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ARTICLE V.

AMERICAN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY BIBLIOGRAPHY.¹

BY JAMES DAVID BUTLER, LL.D.

THE American Antiquarian Society, dating from 1812, is one of the oldest associations of its class in the United States. It owes its origin and local habitation, as well as books and pecuniary contributions, worth at least fifty thousand dollars, to Isaiah Thomas of Worcester. In 1874 that society did honor to itself while delighting to honor its founder and most munificent benefactor. It erected him a monument by reprinting his principal work, "The History of Printing in America," first published in 1810, with such corrections and additions as its author contemplated, and would have completed, had his life been prolonged through another generation. This reprint forms the fifth and sixth volumes of the society's publications, and has cost less than an obelisk or statue that would not last half as long, or be noticed by one tithe as many persons. Besides, nothing but a printed memorial could pre-eminently befit the patriarch of our printing. *Gaudet similis simili.*

Appended to the text of the history we find a catalogue, which, like the postscript of a lady's letter, more than doubles the value of what has gone before. It includes every work, large and small, known to have been printed within what is now the United States, previous to the year 1776. This list fills three hundred and fifty-eight pages, and contains about eight thousand titles. Few volumes are more suggestive than this book of title-pages. It is a forcible con-

¹ The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers. By Isaiah Thomas, LL.D., etc. Second edition, with the Author's Corrections and Additions, and a Catalogue of American Publications previous to the Revolution of 1776. Published under the supervision of the American Antiquarian Society, in two volumes. Albany. 1874.

firmation of the saying that for him who has eyes to see it there is as much physiognomy on the backs of books as in the faces of men. It claims to have realized the ideal of Mr. Thomas, which was to "furnish the only American catalogue of printed books of any consequence, or in any way general, to be met with, or that has been made." It is a mosaic elaborated from advertisements in ancient newspapers, from publishers' announcements in old books, from library-catalogues and libraries without number. Owing, in part, to the lack of such bibliographies in his time, Lord Bacon was led to pronounce literary history deficient.

Such statistics, indeed, belong to that reading which is never read, and to some minds recall what a little girl called the "begat" chapters at the beginning of Matthew and Luke. To many they are as dry as Falstaff held an intolerable deal of bread to but one half pennyworth of sack, and as repulsive as the lover declared the mercantile inventory of Lady Olivia's beauty when labelled item by item, as two lips indifferent red, two gray eyes with lids to them, one nose, one chin, etc.

Statistics, in truth, make up an upstart science — a science which had no name to live till Achenwall coined one for it; and he has scarcely been dead a century. But they are every day gleaned and garnered with more and more pains and persistence. Their influence is daily more pervasive and potent in all learning and life. They will soon rule the world, as the law of definite proportions does chemical combinations. A myriad of them that were dead bones are vitalized whenever they are touched by a genius like Bacon, who, when asked in boyhood by Queen Bess: "How old are you?" answered: "I am just two years younger than your majesty's blessed reign." Measuring rods will yet be viewed as reeds of gold in the hands of angels. Then will statistical figures put to shame those that are to-day the glory of rhetoric and poetry.

The Antiquarian Society, by their *Bibliographical Catalogue*, have accomplished for our pre-revolutionary epoch more than the Early English Text Society undertook to do for the literature.

of our mother-country, namely, to publish a transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London between the years 1544 and 1640. This task proved too hard for the English association; but it is now being pushed on to completion by a single Englishman — Edward Arber. While admiring his enterprise, all scholars must regret that Mr. Arber's edition is limited to two hundred and thirty copies, and that its cost on small paper for five volumes is over £16, and on large paper four times as much. But what most surprises and grieves every friend to the diffusion of knowledge is Mr. Arber's announcement, emphasized in capitals, that he will DESTROY all surplus copies, that is, all those not subscribed for, on the appearance of his last volume. He brings to our minds the sibyl burning the books which Tarquin declined to buy, or, rather, another Englishman, who, having bought at a fabulous sum a shell advertised as unique, had no sooner paid its price than he dashed it to fragments, saying: "It was a counterpart to one which I had myself before, and of which I never till now discovered a duplicate. I am content to lose a hundred guineas in order to make my assurance doubly sure that my pet is a veritable nonesuch." Ardent affection is proverbially jealous; but it is not easy to understand how any true scholar, bearing like the Turk no brother near the throne, can wish to use the press exclusively and restrictively — the press which was born and came into the world pre-eminently for opening to all what manuscripts had and must shut up to a handful. The voice of the press calls for the last verse in the last chapter of the last book of dog-in-the-manger policy.

The Antiquarian Society's list of books published in America, however exhaustive, needs a supplement, in order as is its purpose, to show in all its ramifications the literary development of our pre-revolutionary fathers. The supplement needed for this end is a catalogue of books by American authors which were first printed abroad. Not a few American works were, for various reasons, thus ushered into the world beyond the sea. For twenty years there was no American printing. For the first generation the presses

here were only two. They were often full of work, and so unable to fill orders promptly. Their work was sometimes dearer, and always inferior, to that executed in the old country. For reasons like these, the "Magnalia" of Mather, the immense concordance by Rev. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth (1658), and other ponderous productions were exported for publication. Again, American presses were subject to a censorship which stifled everything offensive to the existing local authorities. In 1667, Thomas à Kempis, even after being licensed by the censors, was thus suppressed as "a book that Imitates of Christ, or to that purpose, written by a popish minister, wherein is containd some things less safe to be infused amongst the people of this place." It was not the pope only who then believed that one of Peter's keys was for locking up the press, as the other was for unlocking paradise.

But American works at first sent to the press in London were frequently reprinted here. Thus the year 1678 saw the first American edition of the poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet. We have to seek further than the Antiquarian catalogue to ascertain that that work was first printed in England, in 1650. So Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" in 1715 first appears among American books; though it had before seen five other editions at times and places unnoticed in the American catalogue. As books reflect their own age, we must know when they originated in order to see to what and what manner of age they hold the mirror. Regarding the "Sure Guide to Hell by Beelzebub" (the fourth edition of which in 1751 was the first in America), and too many other works, we have no clew, from the Antiquarian catalogue, to the time of their origin.

The Antiquarian list is so good that one cannot but wish it were better. Its name, or a part of it, seems ill-chosen. The prefix "ante" is inferior to "pre," as every dissyllable must be to any monosyllable that is equally expressive. Besides, the word "ante" is orally ambiguous, being confounded by the ear with "anti." But our early books were *pro-revolutionary*; the "antis" were nowhere. A man of Tom

Hood's turn commended the term "archæological" as audibly derived from Noah's ark. He could hardly devise so good a justification of "ante-revolutionary."

Too little pains were taken by the Antiquarian committee to give the first edition of books, or to state whether the editions previous to the first which they specify had been printed here or in the old country. The earliest edition set down of Cheever's *Accidence* was the tenth, in 1767, at Boston — threescore years after his death. Where and when had the other nine appeared? Not knowing, we are cut off from a desirable guide to the rise and progress of classical study in America.

Regarding reprints of foreign works, it is often not stated that they were reprints; and the first American edition seems spoken of as much higher than the first in the series. In 1743 the first edition of Watts's *Psalms*, said to be "reprinted" is marked the fifteenth. But another edition, styled the seventh, had come out in Philadelphia fourteen years before. Where had the other six been published? Scarcely in America, as the original had seen the light in England only one decade before.

