

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY

BY GEORGE SIMPSON EDDY

IT IS probable that Franklin acquired the larger part of his library after 1757.

On Nov. 3, 1772, he wrote to his son William, from London, saying: "I am almost settled in my new apartment; but removing and sorting my papers, and placing my books and things has been a troublesome job. I am amaz'd to see how books have grown upon me since my return to England. I brought none with me, and have now a roomful; many collected in Germany, Holland and France; *and consisting chiefly of such as contain knowledge that may hereafter be useful to America.*" (Italics by G. S. E.)

On May 30, 1787, in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Mecom, he described his library as being a room 16 feet wide by 30½ feet long, with four windows and one door, and lined with books to the ceiling.

On July 13, 1787, Manasseh Cutler was in Philadelphia, and called upon the Doctor; in his Diary he gives an interesting account of his visit. Among other things he says: "After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with bookshelves filled with books; besides there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America."

In his Will, dated July 17, 1788, Franklin provided: "With regard to my books, those I had in France and

those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, *and a catalogue made of them*, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows: My 'History of the Academy of Sciences,' in 60 or 70 volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honour to be President. My collection in folio of 'Les Arts et les Metiers,' I give to the American Philosophical Society, established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same 'Arts et Metiers,' I give to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, William Bache, I do hereby give to him; and such as shall be marked with the name of Jonathan Williams, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson, William Temple Franklin." (Italics by G. S. E.)

By a codicil, dated June 23, 1789, he added the following bequest of books: "I give to William Hewson, who is my godson, my new quarto Bible, Oxford edition, to be for his family Bible, and also the botanic description of the plants in the Emperor's garden at Vienna, in-folio, with coloured cuts. And to Thomas Hewson I give a set of Spectators, Tatlers and Guardians, handsomely bound."

It should be noted that Franklin did not say in his will that he had *already* marked the names of the various legatees of books upon the catalogue; he merely said "such and so many of my books as I *shall* mark on the said catalogue with the name of" etc.

The only papers connected with Franklin's estate, which are now to be found in the office of the Register of Wills, in Philadelphia, are the Will itself, and the Inventory and Appraisement; the latter is dated April 26th. 1790, and is signed by David Rittenhouse, Robert Aitken and John Patton. The Inventory of the library is short: being as follows:

"Average Estimate of the Library.

351 Folios at 2s.	£35- 2- 0
150 Topographical Pamphlets at 2d.	1- 5- 0
767 Quartos	at 1s. 2d. 44-14-10
1548 Octavos	" 10d. 69- 6- 0
1260 Duodecimos	" 6d. 31-10- 0
200 do Stitched	" 3d. 2-10- 0

No. Vols. 4276

184-7-10"

I have not been able to find any trace of the catalogue which Franklin mentioned in his Will.

The books bequeathed to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, to the Library Company, and to the Academy of Arts and Sciences, are still in the possession of those societies. I have not discovered what became of the books specifically given to the two Hewsons. It is possible that the Doctor never carried out his intention of marking the catalogue with the names of the legatees.

It has always been assumed that the greater part of the Doctor's library came into the possession of Temple Franklin, as legatee. Temple went to England in the fall of 1790, and, so far as I can learn, he never returned to this country. He died in Paris, in 1823, hopelessly insolvent.

Paul Leicester Ford, in the Introduction to his "Franklin Bibliography," says that Temple carried the Doctor's own writings and a *part* of the library, to England; that the books were hypothecated there and later brought back to America, only to be scattered; and that the books and manuscripts not taken to England were left with a friend in Philadelphia. Ford also said that the fragments of the library, after division and theft, came into the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, that Society has only 121 volumes of pamphlets from Franklin's library, regarding which I shall speak later on.

In the "Historical Magazine," for April 1866, (X, 123), is a note, as follows:

"DR. FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY. On the fly-leaf of an English book, printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which has lately come into my possession, is the following account of the manner in which Dr. Franklin's library was dispersed:

"Dr. Franklin bequeathed his library to his grandson, W. Temple Franklin, who took the books to London. There they were pledged for the repayment of money borrowed by Temple Franklin to extricate his friend Robert Morris, Jr. from arrest. The money not having been repaid, a great part of the books were sent to Philadelphia to N. G. Dufief to be sold. N. G. Dufief opened a store for the purpose in South Fourth near Walnut St. and there I bought this and other books.'" The foregoing note is signed "D," the signature being, apparently, that of the contributor to the Historical Magazine, and not that of the writer of the memorandum in the book.

