Published to commemorate the Constitution's bicentennial year and remind Americans that books and the life of the mind are vital national traditions, this volume contains both an essay, "Well Acquainted with Books: The Founding Framers of 1787," by Robert A. Rutland, and James Madison's List of Books for Congress, 1783. The essay recounts how books and the ideas conveyed by books were crucial to the founding fathers of this nation. It also identifies those writers, ranging from the ancient Greek and Roman writers on history to contemporary British and French writers, whose influences on the various delegates to the Constitutional Convention were evidenced. Congressman James Madison's list of 307 books that he thought were needed by the first national legislature is then presented. An introduction to this list describes the occasion of its creation and a few of the sources Madison drew upon in preparing it. A list of abbreviations and short titles used by the editors of the Madison papers in the bibliographical notes follows. Included in the entries are the date of original publication and the date of the latest edition or, in certain cases, of an earlier, superior, edition. It is noted that references to the many editions that are incomplete or inferior have been omitted. Abbreviated titles are used and the names of translators, unless specified by James Madison or known to have importantly enhanced the value of a work by their editing or augmentation of it, are not mentioned. The entries are numbered sequentially and footnotes are placed immediately after the volumes to which they refer rather than grouping all of the annotations at the close of the list. Additional readings suggested by Robert Rutland conclude the volume. (MAB)
"Well Acquainted with Books"
Histoire de la Nouvelle France par Sire de la Brosse.

Histoire de la Nouvelle France sous les deux premiers gouvernements par le Sieur Charron.

Histoires des rois de France, et de l'Angleterre,...
"Well Acquainted with Books"

The Founding Framers of 1787

By Robert A. Rutland

With James Madison's
List of Books for Congress

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Whether or not we are a nation of readers is a topic of contemporary concern and debate. Surrounded as we are by electronic media and an endless variety of leisure-time possibilities, it is difficult for us to fathom how important the printed word was to earlier generations. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, books and reading were essential characteristics of American life. As historian Robert A. Rutland, editor of *The Papers of James Madison*, explains in his essay, books and the ideas conveyed by books were crucial to the founding of our nation. This volume, which also includes a surprisingly comprehensive list of books that Congressman James Madison thought were needed by the first national legislature, is published by the Center for the Book in the Library of Congress in our Constitution’s bicentennial year to remind us that books and the life of the mind are vital American traditions.

The Center for the Book in the Library of Congress was established by law in 1977 to stimulate public interest in books and reading and to encourage the study of how books and the printed word have shaped society. Its symposia, lectures, projects, and publications are supported primarily by private contributions from individuals, corporations, and foundations. Projects are also cosponsored with U.S. government agencies, and in this instance the center gratefully acknowledges support from the U.S. Department of Education. For further information about the center and its activities, write the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

John Y. Cole
The Center for the Book
“Well Acquainted with Books”

The Founding Framers of 1787

Benjamin Franklin’s once-famous account of how, as a bewildered young man in 1723, he wandered through the streets of Philadelphia where he had neither friend, foe, nor job might aptly describe James Madison if he returned in 1987 to the site of the Federal Convention. Madison’s confusion probably would stem not so much from differences of dress or speech, or even the overhead swish of a jetliner, but from Philadelphia’s skyscrapers. One suspects these tall buildings would amaze Madison because they are perhaps the most visible symbols today of the overwhelming American commitment to technology as a creator of comforts, a maker of money, and a solver of most human problems. The comforts and prosperity of twentieth-century America Madison could not deny. But he would be distressed by the few newspapers, the absence of booksellers, and above all the tendency to regard electronic storehouses as oracles of a new civilization. These developments could only bring dismay to a man who distrusted even Jefferson’s mechanical copying device. The trillions of words sent through computers in Washington each day would only confound the man who ran the State Department in 1803 with four clerks, and who helped draft a constitution—a handwritten constitution—that could say all that needed to be said about running a republic, and do it in fewer than seven thousand words.
While the succinctness of the Constitution is perhaps the eighth wonder of the world, this quality is not what America prepares to celebrate during the 1987 bicentenary of the remarkable document. What differentiates the Constitution of 1787 from much in American life today is that it seems to have a soul of its own. The Constitution signed by the persistent thirty-nine delegates still on hand on September 17, 1787, owed nothing whatever to machines or mechanical apparatuses. The Constitution of 1787 was the end product of human thought and debate, often at a fairly abstract level. The delegates persisted for more than eighty days of debate because of a common concern that the life of the Republic was in danger. Something had gone wrong. In 1783 Washington warned the new nation, "It is yet to be decided, whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse: a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destinies of unborn Millions be involved." Independence, peace, and plenty were goals sought by Americans after 1775. Had that great effort to confer on Americans the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness already spun out of control?

After the euphoria following the great victory at Yorktown, the American people expected a shower of blessings. But this young nation of farmers soon found commodity prices low, the cost of foreign goods high, and taxes of any kind distressful. A low-water mark was reached in the winter of 1786–87, when embattled farmers stood not by the bridges near Concord but on the roads outside of Springfield. A makeshift national government opening under the Articles of Confederation kept up appearances during the war but fell into dispute in the peace that followed. The Union was in jeopardy within a matter of months.

Soon alarmed public men took to the highways headed for an emergency meeting in Philadelphia. Their specific mission was "to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union." What with spring floods, indifferent stage-drivers, and axle-deep mudholes, the fifty-five designated delegates drifted into the environs of the State House slowly. None at all came from Rhode Island, a fact deplored by Providence merchants who believed themselves "deeply affected with the evils of the present unhappy times." The appointed day arrived—May 14, 1787—but
only Virginia and Pennsylvania responded to the first convention roll call. Eleven days later, a patient Washington noted in his diary: “Made a quorum. And seven states being now represented the body was organized and I was called to the Chair by a unanimous vote.”

While the delegates straggled into America’s largest city (population about forty thousand), the early arrivals had time to contemplate their mission. The Virginia delegation met nearly every day preparing an overall plan to offer the assembly, but George Mason admitted he had “a very imperfect and indecisive” view “upon the great subject of our mission.” Even so, he was convinced that “the expectations and hopes of all the Union centre in this Convention. God grant that we may be able to concert effectual means of preserving our country from the evils which threaten us.” Mason, who would be a leading speaker during the next three months, came to Philadelphia with impeccable credentials. He was Washington’s neighbor, a wealthy planter who had almost single-handedly written the Virginia Declaration of Rights and Constitution during the spring of 1776. Bookish and often ill, Mason deferred to his junior, James Madison, when it came to preparations for the Virginia delegation’s daily caucuses. Madison, like the youngest delegate at the Convention, Charles Pinckney, was a planter’s son. And although he was probably the best-read delegate in the hall, Madison was not trained for any profession. Three lawyers served on the seven-man Virginia delegation and the youngest, Gov. Edmund Randolph, became the most involved of the bewigged trio when it came to dotting i’s or crossing t’s.

In all, thirty-four of the delegates finally seated at the Federal Convention were lawyers. More lawyers would have been present but for peculiar circumstances. Lawyer Patrick Henry declined to serve and later claimed he “smelt a rat,” while attorney Richard Henry Lee also refused a place on the Virginia delegation in deference to his duties at the Continental Congress (meeting in New York).

Thus almost two-thirds of the delegates had cut their eyeteeth on Blackstone’s Commentaries on the Laws of England, John Taylor’s Elements of the Civil Law, and Sir Edward Coke’s celebrated Institutes of the Laws of England: or, A Commentary upon Littleton. Perhaps
lawyer Abraham Baldwin was the typical delegate in more ways than one. He came to Philadelphia late, but stayed until the last rap of Washington's gavel. Harvard-trained with "a compleat classical education," this Georgia attorney pursued "every other study with ease." Another member of the Georgia delegation said Baldwin was of "an accomodating turn of mind," and "well acquainted with Books and Characters."

Every lawyer on the Convention floor knew William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* as well as his own handwriting. This familiarity caused Hamilton to allude to "the celebrated Judge Blackstone" when the debate concerned the focus of national power. Hamilton paraphrased Blackstone's remark "that the power of Parliament is absolute and without control" when he argued for a similar sanction in the Constitution. Eventually, the small-state delegates retreated and agreed that the Constitution, with its legislative branch as the working agent, "shall be the supreme Law of the Land." Blackstone's influence from the *Commentaries* is also evident in Article III, where treason is defined as "levying war against" the United States "... or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort." The words are straight out of Blackstone's chapter on treason, which he adjudged to be the most heinous of all crimes.

Books and a knowledge of historical characters were the mainstays of the American public man in 1787. Although delegate-lawyer John Dickinson said during the August 13 debates, "Experience must be our only guide," what he meant was not personal knowledge but the valuable precepts of history that every man present had gained through reading. As bookbinders from Boston to Williamsburg learned, their customers for standard legal works were often gentlemen who were not interested in being admitted to the bar. For lawyers as well as laymen, books served as practical tools for that generation nurtured to manhood during the colonial crisis from 1765 onward. Nearly all of them knew the ancient writers on history, particularly Thucydides, Tacitus, and Livy. Probably half the delegates were able to read Cicero, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Polybius in their ancient forms. In all likelihood, they had some acquaintance with Grotius's *Law of Nature and Nations*, as well as the volumes by Vattel and Pufendorf bearing
the same title. Many delegates were familiar with works on moral philosophy (an adjunct to legal study) by the Scotsmen Francis Hutcheson and Adam Ferguson. Every educated American had read Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* by 1787. Less popular but revered by lawyers and laymen alike was Jean Jacques Burlamaqui’s *Principles of Natural Law, in Which the True System of Morality and Civil Government are Established*, a standard work in American law offices that spread natural-law doctrines well into the nineteenth century. As Isaac Kramnick has noted, the Americans interested in improving mankind late in the eighteenth century “were much more likely to base their arguments on natural rights than historical rights.” The fifty-five men at the Federal Convention actually preferred to involve both.

Clearly, most of the delegates gathered in Philadelphia were scholars of one sort or another. James Wilson, who spoke more than any other man during the proceedings, was a learned Scot trained at St. Andrews but Americanized in short order, and perhaps as well-read as any man at the Federal Convention. As a country filled with immigrants or the offspring of European immigrants, what was already unusual about America was that so many people read books. A contemporary Englishman who visited the new nation reported: “Whatever is useful, sells; but publications on subjects merely speculative, or rather curious than important, lie upon the bookseller’s hands. They have no ready money to spare for anything but what they want; and in literary purchases, look for the present, or future use.”

Indeed one reason Philadelphia was an attraction to the delegates was its libraries. The first Continental Congress met “in the Carpenter’s Hall in one room of which the City library is kept & of which the Librarian tells me the Gentlemen make great & constant use,” Madison was told in 1774. “Vattel, Burlamaqui, Locke & Montesquieu[12] seem to be the standards to which they refer.” By 1787 the situation had changed but little. The Free Library Company and American Philosophical Society collections were a stone’s throw from the delegates’ desks, so that nowhere else in America was there such easy access to the collected knowledge of western civilization.

Moreover, the convention delegates were far ahead of most of
their fellow men in terms of education, both formal and informal. A great deal of their leisure time was spent reading, and they read with much discernment. Two of the best-read delegates, Madison and Mason, were not lawyers and Mason's formal education was sketchy. Not all of the lawyers had attended the colleges at Cambridge, New Haven, Philadelphia, New York, Princeton, or Williamsburg, but most of them had a diploma from these institutions—Harvard, Yale, King's College (renamed Columbia in 1784), the College of New Jersey, or William and Mary. A few attended the Inns of Court or Inner Temple in London. These facts alone set them apart, for fewer than 2 percent of all Americans in the thirteen states had any formal education at all. Even so, Americans early on had stressed literacy in their daily, Bible-reading lives, and nearly every visitor from Europe was soon struck by the fact that even chambermaids and husbandrymen owned copies of Pilgrim's Progress or often read newspapers between their chores. The revolution itself had been a great learning experience. By the time thirteen states had set up their own governments, lasted through eight years of war, and stumbled into a threadbare peacetime economy, the men chosen to be state legislators, councilors, congressmen, commissioners, justices of the peace, and other public functionaries had picked up a good deal of on-the-job training that required more than practical knowledge of the world. As the English bookseller noted, Americans keenly sought information "for the present, or future use."