The Antiquarian editors are sometimes divided against themselves. Thus the sermons of John Campbell, Boston 1743, according to their bibliography were an octavo; but in their former catalogue they appear as 16mo.

" Twixt two doctrines perplexed,
Oh help us determine!
' Watch and pray !' says the text;
' Go to sleep !' says the sermon."

Their last utterance is worse than their first; it perverts what before was correct. Again, "Cooper on Predestination, Boston 1740," is set down by the Antiquarian Society as an octavo. It is an octavo only six inches high, as the writer, having it in his library, finds by measurement.

In the *Historical Magazine* for 1860, Mr. Thompson Westcott inserted sundry notices of early publications which he had culled from Philadelphia newspapers. Not a few of

these seem to have been copied into the Antiquarian Index ; but others are strangely omitted, as : 1734, *The Indian Tale* interpreted and told in English verse ; 1737, *Welfare's Wisdom of God* ; 1741, A Philadelphia edition of *Whitefield's Journal from New England to Old* ; 1754, *The Monster of Monsters*, Boston ; 1755, *Edward Cole's Letter* (burnt Nov. 21st, at Milford, Conn.) ; 1756, *Tilden's Poems to rouse the Soldiers* ; 1775, *Massachusetensis*, Boston. These instances are largely taken from the first paper by Westcott. There are two other such papers, which my limits will not allow me to quote from. On the whole, it is plain that while the Antiquarian committee have faithfully reaped the pre-revolutionary harvest, that field will still reward the research of many a keen-eyed gleaner.

The first press in the territory now the United States was imported into Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638, seven years after the planting of Cambridge itself, and in the very birth-year, or at least the name-year, of Harvard College. It was the property of that institution, being purchased in England with money given for that purpose by friends of the college in Amsterdam, at the solicitation of the Rev. Joseph Glover, who in 1686 had resigned his pastorate near London with a view of removal to New England. Its cost was £50, and it was set up in the house of the college president. Had it escaped the tooth of time it would doubtless have stood at the Philadelphia Centennial side by side with the printing engine at which Franklin wrought in 1728, and would have surpassed it in interest as much as in age.

Mr. Glover, to whom Harvard and the United States owe their first press, died on his passage to America. The president of the college not only took that press under his roof, but also Mr. Glover's widow with her five children ; making her his wife, as some thought, with more than expedient and modest haste. But in new-born plantations widows are an article of household furniture which sells at once for the original price, and children are no incumbrance. Cotton Mather gloried in fifteen.

With the first press came a pressman, Stephen Daye, who for the next ten years was the sole printer to shed *daylight* over the country. His publications, so far as known to Thomas, or even to the bibliographers of to-day, were only thirteen — five of them almanacs, one an astronomical calculation, the Psalms in meter, a catechism, two pamphlets of laws, the theses of the first Harvard graduates, and the Freeman's Oath. The last was characteristically the very first issue of the press. The *New Englander* was nothing if not a freeman. The second thing printed was an almanac, in 1639, and at least one work of the kind has come out every year since. In 1775 the number was twenty-eight, published in fourteen different towns. An almanac was the first fruit of the Pennsylvania press. *Poor Richard* was among the earliest writings of Franklin, in 1733. *Poor Robin*, by Franklin's brother, came out in Newport one year earlier.

"The Whole Booke of Psalmes," a volume of one hundred and forty-seven leaves, published at Cambridge in 1640, for more than a century was supposed to be the earliest printed volume that was produced in the western hemisphere. According to Prince, writing in 1758, "it had the honor of being the first book printed in North America, and, as far as I can find, in this New World." But those were days of slight intercommunication. Prince knew little of his neighbors, and hence it is no wonder that he was wide of the truth. He was neither the first nor the last to confound what he himself saw with whatever is to be seen. Every newling in travel does. The new edition of Thomas shows that a school manual, "The Spiritual Ladder," was printed at Mexico in 1535, one hundred and five years before the Bay Psalm Book, of which Prince was so proud.¹ Ninety-three other books also appeared in Mexico and seven in Peru, nineteen of them in Latin, before the close of the sixteenth century;

¹ Prince's copy, which for a long time belonged to the Old South Church, was sold at auction, in 1876, for \$1025; no other American book, save Eliot's Bible, ever brought so high a price. — *Nation*, No. 530.

that is, forty years before the Bay Psalm Book issued as the first-born from the Puritan press.

The first New England printer, Daye, was succeeded, or supplanted, by Samuel Green, who and his children (of whom he had nineteen) and later posterity were prominent printers down to the revolutionary era.

Glover's press continued to be the only one in Anglo-America for about fifteen years. But in 1654 another and a better one, with all appliances and means to boot, was sent over by a British society for propagating the gospel among American Indians—a Puritan institution incorporated in 1649. The original purpose of that association was to do its printing in England. But when Eliot and other missionaries had translated primers and catechisms into aboriginal dialects, it was plain at a glance that no one ignorant of those tongues could correct the proofs. It was also easier to transport a press to America than to transport a proof-reader to England, as parish committees now find it easier to go to the parishes of candidates than to bring candidates to vacant churches. Hence the missionary press crossed the ocean. Nor was it an easy task, even in America, to train up a competent workman in aboriginal tongues. Thus, according to a writer in the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. iv. p. 19), John Eliot, the Indian apostle, writing to Robert Boyle of London in 1682, regarding the second edition of his Indian Bible, says: "We have but one man, viz. the Indian printer, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding." Information concerning that printer was requested by that writer; but none seems to have been forthcoming.

Both presses were established at Cambridge, in a building that had been put up by the English missionary society for an Indian college. Here the New Testament in Indian appeared in 1661. The word for Saviour on the title-page is *Nisippoquohtousuaeneumun*. That single vocable must have been of power to scatter all doubts that may have lingered in the minds of English patrons concerning the expediency of transferring their press to America. In 1668

the Old Testament was issued, with a title as much more hieroglyphical than that of the New as the bulk of the volume was greater. These college presses plied their work for forty years, and, as their mission seemed then fulfilled, were sold in 1702.

The date of the earliest book printed in Boston is doubtful. Thomas gives the year 1674. In the new edition of his volumes one work by Increase Mather, with the imprint Boston, is dated 1669; yet the editors mention a sermon by Mather six years after, in 1675, as "the earliest issue of the press in Boston." However this may be, Boston soon after became the chief place of publication. Thus of the thirteen American issues in 1679, all but two were daughters of the Boston press.

Not until 1685, perhaps sixteen years after Boston, certainly forty-six years after Cambridge, and when in Massachusetts two hundred and forty-four works had been taken under the guardianship of the art preservative of all arts, was her example first imitated by any sister colony. Then, in 1685, Philadelphia saw its first page of print, "*Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense, or America's Messinger*" (*sic*). Nor was any book printed there till 1688. New York was eight years behind Philadelphia, her first typographical memorial dating from 1698. In Connecticut the first press was set up in 1709; in Rhode Island, in 1732; in New Hampshire, in 1756; in New Jersey and Delaware, in 1761. In regard to more southern colonies, printing began in Maryland in 1726; in Virginia, in 1729,—except a single volume of colonial laws in 1681. While they were in press, the orders from home to the governor were, to "allow no person to use a press on any occasion whatever." On monuments in Catholic Germany I have seen the press carved as an emblem of heresy. The first press issues in South Carolina date from 1730, or possibly six years later; in North Carolina, from 1755; and in Georgia, from 1762.