I may say that it is difficult for me to believe that Temple Franklin took any *large* part of his grandfather's library to England.

In the Collection of Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress, is a letter from George Fox of Philadelphia to Temple Franklin, dated June 2, 1797, relating to the efforts of Fox to collect for Temple the amount due upon the bond of one Cantwell Jones, originally payable to Robert Morris, Jr. and by the latter assigned to Temple Franklin. In this letter Fox says: "this I have reason to believe has been done, from the last conversation I have had with Milligan, as well as from Mr. Robert Morris Junr. calling upon me since breakfast this morning, and stating his having received a very pressing letter from Jones respecting his bond, which they both unite in believing discharged, as Morris says he remitted you certain drafts or notes, with particular direction that their proceeds should be applied to the discharge of that particular bond, but

which you appear, in the Acct. Current inclosed to Morris, to have passed to his credit *on account of your grandfather's library sold him*, which he contends ought not to have been done, as you offered a credit upon the last installment due from him until it should be perfectly convenient for him to discharge it." (Italics by G. S. E.)

Diligent search has failed to turn up any further information regarding the purchase of Dr. Franklin's library by Robert Morris, Jr.

In the "Aurora General Advertiser," of Philadelphia, issue of Oct. 14, 1801, appeared the following advertisement:

THE FRANKLIN LIBRARY

N. G. Dufief, Bookseller

Voltaire's Head, No. 68 South Fourth Street

Has the honor of informing the Lovers of Literature, that he has just added to his numerous collection of books in various languages, a considerable part of the select and valuable Library of the celebrated Philosopher and Statesman, the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin."

The "Aurora" of Oct. 26, 1801 contained an editorial, in part as follows:

"A fragment of the library of Dr. Franklin has, by some means not yet explained, been lately on sale in this city; a great portion of it has been scattered over different parts of the continent; some part, however, has been preserved by a branch of the family, from whom we have obtained the perusal of several volumes, containing the Doctor's annotations in his own handwriting, on various political tracts which he had collected.

I think it likely that William Duane was the writer of the editorial just quoted.

The Library of Congress possesses several letters passing between Dufief and Thomas Jefferson, regarding the library of Franklin. I shall quote from some of these, because of their interest. On October 22, 1801, Dufief wrote to Jefferson: "J'ai ajouté depuis peu à ma Collection la portion de la Bibliothèque du Dr.

B. Franklin, leguée par lui à son petit-fils Temple Franklin. Sans l'enthousiasme de nos Concitoyens à faire l'acquisition de ses livres, j'aurois accompli mon dessein de vous en envoyer le catalogue manuscrit; mais en ayant une fois annoncé la vente dans les papiers publics, il ne m'a pas été possible de me refuser à l'empressement général à se les procurer. Il s'est trouvé parmi ces livres la fameuse lettre de Trasibule à Leucippe en Manuscript, peut-être plus correcte & plus complète que les Editions imprimées, ce dont je n'ai pu m'assurer, n'en ayant aucune pour en faire la comparaison. J'ai pensé que vous me feriez l'honneur de l'accepter; cela m'a enhardi à mettre cet ouvrage parmi vos livres. Les livres suivants sont les principaux ouvrages qui me restent de cette Bibliothèque;

The Parliamentary history in 24 V. 8° neatly b ^d in calf	30 dollars
“ Lords' Protests from 1242-1767. 2 V. do	2 “
“ “ “ during the Amer. war do	1 “
The Journal of the House of Commons 15 V. folio (not complete)	40 “
Debates of do 22 V. 8°	18 “

On Nov. 1, 1801, Jefferson wrote to Dufief—
 “Among the books mentioned in the letter of Oct. 22 with which you favored me, is one only which I would wish to acquire: it is the Parliamentary history, 24 vols. 8vo. price 30 D. Should it not be disposed of before you receive this, I will thank you to send it . . . accept my thanks for the lettres de Trasybule à Leucippe, and my best wishes for your health and happiness.” Dufief sent the Parliamentary History to Jefferson.

On Nov. 9, 1802, Dufief wrote to Jefferson—
 “Mr. Duane m'a témoigné quelque désir d'acheter environ 2000 volumes qui me restent de la Bibliothèque du Dr. Franklin; il se trouve parmi ces livres plusieurs manuscrits, & quelques ouvrages apostillés de la propre main du Dr. Si ce Monsieur ne faisait pas cette acquisition que je lui faciliterai en les évaluant au plus bas prix possible, & que vous desiriez parcourir le Nouveau Catalogue que je viens de dresser, je vous l'enverrai dès que vous me l'ordonnerez.”