There was a camaraderie present in Philadelphia that spring, too. Simply knowing that Washington would attend had been a magnet for the other delegates, since being in the great man's presence was both a social asset and once-in-a-lifetime experience. Taking their meals at boardinghouses or commodious hostelries such as the Indian Queen tavern also gave the delegates an extra social bond. Many a late evening was spent at the Indian Queen with pipes in hand, the Madeira glasses clinking as delegates discussed in hushed tones their after-hours business (their proceedings being secret by an early established rule). Man for man, the assemblage was unique. Some came out of curiosity, but most came to serve and save the Republic.

There were exceptions, of course. Unlike Patrick Henry, who
once boasted that he "read men, not books," Attorney William Houston of Georgia decided to attend the convention, but like Henry, after finishing legal training, he eschewed good reading. Houston's fellow Georgian, William Pierce, wondered if his colleague had ever cracked a book. "As to his legal or political knowledge he has very little to boast of... His Person is striking, but his mind very little improved with useful or elegant knowledge." Poor Houston had little to recommend him, Pierce thought, beyond "an amiable and sweet temper."

Non-attender Henry and present-but-not-clever Houston represented something unusual in the vital stream of American political life in 1787. One was the outstanding public figure in Virginia and supremely confident despite his anti-intellectualism, while the other served at Philadelphia where he was beyond his intellectual depth. Not only did they share a disdain for the printed word but neither Houston nor Henry felt a sense of urgency in 1787, and thus they represented a sharp variation from the men we have come to think of as the Founding Fathers. The whole life-style of most Americans in eighteenth-century public life was to some extent affected by their reading habits. It was a time when social conversation was one of the main vehicles of communication, and a person who was not well-read might be lost in the thicket of historical and literary allusions that was a vital part of the mental landscape of lawyers, doctors, planters, bankers, well-to-do merchants, and the most perceptive printers.

In short, the men whose opinions counted came from a familiar reading background that was basically classical, and much of their reading ran in familiar ancient grooves. From the writings of Greece and Rome, read either in the original text or in recent translations, they learned "of Ciceronian virtue, Plutarchian heroism, the simple virtues extolled by Tacitus, [and] political balance taught by Aristotle and Polybius." Almost every man present at the Federal Convention would have been on familiar terms with Milton, Shakespeare, Sterne, Fielding, and Pope. If asked how many were admirers of the works of Joseph Addison, all the delegates would have nodded unashamedly. To some, Addison was their direct pipeline to the Roman past.

Addison, sometimes in company with Richard Steele, was an
American celebrity on two counts. Addison’s play, *Cato Uticensis*, was popular in America after the Stamp Act Crisis as a historical drama suited to the public’s appetite for an honest hero. Derived mainly from Plutarch’s depiction of the ancient Roman’s life, Addison’s *Cato* provided a patriotic model of the virtuous citizen noted for “unrelenting opposition to tyranny, incorruptibility, and dedication to public service.” Washington thought so highly of *Cato* he ordered a performance to edify his troops during the war. The book every cultivated Englishman owned—Plutarch’s *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*—furnished the materials for Addison’s tour de force that enthralled men eager to believe that moral instruction and political progress were historically compatible.

Apart from his borrowed venture in classical drama, Addison was an influence on the Founding Framers as a collaborator on the influential *Spectator*. Generations of Americans grew up reading and admiring the popular essays written by Addison and Steele between 1711 and 1714. Liberally sprinkled with criticism of French manners and fashion, the *Spectator* taught morality by example, so that Americans were reminded that virtue was never found in gambling halls, brothels, or the top-filled salons of the idle rich. Decades after he first discovered the *Spectator*, Franklin recalled his delight in using the essays as models for his writing exercises as he strove “to be a tolerable English Writer.” Not far behind Franklin in his admiration of the Addison-Steele combination was Madison, who first encountered the *Spectator* while a teenager and found it “peculiarly adapted to inculcate in youthful minds, just sentiments, an appetite for knowledge, and a taste for the improvement of the mind and manners.”

Addison’s American audience may have been more appreciative because the Englishman was a devoted follower of John Locke, whose *Two Treatises on Government* and *Essays Concerning the Human Understanding* vaulted him into prominence in America when imperial relations first became strained. Locke’s *Second Treatise* gave colonists a philosophical handle for an onslaught aimed at English targets, ranging from Parliament to George III. His idea that men entered into a social compact to ensure the enjoyment and safety of their lives, liberty, and property echoed through American pamphlets after 1765. Locke’s suggestion that a monarch could
misuse his power until all trust between king and subject vanished, which led to the people’s right to rebel, was the heady nectar imbibed in 1776. Although much of Locke’s empirical approach to life and politics was taken for granted by 1787, his disciples at the Federal Convention were looking for the ultimate answer in his logic: how would life, liberty, and property be protected in a government based on consent of the governed?

The daily chronicle of debates kept by Madison takes some of the guesswork out of what the delegates read, for Madison’s notes show speaker after speaker alluding to Blackstone, Hume, Locke, or Montesquieu when they sought to underscore a point. Other note-keepers lacked Madison’s persistence, but taken as a whole, the several recorders (particularly Robert Yates) found fellow delegates eager to reach back in history for support. Both Richard Price and Joseph Priestley were their contemporaries, so Price’s Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty (1776) and Priestley’s treatise On the First Principles of Government (1768) provided ready ammunition for speakers as far apart in their views as Luther Martin and Benjamin Franklin. But writers from the England that finally settled on William and Mary were also respected, and Aristotle’s and Cicero’s names were mentioned on the convention floor as casually as if they were still alive.

With their broad tastes and linguistic skills, the most concerned delegates constantly looked far afield for aid in their verbal skirmishes. Well-schooled in the writings of the classical republican James Harrington and his Italian precursor Niccolo Machiavelli, the delegates accepted certain basic historical premises. Machiavelli attributed the downfall of Florentine liberty to corruption flowing from moral laxity, a decline in public spirit, and the citizenry’s “dependence on mercenaries to fight their battles.” Harrington’s Commonwealth of Oceana picked up this idea, imposed it on English history, “as part of the rise, fall, and rebirth of republican virtue . . . in such a form as had not existed since the days of Livian Rome.” As they groped for a solution to their own problems, the delegates were conscious of the earlier lawmakers’ struggle for simplicity and stability. In that context, Machiavelli’s Discourses were instructive, for the Florentine doted on Lycurgus, who gave Sparta “by a single act, all the laws they needed” by providing
government “which maintained itself for more than eight hundred years.”

Historical examples from the classical era, particularly Polybius’s stress on salutary reversals in fortune owing to “good sense and good planning,” were considered beneficial. Harrington and Algernon Sydney’s writings spoke to their times, much as there were more recent works that had strong utilitarian overtones for the delegates. Two eighteenth-century writers, near contemporaries, stood out. David Hume, the author of an essay On the independence of Parliament and a best-selling History of England, was almost as popular in American political circles as in London’s gatherings of literati. Historian Forrest McDonald claims that some delegates in Philadelphia knew Hume so well they spoke “as if they had committed Hume’s essay to memory.” Certainly Madison and Hamilton had studied Hume’s works in search of solutions for current crises, and they shared his belief that historical knowledge had universal application. “The same motives always produce the same actions,” Hume wrote, “the same events follow from the same causes.” Ambition and avarice as well as generosity and public spirit “have ever been observed among mankind. Would you know the sentiments, inclinations, and course of life of the Greeks and Romans?” Hume asked in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1748). “Study well the temper and actions of the French and English.” Thus by research into the past one could “discover the constant and universal principles of human nature” and act accordingly.

No doubt delegates paid attention when Hume was cited as the authority, as when Hamilton used Hume’s name when arguing against a proposal to forbid congressmen from holding another federal office “for one year after their tenure.” Whether such a reform could have prevented corruption in England Hamilton would not say, but he knew “that one of the ablest politicians (Mr. Hume)” had said the king’s ability to sprinkle offices on members of Parliament had helped “maintain the equilibrium of the British Constitution.”

Hume’s calling a spade a spade and his inclination to look dispassionately at the greedy side of human nature (“every man ought to be supposed a knave”) were not appreciated by all the
delegates. Jefferson recoiled from Hume and saw his History as a corrupting influence, but Jefferson was in Paris. The hard-headed delegates present in Philadelphia were more charitable. In fact, Madison developed Hume’s essay on “the idea of a Perfect Commonwealth” into a crushing argument aimed at those Americans who insisted that the United States was simply too huge to become powerful or prosperous under one flag. With the concept of union as the polestar of his conduct, Madison found reinforcement from Hume in shaping a contrary opinion. “Though it is more difficult to form a republican government in an extensive country than in a city,” Hume wrote, “there is more Facility, when once it is formed, of preserving it steady and uniform, without tumult and faction.” Madison seized on this thought and both in convention debates and in his Federalist no. 10 refined Hume’s idea into what would become the classic statement on American pluralism as a virtue, not a vice.

Another favorite writer of the delegates, judging from the numerous allusions in debates and writings during the ratification struggle, was Charles Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, whose The Spirit of the Laws first appeared in 1748. Montesquieu distilled his ideas on government from ancient times down to Bolingbroke’s day (around 1715) to conclude that the British Constitution was tolerably close to perfection. Alexander Hamilton, who felt the same way, was bold enough to confess his admiration in his long harangue on June 18. “I believe the British government forms the best model the world ever produced.” Hamilton admitted, citing Montesquieu in his notes and alluding to the Frenchman in his Federalist no. 9. Montesquieu’s admiration for the Lycian confederation drew the delegates’ attention, since The Spirit of the Laws endorsed that ancient league as “the model of an excellent confederate republic” based on the idea of proportional representation. Long discussions of ways to imbed the separation-of-powers principle in the Constitution revolved around that concept as extolled by Montesquieu. James Wilson, Pierce Butler, and Edmund Randolph joined Madison and Hamilton in their explicit deference to “the great Montesquieu” or “the celebrated Montesquieu”; and it is beyond doubt that his writings were accepted as the authoritative word on the structure of good government.
The delegates’ almost blind faith in Montesquieu forced Madison to make his thrust in Federalist no. 10 a rebuttal to the assertion that republican government could succeed only in a limited geographical area. Implying that even Montesquieu could on occasion be wrong, Madison insisted that in a sizable republic factions would be more readily controlled since it would be more difficult in a large country for them “to discover their own strength and to act in unison with each other.” John Dickinson, writing a “Letter of Fabius” to gain votes for ratification, similarly cited Montesquieu to prove that the equality of states in the Senate was required, otherwise “a territory of such extent as that of the United America, could not be safely and advantageously governed.”

If Montesquieu somehow was all things to all men in Philadelphia that fateful summer, so was that ancient biographer, Plutarch. Written in the first century A.D., Plutarch’s Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans profoundly influenced American readers who sought reinforcement for their ideas on venality, corruption, and avarice as vices as ruinous to nations as to men. To some readers Plutarch’s book was one grand moral essay pointing to the valiant citizen who changed history by striking down a tyrant, while to others (such as Madison, when he mentioned the life of Themistocles at the convention) the lesson was one of oppression practiced by the majority. George Bernard Shaw jested that Plutarch’s Lives became “a revolutionists’ handbook,” but the truth is that his great work was used on both sides of many an argument in eighteenth-century America. Undoubtedly Hamilton and Madison kept a copy of Plutarch’s Lives close to their writing desks. (During the Revolution Hamilton copied passages from Dryden’s translation on his captain’s pay book. “The excerpts reveal two major interests of Hamilton at the time: political institutions and sex.” Hamilton’s pseudonym of “Publius” for his Federalist essays was taken from Plutarch’s life of Publius Valerius, who consolidated the Roman republic after the overthrow of a tyrant. Earlier, Hamilton had signed his “Phocian” essays, which pleaded for justice for Tories, as a reminder of Plutarch’s account of an ancient Athenian hero noted for his leniency to the enemy. And in his Federalist no. 38 Madison alluded to Plutarch’s references to the great lawgivers in history: Solon, Lycurgus, Romulus, and Numa.
Clearly the two collaborators used Plutarch in convention debates and in the *Federalist*, where he is cited in essays 6, 9, 18, 38, 63, and 70, to such a degree because the first-century biographer ranked with Montesquieu as an accepted authority—almost a living presence—in Philadelphia and New York during 1787–88.