The firstlings of typography in the several colonies were as follows: in one,—Massachusetts,—the Freeman's oath;

in three, — New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Georgia, — sermons; in three, — Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, — almanacs: in four, — Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina, — laws; in one, — Connecticut, — a church creed; and in one, — New York, — a gubernatorial proclamation.

In 1775 the whole number of places at which books were issued was twenty-two. Of these thirteen were in New England; namely, Boston, Chelmsford, Newburyport, Salem, Watertown, Woburn, Worcester, Hartford, New Haven, New London, Norwich, Providence, Newport. The remaining nine, in the other nine colonies, were: Burlington, Philadelphia, Germantown, Lancaster, Wilmington, Baltimore, Norfolk, Williamsburg, and Charleston.

Near the close of the pre-revolutionary period the increase of wealth and enterprise among publishers in the Middle States is indicated by the reprint of large works. Thus Josephus and Cook's Voyages appeared at New York, and in Philadelphia Blackstone's Commentaries, Robertson's Charles V., and Sterne in five volumes. At Boston, however, during the closing pre-revolutionary decade, there were few reprints. No large work, save a Bible in two folios (Clark's), seems to have been projected. Its press then teemed most with political pamphlets. Chauncy's *Episcopacy*, in 1771, has four hundred and seventy-four pages; but no other book within half a dozen years of it was so thick. Bostonians had learned from the great moralist who was so good a hater of them, or rather from mother-wit, that books which change the face of the world are so small that they can be held in the hand and read by the fire. For the year 1775 the whole number of American titles was two hundred and forty-two, as many as can be counted during the first forty-four years after printing commenced.

But the ante-revolutionary growth of newspapers in America was more notable than that of general literature or of books. Their number in 1775 was thirty-nine — an average of three in each colony; but the truth was that nine of them:

belonged to Pennsylvania and eight to Massachusetts. Thus about half of them were in two States. The oldest was in Boston, and dated from 1704; while three of those in Pennsylvania were births of the year 1775. The first in German was started at Germantown in 1739. One number of a newspaper had been issued at Boston in 1690. It was entitled "Public Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick." The editor, Benjamin Harris, thus spoke: "It is designed that the country shall be furnished once a month (or if any glut of occurrences happen, oftener) with an account [six columns, each of eleven inches] of such considerable things as have arrived unto our notice." Four days after it came out the government forbade "anything in print without license first obtained."

The additions by the Antiquarian committee to Thomas's account of newspapers give no idea of the expansions of journalism in the present century. Not only are their journalistic statements behind the times, but they are incredibly inaccurate. They say (Vol. ii. p. 177): "Wisconsin. The Green Bay Republican was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." Here are three blunders, or more, in a line. The dates are both wrong; so is the name of the paper; so is the editor's name. Is not this blundering raised to the third power? No newspaper whatever was printed either in Green Bay or elsewhere in Wisconsin in either 1831 or 1832. The first number of any journal in that State was dated December 11, 1833. The first newspaper issued in Green Bay, and in Wisconsin, was called not "Republican," but "Intelligencer." It was published not by W. Shoals, but by Ellis and Suydam. Further, the man in question printed his family name not *Shoals*, but *Sholes*. Nor yet was the Christian name of Editor Sholes W——; it was Henry O. All the authorities on this matter are in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

The value of the Antiquarian Society's Catalogue of books is tenfold greater because the issues of the press are ranged not alphabetically, but chronologically. Had the former

arrangement been adopted, we could, indeed, turn to any author as readily as to a word in a dictionary, but should not be forced to notice his time, and should have no clew to his contemporaries. On the other hand, the actual order, classifying by years, leads us first of all and inevitably to his era, and then constrains us to compare him with his fellows, not merely in a colony, but throughout a continent. It makes us trace the rise and progress, as well as the relative strength of different elements in our development, and is in other ways suggestive. Accordingly, the aim in what remains of the present paper will be to pass in review a few of the most prominent *classes* of pre-revolutionary publications.

For this attempt neither Allibone nor Sabin (though each in its way invaluable), nor all other previous works on our bibliography, had accumulated such facilities—such mines of material as are now afforded by the less pretentious catalogue of the Antiquarian Society. Indeed, before their book annals were brought out it must have been well nigh impossible to gain a bird's eye view of our entire intellectual field in colonial times, or to form any exact estimate concerning the relative progress in different portions.

The religiosity, or ascendancy of religious elements, in the books of the colonies is palpable. In four of those colonies, as has been seen, the first book printed was sermons. In all of them the larger half of the issues relate in some way to religion. Of one hundred and three works of every kind, published in 1728, sixty-one were sermons. The sermons of Robert Russell, published the year before, within forty years had run through fifty editions, and yet had by no means finished their race. It is true, he published only seven, while most sermonizers of his time could not content themselves with less than seventy times seven. After all, such persistent popularity was only possible in ages of faith. The first mention of Whitefield on a title-page is in 1739. In that year ten works by him were issued in Boston, and one of them in eight editions. The next year saw twenty-six of his publications. In 1741 there were eighteen. In 1745,

among a total of one hundred and twenty-three American issues, aside from almanacs, twenty-three were by him, and twenty-two others were attacks on or defences of him — all having his name on their title-pages. When will Moody or Swing fill such a place in popular literature? But of all names in American book-titles the most frequent is Cotton Mather, which heads no less than four hundred and nineteen of them — at least a hundred more than all American productions before he began to write, and more than one twentieth of the whole number from first to last, though his most voluminous works were printed in London. His “Magnalia” was unknown to the American press till 1820. His life in the press extended through forty-six years. His first publication, in 1682, was “Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion.” His last, in 1728, was “The Comfortable Chambers Opened and Visited.” His “Bonifacius; or Essays to do Good,” in 1710, says Franklin, “though several leaves had been torn out before I saw it, gave such a turn to my thinking as to influence my conduct through life.”¹ He touched society at more points than any early American. The first tooth of a mastodon was unearthed on the Hudson; but as a *Biblia Americana* it was made known to Europe by him. He was a polyglot, as well as a polymath. Quotation-potent in Hebrew and the classical tongues, he also issued tracts in French, Spanish, and Indian. Not to mention Greek and Hebrew titles, some of his in Latin were: *Pietas Matutina*, *Piscator Evangelicus*, *Lex Mercatoria*, *Unum Necessarium*, *Memoria Wilsoniana*, *Terribilia Dei*, *Decennium Luctuosum*, *Verba Vivifica*, etc. The proverb “lie like a tombstone” would have less currency, and grandsons would be grand men, if all epitaphs were as truthful as that we read on the table-tomb in Copps Hill cemetery:

“Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
Who had a son greater than his father,
And eke a grandson greater than either.”

