The library of Francis Jerdone

David Gerard Null

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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THE LIBRARY OF FRANCIS JERDONE

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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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by
David G. Null
1978
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

[Signature]
Author

Approved, August 1978

[Signatures]
John E. Selby
Robert P. Maccubbin
Norman S. Fiering
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the life of Francis Jerdone (1721-1771) to see how he fit into the social structure of colonial Virginia, to analyze his library in order to determine its relationship to other colonial libraries and to determine Jerdone's reading interests, and to make available to other researchers a catalog of Jerdone's library.

Jerdone, born in Scotland, was found to have adapted well to life in Virginia and to have become a wealthy, respected, typical example of the Virginia planter class.

Jerdone's library appears to be representative of the eighteenth-century private Virginia library. Two areas in which the library is particularly strong are religion and drama, indicating special interest in these fields by Jerdone. The library also contained several major works which helped to shape the ideology of the Revolutionary generation.

An alphabetical catalog of the library is included.
THE LIBRARY OF FRANCIS JERDONE
CHAPTER I

FRANCIS JERDONE - THE MAN

On 5 August 1771 Francis Jerdone died in his adopted land of Virginia. He had lived in the colony since his arrival from Scotland thirty-one years before and had "acquired a handsome Fortune by Trade with the fairest Reputation."¹ Little is known of Jerdone before he came to Virginia. He was born on 20 January 1721 in Jedburgh, Scotland, the son of John Jerdone, a former magistrate and treasurer of the town.² Jerdone evidently was apprenticed to Neill Buchanan of London for several years to learn the mercantile trade. In a letter of July 1748 to William Bowden, Jerdone wrote of "the little acquaintance I had with you while I lived in London with Mr. Neill Buchanan," and in a letter of 21 April 1744 he wrote of Buchanan as "my most kind and worthy master."³ Also, in a letter to Buchanan dated 18 April 1741, Jerdone asked him to "please send my indentures discharge & bond given by Jas. Murray for my fidelity."⁴ It seems unlikely that Jerdone attended a university, for after his indenture to Buchanan, he moved to Virginia at age nineteen. Yet he definitely had more than the average education since he was a good letter writer with good handwriting and spelling.
In 1740 the firm of Buchanan and Hamilton of London, of which Neill Buchanan was a partner, sent Jerdone to replace William Johnston as the firm's factor in Yorktown, Virginia. Johnston's health apparently was not good. He had planned to return to England as early as 1737, but did not because of the fear of a war with Spain. Although by September 1740 Johnston had decided that "this war against Spain is more noise than anything else," since the firm's ship arrived late in the year, he could not return by her. "Besides," wrote Johnston, "Mr. Jerdone would be at a loss not being acquainted with the people. I will get my affairs in such order as to come home in the Spring or summer, after the next purchase is over—if you send in goods suitable, he might go out in the Spring and make a purchase of 100 hhds. and so afterwards take the charge of all the goods imagining by that time he will be well acquainted with your business here." Johnston never returned to England. He took sick and died on 15 October 1740 "by a bloody Flux." This illness was widespread, and Jerdone himself was sickened by "the Ague & Fever." But he apparently took over his new duties with enthusiasm, although he noted that "dealing [with] the people in this country requires the Patience of Job."

Soon after his arrival, Jerdone began criticizing Buchanan's handling of the firm's affairs. At times he sounded much like a schoolboy reciting maxims. He noted that "unless a store is constantly attended, it will soon lose its customers" and, when he asked Buchanan for an order of marking irons, wrote, "It
will be much to your advantage the sending them in early in
the Spring, for he who has his goods first, has the advantage
of all his neighbors." In the same letter Jerdone criticized
Buchanan's use of old vessels to ship tobacco, warning that it
damaged the crop, and on 18 April 1741 criticized the practice
of sending goods for the Yorktown store in ships which went to
rivers other than the York. Jerdone also inquired about his
salary, asking Buchanan to take into account the trouble
Jerdone had had by Johnston's sudden death. While admitting
he was inexperienced, Jerdone argued that "the diligence &
assiduity which I shall on all hands apply to your affairs"
entitled him to receive the same salary as the firm's other
factors. In January 1741/2 Jerdone again criticized Buchanan,
this time saying that one reason people did not ship their
tobacco to him was because he so seldom wrote to them. Nine
years later Jerdone echoed the same thought. A letter of 26
May 1750 to William Hamilton of the firm of Buchanan and
Hamilton in London, began, "This letter is occasioned by your
& [your] partner's silence to your friends here I may almost
say to every one with whom you have any dealings. I hope Sir
you will pardon me when I say that business was never more
neglected than it has been by your house of late years. . . .
Pray Dear Sir, think to yourself what will all this end in,
nothing but confusion in your affairs. . . ." Jerdone's
main complaint was Buchanan and Hamilton's continued insistence
on buying tobacco with goods instead of money.
Jerdone in his letters continued to give apparently unwelcome advice on business affairs to Buchanan, and it may be that this was the reason he was recalled to England in 1744. The summons may not have been against his wishes, however, as he had been ill and had requested a voyage home to repair his health. But in early 1744 Buchanan died, and his son George assumed his place in the firm of Buchanan and Hamilton. Jerdone apparently was on better terms with the younger Buchanan, at least at first, since the tone of his letters changed and became less critical.