Any accounting of the literary influences at work in the Federal Convention written before World War II could have closed at this point. But scholars—perhaps motivated by the appalling rise of fascism in the 1930s—have since probed deeply in search of America’s republican origins, and their quest has added extensively to the Founding Framers’ reading list. Along with a renewal of interest in classical republicanism, we have learned a great deal more about the influence of Algernon Sydney’s *Discourses Concerning Government*, Charles Rollin’s *Ancient History*, James Burgh’s *Political Disquisitions*, Bolingbroke’s *Dissertation upon Parties* and his *Craftsman Essays*, and *Cato’s Letters*, written by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. These writings, along with the works of Beccaria, Delolme, the abbés Mably and Millot, Edward Montagu, Walter Moyle, John Holroyd, James Steuart, John Somers, Charles D’Avenant, Bernard Mandeville, and Thomas Rutherforth belong in any catalog of intellectual precursors for the Constitution. Few of the Founding Fathers have left as complete a list of their book preferences as Madison, who prepared for the Continental Congress in 1783 “a list of books proper for the use of Congress,” which gives considerable insight to the range of their catholic interests.

Another and even more notable exception is Jefferson, whose library was cataloged by Millicent Sowerby for the Library of Congress, her five volumes appearing between 1952 and 1959. Most of the books mentioned above are part of the basic collections of both Madison’s list and Sowerby’s catalog. As Madison wrote in his boyhood Commonplace Book, “There is a wonderful sympathy between some minds. Like Unisones, they moved alike, and moved one another.”

So it seemed in Philadelphia during that last month of the Federal Convention. With their common background of knowledge and experience, their shattered dreams, and their shared hopes, the delegates sublimated personal interests for the common good. Drawing upon all history, their efforts to create a self-governing
nation mixed compromise and expediency. But the thirty-nine signers believed they now had an answer to Washington's rhetorical question: if the people ratified this Constitution, the American Revolution would be remembered as a blessing for all mankind. Surveying the scene during the ratification struggle, optimistic Gouverneur Morris said what was on all their minds. "My Religion steps in where my Understanding falters," he vowed, "and I feel faith as I lose Confidence."\(^{13}\)

Two days after the delegates signed the Constitution, a Boston newspaper comment was both a kind of prayer for the delegates' handiwork and an assessment of it:

Ye political architects! Exert all your skill . . . consult the plans of Montesquieu, Harrington, Stuart, Hume, Smith, and others. . . . Then shall your masterly hands rear a grand temple of federal liberty.\(^{14}\)

——Robert A. Rutland
Notes

23. Quoted in Adair, *Fame and the Founding Fathers*, 98.
On January 24, 1783, over seventeen years before the Library of Congress was established, Congressman James Madison presented to the Continental Congress "a list of books proper for the use of Congress." The books were never purchased. But Madison's comprehensive list of books for the intellectual nucleus of a legislative library is an outstanding example of his belief, shared by Jefferson and other founders of our nation, that if men possessed enough knowledge they would be able to solve the problems faced by the new nation. In his essay "Madison's Bookish Habits" in the Spring 1980 issue of the Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, Robert A. Rutland emphasizes the purposefulness of Madison's reading. He was a man "who wanted books for the knowledge they could furnish him," and for whom books were the key to learning. His list for Congress, consisting of nine undated pages, is in the Continental Congress Miscellany collection in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

An introduction to the list describes the occasion of its creation and a few of the sources Madison drew upon in preparing it. With the list itself, additional bibliographic and historical information is provided for each title, as the introduction explains. Both this introduction and Madison's list are reprinted with permission of the publisher, the University of Chicago Press, from The Papers of James Madison, volume 6 (1969), edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, pages 62–115. A list of abbreviations and short titles used by the editors of the Madison Papers in the bibliographical notes follows.

—John Y. Cole
Abbreviations and Short Titles

Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*


Burnett, *Letters*


*JCC*


*JM*

James Madison

*LC*

Library of Congress

*MS*

Manuscript

*NA*

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

*Papers of Madison*


*PCC*

Papers of the Continental Congress, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
Introduction

On 1 July 1782 Theodorick Bland proposed that there be compiled "a list of books to be imported for the use of the United States in Congress Assembled." Following adoption of the motion, Bland, contrary to established usage but probably in accord with his own wish, was not named chairman or even a member of the committee designated to prepare the list. In his stead JM was appointed chairman, with his old mentor John Witherspoon (N.J.) and John Lowell (Mass.) as his colleagues (NA: PCC, No. 186, fol. 39). On 21 November the motion was renewed, presumably by JM, because Witherspoon and Lowell had left Philadelphia earlier that month (Burnett, Letters, VI, xlvi, xlviii). This second motion is not recorded in the journal, but Congress on that day reconstituted the committee by replacing these two men with Hugh Williamson (N.C.) and Thomas Mifflin (Del.) (NA: PCC, No. 186, fol. 69). JM alone seems to have prepared the report, although he may have consulted Witherspoon before the learned clergyman returned to his home in Princeton. See William W. Woodward, ed., The Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D., L.L.D. . . . (4 vols.; Philadelphia, 1802), III, 232–574, passim.

During the latter half of 1782 the primary issues before Congress concerned finance, commerce, prisoners of war, western lands, and international affairs, including the alliance with France, the hoped-for terms of peace, the unsatisfactory relations with Spain, and the treaties with the Netherlands and Sweden. Most of the subject classifications in JM's report reflect the needs of Congress for the guidance of authoritative works on these topics.

Under many of his subheadings and in several of his references to individual authors JM neglected to specify what particular volumes he had in mind. See, for example, the entries numbered 24, 34, 36, 37, 55, 71, 169, 172, 175, 200, 202, 204, 250, 277, 279.
280. For this reason, neither he nor any other delegate in Congress could have known the exact number of titles and volumes in print by 1783 which were included in his list. Those cited below total approximately 550 titles in about 1,300 volumes. In making this estimate, the present editors have excluded from their count the volumes of an individual author's work or in a continuing series which would not be published by the close of 1783; works listed by JM that, although separately available in print, were included in a collection also recommended by him; and whatever number of volumes he may have envisaged under his rubric "All political tracts" (No. 280). Whenever a work on his list had appeared simultaneously in two printings, the editors have selected for tallying the set which comprised the fewer volumes.

JM certainly did not derive the names of authors and the titles of their books from a single source. Besides the modest library of James Madison, Sr., and JM's own growing collection of works, the private libraries of Donald Robertson, the Reverend John Witherspoon, and the Reverend James Madison suggest themselves, as do the institutional libraries of the College of New Jersey, the College of William and Mary, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. For the last of these, see A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia . . . (Philadelphia, 1789). Again JM may have acquired much information by browsing in Philadelphia bookstores and scanning advertisements in the gazettes of that city.

Among the volumes that attracted JM's attention were the "near 4000" that Colonel Isaac Zane, Jr., had purchased from Mary Willing Byrd, the widow of Colonel William Byrd III, and brought in October 1781 to Philadelphia for sale at Robert Bell's bookstore near St. Paul's Church on Third Street (Edwin Wolf, 2nd, "The Dispersal of the Library of William Byrd of Westover," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, LXVIII [1957-58], 19-106, and esp. 23-25; Papers of Madison, I, 133, n. 1; 185, n. 1; V, 404, n. 18). At least at one of Bell's many auctions during the year beginning on 23 October 1781, JM bought a "few scarce books" from the Byrd collection (ibid, IV, 126-27, nn. 4-5; Edwin Wolf, op. cit., pp. 25-27). William Pritchard, proprietor of another bookstore, who succeeded Bell in October 1782 as Zane's agent, was still selling
books from the collection at the time of JM’s report to Congress and for several years thereafter (Papers of Madison, IV, 126; 127, n. 4; Edwin Wolf, op. cit., pp. 28–29, 31). Although eighty-two of the titles in the Byrd collection were also among those recommended by JM in his report to Congress, at least fifty of the eighty-two were so familiar and so obviously appropriate for inclusion in his list that he most probably jotted them down from memory (John Spencer Bassett, ed., The Writings of “Colonel William Byrd, of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.” [New York, 1901], pp. 413–43).

During January 1783, when Thomas Jefferson was rooming at JM’s boarding house in Philadelphia, the two men surely conversed on the subject of a reference library for Congress. By comparing entries in Jefferson’s so-called “1783 catalogue” (microfilm of MS in Mass. Historical Society), especially with JM’s report under the caption “America,” a kinship between the two lists is made evident. Most striking are the eleven entries between “Wafer’s Voyages” (No. 215) and “Ellis’s voyage to Hudson’s Bay” (No. 225). Except for variations in spelling and capitalization, these entries in the “catalogue” and the report are identical. They embrace a total of thirty-one explorers’ accounts, but twenty-four of them were to be found only in printed collections. Of the twenty-four, twenty-one were printed only in Samuel Purchas (No. 239) or Richard Hakluyt (No. 240). Jefferson’s “catalogue,” which was a record of works he already possessed and of others he desired to acquire, contains on a preliminary page the date “1783, Mar. 6”; but it was an expanding record, and its contents at any given date cannot be known (Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, VI, 216). For this reason, it is at least possible that JM derived the sequence of eleven entries from the holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia or other sources, and that Jefferson thereupon used JM’s list to add to his own, rather than vice versa.

In this connection, it probably is relevant to note that the two men were together during only the last four weeks preceding the submission of the report by JM, that during this period JM was much occupied with important financial and other issues before Congress, that the closest parallel between the entries in his book list and those in Jefferson’s “1783 catalogue” is under the caption “America,” the final section of the list, and that JM, having been
a member of the committee since 1 July, and its chairman since 21 November 1782, was not customarily laggard in fulfilling an assignment. About 35 of his definite recommendations were of titles apparently owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1782 but not entered in Jefferson's "catalogue," while about 140 others could have been derived from the holdings of that company as well as from that "catalogue.” See also E[mily] Millicent Sowerby, comp., Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson (5 vols.; Washington, 1952–59).

Imperfections undoubtedly remain in the titles cited. The growing number of bibliographical aids prepared by authorities of presumably equal expertness, or at least of high reputation, often disagree concerning the punctuation, capitalization, and occasionally even the spelling or wording of the same edition of a work. To reconcile these differences by scanning the title pages was in numerous instances a manifest impossibility. The editors are confident only that where JM specified a work by naming the author, suggesting the title, or both, they have correctly identified his entry.

In general the format adopted for presentation of the list represents an attempt to establish the “ideal” purchase for all JM’s entries, except No. 280. Included are the date of original publication and the date of the latest, or in certain cases of an earlier, superior, edition as of 1783. Omitted, on the other hand, are references to the many editions which, though dated even later than those selected, are incomplete or obviously inferior. Abbreviated titles are used: otherwise the present footnotes would be at least four times longer than they now are. The names of translators, unless specified by JM or known to have importantly enhanced the value of a work by their editing or augmentation of it, are not mentioned. Finally, the nature and length of this report are believed to warrant numbering JM’s entries sequentially and placing each footnote immediately after the volume to which it refers rather than grouping all the annotations at the close of the list.