The religious feature in our early literature was the more

¹ Works, Vol. x. p. 83.

conspicuous, because sermons were common on occasions when they are now unthought of. In 1715 Boston printed a sermon "on a birth in the family of Stephen Seward," with the motto, "Blessing and honor of fruitful Mothers." Such sermons ought to be revived and multiplied in these days of small families and a dwindling Puritan stock. "Boston burnings" were bewailed; and every catastrophe, whether on land or sea or air, was "improved," and interpreted, if befalling foes, as a judgment; if friends, as a trial; if one's self, as a mystery. One sermon in 1752 was "before the President &c. of the hospital for the small-pox." Sermons opened courts, and were especially common at executions. Well nigh the only work printed by an Indian was his sermon at the execution of another Indian. It ran through five editions. At the execution of David Wallis two sermons were preached. But even this culprit fared better than the insane wife of William of Orange, to whom at about the same period a daily sermon was delivered for two years, as she sat at the grating of her windowless cell. The hope was by this spiritual (or diabolical?) medicine to drive out the spirit that possessed her.

But the multitude of religious works is not more remarkable than the magnitude or erudition of some among them. The first American folio was Willard's *Body of Divinity*, in 1726 — not those daily "four-paged" folios which not even critics criticise, but of nine hundred and fourteen pages, "comprising two hundred and fifty lectures on the Shorter Catechism." In 1718 Harvard already had a font of Hebrew type, and in 1763 issued two Hebrew grammars. A third appeared four years later. The first folio in Philadelphia was a Welsh concordance in 1730, and there too was printed "The Art of Preaching, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry."

A royal patent was supposed to have given to London and the two universities the monopoly of Bible-printing in English¹; but the Yankees seem to have hearkened to a

¹ They still retain that exclusive right in England. *Encycl. Brit.* (9th ed.), Vol. iii. p. 650.

higher law, and held that no fraud was more pious than to print their Bibles with a London imprint. According to Thomas, an edition was thus privately published in Boston about 1752. It may serve to thicken Thomas's proofs concerning this matter (which, as some think, do demonstrate thinly) to recall an enterprise of a similar sort which is indubitable. "A large 12mo," says Thomas Fuller,¹ "makes the book of truth to begin with a loud lie, pretending this title: 'Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, etc., Anno 1638,' whereas, indeed, they were imported from Holland in 1658."

Germans, unhampered by any monopoly, issued Luther's version at Germantown in 1743, and again in 1763, besides the New Testament in 1745, 1755, and 1760. Among Moravians in that place appeared the first Fenelon in 1750, and the year before the first à Kempis, seventy-two years after it had been suppressed in Boston. Presentation copies of the Bible of 1743 bear the inscription: "In India occidentali nullo plane exemplo et nec Anglico nec Batavo nec alio quovis idiomate ante hac."

Though Congregationalists at first controlled the press in New England, Quakers and Lutherans in Pennsylvania, and Episcopalians in New York,² yet other denominations ere long made themselves known. Accordingly, the very first sermon printed, — "Norton's Heart of New England rent at present Blasphemies," was called forth in 1650 by Quakers. In 1714 the Quaker's plea was, "Forcing a Maintenance not warrantable." Mather's "Vindication of New England" was aimed at Episcopalians. A British bishop's answer was reprinted at Boston in 1712. In 1668 "Bretz on the Re-baptized" was republished in Cambridge. "Water Baptism a Great Precept," was a Boston book of 1689. In 1704, "Baptistes," treated of the subjects and manner of baptism. In 1747 Anti-paedo-baptism was defended in Philadelphia. "Baptism" — in the sense it is here used, namely, *sprinkling*, is a word which was detected neither by Webster nor

¹ Good Thoughts, p. 248.

² Historical Magazine, Vol. v. p. 153.

yet by Worcester. But the first book published in Boston on "Immersion only," was in 1766. "Methodism," in a title, first appears in 1763 at Philadelphia; thus, "Methodism Anatomized, or an Alarm to Pennsylvania." In 1773 the word reappears in a so-called "Antidote" to it at Burlington, N. J. The first American Conference was held in 1773, at Philadelphia by ten preachers. In 1748 Tennent's sermon "Defensive War Defended," roused the Quaker press to various answers. In 1773 a Jewish sermon was printed in Newport, R. I.; yet there may be no Jewish family residing in that city to-day. There was none in 1860, although strangers were shown a synagogue in good repair, and amply endowed for the support of a rabbi. In 1775, Crosswell in Boston, "unmasked" Murray the Universalist. The year before, St. Patrick's society there published their statutes; so long ago had New England commenced becoming New Ireland. Had this fact been known to a writer in the Historical Magazine (Vol. iv. p. 89), he would not have held that the celebration of that Saint's day in America was unknown before it was begun during the revolution by Irish regiments in the British service.

Applied religion, or the relation of faith to good works, was from the outset a frequent theme in American books. The claims of *morals*, indeed, were then thought to have a wider scope than now. Thus in 1726 Boston read: "Hoop-Petticoats, arraigned and condemned by the Light of Nature and Law of God." There, too, in 1695, Mather had ventilated his views on "the Case of Conscience, Whether it is lawful for a Man to Marry his Wife's own Sister," a point in casuistry which still vexes the British house of Lords, and the Presbyterians. Humanitarians were not unknown. One of them in 1765 issued "Proposals to Prevent Scalping." Temperance sermons are no modern invention. The date of Increase Mather's "Woe to Drunkards" is 1673, reprinted in 1712. This was followed in 1690 by the "Dissuasive from the Folly and Sin of Drunkenness," by his son; in 1700 by an invective against those who "Debauch the Indians by Sell-

ing Strong Drink to them," and in 1710 by Danforth's "Woe-ful Effects of Drunkenness." In 1780 a South Carolina sermon, "Solomon's Caution against the Cup," was printed in Boston. In 1774 a Philadelphian "Lover of Mankind," printed the "Mighty Destroyer, or Havoc made by Mistaken Use as well as Abuse of Liquors."

Regarding *Slavery* the earliest publication I notice next to Mather's "Negro Christianized" in 1706, Sandiford's "Negroe Treatise," 1730, and Dudley's "Essay," 1781, was in 1738, by Coleman of Nantucket, namely, "A Testimony against the Antichristian Practice of making Slaves of Men"; probably published in Boston, though no place is mentioned. The next work was in Philadelphia in 1737, by Benjamin Lay, entitled "All Slave Keepers Apostates," printed by himself. The date of Whitefield's letter concerning Negroes was 1740.

But the arch assailant of slavery was Benezet. His first voice through the press was at Germantown in 1759. "The Inslaving of Negroes," etc., — a second edition the next year; two editions of a larger work at Philadelphia in 1762; other works in 1766, 1767, 1771, '72, '73, '74. Among the Boston publications on Slavery were "Appleton's Considerations," 1767; Swan's "Dissuasion from the Slave Trade," 1772, and in 1773; "A Forensic Dispute by Theophilus Parsons and Eliphalet Pearson concerning the Legality of Slavery at Harvard commencement in 1773;" in 1774 a reprint of the Hargrave argument which two years before had established its illegality in England; "Slavery not forbidden by Scripture," was published at Philadelphia in 1773. The same year an answer to it by Dr. Rush was printed there, as well as in New York and Boston. Two other works on the same topic, by the same author, saw the light the same year. In 1773, Granville Sharp's Essay was reproduced both in Philadelphia and in Burlington; and Wesley's "Thoughts upon Slavery" were issued in the former place the year following. In 1751 an act of Parliament for supplying the colonies with negroes was reprinted at New London.