On Jan. 31, 1803, Dufief wrote to Jefferson, saying—
“Je vous envoie le catalogue des livres qui me restent de la Bibliothèque du Dr. Franklin. Lorsque vous l’aurez parcouru, je vous prie de le faire remettre au Bibliothécaire du Congrès, à qui je propose, dans la croyance qu’il pourrait être autorisé à la faire, l’achat de la Collection en tout, ou en partie. On m’a suggéré cette idée à laquelle j’aurais sans doute pensé, si je m’étais rappelé que le Congrès avait destiné une certaine somme pour l’acquisition d’une bibliothèque. Quel plus digne usage de cet argent, Monsieur, que de l’employer à racheter les livres d’un des Fondateurs de la République Américaine & d’un grand homme! Ce n’est point un esprit de spéculation qui me fait tenir ce langage, car outre que ces livres conviennent à une bibliothèque nationale, étant en grande partie sur la *politique*, la *legislation* & les affaires d’Amérique, je les laisserais à un prix si raisonnable qu’on ne pourrait nullement m’accuser d’une chose pareille. Si je ne réussissais pas dans une *négociation* dont je désire ardemment le succès, il me resterait une ressource pour m’en défaire, ce serait de les vendre à l’encan, votre choix fait de ceux qui pourraient vous convenir. Je suis pleinement convaincu que l’enthousiasme de nos concitoyens & le nom de Franklin ne rendissent cette manière d’en disposer avantageuse pour moi; cependant pour vous parler avec franchise, je me sens une grande repugnance à le faire; elle ne pourrait céder qu’à une nécessité impérieuse, & à l’embarras où me jettent ces livres dans le petit local très reserré qui j’habite. Non, Monsieur, quoique Libraire, je ne vendrais jamais publiquement que malgré moi, les livres de Gallilée, de Newton & de Franklin.

“J’ai cru vous faire plaisir & vous donner une preuve non équivoque de ma profonde estime en joignant au catalogue deux petits ouvrages sur la Révolution américaine, rendu inestimables par les notes posthumes de votre illustre coopérateur dans le grand & glorieux oeuvre de l’indépendance. Lisez-les, communiquez-

les, si vous le desirez, à vos amis, & ensuite renvoyez-moi le volume qui les contient, par la même voie dont je me sers pour vous le faire parvenir.”

Writing to Jefferson on Feb. 1, 1803, Dufief said— “Monsieur le Lieutenant Colonel Williams qui connaît parfaitement tous les livres du Dr. Franklin (de l'amitié & de la confiance duquel il jouissait pendant sa vie) s'est offert de constater, en cas d'acquisition de la part du Committee, que tous ceux qui seraient envoyés à Washington faisaient partie de sa Bibliothèque.”

On Feb. 4, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Senator Baldwin the following letter— “Mr. Dufief a bookseller of Philadelphia who possesses Dr. Franklin's library, has inclosed me the catalogue, with a desire that I would put it into the hands of the Committee charged with governing a library for Congress, with an offer of the whole or any part of it at what he says shall be moderate prices. My dealings with him give me confidence that his prices would be moderate. Without presuming on the answer of the committee to this proposition, I have ventured to mark with a pencil a few particular books which I imagine are worthy of their acquisition if they are not already in the library. A return of the catalogue is asked when you have made of it the use which you may desire.”

Jefferson wrote to Dufief on Feb. 4, 1803, saying— “I received from you some days ago the three volumes of les Moralistes Anciennes, and last night your letter of Jan. 31 with Doct^r. Franklin's catalogue which I have this morning sent to the chairman of the library-committee of Congress. I observe in it the following books

“Athenai Deipnosophistorium F^o fol
Philostratus works from the Greek fol
Durham's Physico and Astrotheology 8 vo
which I will ask the favor of you to send me with those you are about forwarding me. To this I should certainly add the volume inclosed in your letter, contain-

ing two small pamphlets with copious marginal notes by Dr. F., but that from the binding, and the desire expressed to have it returned, I conclude you wish to preserve it for yourself as a relic of a saint."