—Robert L. Scribner
Editorial Staff
Papers of Madison

30
Report on Books for Congress

[23 January 1783]

The Committee instructed on the motion of Col. Bland to report a list of books proper for the use of Congress, recommend that Superintendt. of Finance & the Secy. of Congress be empowered to take order for procuring the books enumerated below; the same when procured to be under the care of the said Secy.

[1] Encyclopédie Méthodique

[2] Dictionnaire de l'homme d'État
Jean Baptiste Rene Robinet (1735–1820) et al., eds., Dictionnaire universel des sciences morale, économique, etc., ou bibliothèque de l'homme d'état . . . (30 vols., London [i.e., Neuchâtel], 1777–1783).

Law of Nature and Nations

General captions, as above, were written by JM in the left margin of his manuscript and have been italicized by the present editors.

[3] Cudworth's Intellectual System

Christian (1679-1754), Freiherr von Wolff, *Institutions du droit de la nature et des
gens* . . . (Two separate Latin original works: (1) 8 parts. Frankfort, Leipzig, and Magdeburg, 1740-1748, and (2) Magdeburg, 1749; Elie Luzac [1723-1796], tr. and ed., 6 vols.; 2 vols., Leyden, 1772).

Francis Hutcheson, Sr. (1694-1747), *A System of Moral Philosophy* . . . (Latin original MS; Francis Hutcheson, Jr. [ca. 1722-ca. 1773], tr. and ed., 2 vols., London and Glasgow, 1755).

[7] Beller's delineation of universal Law

[8] Ferguson's analysis of Moral Philosophy
Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* . . . (Original work, title according with JM's entry, Edinburgh, 1761; rev. and superseded by above title, Edinburgh, 1769; 3d ed., Edinburgh, 1773). Ferguson had served as secretary to the Carlisle peace commission in 1778 (Papers of Madison, III, 272. n. 2). See No. 156 for one of Ferguson's works owned by JM.

[9] Rutherford's institutes of Natural Law
Thomas Rutherforth (1712-1771), *Institutes of Natural Law* . . . (2 vols., Cambridge, 1754-1756). This is a commentary on the work next listed.

Hugo Grotius (Huig van Groot) (1583-1645), *The Rights of War and Peace; Wherein Are Explained the Law of Nature and Nations* . . . (Latin original ed., Paris, 1625; English ed., 3 vols., London, 1738). For previous references to Grotius, see Papers of Madison. IV, 16, n. 23; V, 92; 93, n. 7; 437, n. 2; for other works by the same author in the book list, see Nos. 16 and 94.

[12] Pufendorf de officio hominis et civis


[14] Vattell’s Questions in Natural Law
Emeric de Vattel (see No. 13), *Questions de droit naturel ...* (Berne, 1762).


[16] Grotius’s Mare liberum
Hugo Grotius (see No. 10), *Mare liberum, sive, de jure quod Batavis competit ad indicam commercia dissertatio ...* (Leyden, 1609; 2d ed., Leyden, 1663).

[17] Selden’s Mare clausum

[18] Molloy de jure maritimo

[19] Beaux lex mercatoria

[20] Jacob’s lex mercatoria
[21] Lee on captures
deals exclusively with captures at sea, is chiefly a translation of part of a work
by Bynkershoek, for whom see No. 30a.

[22] Ordinances of Marine of France
*Ordonnance de la marine, du mois d'août 1681. Commentée & conférée sur les anciennes

[23] Admiralty Laws of G. Britain

[24] do. of the several others of Europe
Unless this sweeping entry signifies uncertainty, it betrays overconfidence.
Innumerable copies of maritime ordinances, orders in council, edicts, regulations,
averaging between four and twelve pages, were constantly being printed, and the
flow was accelerated by the fact of war: but the day when each maritime power
of Europe would publish these promulgations as a codified whole was still largely
in the future. If J.M meant to indicate the collecting of admiralty laws as separately
published, spatial considerations prohibit making the attempt in the present
volume. If he meant that only those laws already codified should be purchased,
he can be easily accommodated. There appear to have been available within this
meaning in 1783 one useful general work in French; the Dutch code, years in the
building; and the Russian code, published, 2 volumes in 1, St. Petersburg, in
1781. This last-named work, however, is not cited below, for it would scarcely
have been included in a library of Congress in 1783.

24a. René Josué Valin (1695–1765). *Nouveau commentaire sur l'ordonnance de la marine
du mois d'août 1681. Où se trouve la conférence des anciennes ordonnances des us & coutumes
de la mer, tant du royaume que des pays étrangers, & nouveaux règlements concernans la

24b. *Recueil van alle de Placaten, Ordonnatien, Resolutien, Instructien, lysen en Waarchouw-
inghen, betreffende de Admiralitytien, Consoyen, Licenten, en verdere Zee-saarken.* (11

[25] Wiquefort's Ambassador
Abraham van Wicquefort (1598–1682). *The Ambassador and His Functions, to Which
Is Added, an Historical Discourse concerning the Election of the Emperor.* (French
original ed. of *L'ambassadeur*, 2 vols., The Hague, 1680–1681; of *Discours historique,*
Paris, 1658; works combined, 2 vols., Cologne, 1689–1690; English ed., variant

34
[26] El Embaxador, par Antoine de Vera
Juan Antonio Vera Figueroa y Zuñiga (1588–1658), Conde de la Roca. Le parfait ambassadeur . . . (Spanish original ed., 2 vols. in 1, Seville. 1620; French ed., 2 vols., Leyden, 1709).

[27] L’Ambasciatore Politice Cristiano, par le prince Charles Marie Caraffa
Carlo Maria Caraffa (1646–1695), Prince de la Roccella e di Buteria, L’ambasciatori politiche-christiane . . . This title comprises the second part of Caraffa’s Opere (3 parts in one vol., Mazzarino, 1692). When L’ambasciatori was first published has not been ascertained, but in all probability it was after 1684, when the author was Spanish ambassador to Rome, and it was certainly before the date in 1688 when, translated into Spanish, it was published at Palermo.

[28] De la charge et dignité de l’ambassadeur, par Jean Hotman

[29] Le Ministre public dans les cours étrangeres &c, par J. de la Sarraz du Franquesnay
Jean, Sieur de La Sarraz du Franquesnay, Le ministre public dans les cours étrangeres . . . (Paris and Amsterdam. 1731).

[30] De foro legatorum par Bynkershock traduit en Francois par Barbeyrac, sous le titre de traite du Juge competent des Ambassadeurs &c. with all his other works.
30b. ———, Cornelii van Bynkershoek, jurisconsulti . . . opera omnia . . . (Béat Philippe Vicat [1715–1777], comp. and ed., 2 vols. in 1, Leyden. 1767). JM and his consultants may not have known of the Vicat edition, which included the original Latin version of 30a.

[31] De legationibus par Alberic Gentilis
[32] Legatus par Charles Paschal
Carlo Pasquale (1547–1625), Visconte di Quente, *Legatus ... distinctum in capita septem et septuaginta* ... (Rouen, 1598; 3d ed., Amsterdam and Leyden, 1645). Pasquale charged that the work of Hotman (No. 28) was no more than extracts from the above.

[33] Legatus par Frederick Marsalaer

_Treaties and Negotiations_

[34] Corps diplomatique
34b. [Jean Yeres de Saint-Prest (d. 1720)], *Histoire des traités de paix, et autres négociations du dix-septième siècle* ... Ouvrage ... qui peut servir d'introduction au corps diplomatique ... (Posthumous. 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1725).
34e. Jean Barbevra (see No. 11), *l'histoire des anciens traités ... de l'antiquité depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'empire de Charlemagne* ... (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1726–1731; 2d ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1739).

[35] Rymer's foedera

[36] A complete collection of Treaties
As in the case of admiralty codes (No. 24), even a partial fulfillment of this recommendation would fill scores of pages with the titles of international treaties as separately published. The following six collections, in addition to the work
listed next above, appear to have been the best and most nearly complete of those available in 1783.


36b. John Almon (1737-1805), comp. and ed., A Collection of All the Treaties ... between Great Britain and Other Powers, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Present Time ... (2 vols., London, 1772). For other compilations with which Almon was involved, see Nos. 36c, 120, and 247a.

36c. John Almon (see No. 36b) and John Debrett (d. 1822), comp. and eds., A Collection of Treaties ... Being a Supplement to A Collection of Treaties ... from the Revolution in 1688 ... (London, 1781). For another work partly edited by Debrett, see No. 120.


36e. José Antonio de Abreu y Bertodano (1717-1775), comp. and ed., Colección de los tratados ... hechos ... desde antes del establecimiento de la monarquía gótica hasta el feliz reyado del rey Nuestro ... [Sobrero]. D[on]. Fernando VI ... (12 vols., Madrid, 1740-1752).

36f. Maciej (Matthias) Dogiel (1715-1760), comp. and ed., Codex diplomaticus Poloniae et magni ducatus Lithuaniae in quo pacta, foedera, tractatus parvis ... nunc primum ex archivis publicis eruta ac in lucem protracita exhibentur ... (Vols. I, IV-V, Vilna, 1758-1764; Vols. II and III never published).

[37] Abbe Mably's public law of Europe—principles of Negotiation—other political works.

37a. Gabriel Bonnot de Mably (1709-1785). Le droit public de l'Europe; fondé sur les traités ... (2 vols., Geneva, 1746; 5th ed., 3 vols., Geneva, 1776). Although JM implied that Des principes des negotiations was a separate work, the phrase constituted the beginning words of the main title in earlier versions of the above.

37b. ———. Concerning Legislation: or the Principles of Laws ... (French original ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1776; English ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1777).

37c. ———. De l'étude de l'histoire ... (Paris, 1778; 2d ed., Maestricht, 1778).

37d. ———. Doutes proposés aux philosophes économistes, sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques ... (The Hague, 1768).

37e. ———. Du gouvernement et des lois de la Pologne ... (London, 1781). Thomas Jefferson, who while in Europe assisted JM in adding to his personal library, wrote on 2 August 1787, "You have now Mably's works complete except that on Poland" (Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, XI. 662). See also ibid., VIII. 463: XI. 666.


37h. ———, Observations sur l'histoire de France . . . (2 vols., Geneva, 1765).


[38] De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains &c. par Callier.

[39] Discours sur l'art de negocier par Pequet

[40] Histoire du traité de Westphalie par le P. Bougeant

[41] Burche's view of negotiaciones between F. & Engld.
Thomas Birch (1705-1766), An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the Year 1592 to 1617 . . . (London, 1749). For other works involving Birch, see Nos. 57, 119, and 148; for a work that may have been from his pen, 107.

[42] Negociations du P. Jeannin
[43]  du Cardinal D’ossat

[44]  du Maral. d’Estrades

[45]  de la paix de Westphalie

[46]  du Maral. de Noailles

[47]  de la paix d’Utrecht

[48]  des autres paix de ce siecle

[49]  Lamborty’s Memoirs & negociations

[50]  Cardl. Mazarine’s letters
Jules (1602–1661) Cardinal Mazarin, Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin où l’on voit le secret
de la négociation de la paix des Pyrénées ... (original ed., Amsterdam, 1690; Léonor Jean Christine Soulas d'Allainval [1700–1753], comp. and ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1745).

51. De Witt's letters.

Johan de Witt (1625–1672) et al., Lettres et négociations ... depuis l'année 1652, jusqu'à l'an 1669, inclus ... (Two separate Dutch original works: (1) 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1719, and (2) 6 vols., The Hague, 1723–1725; French ed., 5 vols., Amsterdam, 1725). For another work partially by de Witt, see Nos. 95 and 163.

General History

52. Universal History


53. Modern History


54. Raleigh's History of the World


55. Voltaire's Historical works

For two of Voltaire's “Historical works” that JM listed separately, see Nos. 103 and 128.