Works are not wanting regarding a sort of slavery which

was viewed with far more abhorrence than that of negroes, though it has now faded from almost all memories, — not of Africans in America, but of Americans in Africa. The very first issue from the press in New York in 1693 was a bilingual proclamation by the governor authorizing a certain man and woman to solicit money in all towns and churches in order to ransom a son and husband who had been captivated by Barbary corsairs.¹ The sequel is worth telling. A round sum was raised, but the captives being dead or beyond redemption, it passed into the treasury of Trinity church. An early application, says some one, of the modern doctrine of *ci pres*. These words pronounced “See prey!” form a phrase of more meaning to the ear than to the eye. A legacy for a similar redemption by the Englishman Betton when no more captives remained to be ransomed, was turned by the chancellor into the public school fund, which redeems from a worse than Moorish bondage. In 1698 Brooks published in Boston ninety-four pages on the “Retention of poor Captives in Morocco;” and five years after, Mather put forth “The Glory of Godliness in the Redemption of the English in Barbary.” White slavery among the Moors was a theme of growing interest even down to the present century. So was white slavery among the Indians, as is indicated by a “Report on Contributions for the Ransom of Indian Captives,” 1678; in 1682 by “The Captivity of Mrs. Rowlandson,” often reprinted; in 1696, by Mather’s “Sufferings of Captives;”

¹ This proclamation is so quaint and curious that a few sentences of it deserve to be reproduced, and the more as it is out of print. Benjamin Fletcher, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of New York, Province of Pennsylvania, and County of Newcastle, etc. “Whereas I am credibly informed that the son of Warner Wessels, and husband of Antie Christians, were taken into Sallay where they are now in miserable slavery under the power of the infidel, and that their relations are not able to advance a sufficient ransom for their redemption, I have therefore granted licence to the said Warner Wessels and Antie Christians to ask the free benevolence of all Christian people as well at public meetings as private dwelling houses. All ministers where there are churches are hereby required to publish this grant by reading thereof openly, and affixing thereof afterwards upon the door, etc. And where no churches are, the constables are required to go about and collect the charity of good Christian people for the use above said,” etc.

in 1707, by "The redeemed Captive returning to Zion"; the deliverances of Rev. John Williams; in 1728, by "God's Mercy surmounting Man's Cruelty;" in 1758, by "Eastburn's Narrative," and Hollister's in 1767. In all our frontier States the press still has similar tales to tell.

Colonial efforts to benefit the *Indians* are manifest from the titles of colonial books. The second press in the country was imported for Indian printing. It arrived in 1654; but a year before its arrival Eliot's Indian Catechism seems to have been issued,—the twenty-second product of the American press. Among the Indian translations which then followed, were, in 1658 "Peirson's Helps," and the "Psalms in Metre;" the "New Testament," 1661; and in 1663 "The whole Bible," costing £1200;¹ in 1665 "Baxter's Call," and "Bailey's Piety"; in 1666, "Eliot's Grammar" (sold in London in 1859, for \$227.50); in 1669 his Primer "for Training up our Youth of India;" 1672, his "Logical Notions to Initiate the Indians." Then followed war, and with it came the Texas maxim, "Scalp them first, then preach to them." But, after eight years, in 1680, a new edition of the Bible was put forth in two thousand five hundred copies. Within the next two decades primers, catechisms, sermons, epistles, "Milk for Babes," and "The Practice of Piety," were printed in Indian. The eighteenth century showed a prayer-book, New York and Philadelphia, 1715; and many other volumes in Indian. Indeed, the last work but one enrolled in the legion of the Antiquarian catalogue is a spelling-book in the dialect of the Delawares. Trumbull's list of works for the Indians, all perhaps, in Indian tongues, numbers thirty-seven. Yet there never was but one Indian graduate at Harvard, Cheeshahteumuck, in 1665, and he died the next year. Occom, the only Indian preacher of much note, in 1774, published in Boston a book of Hymns he had "composed for his Indian Brethren."

Prominent among colonial *historical* publications were, in

¹ The *habitus* of thirteen copies in 1858 is described in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. ii. p. 277.

Boston, Morton's Memorial, 1669; 1677, Hubbard's Indian Wars downward from 1607; Mason's Pequot War, 1749; Prince's Chronological New England, 1755; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, 1764; in New York, Colden's Five Indian Nations, 1750; The Settling of New Jersey, 1750; in Philadelphia, The Moravians by Rimius, 1758; and The Baptists, 1770; in Virginia, of that colony by William Stith.

Biographies are not numerous. Those of the Mathers, John Eliot, Benjamin Colman, Jonathan Mitchell, Sir William Phipps, David Brainard, Jonathan Edwards, are the principal.

It is instructive to mark the *first* appearance of persons and topics which have since become world-famous. The first work by Franklin, on "Paper Currency" is dated 1729; his "Account of the Pennsylvania Fireplace," 1744. Washington's Ohio "Journal" appeared in 1754. In 1766 the New Hampshire Grants (now Vermont) printed their petition to the king; and in 1774 Ethan Allan published his Narrative. In 1774, the year when the word "Congress" is first seen, it figures in fifteen titles. At that date, too, the first works of Hamilton and Jefferson came from the press.

All political excitements wrote their names on the titles of books. Of works issued in 1764 seventeen relate to domestic altercations in Pennsylvania with Quakers, owing to war on the frontier. Those that came out in 1765 mostly savor of the Stamp Act, those in 1689 of the New England revolution of that year. The temper of the times was reflected by Mayhew on the "Saintship of Charles I.," in 1750;¹ by Otis on the "Rights of the Colonies," in 1765; in 1773 by the Boston reprint of "Locke on Government," and by four works in Philadelphia on the importation, sale, and destruction of tea; and in 1774 by sermons "to youth acquiring the use of arms," proving the "art of war lawful and necessary."

Masonry is nowhere a title till Franklin published its "Constitutions," in 1734. Sermons before Masons were

¹ Reprinted, with a portrait, in 1860, by the late J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., as the key-note to his "Pulpit of the American Revolution."

printed in Boston in 1749 and 1750; and Portsmouth, 1758. "Hiram, or the Grand Master-key," was published at New York in 1768; "Rules," at Charleston, in 1769; "Fund of Charity," Boston, 1774. No syllable seems to have been printed against the order, unless Calcott's "Disquisition," Boston, 1772, contained something of that nature. The earliest masonic parade in Rhode Island was in 1759.

The titles on *education* are less numerous than one would expect, considering the zeal of the early Puritan that learning should not be buried in the graves of his fathers. But in the outset school manuals were imported, and pre-revolutionary publishers had little skill in the modern black art of manipulating teachers and school committees,—not to say legislatures,—so as to secure annual changes and even revolutions in text-books. No doubt, also, American school-books, like other works, were sometimes printed abroad. Cheever's "Latin Accidence" was written before 1650: but the earliest known edition of it in America is dated 1767. But this edition was the tenth, and so some that preceded it were probably foreign. The earliest American help for Latin students seems to have been "Sententiae Pueriles," Boston, 1702. In the same town Bailey's "Latin Exercises" had reached their fifth edition in 1720. Of other Latin helps the principal in Boston were Read's Grammar, 1736; Malcom's, 1749; "Nomenclatura Brevis," 1752; Otis's "Prosody," 1760; "Introduction," eighth ed., 1761. In New York there was an "Introduction," fourth ed., 1767; and Ross's Grammar, 1770. In Philadelphia, a Latin Grammar by Wettenhall was reprinted in 1773, and a Greek Grammar by the same author in the same year and place. This is the earliest indication of an American font of Greek type, except the single word *εἴρηκα* in a work by Cotton Mather 1703, the title *βαπτισμῶν διδαχή* in 1749,—both in Boston,—as well as an occasional Greek phrase in Edwards's Original Sin, 1758, with a few Greek verses to George III. at Harvard in 1761.