To the letter last above quoted Dufief replied on the 14th. of February, saying—"Vous verrez par le Certificat ci-joint que je n'ai pu recevoir q'aujourd'hui la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré le 4. Je vous envoie cette pièce, d'abord, pour me justifier du soupçon de manquer d'exactitude à votre égard, vous qui donnez dans la place éminente que vous occupez, un exemple si glorieux, & en même tems si rare, d'une régularité à laquelle rien n'échappe; & ensuite pour que si vous le jugiez à propos, l'on pût faire des recherches dans le Bureau de la poste de Washington, au sujet d'une négligence qui pourrait être quelquefois fatale au service public . . . Aussitôt la lecture de votre lettre, j'ai fait mettre à part les trois ouvrages de votre choix. Je vous les adresserai à la première occasion favorable, avec la philosophie d'Epicure en Latin, par Gassendi. J'augmenterai cet envoi d'un petit Helvetius, en 10 vols., qui me serait parvenu de New York depuis un mois, si la Navigation de notre rivière n'eut été interceptée par les Glaces. J'ai cru sentir en lisant votre lettre que vous seriez charmé de posséder les seules *Reliques* littéraires qui nous restent probablement de l'immortel Franklin, *Saint* bien plus grand qu'aucun de ceux du Calendrier du peuple le plus dévot, puisqu'il a contribué par ses *miracles* à fonder une Nation où Dieu est adoré suivant la Conscience, & où ses interprètes ne sont que ce qu'ils devraient être partout de simples ministres de la Religion; veuillez donc les accepter malgré le désir religieux de les garder qu'elles m'avaient inspiré; & pour que vous ayez un *reliquaire* complet, j'y joindrai un ouvrage en 3 vols., intitulé *Miscellanies of America*, où se trouvent dans le 1^{er} Tome plusieurs notes marginales au crayon & à la plume, que je crois être du même grand homme. C'est une offrande que je vous

fais & qui vous est du puisque vous êtes l'ami & l'un des collaborateurs de l'illustre mort. Aucun Grec ne fut surpris de voir Philoctète posséder les armes d'Hercule."

On Mar. 1, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Dufief as follows—"I communicated your *manuscript catalogue* to the committee of Congress charged with the purchase of books, and they have returned it to me with information that they had already exhausted their funds, and that therefore it was unnecessary for them to take the subject into consideration. *It is now reinclosed to you with the assurances of my esteem & respect.*" (Italics by G. S. E.)

There is a letter of May 5, 1803, from Jefferson to Dufief, in which he says—"I find that I omitted in due time to make you my acknowledgments for the precious reliques of Doct^r. Franklin, which you were so obliging as to spare from your particular collection. Not only the intrinsic value of whatever came from him, but my particular affection for him, extend the measure of my obligation to you for this kindness."

So much for the correspondence between Dufief and Jefferson. As is well known, Congress, in 1815, purchased Jefferson's library. Before I had discovered the Jefferson-Dufief letters, I had written to the Library of Congress, asking whether it possessed any books from Franklin's library, and had been told that, so far as was then known, that Library had no such books. Upon the discovery of the Dufief-Jefferson correspondence, I enlisted the interest of Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Congressional Library; Mr. Fitzpatrick, assisted by Messrs. Ashley and Martel of the Library staff, has discovered that the Library still has the following volumes which Jefferson acquired from the Franklin library through Dufief: *Athenaei dipnosphistarum*, Venice, 1556; *Parliamentary History* 1106-1660, 24 vols.; the manuscript *Trasybule à Leucippe*; and the volumes of pamphlets which I am about to

describe. The other books which Jefferson acquired from Dufief have not been found, and the supposition is that they were destroyed in the fire of 1851 which burned about 4000 of the Jefferson books.

As to the volumes of pamphlets—with his letter of Jan. 31, 1803, Dufief sent to Jefferson "deux petits ouvrages sur la Révolution américaine, rendus inestimable par les notes posthumes" of Franklin; these, he said, were bound in one volume. As will be remembered, Jefferson expressed a desire to acquire these precious relics, and Dufief thereupon presented them to him. As Dufief did not give the titles of the pamphlets, it at first seemed impossible to identify them; but upon examining the 1815 printed catalogue of the Library of Congress (which is said to contain only the books bought from Jefferson), I found listed therein the following item—"Reflections Moral and Political on Great Britain and her Colonies, with manuscript notes by Dr. Franklin, 1770, octavo." Suspecting that this was the volume referred to by Dufief, I sent the title to Mr. Fitzpatrick, who soon discovered it. Two pamphlets are bound together in an old English binding of red morocco, gold tooled; the waste sheets of the binding bear the watermark date of 1800; the pamphlets are numbered "No. 5" and "No. 6", which, to my mind indicates that they were once bound up with other pamphlets in a volume of the collection of pamphlets that Franklin had, of which collection 148 volumes were acquired from William Duane by The Philadelphia Athenaeum, Duane having doubtless bought them at the Dufief sale. These two pamphlets are of the greatest interest to scholars, because of Dr. Franklin's marginal annotations. The first, which is entitled "Reflections Moral and Political on Great Britain and her Colonies," London: Printed for T. Becket and Co. MDCCLXX," (by Matthew Wheelock), is a pamphlet paginated (6), 66; and is an octavo. Thirty-four pages of this are copiously annotated in ink in Franklin's hand. The

annotations are of extraordinary value and interest. A few of them are as follows:

(1) "This author supposes the Colonists want a new Parliament in order to have the Duties taken off. He is mistaken. They did petition; they were *not heard*, and they will petition no more. They have taken their measures. Keep up your Duties, if you please; they will not pay them, because they will not use the commodities. And because they think you use them ill in laying such Duties, they will manufacture for themselves. They now find they will gain & save infinitely more by your continuing the Duties, than they should by your repealing them."

(2) "*British Empire*, a very vague expression. All these writers (almost all) confound themselves & readers with the idea that the British Empire is but one State; not considering or knowing that it consists of many States under one Sovereign. As of Great Britain (formerly two, England & Scotland, Ireland, Guernsey & Jersey) every Colony, Hanover, Zell, &c."

(3) "It is great impudence or folly in a man to suppose that because he is an Englishman, every American owes him allegiance. If every Englishman is not a sovereign over every American, neither can he communicate such sovereignty to another by chusing him Parliament man."

The second pamphlet in this precious volume is entitled "Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government. Occasioned by the late Disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies." Written in the Year 1766. London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, MDCCLXIX.", (by Allan Ramsay). This is a pamphlet of 64 pages, 41 of which bear annotations in ink in Franklin's hand. The following is one of Franklin's marginal notes therein:

"When an American says he has a right to all the privileges of a British subject, he does not call himself a

British subject, he is an American subject of the King; the Charters say they shall be entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen as if *they had been born within* the Realm. But they were and are *without* the Realm, therefore not British subjects; & tho' within the King's Dominions, because they voluntarily agreed to be his subjects when they took his Charters, and have created those Dominions for him, yet they are not within the dominion of Parliament which has no authority but *within* the Realm."

It will be remembered that, with the little volume containing the pamphlets above mentioned, Dufief sent to Jefferson "to complete the reliquary," a work in three volumes entitled "Miscellanies of America." This title was obviously a binder's title. At first these volumes could not be found in the Library of Congress, and I despaired of locating them. But one day I found, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the manuscript catalogue of Jefferson's library, in that sage's own hand. Running through that interesting volume I found entered therein, "Miscellanies on America, 3 vols. 8° viz. Further Examination of American Measures, 1776," and eight other titles. This information was immediately forwarded to Mr. Fitzpatrick, with the result that the three volumes were discovered in the Library of Congress. They had been rebound after coming to that Library, and are now to be found in volumes 7, 8 and 9 of Colonial Pamphlets. The contents of the volumes are as follows:

VOLUME 7

(1) A Further Examination of our Present American Measures and of the Reasons and the Principles on which they are founded. By the Author of Considerations on the Measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies in North America. . . . Bath . . . MDCCLXXVI. (By Matthew Robinson); not annotated.

(2) A Series of Answers to certain Popular Objections against separating from the Rebellious Colonies, and discarding them entirely; being the Concluding Tract of the Dean

of Gloucester, on the subject of American Affairs. Gloucester . . . MDCCLXXVI. (By Josiah Tucker); This has annotations by Dr. Franklin on 13 pages.

(3) Considerations on the Mode and Terms of a Treaty of Peace with America. London . . . MDCCLXXVIII. 30 p. Has annotation by Franklin on page 27.

VOLUME 8

(1) Peace the Best Policy or Reflections upon the Appearance of a Foreign War, the Present State of Affairs at Home and the Commission for Granting Pardons in America. In a Letter to a Friend by Matt. Robinson M. London: . . . MDCCLXXVII; in this pamphlet pages 99 and 100 have been removed and manuscript copies thereof, in Franklin's autograph, inserted.

(2) The Memorial of Common-Sense upon the Present Crisis between Great Britain and America . . . London . . . MDCCLXXVIII. No annotations.