[56] Abbé Millot Histoire générale

[57] Dictionnaire of Bayle

[58] Burnett’s History of his own times

[59] Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History


**Chronology**

[61] Lenglet du frenoy tablettes chronologiques de l’Histoire universelle
Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy (1674–1755), *Chronological Tables of Universal History* . . . from the Creation of the World . . . to the Death of King George II . . . (French original ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1729; Thomas Floyd [Filloyd] [d. in. 1763], tr. and

[62] Blair’s chronological tables

Geography

[63] Bushing’s Universal Geography

[64] Smith’s System of Geography

[65] Guthrie’s Geographical Grammar

[66] La Martinier, Dictionaire Geographique

[67] Salmon’s Gazetteer
Thomas Salmon (see No. 53), The Modern Gazetteer; or, A Short View of the Several Nations of the World . . . (London, 1746; 8th ed., London, 1769). See also Papers of Madison, 1, 37n.

[68] Priestly’s Historical Chart
Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), A Description of a New Chart of History Containing a View of the Principal Revolutions of Empire That Have Taken Place in the World . . . (London, 1760; 5th ed., London, 1781). For another work by Priestley, see No. 69; for a previous reference to him, in his role as a political scientist, Papers of Madison, 1, 145, and n. 8.
Biographical Chart

Joseph Priestley (see No. 68), A Description of a Chart of Biography; with a Catalogue of All the Names Inserted in It, and the Dates Annexed to Them . . . (Warrington, Eng., 1765; 7th ed., London, 1778).

Jefferys's Historical & Chronological Chart

Thomas Jefferys (d. 1771), The Study of Geography Improved . . . Being a More Certain and Expeditionous Method of Conveying the Knowledge of That Science, and Fixing It in the Memory . . . (London, 1767). For a previous allusion to Jefferys, see Papers of Madison, IV, 9; 15, n. 14; for other works by him, Nos. 71f and 71h.

Collection of best maps.


71c. Thomas Kitchin (d. 1784), General Atlas, Describing the Whole Universe . . . (London, 1773). For another work, partially that of Kitchin, see 71c.

71d. César François Cassini de Thury (1711–1784), Carte de la France, publiée sous la direction de l'Académie des Sciences . . . (180 sheets, 2 tables of directions, and 1 chart of triangles, Paris, 1744–1787). For Jefferson's attempt to employ Cassini's method of astronomical triangulation for the determination of the size of Virginia in square miles, see Papers of Madison, V, 10; 14, n. 30.


71h. Thomas Jefferys (see No. 70), A Description of the Spanish Islands and Settlements on the Coasts of the West Indies . . . (London, 1762; 2d ed., London, 1774).

71i. James Rennel (1742–1830), Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan; or The Mogul's Empire . . . (London, 1783).

Particular History

JM wrote each of the eighteen subheadings in the left margin.
Grecian

[72] Goldsmith's History of Greece

[73] Stanyan's History of Greece

[74] Potter's Grecian Antiquities

Roman

[75] Coussin Histoire Romaine

[76] Histoire de Constantinople

[77] Goldsmith's Roman History

[78] Hooke's Roman History

[79] Vertot's Revolutions of Rome
For other works by Vertot, see Nos. 126 and 133; for one questionably attributed to him, No. 125b.

[80] Gibbon's on the decline of the Rom: Empire

[81] Kennet's Roman Antiquities

[82] Plutarch's Lives

Italian

[83] Guicciardini's History

[84] Giannini History of Naples

[85] Nani History of Venice
Giovanni Battista Felice Gasparo Nani (1616-1678). *Histoire de la republique de Venice* . . . (Italian original ed., 2 parts: (1) Venice, 1662, and (2) posthumous, Venice, 1679; English ed., London, 1673; French ed., 6 vols., Cologne and Amsterdam, 1682-1702). There was also an Italian edition (2 vols. in 4, Venice) as late as 1720.

[86] Padre Paolo on the Venetian Republic
Pietro Sarpi (1552-1623) (known to his contemporaries by his assumed religious name, Servite Paolo). *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Pius V. with the State of Venice* . . . (Italian original ed., Venice, 1606; English ed., London, 1626). There was a French edition (Paris) as late as 1759. For another work by Sarpi, see No. 152.
German and Holland

[87] Histoire d'Allemagne par Barre
Joseph Barre (1692-1764), Histoire générale de l'Allemagne depuis l'an de Rome 648, jusqu'à l'an 1740 de Jésus Christ ... (Variant title, 10 vols., Paris, 1748; above title, 10 vols. in 11, Paris, 1748).

[88] Pfeffel Abregé chronolo: de l'hist: d'Allema:

[89] Puffendorf de origine imperii german: notis Titii

[90] Robinson's History of Charles V

[91] Bentivoglio History of war in Flanders
Guido (1579-1644) Cardinal Bentivoglio, The History of the Wars of Flanders ... (Italian original ed., 3 vols., Cologne [Leyden?], 1632-1639; English ed., so-called "third" but the only one complete, 2 parts, London, 1678).

[92] Le Clerk's History of the United Provinces
Jean Le Clerc (see No. 31a), Histoire des Provinces-Unies des Pays Bas ... (3 vols., Amsterdam, 1723-1728; 2d ed., 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1728-1737).

[93] Strada

[94] Grotius de rebus Belgicis
Hugo Grotius (see No. 10), De rebus Belgicis; or The Annals and History of the Low-

[95] De Witt’s State of Holland
[Pieter de la Court (1618-1685)] and Johan de Witt (see No. 51), Mémoires de Jean de Witt, grand pensionnaire de Hollande . . . (Dutch original ed., The Hague, 1662; 2d ed., revised and augmented, variant title. The Hague, 1667; French ed., The Hague, 1667; 3d ed., Ratisbon, 1709). For J M’s entry of the same work in English translation adhering closely to the Dutch original title, see No. 163.

[96] Watson’s History of Philip II

French

[97] Histoire de France de l’abbé Veli Villaret, Garnier et continuateurs
Paul François Velly (1709-1759), Claude Villaret (1715-1766), and Jean Jacques Garnier (1729-1805), Histoire de France depuis l’établissement de la monarchie jusqu’au règne de Louis XIV . . . (48 vols., Paris, 1760-1786). There were no “continuateurs” beyond Garnier, who ceased publication after recording events of the year 1564.

[98] D’avila History of Civil Wars of France

[99] Philip de Comines

[100] Sully’s memoirs
[101] Prefixe Henry IV
Hardouin de Beaumont de Pérefixe (1605–1670), *The History of Henry IV, King of France and Navarre*. (French original ed., Amsterdam, 1661; English ed., London, 1669; 2d ed., London, 1672). A French edition, which was at least the tenth, was published (Paris) in 1776.

[102] Cardinal de Retz Memoirs

[103] Voltaire’s Louis XIV

**British**

[104] Matthew Paris by Watts

[105] William of Malmbury


[106] Polydore Virgil

[107] Rappin’s History of England
Paul de Rapin (1661–1725), Sieur de Thoyras, *The History of England from the


[109] Kennett’s English History

[110] Clarendon’s History

[111] Ludlow’s Memoirs

[112] Littleton’s History of Henry II

[113] Parliamentary History
[114] Parliamentary debates

[115] Annual Register


[117] Cabala
[Hercules Langrish(c) (?)]] "A Noble Hand," anonym. comp., The Prince's Cabala; or, Mysteries of State . . . in the Reigns of King Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth . . . and King Charles . . . (Variant title, 2 parts, London, 1651; 4th ed., above title. London, 1715).

[118] Rushworth's Collection
John Rushworth (ca. 1612-1690), comp. and ed., Historical Collections of Private Passages of State . . . anno 1618 . . . to the Death of King Charles the First 1648 . . . (8 vols., part posthumous, London, 1659-1701).

[119] Thurloe's State papers
John Thurloe (1616-1668), comp. and Thomas Birch (see No. 41), comp. and ed., A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe Esqr. from the Year 1638 to the Restoration of King Charles II. 1660 . . . (7 vols., London, 1712).

[120] Parliamentary Register
John Almon (see No. 36b), John Debrett (see No. 36c), and John Stockdale (ca. 1749-1814), eds. The Parliamentary Register: or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons (and House of Lords): Containing an Account of the Most Interesting Speeches and Motions . . . November, 1774-[July 1813] . . . (112 vols., London 1775-1813). For JM's references in Congress to an issue of this periodical see Papers of Madison. V. 140; 143, n. 8; 144; 146, n. 5.
Scotch

[121]  Robinson's History of Scotland

Irish

[122]  Leland's History of Ireland

Spanish & Portuguese


[124]  Miniana

[125]  Revolutions d'Espagne du P. D'Orleans [et] du Vertot


125b. René Aubert de Vertot D'Aubeuf (see No. 79) (author?). *The History of the Revolutions in Spain, from the Decadence of the Roman Empire . . . to . . . the Accession of Lewis I. to the Crown . . .* (5 vols., London: J. Morgan, 1724). No edition of this work in French has been found. It may be that J. Morgan, who flourished in London between 1724 and 1761, was more than printer and bookseller.

[126]  Revolutions of Portugal by Vertot.
René Aubert de Vertot D'Aubeuf (see No. 79), *The Revolutions of Portugal . . .*

Prussian

[127] Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg
[Frederick (1712–1786) II, the Great, King of Prussia], “the Hand of a Master,” anon., Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, from the Earliest Accounts (to the Death of Frederick William, the Present King’s Father) . . . (French original ed., Berlin, 1748; English ed., London, 1748). For a legal code inspired by Frederick II, see No. 194.

Russian

[128] History of Peter the Great by Voltaire

Danish

[129] Molesworth’s account of Denmark

[130] History of Denmark by Mallet

Swedish

[131] Dallin’s History of Sweeden

[132] Mallet’s form of govt. in Sweeden
Paul Henri Mallet (see No. 130), Forme du gouvernement de Suéde avec . . . les lois fondamentales et le droit public de ce royaume . . . (Danish original ed., Copenhagen, 1756; French ed., Copenhagen and Geneva, 1756).
[133] Vertot’s Revolutions of Sweden

[134] Sheridan’s do. of do.

**Polish**


John Williams (d. 1809?), *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Northern Governments: viz., The United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland...* (2 vols., London, 1777).

**Swiss**

[137] Stanyan’s History of Switzerland
[Abraham Stanyan (ca. 1669–1732)]; Temple Stanyan (see No. 73), by erroneous attribution, *An Account of Switzerland, Written in the Year 1714...* (Anon., variant title, London, 1714: 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1756). Long after JM’s lifetime this work was still attributed erroneously to Abraham Stanyan’s younger brother.

**Genevan**


**Turkes**

[139] Mignot’s History of the Ottoman Empire
Richard Knolles (ca. 1550-1610), Thomas Nabbes (d. ca. 1645), and Sir Paul Rycaut (Ricaut) (1628-1700), The Turkish History, from the Original of That Nation to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire . . . With a Continuation to the Year MDCLXXXVII . . . (Knolles, variant title, London, 1603; continued by Nabbes, London, 1638; continued by Rycaut, 6th ed., above title, 3 vols., London, 1687-1700).

Chinese

[141] Duhaldes History of China

Politics

[142] Plato’s Republic by Spend

[143] Aristotle’s do.

[144] More’s Utopia

[145] Filmer on Government

[146] Hooker’s Ecclesiastical polity
[147] Hobbe's Works

As a youth JM became acquainted with at least one of Hobbes's works. Probably in 1782 he purchased the copy of Leviathan originally owned by William Byrd II of Westover (Papers of Madison, I, 16: 27, n. 47; IV, 126; 127, n. 4).


147b. ———. Elementa philosophica de civi ... (Paris, 1642; 4th ed., Amsterdam, 1669).

[148] Harrington's works


[149] Sidney on Government


[150] Locke on Government


[151] Machiavelli's works


[152] Father Paul on the Venetian Republic

[153] Montagu’s rise & fall of antient republics

[154] Montesquieu’s works

[155] Beccaria’s works
Cesare Bonecsana (1738–1794), Marchese di Beccaria, Opere diverse di Cesare Beccaria . . . (Separate Italian original works, Lucca, Brescia, and Milan, 1762–1771; compiled, 3 parts, Naples, 1770–1771).