The first arithmetic was Hodder, Boston, 1719, with a

portrait of the author. But this was the twenty-fifth edition "with above a thousand faults amended by a servant of the author." Where and when the previous editions had been printed does not appear. Eleven years after came out in New York "Venema's Arithmetica," in Dutch. The Dutch work was of ten pages, the English of two hundred and sixteen. Among other mathematical text-books, which were very few, was a trigonometry at Philadelphia in 1761. Ten years after Hodder, Greenwood's "Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetick," puzzled Boston.

One of the most ancient educational helps was an "Epitome of English Orthography, Boston, 1697." But eleven catechisms had been previously published, and may have served for spelling-books. In 1750 Boston boys saw the ninth edition of Dixon's "Art of Spelling improved," but, as its preface is dated 1731, their fathers had some of them also conned it. In 1737 the New England Primer had been "enlarged for the more easy attaining the true reading of English." Twenty years later the "Youth's Instructor" was compiled from many sources. The first edition mentioned of "Dilworth" was in 1767, and 1769 saw the advent of the "Universal Speller." "The New England Primer" I fail to discover in the Antiquarian list before 1775, though the Historical Magazine (i. p. 343) describes one printed in Boston 1761.

If educational manuals were few in New England, they were almost unknown beyond its limits. Yet in 1740 Philadelphia put forth a "New and Complete Guide to the English Tongue by an Ingenious Hand," and in 1756 Peter Papin issued "Proposals for a Direct Guide to French." This work, if printed, was the only provincial work to aid learners of French, except Blair's "Short and Easy Rules teaching the True Pronunciation," Boston, 1720. It is to be feared that the accent taught, or at least that learned, savored of parishioners more than of Parisians. In the matter of German, the grammar of Bachmeyer was reprinted at Philadelphia in 1765 and 1772. A better collection of American school-books than could now be made was formed by Dr.

Drake of Boston more than thirty years ago. It was appreciated nowhere but in the British Museum, where it now is.

For furthering culture out of school several works were furnished, as by New Jersey, in 1762, the sixth edition of "Aucourt on Politeness"; by Boston, in 1772, "The School of Manners"; by New York, in 1775, "Chesterfield's Letters;" by Philadelphia, in 1765, "Rousseau's Emilius and Sophia."

For the promotion of *musical* education no work is chronicled older than Walter's "Grounds and Rules of Music explained," Boston, 1721, 1746, 1760. In 1764 Bayley's "Introduction" was given to the public in Newburyport, Tansur's "Royal Melody" in 1769, and "Essex Harmony" in 1770. The first spiritual songs of early Puritans were selected from the Bay Psalm Book of 1640, their first printed book, which was translated and then much modified by Mather and others. The first reprint of the "Divine Songs" of Watts was at Boston in 1719,¹ and that of his "Psalms" ten years later. Twenty-six editions of them are noticed. In 1763 two works on the "Lawfulness of Organs in Public Worship" were thought to be called for in Philadelphia. Not many years before, such an instrument, presented to the town of Berkley in Massachusetts by Bishop Berkley, had, through conscientious scruples, been left in a freight-house till it was sold to pay the charges for storage.

Literary *institutions* were naturally the occasions, as well as the authors, of many works. The first sermon printed in Massachusetts was at Harvard Commencement, in 1655, on "God's Mercy in Giving Schools." The first library catalogue was that of Harvard, in 1723. The Latin oration of Whiting there was within ten years of the first types set up. The

¹ This date, 1719, corrects an error of the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. iii. p. 250), which gave 1741 as the year of the first American edition. That *Magazine* also errs in saying that it was the *Hymns* of Watts which Franklin published in 1741. But its greatest mistake was in holding that "neither the Hymn's nor the Psalms came into general use in this country until after the Revolution." Nothing can give plausibility to this assertion after one has counted the American editions of Watts amounting in the Antiquarian roll to a quarter of a hundred or more within less than half a century.

Dudleian lectures are beyond counting. In 1749 Franklin published "Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." He aimed to establish a school which, while not excluding classics, would elevate the standard of English studies. In the same year was born a pseudonymous work by Hippocrate Mithridate, "Serious Thoughts on Erecting a College in the Province of New York." In 1754 the charter of Columbia College, granted in that same year, was printed, with two other works respecting that institution. In 1763 Wheelock issued, at Boston, his first account of the Indian charity which grew up into Dartmouth College.

The gods did not make the Puritans *poetical*, any more than Audrey, in "As you like it." But, as if unconscious of weakness in this regard, not a few of them dealt in measured lines that jingle at their ends. In the printing of the seventeenth century, we perceive two poems, in 1681, on the death of John Foster; and the miscellaneous verses of Mrs. Bradstreet. These last — which had come out at first in England, as the creations of a "gentlewoman in New England," and styled the tenth muse — treated of a sort of tetrad, — the four seasons, four elements, four ages of man, four monarchies, etc. It was claimed on the title-page that they were "full of delight." Peter Folger's "Looking-glass" probably dates from 1676; but it is set down in the Antiquarian list in the year 1768. The next genuine Boston poem was in 1701, "Light out of Darkness"; sixteen anonymous pages on "Blindness." The earliest poetical satire in that Puritan metropolis, "Origin of the Whalebone Petticoat," dates from 1714. Mother Goose has outlived all poets, male and female, of her century. Her melodies began to gladden Boston nurseries in 1719. These melodies for the million are supposed to have been written down by Thomas Pleet, son-in-law of Mrs. Ver-goose, as he heard her sing them to his children. He had married her daughter Elizabeth in 1715. No copy of the first edition can now be found. Twenty years ago one was said to be observed in the Antiquarian library at Worcester, bound up with other pamphlets. But the reputed

discoverer soon died; and many have looked in vain for his finding, which hence now passes for mythical.

Many Puritan poets were guilty of an original sin in the choice of themes. Some of them were: "Controversy between the Four Elements," "A Line drawn between Christ and Antichrist," "How to Procure, Preserve, and Restore Health," "The Hanging of Hugh Henderson for House-breaking," "The Sacred Minister."

Biblical themes were favorites. "Elijah's Translation" marked the year 1707; Mrs. Rowe's "Joseph," Philadelphia 1739, was honored with a second edition in 1767. Elwood's five Cantos on "David" had come to a fourth edition at Philadelphia in 1751, and Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" a seventh in Boston the same year. Its sixth edition had been issued in 1715. Those before are not mentioned, perhaps as having been printed in the mother country.

In 1757 Martha Brewster gladdened New London by "poems on divers subjects." In that year the Boston muse inspired nothing except one elegy on a provincial secretary; but in the year following she sent to press, though anonymously, "The Messiah"; in 1763 she sung "the Rise, Travels, and Triumph of Death," and in 1768 a monody on Quincy.