(3) An Humble Address and Earnest Appeal to those respectable personages in Great-Britain and Ireland, who by their great and permanent interest in landed property . . . are the ablest to judge, and the fittest to decide, whether a connection with, or a separation from the Continental Colonies of America, be most for the National Advantage . . . By Josiah Tucker D.D. Gloucester, MDCCLXXV. No annotations.

(4) Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation. By William Pulteney, 4th ed. London, MDCCLXXVIII. No annotations.

(5) A Prospect of the Consequence of the Present Conduct of Great Britain towards America. London: 1776. No annotations.

VOLUME 9

(1) A Memorial most humbly addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe on the Present State of Affairs between the Old and New World. London; 1780, (By Thomas Pownall) No annotations.

(2) A Translation of the Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe upon the Present State of Affairs between the Old and the New World, into Common Sense and intelligible English. London; MDCCLXXXI. (Thomas Pownall) No annotations.

(3) Anticipation, containing the substance of His Majestys' Speech to both H . . . s of P . . . l . . . t, on the Opening of

the approaching Session . . . 5th ed. corrected. London; 1778. No annotations.

(4) A Letter to the Earl of Chatham concerning his Speech and Motion in the House of Lords, on the memorable 30th of May: with some Observations on the Speeches of . . . to which are subjoined Reflections on His Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne, and an Index to Peace with America. London; MDCCLXXVII. No annotations.

(5) The Annals of Administration. Containing the genuine history of Georgiana the Queen-Mother, and Prince Colonius her Son. A biographical fragment. Written about the Year 1575. Inscribed by the Proprietor of the authentic papers, to Edmund Burke, Esq. London, MDCCLXXV. No annotations.

All three of these volumes contain on the first fly leaf preceding the title page, a list of the pamphlets in the volume, in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin.

I desire to place on record my appreciation of the assistance given me by Mr. Fitzpatrick in bringing to light these precious volumes, and in helping me to identify them as having belonged first to Franklin, and then to Jefferson.

Evidently William Duane did not buy the remnant of the library, for we find in the "Aurora" of Feb. 23, 1803, and thereafter until Mar. 4th, the following advertisement:

"Dr. Franklin's Library.

"Will be sold by public auction at Shannon & Poalk's auction store, on Saturday, the 12th. of March next, at 6 o'clock in the evening, unless previously disposed of by private sale, a great part of the library of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

"Persons desirous to purchase, or to become acquainted with such books as may be contained in so rare and valuable a collection as that of the above mentioned immortal statesman and philosopher, are invited to call on N. G. Dufief, No. 6, South Fourth-street—where also the amateurs of French literature may be gratuitously supplied with catalogues of a large and late importation of new French publications."

From March 5th. to 12th, inclusive, the "Aurora" contained the following advertisement under the heading of "Auctions"

“Positively will be sold,
by Shannon & Poalk

“On Saturday, the 12th. inst. at half past six o'clock in the evening, Dr. Benjamin Franklin's Library. This collection, besides a variety of excellent and scarce works in English, French, Italian, German, Greek, Latin, &c., contains several manuscripts, all of which will be sold without reserve. It may with propriety be observed that there never yet was sold at public sale, the library of a man so illustrious, both in the annals of America and in those of the Arts and Sciences, which he so much aggrandized. The proprietor of these books being informed that several gentlemen intend to purchase some of them, merely as the relics of a great man, and one of the Founders of the happy Government under which we prosper, pledges himself to them and to the public, that to his knowledge, not a single volume will be sold among them which has not been really once the book of Benjamin Franklin. Every information concerning the above library will with pleasure be given by the proprietor at No. 6 South Fourth street. Catalogues may be obtained the day before the sale at the bookstores of Messrs. Carey, S. Bradford, Duane, P. Byrne and Conrad.