[156] Ferguson’s History of Civil Society

[157] Miller on distinction of Ranks in Society

[158] Steuart’s principles of Political economy

[159] Smith on the wealth of Nations

[160] Baron Biefield’s Political Institutions.
[161] Histoire politique du siecle par Mauberti
Jean Henri Maubert De Gouvest (1721-1767), *Histoire politique du siecle... depuis la paix de Westphalie, jusqu'a la derniere paix d'Aix la Chapelle inclusivement...* (2 vols., London [i.e., Lausanne], 1754–1755).

[162] Richlieu's Political Testament

[163] de Witt's Maxims
[Pieter de la Court] and Johan de Witt (see No. 51), *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland...* [John Campbell (1708-1775)], tr. and ed., variant title, London, 1743; Campbell's name on title page. 2d ed., above title. London, 1746). The title adheres closely to that of the Dutch original edition of 1662, but the work is the same as JM entered under No. 95. For another work, partially by Campbell, and successive references thereto, see Nos. 223 and 224a-h.

[164] Petty's political Arithmetic

[165] Wallace on the numbers of mankind
Robert Wallace (1697-1771), *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind...* (Edinburgh, 1753).

[166] Davenant's Works

[167] Temple's works
[168] Hume's political essays

[169] Postlethwayt's works
169e. ———, Great-Britain's True System . . . To Which Is Prefixed . . . a New Plan of British Politicks, with Respect to Our Foreign Affairs . . . (London, 1757).

[170] Anderson's Dictionary of Commerce

[171] Burgh's political disquisitions
[172] Price's Political works


172e. ———, *The General Introduction and Supplement to the Two Tracts on Civil Liberty . . .* (London, 1778; 2d ed., London, 1778). For the “Two Tracts”—that is, *Observations and Additional Observations*—see Nos. 172f and 172a, respectively.


172g. ———, *Observations on Public Loans* . . . (London, 1777).


[173] Gee on trade

[174] Child on trade

[175] Tucker on trade
175b. ———. Dispassionate Thoughts on the American War . . . (London, 1780).
175c. ———. The Elements of Commerce, and Theory of Taxes . . . (Privately printed, Bristol, 1753).
175f. ———. An Humble Address and Earnest Appeal to Those . . . Ablest To judge . . . Whether a Connection with, or a Separation from the Continental Colonies of America, Be Most for the National Advantage . . . (Gloucester, 1775; 3d ed., Gloucester and London, 1776).

[176] Law on money & trade

[177] Arbuthnot on weights and measures
[178] Locke on money

[179] Lowndes on do.

[180] Neckar on Finance

Law

[181] Justinian’s Institutes by Harris

[182] Codex juris Civilis
Justinian I, Emperor of the East. Corpus juris civilis recognitum, in tres partes distributum . . . (Tribonian [see No. 181] et al., comps. and eds., promulgations in original Greek and Latin, Byzantium, 528–565; Eusebius Beger [1721–1788], ed., Latin ed., 3 vols. in 2, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1767–1768). JM’s entry is at fault. If he meant to indicate only the “Codex” for separate purchase, by 1783 it had not been republished for nearly 250 years. The “Corpus,” on the other hand, included both the “Codex” and the “Institutes.” See No. 181.

[183] Taylor’s elements of Civil Law

[184] Domat’s Civil Law
Jean Domat (Daumat) (1625–1696). The Civil Law in Its Natural Order . . . (Anon.,

[185] Coke's Institutes

[186] Blackstone’s Commentaries

[187] Cunningham’s Law Dictionary

[188] Statutes at large by Ruffhead

[189] Lex Parliamentaria

[190] Cunningham’s law of Exchange
[191] Collection of Laws to prevent frauds in the Customs
191c. 20 Geo. III., cap. 9. An Act for Allowing Ireland To Trade with Foreign Parts . . . (London, 1780).

[192] Book of rates

[193] Clarke’s practice of Courts of Admiralty

[194] Fredencian Code

[195] Vauban’s Works

[196] Bellidore’s Works
[197] Fouquier's Memoirs

Marine

[198] Falconer's Universal Dictionary of Marine

[199] Burchett's Naval History

[200] History of the several Voyages around the Globe
200e. William Ellis, An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in His Majesty's Ships, Resolution and Discovery, during the Years 1776-1780 . . . (2 vols., London, 1782).

[201] Murray's Ship Building and navigation

[202] Collection of best Charts
202a. Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703–1772), Le petit atlas maritime, recueil des cartes et


202e. A New and Accurate Chart of the Bay of Chesapeake . . . Drawn from the Several Draughts Made by the Most Experienced Navigators . . . (London: Robert Sayer [ca. 1723–1794] and James Bennet [d. ca. 1830], 1776). For another work published by Sayer and Bennet, see No. 202j.

202f. A Map of East and West Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, with the Islands of Cuba, Bahama, and the Countries Surrounding the Gulf of Mexico, with the Tract of the Spanish Galleons, and of Our Fleets thro' the Straits of Florida . . . (London: John Brew [d. 1793], 1781).


202h. Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808), Memoirs of the Chart of Part of the Coast of China . . . (London, 1771). For other charts by Dalrymple, see Nos. 202i, 202k, and 202m.


202m. Alexander Dalrymple (see No. 202h), Memoir of a Chart of the East Coast of Arabia, from Dofar to the Island of Maziera . . . (London, 1783).

This entry is not in JM’s hand.


Languages

[204] Best Latin Dictionary with best grammar & dictionary of each of the modern languages

The present editors have limited their choices to works suitable for use by persons whose native tongue was English. Dictionaries or grammars of American Indian languages are also omitted.


204h. James Wood (ca. 1751–1815). Grammatical Institutes; or A Practical English Grammar on a New Plan . . . (London, 1778).


204k. Louis Chambaud (d. 1776). Nouveau dictionnaire . . . (A New Dictionary, English and French, and French and English) . . . (London, 1761; Jean Perrin [d. post-1800),


204p. John Fergusson (d. 1791), A Dictionary of Hindostan . . . (London, 1773). The work was rare by 1783 because of loss at sea of the greater part of the stock.

204q. David Francesco Lates (d. 1777), A New Method of Easily Attaining the Italian Tongue . . . (London, 1762; 2d ed., London, 1766).


America.

[205] Les nouvelles descouverts dans l’Amerique Septentrionale. Paris 1697

67
Louis Hennepin (1640–ca. 1710), *A Discovery of a Large, Rich, and Plentiful Country in North America; Extending above 4000 Leagues* . . . (French original ed., Paris, 1697; English ed., London, 1720). For the sequel to this work, see No. 229; for a third work by Hennepin, No. 287.

[206] Tonti’s account of la Sale’s voyage to N. America

Henri, Chevalier de Tonti (ca. 1650–1704) (author by attribution), *An Account of M. de La Salle’s Last Expedition and Discoveries in North America* . . . (French original ed., Paris, 1697; English ed., London, 1698). Tonti denied having any hand in this work and described the real author as being “un Aventurier Parisien.”


[208] Discription geographique et historique des cotes de l’Amerique Septenle. par le Sieur Denys


[209] Oldmixon’s Brit: Empire in America


[210] Kalm’s travels through N. America


[211] Carver’s travels through N. America


[212] Ogilvie’s America

John Ogilby (1600–1676), comp., tr., and ed., *America: Being the Latest, and Most
Accurate Description of the New World Collected from the Most Authentic Authors . . .


[214] Novae novi orbis historiae, i.e. rerum ab Hispanis in India occidentali gestarum Calvotonis Geneva 1578
Girolamo Benzoni (1519–ca. 1570), Novae novi orbis historiae, id est, rerum ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestarum . . . (Italian original ed., Venice, 1565; Urbain Chauveton, tr., Latin ed., Geneva, 1578; 5th ed.[?], Cologne, 1612).

[215] Wafer's Voyages
Lionel Wafer (ca. 1660–ca. 1705). A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America, Giving an Account of the Author's Abode There . . .

[216] Dampier's Voyages
William Dampier (1652–1715), The Voyages and Adventures of William Dampier . . .
(Separate original works. London, 1697–1709; above title, 2 vols., London, 1776; 2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1777). Dampier's "Voyages," although combined with much questionable material, could also be found in Vols. I–III of the Knaptonts (No. 224e), and in part they were reprinted in Vol. I of Moore (No. 200a) and Vol. I of Henry (No. 200b).

[217] Chancellor's
217c. Clement Adams, Some Additions for the Better Knowledge of This Voyage . . . from the Mouth of Captaine Chancellor . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).

[218] Borough's
218b. ——, The Voyage . . . an. 1557, from Colmago to Wardhouse . . . in Vol. I of Hakluyt (No. 240).

[219] Forbisher

219a. Christopher Hall, The First Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, to the Northwest, for the Search of the Straight or Passage to China . . . in the Yeere . . . 1576 . . . in Vol. III of Hakluyt (No. 240).


219d. George Best (d. ca. 1584), A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathay by the Northwest, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher . . . (London, 1578, very rare; also reprinted in Vol. III of Hakluyt (No. 240).

[220] Hudson’s

220a. Henry Hudson (d. 1611) and John Playse, Divers Voyages and Northern Discoveries . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).

220b. ——, A Second Voyage . . . for Finding a Passage to the East Indies by the North-east . . . (Hessel Gerritsz [ca. 1581-1632], ed., separate Latin and Dutch eds., Amsterdam, 1612; English version in Vol. III of Purchas [No. 239]).


220d. Henry Hudson, An Abstract of a Journall . . . for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage, Beginne the 17th of April, 1610 . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).

220e. Abacuk Prickett, A Larger Discourse of the Same Voyage, and the Success thereof . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).

220f. Thomas Woodhouse (d. 1611), A Note Found in the Deske of Thomas Wydowe, Student of Mathematicks. Here Being One of Them Who Was Put into the Shallop . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).

[221] Davis’s


221e. Henry Morgan, The Relation of the Course Which . . . Two Vessels of the Fleet of M[aster]. John Davys Held After He Had Sent Them from Him To Discover the Passage between Groenland and Island . . . in Vol. III of Hakluyt (No. 240).

[222] Baffin's

222a. William Baffin (d. 1622), The Fourth Voyage of James Hall to Groeneland . . . anno 1612 . . . MS: partly printed in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239). The manuscript was not published in full during JM’s lifetime.

222b. ————, A Journal of the Voyage Made to Greenland . . . in the Yeere 1613 . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239).


222e. William Baffin, A True Relation of Such Things as Happened in the Fourth Voyage for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage . . . in the Yeere 1615 . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239). Reprinting of the original manuscript after JM’s lifetime revealed the gross-defects of Purchas’ editing.

222f. ————, A Brief and True Relation or Journall, Contayning Such Accidents as Happened in the Fifth[h] Voyage, for the Discoverie of a Passage to the North-west . . . in the Yeere of our Lord 1616 . . . in Vol. III of Purchas (No. 239). Baffin gave to Purchas a manuscript narrative, journal, and map, none of which has subsequently been found. Purchas printed only the narrative, not the “Journall.”

[223] James’s


[224] Wood’s

224a. John Wood, An Account of a Voyage for the Discoverie of the North-East Passage
... 1676 ... in Vol. II of An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries, 2 vols., London: Samuel Smith (d. ca. 1703) and Benjamin Wallford (d. ca. 1710), 1694; also in Vol. I of Harris and of Harris and Campbell (No. 223).

224b. ———, Supplement to His North-east Voyage; Navigation and Observations North-west of Greenland ... in Vol. I of Harris and of Harris and Campbell (No. 223).

224c. ———, A Voyage through the Straights of Magellan ... in A Collection of Original Voyages. London: W. Hacket, 1699; also in Vol. IV of A Collection of Voyages, 4 vols., London: James Knapton (1687–1736) and John Knapton (d. 1770), 1729.