Perhaps the most witty, versatile, and hence popular, among pre-revolutionary bards was Mather Byles. In 1727, as a sort of self-constituted laureate, he combined the dirge of one George and the coronation of another. The next year he gave a poetical greeting to Governor Burnet. In 1732 he descended to an elegy on Daniel Oliver, and four years after did the same honor to the governor's wife, and in 1738 to the queen. Silent till 1744, he then came forth singing of "Earthquake and Conflagration."

In 1760 a heroic poem on "War," by George Cockings, Portsmouth, was one of the first-born of the New Hampshire press, which had yielded no book at all till four years before. Some Philadelphia Quaker answered Cockings with an ode on "Peace." But the voice of Cockings was still for war; and in 1772, carrying the war into the enemy's country, he

issued "The Siege of Quebec" in Philadelphia itself. This dramatic work appears to have been the earliest American tragedy, except the Prince of Parthia.¹ But works of a comic nature were common, as "Manners of the Times," and "The Bully," 1762; "The Paxton Boys," 1764; "Aeneas and Dido burlesqued," "The School for Wives," "Macaroni," etc. All these sportive works were published in the Quaker city. There was most gravity, and also most gaiety. Quips were a reaction from Quakerism. *Ubi Mauri, ibi odorifera*. Some Boston titles also, intended to be solemn, now provoke a smile; as, in 1768, "An Inquiry whether the Scripture enjoins the Kiss of Charity." "A Pastoral Elegy on his Majesty George the Second," Philadelphia, 1761, has for a motto "America in Tears." When we consider that most of America could not know of its bereavement till the king had been half a year defunct, the sentimentalism is like that of Mark Twain weeping at the tomb of Adam. As early as 1730 Maryland had produced a comic poem, "Muscipula,—the Mouse-trap." In 1767 New York printed a comic opera, "The Force of Credulity." In 1769 Church, in Boston, satirized a provincial Bashaw. One of the last pre-revolutionary works was Trumbull's *McFingal*, Philadelphia, 1775, which helped on independence more than any one regiment.

The first dramatic performances were at Williamsburg Virginia, in 1752, and at the North in Newport in 1761. But in the last town they were at once prohibited, and that until 1793.

The paucity of early *reprints* is remarkable. It proves that the American press bodied forth American ideas, and was independent of foreign influences. During the first sixty-one years, down to the close of the seventeenth century, the total issues were five hundred and ninety-seven. Of all these only about a dozen were foreign productions. The earliest,—Baxter's *Call*, in 1664,—was in Indian. The

¹ The plays of the American Jew, Antonio Jose, the most notable victim of the American inquisition, and written in its dungeons, belong to a Portuguese colony.

first in English—Bretz on Baptism—was in 1668. In 1669 an English work on “Mount Etna” followed. The next, in 1681, was Pilgrim’s Progress, which, speaking to the hearts of our pilgrims, found warm welcome here only three years after it had been first printed in England. All the others were books of devotion, except the “Massachusetts Charter,” “Jacobites Catechism,” “Military Discipline,” and “Naval Victory.”

Nor were many transatlantic books reprinted before the latter half of the eighteenth century. One of Swift’s political tracts came out in 1728. Pope’s “Essay on Man,” in 1747, was the first transplanting of poetry, — aside from religious hymns, and the verses of the martyr John Rogers, which saw American publication in 1685. Among other poetical reprints followed, in 1750, Addison’s “Cato”; in 1753, Young’s “Last Day”; in 1754, “The Fair Circassian”; in 1757, “Armstrong’s “Art of Preserving Health”; in 1762, “The Death of Abel”; in 1770, Watts’s “Wonderful Dream”; in 1771, Miss Ashmore’s Songs; in 1772, Cumberland’s “West Indian”; in 1773, Garrick’s “Irish Widow.” There was no American edition of Shakespeare till 1795 in Philadelphia; but a work called Shakespeare’s Jests, or, The Jubilee Jester,” is dated New York, 1774. Another reprint was “Mother Midnight’s Comical Pocket-book,” Boston, 1763. In 1770 Philadelphia published extracts from Milton, chiefly prose, and in 1777 “Paradise Lost.” Both Milton and Shakespeare appear in the catalogue of John Hancock’s library, 1794. Goldsmith and Sterne were printed in America only one year behind their issue in England, but “Rasselas” not till after nine years. It is not easy in all the American list to discover more than two translations from the classics; namely, “Cato’s Moral Distichs,” 1735, and “Cicero’s Cato Major,” 1744, both by James Logan, and published in Philadelphia. Yet the Historical Magazine (Vol. ii. p. 212) says an “Epictetus” was there printed, and probably translated, in 1729.

Passing to books in *foreign* tongues, we notice that works

in both French and Spanish were published in Boston before the close of the seventeenth century; and in 1721 Pugh's Welsh "Anmerch ir cymrw in Gallw. O.," whatever that may mean, passed through the Philadelphia press. In 1725 the New York press printed the first volume in Dutch. In 1649 — ten years after the first types were set in Massachusetts — a Latin oration delivered at Cambridge at the sixth commencement was printed. In 1735, the same year with the Philadelphia translation from Latin, the Boston press brought out a Latin logic, — "Compendium Logicae, secundum principia Cartesii," — also a Latin dictionary and a Hebrew grammar. At the funeral of a provincial governor his horses were wont to be dressed in mourning, and of all long faces theirs were the longest. With about as much reason long Latin vocables seem to have been deemed most suitable for the funeral sermons of dignitaries. Accordingly, the year 1737 was signalized by an "Oratio funebris in obitum Benjaminis Wadsworth coll. Harv. præsidis. This sermon was by Henry Flynt, for sixty years a tutor, and whose prophet's chamber is still well preserved in one of the oldest of Massachusetts houses — that of Edmund Quincy in Quincy, now and for many years occupied by Peter Butler, Esq. The funeral sermon of Flynt himself, by Appleton, was in English. The reason at first seemed to be the fact that Flynt was not a president; but I soon perceived that Flynt was also lamented in Latin by Lovell — thanks, it may be, to his threescore years of service. In 1751 Dr. Stiles had printed his Latin discourse in words of still more learned length at the obsequies of a Connecticut governor. He mercifully added "An Address in English to his Widow." No earlier Latin printing appears in Connecticut, except the title "Bibliotheca Curiosa," in 1734, by a bookseller. But all these funereal tributes were outdone, in 1761, by Harvard, in worship of the rising sun, printing trilingual oblations of poetry, in Greek, as well as Latin and English, to George III. on his coronation. The font of Greek type had been presented to the college in 1718, and was burned up in 1764.

Its first and last use was for this "Pietas et Gratulatio," bombastic compliments which passed for loyalty. No early Latin printing was done in the Middle States; but it was there clung to with peculiar tenacity. In 1771 "Dissertatio Medica de Hydropo" was published in Philadelphia, and in 1774 Cooper's "Ethices Compendium" at New York.