N. G. Dufief.”

During the time that the books were in the hands of Dufief, the American Philosophical Society made several purchases. In October 1801 it bought to the amount of \$199.12, whereupon the committee was authorized to buy not to exceed \$20. more. All these were bought over the counter. On Mar. 18, 1803, just six days after the auction, there was entered on the Minutes of the Society this memorandum: “Books purchased by Mr. Vaughan at the Franklin Library sale, taken by the Society at their prices.” Vaughan was the Librarian of the Society; the books which he sold to the Society cost \$89.15. Altogether, the Society bought at the Dufief sale, 295 volumes; as it received from Franklin, as a bequest, 91 volumes of the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, it is the happy possessor of 386 volumes from the Doctor's library. My thanks are due to Dr. I. Minis Hays, the learned librarian of the Society for granting me free access to the records and library of the Society, and for his constant interest.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania now has 121 volumes of pamphlets which were once a part of Franklin's library; these were formerly the property of the Philadelphia Athenaeum which is said to have acquired them from William Duane. It is my belief that Duane got them at the Dufief sale. There are over 800 pamphlets in this collection, many of them of great interest, particularly the political ones. On the fly leaf of each volume is a Table of Contents, sometimes in the writing of Dr. Franklin, but more often in a hand that strongly resembles that of Temple Franklin. In 1846 the Athenaeum reported this collection as consisting of 148 volumes; unfortunately only 121 of these are now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the remainder having disappeared many years ago, before the collection was turned over to that Society. It is a pleasure to know that these very valuable pamphlets are now in safe hands.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has several books from Dr. Franklin's library, the titles of which Mr. Bunford Samuel has kindly given me. The Boston Public Library has a number of Franklin's books, and Mr. Otto Fleischner, late Assistant Librarian of that institution, has furnished me with the titles thereof and has with great kindness shown me the books themselves. The New York Public Library has five precious little volumes of pamphlets on the Stamp Act, full of marginal annotations by Dr. Franklin; these were acquired at the Brinley sale.

I make no reference here to books which Franklin presented to colleges, libraries and friends in his lifetime. This paper relates only to the books which he had when he died. I have not discovered any evidence that he had given away many of his books before his death.

The fact that the Doctor had no bookplate has militated against tracing his books; so has the fact that he seems to have written his name in but few of them. If he had put his name in each volume, we should find his books turning up all the time.

The character of Franklin's books was such that one would naturally suppose that the colleges then in existence would have bought freely at the Dufief sale, but no such purchases appear to have been made. I have made inquiries of the librarians of the various colleges and have been told, in each case, that the accession records do not disclose any of Franklin's books. I believe, nevertheless, that some of the Doctor's books have found their way into the libraries of several colleges; they may have been bought by alumni or other friends and presented to the institutions, without their source being recorded.

As the result of several years of research, I have ascertained the titles of 1350 of the volumes that were in Franklin's library; as the inventory discloses that he had 4276 volumes at the time of his death, much remains to be discovered. Persistent inquiries in many directions have failed to turn up any examples of Dufief's catalogue or catalogues, either manuscript or printed, and, as I have already said, Franklin's own catalogue which he mentioned in his Will, cannot be found. One may properly ask how I discovered the titles of 1350 of the volumes; the answer is, that I have examined all of the Doctor's published correspondence; the papers in the Franklin collections of the American Philosophical Society and of the Library of Congress; many unpublished letters in private collections; a long line of auction-sales catalogues; the various historical magazines and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; and other sources of information. Mr. Ernest Spofford, Assistant Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has, with his customary courtesy, permitted me to examine and catalogue the collection of pamphlets which I have described above.

The books which I have found to have been in Franklin's library consist chiefly of scientific works, travels, histories, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, the

transactions of learned societies, some classics, and a great number of pamphlets on various subjects. The Doctor was a friend of Baskerville, the famous English printer, and bought many of the books printed by him. He also had examples of the printing of Ibarra, the celebrated printer of Madrid, among them the splendid Spanish version of Sallust which was presented to him by the translator, Don Gabriel de Bourbon; he also had the famous Spanish edition of Don Quixote printed by Ibarra. The Doctor was much interested in the logographic process of printing, and corresponded with John Walter, the founder of the London Times who, for some years ran the Logographic Press. He bought many of the books which Walter printed at that press.

It may not be amiss to give a partial list of the pamphlets in the collection now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which have to do with America. I select the following:

Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War between the English and French in North America, from the Commencement of it in 1744, to the Conclusion of the Treaty at Aix la Chapelle: containing in particular an Account of the Importance of Nova Scotia or Acadie and the Island of Cape Breton to both Nations. London, MDCCLVII. (In Vol. Af. 301)

Two Papers on the Subject of Taxing the British Colonies in America. The first entitled, "Some Remarks on the most rational and effectual Means that can be used in the present conjuncture for the future Security and Preservation of the Trade of Great Britain by protecting and advancing her Settlements on the North Continent of America," the other, "A Proposal for establishing by Act of Parliament the Duties upon Stamp Paper and Parchment in all the British American Colonies." London, 1767. (Af. 307)

A Letter to G . . G . . Stiff in Opinions, always in the wrong. London, MDCCLXVII. (A long note in Franklin's hand has been cut off by the binder. Af. 307.)