[225] Ellis’s voyage to Hudson’s Bay

225a. Henry Ellis (1721–1806), A Voyage to Hudson’s Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the Years 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North-west Passage ... (London, 1748).

225b. [Theodore Swaine Drage, supposed author], “the Clerk of the California.” anonym, Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage by Hudsons Streights ... in the Year 1746 and 1747 ... (2 vols., London, 1748–1749).

[226] Voyage au-pays des Hurons par Gabl. Sabard Theodat

Paris 1632

Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Le grand voyage de pays des Hurons, situé en l’Amérique vers la mer douce, és derniers confins de nouvelle France, dite Canad: ... (Paris, 1632).

[227] Mœurs des Sauvages de l’Amerique par Lafitau


[228] Adair’s History of the American Savages


[229] Hennepin’s Voyages

Louis Hennepin (see No. 205), Voyage ou nouvelle découverte d’un très-grand pays, dans l’Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique & la Mer Glaciale ... (Variant title, Utrecht, 1698; above title, Amsterdam. 1711, bound together with a work relating to Caribbean explorations).

[230] La Hontan’s do.

Louis Armand de Lom d’Arce (1666—ca. 1715), Baron de La Hontan, New

[231] Jone's Journal to the Indian nations

David Jones (1736–1820), A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773... (Burlington, N.J., 1774).

[232] Voyage de la nouvelle France par le Sieur Champlain

Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635), Les voyages de la nouvelle France occidentale, dite Canada, faits... depuis l'an 1603. jusques en l'an 1629... (Paris, 1632, withdrawn; reissue, with four revised pages, Paris, 1632; reissue, with only new title page, Paris, 1640).

[233] Histoire de la Nouvelle France par l'Escarbot Paris

Marc Lescarbot (ca. 1590–ca. 1630), Histoire de la Nouvelle-France... depuis cent ans jusques à hui... (2 parts, Paris, 1609; 3d ed., revised and augmented, Paris, 1618; abridged English version in Vol. IV of Purchas [No. 239]).

[234] Histoire de la Nle. France avec les fastes chronologiques du nouveau monde par le pere Charlevoix

Pierre François de Charlevoix (1682–1761), Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le journal historique d'un voyage... (3 vols.; 6 vols., Paris, 1744; a portion available in English, in Vol. II of Moore [No. 200a]). The "fastes chronologiques" were a portion of the contents of Vols. III and V of the Paris printings as respectively listed.


Étienne de Silhouette (1709–1765) et al., comps. and eds., Mémoires des commissaires du roi et de ceux de Sa Majesté Britannique, sur les possessions & les droits respectifs des deux couronnes en Amérique... (4 vols., quarto, Paris, 1755–1757). For a previous reference to this work, see Papers of Madison, V, 10; 13, n. 28.

[236] Relation d'un voyage en Acadie par Dierville. Rouen 1708

[?] Diéreville, Relation du voyage du Port-Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle-France... (Rouen, 1708; 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1710).
[237] Josselyn's account of New England

[238] Thomas's account of Pennsylva. & N. Jersey

[239] Purchases Pilgrimage. 5 Vol: fol:
Samuel Purchas (ca. 1575–1626), comp. and ed., Haklytus posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, and Lande-Travells, by Englishmen and Others . . . (4 vols., London, 1625). JM's erroneous entry is explicable. He employed a short title for Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places . . ., first published (London) in 1613. This work is unrelated to the Pilgrimes; but because of the similarity in titles, and because both works were published in folio and in volumes of the same size, cataloguers for many years listed the augmented fourth edition of the Pilgrimage (London, 1626) as being Volume V of the Pilgrimes. For other works contained in the Pilgrimes in whole or in part, see Nos. 217b-c, 220a-f, 222a-b, 222d-f, 233, and 265. See also Papers of Madison, IV, 101; 102, n. 4.

[240] Hakluyt's Voyages
Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552–1616), comp. and ed., The Principal Nacigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Ouerland . . . within the Compasse of These 1500 Yeres . . . (Variant title, London, 1589; 2d ed., augmented, above title, 3 vols., London, 1598-1600). For other works contained in this collection in whole or in part, see Nos. 217a, 218a-b, 219a-d, 221a-e, 264. For a previous reference to Hakluyt, see Papers of Madison, V, 9: 11, nn. 3, 5, 7.


[242] Robinson’s Histo: y of America

[244] Colden’s History of the 5 Nations

[245] Burke’s account of the Europ: Settlemts. in America

[246] Douglas’s Summary

[247] Collection of Charters
247a. John Almon (see No. 36b), comp. and ed., The Charters of the British Colonies in America . . . (London, 1774; 2d ed., Dublin, 1776). Although not included in this work, “The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitution” of New Jersey were a portion of the contents of No. 278z.
247b. Richard Parker (d. ca. 1725), comp. and ed., The Two Charters Granted by King Charles IId. to the Proprietors of Carolina . . . (London, 1705). See Papers of Madison, V, 10; 13, n. 27.

[248] Neal’s History of New England

[249] Prince’s Chronological History of N. England

[250] Tracts relating to N. England by Cotton Mather
250a. Cotton Mather (1663-1728), The Bostonian Ebenezer. Some Historical Remarks, on the State of Boston . . . (Boston, 1698).
250b. [Cotton Mather]. The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country Adjacent . . . (Boston and London, 1689).


250g. ———. Some Few Remarks, upon a Scandalous Book, against the Governments and Ministry of New-England . . . (Boston, 1701).

250h. ———. Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted . . . in the Just War of New-England against the Northern & Eastern Indians . . . (Boston, 1689).


[251] Mather's ecclesiastical History of N. England

[252] Hubbards History of N. England


[254] Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts bay

76
[255] Collection of papers relating to the History of do.
Thomas Hutchinson, *A Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* . . . (Boston, 1769).


[257] Smith's History of N. Jersey


[259] Franklin's other works
Benjamin Franklin, *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces* . . . (Benjamin Vaughan [1751–1835], comp. and ed., London, 1779). For Vaughan, see Comment by Jefferson, 25 Jan. and n. 1; JM Notes, 19 Mar. 1783, n. 9. The "Vaughan" was the only authorized compilation of Franklin's works available in 1783. Even Franklin himself probably could not have assembled all his "other works," including many of concealed authorship, occasional pamphlets, and newspaper ephemerae. That assembling would await twentieth-century scholarship.

[260] Smith’s History of Virga.

[261] Beverley's do. of do.
[Robert Beverley (ca. 1673-1722)], "a Native and Inhabitant of the Place,"

[262] Keith's do. of do.

[263] Stith's do. of do.
William Stith (1707-1755), The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia . . . (Two separate eds., one superior, the other with type readjusted and on poor paper, Williamsburg, 1747; reissue of each ed. with new title page, London, 1753). For previous references to Stith, see Papers of Madison, V. 9; 11, n. 7; 12, nn. 8-9.

[264] De incolis Virginiae ab Anglico Thoma. Heriot
Thomas Harriot (1560-1621), Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus Virginiae . . . (Original English ed., A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia . . . London, 1588, very rare; Latin ed. in Part I of Theodor de Bry [1528-1598] et al., comp., trs., and eds., Collectiones peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem [25 parts, Frankfort, 1590-1634]). JM and his consultants either did not know or had forgotten that the English version was reprinted in Vol. III of Hakluyt (No. 240).

[265] Discourses of Virginia
Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia, and the Success of the Affaires There till the 18 of June. 1614 . . . (London, 1615; also partly reprinted in Purchas [No. 239]).

[266] Virginia by E. W.

[267] Jones's present State of Virginia

*Strange News from Virginia: Being a Full and True Account of the Life and Death of Nathaniel Bacon* . . . (London: William Harris, 1677).

[270] History of the present State of Virginia

[271] A short collection of the most remarkable passages from the original to the dissolution of the Virga. Company. 1651.

John Lederer (b. ca. 1644), *The Discoveries of John Lederer. in Three Several Marches from Virginia, to the West of Carolina, and Other Parts of the Continent: Begun in March 1669, and Ended in September 1670* . . . (Latin original MSS; Sir William Talbot, baronet, tr. and ed., London, 1672).

[273] Brickell's History of North Carolina

[274] Lawson's do. of do.

On 15 July 1831 the aged Madison, having observed "in a Newspaper paragraph" referring to a fire in Raleigh that "nothing was saved from the Library of the State, particularly 'Lawson's History of it,'" autographed and
forwarded a personal copy of the work to Governor Montfort Stokes of North Carolina (LC: Madison Papers). For a plagiarism of the work, see No. 273.

[275] Description of South Carolina with its civil Natural and commercial History 1762.
[James Glen], A Description of South Carolina; Containing Many Curious and Interesting Particulars relating to the Civil, Natural and Commercial History of That Colony . . . (London, 1761). If JM's pen did not slip, he was misinformed; there was no edition of 1762.

[276] Huet's History of S. Carolina

[277] Collection of papers relative to Georgia
In attempting to cover the deficiencies in the published history of Georgia, JM would have found a “Collection of papers” to contain a surprisingly large number of printed items—that number not sufficing, however, to cover serious gaps in the historical record. A limited but typical selection from the De Renne collection of Georgiana is here presented (Azalea Clizbee, comp., Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library at Wormsloe. Isle of Hope near Savannah, Georgia [3 vols., Wormsloe, 1931], 1, 1-226 passim).


277c. [Benjamin Martyn (1699–1763)]. An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, from Its First Establishment . . . (London, 1741; reprint, Annapolis, 1742). This work also has been attributed to Lord John Perceval, for whom see No. 277g.


277e. [James Edward Oglethorpe (1696–1785)]. A Full Reply to Lieut. Cadogan's Spanish Hireling, &c. . . . (London, 1743). For the work to which this was “A Full Reply,” see No. 277a.

277f. [James Edward Oglethorpe]. An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe . . . (London, 1742). For an attack on this work, see No. 277a.

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277g. [Lord John Perceval (1711-1770), later Earl of Egmont, supposed author], *Faction Detected by the Evidence of Facts. Containing an Impartial View of Parties at Home, and Affairs Abroad*. (London, 1742; 5th ed., London, 1743). The work has also been attributed to William Pulteney (1684–1764), later Earl of Bath.

277h. [Lord John Perceval], *Remarks upon a Scandalous Piece, Entitled a Brief Account of the Causes That Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*. (London, 1743). For the “Scandalous Piece,” see No. 277k.


277j. South Carolina (Colony), *Report of the Committee Appointed To Examine into the Proceedings of the People of Georgia and the Dispute Subsisting between the Two Colonies*. (Charleston, 1737).

277k. Thomas Stephens, *A Brief Account of the Causes That Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*. (London, 1743). For the “State” to which this work was allegedly a “Proper Contrast,” see No. 277l, and for a counterblast to the above assertedly “Scandalous Piece,” No. 277h.

277l. William Stephens (1671–1753), *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia. Beginning October 20, 1737*. (3 vols., London, 1742). The appendix of Vol. II is the author’s *A State of the Province of Georgia. Attestation upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740*, also separately published (London) in 1742. Against this “State” was directed the “Brief Account” which purported to be a “Proper Contrast” (No. 277k).

277m. Patrick Sutherland, *An Account of the Late Invasion of Georgia*. (London, 1743).

277n. Patrick Tailer et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from the First Settlement Thereof*. (Charleston, 1741).

277o. Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, *An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from Its First Establishment*. (London, 1741).

277p. John Wesley (1703–1791), *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley’s Journal, from His Embarking for Georgia to His Return to London*. (Bristol, n.d. [1739?]).


[278] Laws of each of the United States

Scores of single acts or ordinances were published separately. For this reason, the citations below are confined to volumes containing the statutes enacted during an entire legislative session or during more than one session.

278a. Acts and Laws. Passed by the General Court or Assembly of His [Her] Majesties


278f. Several Laws and Orders Made at the General Court Holden [Held] at Boston (Cambridge, 1672-1684).

278g. At the Convention of the Governor and Council, and Representatives of the Massachusetts Colony (Cambridge, 1689).