Early works on *science* are few, especially in contrast with the theological host. Among primitive medical works was "Thacher's Rules in Small Pox," about 1678. In 1720 Boston gloried in her "London Pharmacopoea." There too John Smith's "Curiosities of Common Water," a London book, was brought out in 1725; two years after in a Philadelphia edition. But most medical treatises of that period related to inoculation. The first book was Boylston's, Boston, 1721. Two Mathers, Colman, Grainger, Williams, and many anonymi each added his pamphlet. But as late as 1730 a London sermon "against the Dangerous and Sinful Practice of Inoculation" saw its fourth edition in Boston. Dickinson's "Throat Distemper," Boston, 1740, Rush on "Pennsylvania Mineral Waters," and on "Medicine among the Indians," were original works; while Buchan, 1774, and Cullen, 1775, were reprinted at Philadelphia.

The very first work on the Antiquarian Catalogue is an Almanac for 1689, "calculated for New England." The twentieth is "Astronomical Calculations." In 1665, Danforth put forth a volume on a "Comet," which had appeared the year before. In 1688 Mather treated of another, and Doolittle in 1698 of earthquakes. The earliest copy of the inscription on Dighton rock was by Mather in 1690.

"A Strange Appearance in the Heavens" was described by Prince in 1719, and "Earthquakes in New England," in 1765. In 1721, Mather published a mariner's account of a "Burning Island." Winthrop in 1761 printed his "Observations on the Transit of Venus;" and in 1765, an "Account of certain Meteors." The first American work on "American Plants," was by Bartram, in Philadelphia, 1751.

In the wilderness of title-pages there are not a few *miscellaneous* curiosities.

It was not till 1747 that Boston was vouchsafed "Directions how to Dress any Common Dish." The dishes for a century of Thanksgiving-days must all have been either uncommon or inspired. Not till 1774 did Mrs. Carter's "Complete Woman Cook," bloom there in a second edition. "A new Plan of the great Town of Boston in New England;" distinguished the year 1769. In 1752 Baltimore had given the first example of a city directory. The first auction catalogue of books was in Boston, 1717. In 1718 the likeness of Increase Mather was the first copper-plate engraving. The first "emigration pamphlet," aiming, it would seem, to draw Yankees to Panama, was printed at Boston in 1699. The female authors one may count on his fingers. Aside from those already alluded to, it is hard to espy any, save Mrs. Lloyd, Mrs. Gill, and an unknown gentlewoman. Their writings were all devotional. Many of the late titles show that the maritime colonies were already looking wistfully beyond the Alleghanies. One of the earliest is "Considerations on the French settling Colonies on the Mississippi." Among Philadelphia publications were, in 1765 "Boquet's Expedition against Ohio Indians"; in 1778 "Jones's Visits West of the Ohio." In 1774 New Haven gave out Trumbull's "Vindication of the Connecticut Title to Lands West of New York." In 1772 Philadelphia printed an "Invitation sérieuse aux habitans des Illinois."

About the earliest treatise on Military Science was Nicholas Boone's "Compleat Souldier or Expert Artilleryman," Boston, 1701. The first book dedicated to Washington was Stevenson's "Military Instructions to Guerrillas," Philadelphia, 1775.

The writer of the present paper took up the pre-revolutionary book-list for a single reference. He found it so unexpectedly instructive, and entertaining as well, that he was insensibly drawn on to write what he has, though while having a handful he has opened only his little finger. Nor has he fathomed, far less exhausted, its suggestiveness. It has taught him much less than it will teach others. Among

many reflections to which this bibliography has given rise, only one shall be added at the heel of this Article. It may well make every American proud of his pre-revolutionary book-record. It is surprising that the literary productiveness was so great, so various and so valuable in a population so sparse, scanty, and poor. We can only contrast in this regard the British colonies with Spanish and French plantations. Nor need we shrink from comparisons with more recent English establishments either in Australia or elsewhere. The different publications, eight thousand, were probably one-half as many as the incunabula, or total press issues of the whole world during the first half century after the invention of printing.

The early development of American literature is the more remarkable when we consider that it was fostered by no copyright. Whoever published his thoughts, abdicated all private rights, and made them public property. Though he put no enemy in his mouth, every one could steal away his brains. And it was an honorable kind of thievery. Lord Campbell in his "Lives of the Chancellors," declared he would carry a bill through Parliament refusing any copyright to books which lacked an index. That favor was denied to all pre-revolutionary works no matter how well they were equipped with indexes.

In view of other facts the number of our pre-revolutionary publications was greater than we should expect. Thus no paper was manufactured in New England till 1731, over ninety years after printing had begun there; and up to that time the paper-mills in the Middle States numbered only three, and probably never sent a single sheet to printers in other colonies. Again, the colonial age was over before more than one regular type foundry had been established in America, and that was merely for German letters, and German books.

The usual mode of bringing out pre-revolutionary books was by subscriptions obtained previous to publication,—an expedient for insuring authors and publishers as well from

loss which both those classes must often wish were more in vogue now-a-days. Moreover, the desire of friends to see one's writings in print, — which could otherwise be affected while its hollowness remained undiscovered, — was by the fashion of subscription subjected to a practical test no less efficacious than the spear of Ithuriel. Friends, or at least flatterers, must then have been more slow than now to express admiration of sermons or other manuscripts to which they listened, since admirers were forthwith invited to unite at once and become individually responsible in paying for copies to be printed. Lists of subscribers figure at the end of many volumes. To the genealogist they are a perfect mine. They also show that the friends of most writers were content with each a single copy. In some instances, however, more than half the subscriptions were for extra copies. Thus Edwards on "Original Sin," Boston, 1758, shows four hundred and eighty-nine copies subscribed for. Of these two hundred and sixty-nine were extra copies; fifty copies had been engaged in Scotland, forty-six persons took each six copies, and two twelve a piece.

For encouraging literature such a thousand-handed subscription from the people was much better than a noble or royal patron who would seldom notice and could still more seldom understand the books he had the glory of countenancing. Such a patron, being never knocked about among equals, is never purged of self-conceit. No wonder that in mockery of one such omniscient know-nothing an English book was dedicated "to his admirers, of whom he is himself chief." On the other hand, at the end of the last volume of Robinson's Charles V., Philadelphia, 1770, we read: "A list of subscribers whose names posterity may respect, because, by their seasonable encouragement this American edition hath been accomplished at a price so moderate (served in blue boards at one dollar each volume) that the man of the woods as well as the man of the court may now solace himself with sentimental delight." Luxuries of typography were not unknown. Some funeral sermons were printed on writing-

paper, and the presentation copies of Mayhew against unlimited submission were on larger paper, measuring eight inches by ten.

Thus book-making here was less the result of outside than of inside pressure. Those who plied their pens for the press had little hope of fame, and none of lucre. But ideas were in them, like a fire in the bones, and would perforce come out. While clothing them in words, — ranging them in order, sending them into the world their authors saw them more clearly and correctly, — felt them more deeply, and thrilled with a sort of creative delight. Their aims were to defend themselves from aspersions, to advance reforms, to spread heart-felt convictions, or to bear witness on facts best known to themselves. Accordingly, in medicine, law, theology; in education, government, and history, they developed principles which have been garnered up among the riches of the world, the heir-looms of all ages. They laid the foundation for which whatever we have achieved in the century following, and whatever we can hope to achieve in centuries to come, has been and can be no more than a commensurate superstructure.

“ There is a history in those men’s books,
 Figuring the nature of the times deceased ;
 The which observed, a man may prophesy,
 With a near aim, of the main chance of things
 As yet not come to life, which in their seeds,
 And weak beginnings lie intreasured.”