The Case of Great Britain and America, addressed to the King and both Houses of Parliament. London, MDCCLXIX. (Has some notes in Franklin's hand. Af. 307)

Thoughts on Trade in General, Our West-Indian in Particular, Our Continental Colonies, Canada, Guadaloupe, and the

Preliminary Articles of Peace. Addressed to the Community. London, MDCCLXIII. (Af. 309)

Remarks on Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States; by an American. London, MDCCLXXXIV. (Af. 311)

Reflections upon the Present State of England, and the Independence of America. By Thomas Day. Third edition, London, 1783. (Af. 311)

L'Indépendance des Anglo-Américains Démontrée Utile à la Grande Bretagne. Lettres extrait du Journal d'Agriculture, Avril & Mai 1782. (Af. 312)

American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain; or Arguments to prove that not only in Taxation, but in Trade, Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are entitled to an entire Independency on the British Legislature; and that it can only be by a formal Declaration of these Rights, and forming thereupon a friendly League with them, that the true and lasting Welfare of both Countries can be promoted. In a Series of Letters to the Legislature. To which are added copious Notes, containing Reflections on the Boston and Quebec Acts; and a full Justification of the People of Boston, for destroying the British-taxed Tea; submitted to the Judgment, not of those who have none but borrowed Party opinions, but of the Candid and Honest . . . London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

The Pamphlet Entitled "Taxation No Tyranny," Candidly Considered, and its Arguments and Pernicious Doctrines Exposed and Refuted. London, n. d. (Af. 316)

A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson; together with some Observations on a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Shebbeare. London, MDCCLXXV. (Af. 316)

A Complaint to the . . . of . . . against a Pamphlet Intituled, A Speech intended to have been spoken on the Bill for altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. London, MDCCLXXV. (Af. 316)

A Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Present Unhappy Disputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies, wherein the Supremacy of the Former is asserted and proved; and the Necessity of compelling the Latter to pay due Obedience to the Sovereign State, is enforced, upon Principles of Sound Policy, Reason and Justice. London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

The Thoughts of a Traveller upon our American Disputes. London, MDCCLXXIV. (Af. 316)

Considerations on the Sovereignty, Independence, Trade and Fisheries of New Ireland (formerly known by the name of Nova Scotia) and the adjacent Islands; submitted to the European Powers that may be engaged in settling the Terms

of Peace among the Nations at War. Published by order of the Sovereign, Free and Independent Commonwealth of New Ireland. (Title page does not give either date or place of publication. The catalogue of the New York Historical Society attributes the pamphlet to Col. A. McNutt, and says that it was printed at Philadelphia in 1780.) (Af. 323.)

The Constitution and Frame of Government of the Free and Independent State and Commonwealth of New Ireland, as prepared by the special direction of the People, for the consideration of their Convention, when met. Composed by those who are invested with proper authority for that purpose. Printed by R. Aitken for the Free and Independent State of New Ireland. n. d., [Philadelphia, 1780] (Af. 323)

Exposé des Droits des Colonies Britanniques, pour justifier le projet de leur Indépendance. Amsterdam, MDCCLXXVI. (Af. 335)

Justification de la Resistance des Colonies Américaines aux Oppressions du Gouvernement Britannique, dans une Lettre écrite de la Hollande à M . . . , Londres, Leide, MDCCLXXVI. (Af. 335)

An Account of a late Conference on the Occurrences in America. In a letter to a Friend. London, MDCCLXVI. (Af. 337 bis)

A Letter to a Great M . . . r, on the Prospect of a Peace; wherein the Demolition of the Fortifications of Louisbourg, is shewn to be absurd; the Importance of Canada fully refuted; the proper Barrier pointed out in North America; and the Reasonableness and Necessity of retaining the French Sugar Islands . . . By an Unprejudiced Observer. London, MDCCLXI. (Af. 362)

The Importance of the Colonies to Great Britain. With some Hints towards making Improvements to their mutual Advantage; and upon Trade in general. By John Rutherford of North Carolina, Esq. London, MDCCLXI. (Af. 362)

Good Humour; or a Way with the Colonies . . . London MDCCLXVI. (This has many marginal annotations in Franklin's hand. Af. 367)

A Miscellaneous Essay Concerning the Courses pursued by Great Britain in the Affairs of her Colonies; with some Observations on the Great Importance of our Settlements in America, and the Trade thereof. London, MDCCLV. (Af. 367)

The French Encroachments Exposed; or, Britain's Original Right to all that Part of the American Continent claimed by France fully asserted . . . In two Letters from a Merchant retired from business, to his Friend in London, 1756. (Af. 367)

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