278h. Acts and Laws Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England, from 1692 to 1719 (London, 1724).


278k. In the Year of Our Lord, 1776 [1777]. Acts and Laws, Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England (Watertown and Boston, 1776-1777).

278l. Acts and Laws, Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay, in New England (Boston, 1778-1780).

278m. Acts and Laws, Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Boston, 1781-1783).


278q. At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations (Providence and Attleborough, 1777-1783).


278f. Laws of the State of New-York, Commencing with the First Session of the Senate and Assembly, After the Declaration of Independence . . . (Poughkeepsie, 1782).


278n. [Caesar Rodney (1728-1784) and Thomas McKean (see No. 278m), eds.], Laws of the Government of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware . . . (2 vols., Philadelphia and Wilmington, 1752-1763).


278q. Anno millesimo septingentesimo octuagesimo [-primo]. At a General Assembly Begun
at Dover in the Delaware State . . . the Following Acts Were Passed . . . (Wilmington, 1780–1781).


278al. Laws . . . of the Dominion of the Right Honourable Frederick [Henry Harford], Absolute Lord and Proprietor of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore, &c. . . . (Annapolis, 1768, 1770–1774).

278am. Laws of Maryland, Made and Passed at a Session of Assembly, Begun and Held at the City of Annapolis . . . (Annapolis, 1777–1783).

278an. The Acts of Assembly, Now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia, With an Exact Table to the Whole . . . (Williamsburg, 1769).


278ap. At a General Assembly, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg . . . (Williamsburg, 1773).

278aq. Ordinances Passed at a Convention Held at the Town of Richmond, in the Colony of Virginia, on Monday the 17th of July, 1775 . . . (Williamsburg, n.d. [1775]).

278ar. Ordinances Passed at a Convention Held in the City of Williamsburg, in the Colony of Virginia, on Friday the 1st of December, 1775 . . . (Williamsburg, n.d. [1775]).

278as. Ordinances Passed at a General Convention . . . Held at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, on Monday the 6th of May, anno Dom: 1776 . . . (Williamsburg, n.d. [1776]).

278at. At a General Assembly, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg . . . (Williamsburg 1777–1779).

278au. Acts Passed at a General Assembly, Begun and Held in the Town of Richmond . . . (Richmond, n.d. [1780–1781]).

278av. Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Begun and Held at the Public Buildings in the Town of Richmond . . . (Charlottesville and Richmond, n.d. [1781–1783]).

278aw. A Complete Revival of All the Acts of Assembly, of the Province of North-Carolina, Now in Force and Use . . . (New Bern, 1773).

278ax. Acts Passed by the Assembly, of the Province of North-Carolina . . . (New Bern, 1774).


[279] All Treaties entered into with the natives of N. America.

This portion of the order could be filled, at least to the point of supplying copies of all treaties known to be in print; of these a limited number are presented below. An indeterminable multiplicity of written agreements "entered into" with various Indian tribes existed only in manuscript form, for examples of which see Papers of Madison, III, 249; 250, n. 7; IV, 125-26; 156, n. 9; V, 62, n. 18: 105, n. 29.

279a. Articles of Peace between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II. . . . and Several Indian Kings and Queens, &c. Concluded the 29th Day of May, 1677 . . . (London, 1677).


279e. Two Indian Treotks the One Held at Conestogoe in May 1728. And the Other at Philadelphia in June Following, between the Honourable Patrick Gordon Esq. Lieut. Governour of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties . . . upon Delaware, and the Chiefs of the Conestogoe, Delaware, Shawanese and Canawese Indians . . . (Philadelphia, 1728).

279g. The Treaty Held with the Indians of the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in July, 1742 ... (Philadelphia, 1743).

279h. A Treaty ... at the Town of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and ... the Commissioners for the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, with the Indians of the Six Nations, in June, 1744 ... (Philadelphia, 1744).

279i. An Account of the Treaty Held at the City of Albany, in the Province of New-York, by His Excellency the Governor ... and ... the Commissioners for the Provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, with the Indians of the Six Nations, in October, 1745 ... (Philadelphia, 1746).

279j. A Treaty, between His Excellency the Honourable George Clinton, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York ... and the Six United Indian Nations, and Other Indian Nations ... Held at Albany in the Months of August and September, 1746 ... (New York, 1746).


279l. A Treaty Held by ... Members of the Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, at the Town of Lancaster, with Some Chiefs of the Six Nations at Ohio, and Others ... in the Month of July 1748 ... (Philadelphia, 1748).

279m. A Treaty Held with the Ohio Indians, at Carlisle, in October, 1753 ... (Philadelphia, 1753).

279n. Treaty, or, Articles of Peace and Friendship Renewed between His Excellency Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq.; Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of Nova-Scotia or Acadie ... and Major Jean Baptiste Cope, Chief Sachem of the Chiben Acadie Tribe of Micmac Indians ... (Halifax, 1753).

279o. An Account of Conferences Held, and Treaties Made, between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart. and the Chief Sacheams and Warriors of the ... Indian Nations in North America, at Their Meeting on Different Occasions at Fort Johnson, in the County of Albany, in the Colony of New-York, in the Years 1755 and 1756 ... (London, 1756).


279q. A Treaty Held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians, at Catawba-Town and Broad River, in the Months of February and March, 1756. By Virtue of a Commission Granted by the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esquire, His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, to the Honourable Peter Randolph and William Byrd, Esquires ... (Williamsburg, 1756).

279r. Proceedings and Treaty with the ... Indians, Living at Otseeningo, on One of the West Branches of the Susquehanna River, Negotiated at Fort-Johnson ... New-York; by the Honourable Sir William Johnson, Bart. &c. ... (New York and Boston, 1757).

279s. The Minutes of a Treaty Held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, in October, 1758. By the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, and the Governor of New-Jersey, with ... the Mohawks.
Nanticoke & Conoys, Oneydos, Chugnuts, Onondagas, Delawares, Cayugas, Unamies, Senecas, Mohickons, Tuscaroras, Minisinks, Tuteloys, and Wapings ... (Woodbridge, N.J., 1758).

279t. Samuel Wharton (1732–1800), View of the Title to Indiana ... Containing ... the Deed of the Six Nations to the Proprietors of Indiana--the Minutes of the Congress at Fort Stanwix, in October and November, 1768 the Deed of the Indians, Settling the Boundary Line between the English and Indian Lands ... (Philadelphia, 1776).

[280] All the political tracts which have been or may be published & may be judged of sufficient importance

For “tracts” which had drawn or would draw JM’s attention prior to the close to 1783, see Papers of Madison, I. 43; 44. n. 4; 115; 117. n. 7; 133, n. 5; II. 79; 80, nn. 1, 2; 147; 148. n. 11; III. 11; 14. n. 17; IV. 143; 144. n. 2; 155; 157, n. 13. 196; 198. n. 12; 228. n. 7. V. 319; 321, n. 13; Address to the States, 25 Apr. 1783, n. 38. Even if the phrase “of sufficient importance” is narrowly interpreted, a list of “All the political tracts” published during a time-span of 175 years would fill a large volume. A list, satisfactory to JM, might begin and end, respectively, with the following entries.

280a. [John Smith (see No. 260a)]. “Th. Watson Gent.” pseud., A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of State as Hath Happened in Virginia since the First Planting of That Colony ... (London, 1608).


[281] Brown’s History of Jamaica

Patrick Browne (ca. 1720–1790), The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica ... (London, 1756; 2d ed., lacking the valuable illustrations of the 1st. London, 1769).

[282] History of Barbadoes

Richard Hall (d. 1786), The History of Barbadoes, from 1643 to 1762 ... (London, 1765).

[283] Gareilaso de la Vega’s History of Florida

Gareilaso de la Vega (ca. 1540–1616), called el inca. Historie de la conquête de la Floride ou relation de ce qui s’est passé dans découverte de ce pays par Ferdinand de Soto ... (Spanish original ed., 2 vols.. Lisbon, 1605; French ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1670; 5th ed., 2 vols., Leyden, 1735). For other works by Vega, see Nos. 297 and 298.
Cox's Account of Florida

Romans's History of Florida

Memoirs sur la Louisiane par du Pratz

Description de la Louisiane par Hennepin
Louis Hennepin (see No. 205), *Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement d cóvverte au sud’oëst de la Nouvelle France*. (Paris, 1683; reprint, Paris, 1688).

Bossu's travels through Louisiana

Venegas's History of California

Muratori il christianissimo felice

Voyages et descouverts des Espagnols dans les Indes occidentales par Don Bernardo de las casas
Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566), *La découverte des Indes Occidentales, par les espagnols et les moyens dont ils se sont servis pour s'en rendre maîtres*. (Spanish original ed., 9 tracts, Seville, 1552-1553; French ed., Paris, 1697; reprint, Paris, 1701; one tract in English, in: Vol. IV of Purchas [No. 239]).
[292] Herrera’s History of the Spanish Colonies in America

[293] de Solis’s History of the Conquest of Mexico by F. Cortez

[294] Voyages de Gage

[295] Houston’s Memoirs

[296] Bouguer voyage au Perou.
Pierre Bougner (1698-1758), La figure de la terre, déterminée par les observations de M.M. Bougner, & de la Condamine . . . envoyé par ordre du roy au Pérou . . . avec une relation abrégée de ce voyage . . . (Paris, 1749).

[297] Garcilasso de la Vega’s History of the Incas of Perou

[298] Histoires des Guerres civiles des Espagnols dans les Indes, de Garcilasso de la Vega
Garcilaso de la Vega el inca (see No. 283), Histoire des guerres civiles des espagnols
[299] **Histoire de l'Orenoque par Gumilla**


[300] **Bancroft’s Natural History of Guiana**


[301] **Les voyages de Coreal. 1722.**

Francesco Coreal (ca. 1648–1708), *Recueil de voyages dans l’Amérique Méridionale... touchant le Pérou, la Guiane, le Brésil, &c. &c.* (Variant title, according closely with JM’s entry, 2 vols., Paris; 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1722; 4th ed., above title, 3 vols., Amsterdam, 1738). Although the French version was allegedly a translation de l’espagnol, no Spanish original edition is known to exist.

[302] **Falkner’s description of Patagonia**


[303] **Nouveau voyage aux iles de l’Amerique**


[304] **Histoire de St. Domingue par Charlevoix**


[305] **Chanvalon’s Voyage à la Martinique**

Jean Baptiste Thibault de Chanvalon, *Voyage à la Martinique, contenant diverses observations... faites en 1751 & dans les années suivantes...* (Paris, 1763).
[306] Acuogna's relation of the river of Amazons
Cristóbal de Acuña (1597–1680). Voyages and Discoveries in South-America. The First up the River of Amazons to Quito, in Peru, and Back Again to Brazil . . . (Spanish original ed., Madrid, 1641; English ed., bound with the accounts of two other travelers, London, 1698).

For Further Reading

Starting with truant delegate William Pierce, who noted that fellow delegate Roger Sherman began his working days as a cobbler ("but despising the lowness of his condition, he turned Almanack maker"), Americans have been interested in the literary tastes of the Founding Framers. Not all of the delegates matched Alexander Hamilton's reputation as "a finished Scholar," but most of the delegates had pretensions to a classical education. When American historians finally stopped searching for economic motives at the Federal Convention they began paying more attention to the intellectual forces at work in 1787.


Each generation seems to produce able scholars who want to know how the Founding Fathers went about the business of building a republican structure, brick by brick. Douglass Adair's contributions to this process of re-examination stand out for his incisive probing of the thoughts and deeds of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton in Philadelphia and their later collaboration on The Federalist. Noteworthy are his collected essays Fame and the Founding Fathers, edited by Trevor Colbourn (New York: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by Norton, 1974), and The Spur of Fame: Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805-1813, edited by Adair and John A. Schutz (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1966). In the same tradition is Trevor Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Published for the Institute of Early American History


—Robert A. Rutland
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