyages and discoveries in South America, 308

Voyages de Coreal, 303

Voyages de Francois Coreal aux Indes Occidentales, 303

Voyages de Gage, 296

Voyages et descouverts des Espagnols dans les Indes
occidentales par Don Bernardo de la casas, 293

Wafer, Lionel, 217, 226

Wafer's Voyages, 217

Wallace, Robert, 167

Wallace on the numbers of mankind, 167

Walton, Isaac, 148

Warner, Ferdinando, 62

Warner's Eccles, History of England, 62

Watson, Robert, 98

Watson's History of Philip II, 98

Watts, William, 106, 225

Westphalia, Treaty of, 47

Whitworth, Charles, 168

Wicquefort, Abraham de, 25

Wicquefort's Ambassador, 25

William of Malmesbury, 107

Williams, Edward, 268

Williams, John Esq., 138

William's History of the Northern Govts., 138

Witt, Jan de, 53, 97, 165

Wodenoth, Arthur, 273

Wolf, Christian, 5, 14

Wolffius' Law of Nature, 5

Wood, John, 226

Wood's Voyages, 226

Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, 261

Works of James Houstoun, M.D. Containing his Memoirs, 297

Works of Nicholas Machiavel, 153

Works of Sir William Temple, 169

Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr.
Richard Hooker, 148