Not much is known of Jerdone's activities between 1743 and 1750. Most of the information available comes from a letter book which was excerpted in an article in the William and Mary Quarterly but which is now lost. It is from this source that a controversy over when Jerdone came to Virginia stems. The article interprets this letterbook to indicate that Jerdone arrived in Virginia with a cargo of goods in 1746. But other evidence establishes that he originally came in 1740. It may be that he did go back to England when Neill Buchanan recalled him in 1744, and then returned in 1746. Whatever the case, by 1748 Jerdone had a warehouse and store in Yorktown. He still operated as a tobacco factor, but also stocked a general store with all types of goods, for which people paid in cash or tobacco. From Jerdone's account book, one can see the enormous variety of goods that was available from the store: staples such as sugar, rum, and salt, all kinds of clothing, cloth, shoes, farming utensils,
and books, and much more. Jerdone also included in his account books the record of tobacco bought and shipped and of the bills of exchange he handled. His customers during the early years in Yorktown included some of the best known and wealthiest men of the area. The names of Thomas Nelson, Mann Page, and Carter Burwell on his ledger speak to Jerdone's reputation.

The early 1750s were an active and important time for Jerdone. Around 1751 an event occurred which would profoundly affect his career: the firm of Buchanan and Hamilton, which perhaps should have listened more closely to his criticism, went bankrupt. The first mention in his records of its failure was in the summer of 1752, when Buchanan and Hamilton assigned their affairs to Samuel Rickards, Israel Maudit, William Cooke, Archibald McLane, and Edmund Lardner. Jerdone promised to comply with the wishes of the referees "to the utmost." In October 1752 the firm of Buchanan and Hamilton was ordered to appear at the next court in Williamsburg to answer bankruptcy charges. The order named George Buchanan, William Hamilton, and Francis Jerdone as defendants, along with Ninian Boog, Robert Duncanson, William Hunter, David Potter, and one Miller (first name unknown), all of whom were factors for the firm in Virginia. A month later Jerdone and Boog advertised that they were selling "Sundry Parcels of sortable European and Indian Goods," to help settle the affairs of Buchanan and Hamilton. According to a letter of 29 December 1752 to Mr. Morgan Thomas & Company of London, Jerdone seemed fairly confident that the affairs of Buchanan and Hamilton would be speedily settled.
Such was not to be the case. By 1756 Mr. Rickards reported to Jerdone that he had a balance of £215 15s. 7d. after the bankruptcy; but in October 1758, Jerdone reported that although his debts and those of the store in King and Queen County were mainly settled, those in the Fredericksburg store were not. The situation in England was not very smooth either. Evidently William Hamilton had been imprisoned, for Jerdone wrote to him, "Well do I know what a shock it must be to you, to be deprived of your precious liberty without a just cause." Jerdone also said that he had heard that Hamilton might take holy orders and offered him a place at Jerdone's home if he desired it. Hamilton never reached Virginia, however, for he died in early 1757.

The date of the final settlement of the bankruptcy is not known. But in 1761 the assignees of Buchanan and Hamilton lost a case at the court in Williamsburg to John Thornton, John Hudson, and William Johnson in which the settlement amounted to £6771 6s 7d. Jerdone began an appeal of this case "to the Kings most excellent Majesty in his privy Council," and William Nelson gave security for the assignees, which was necessary to appeal the case. Unfortunately Jerdone's letter book ends in 1763, and there are no references there or in his other papers to the outcome of the suit. It is possible that difficulties developed which prevented carrying through the appeal. It is also possible, considering the large amount of time involved in such things, that the case had not been heard at the time of Jerdone's death in 1771.
By 1750, however, Jerdone had been thinking of getting out of the "business of selling dry goods," and starting something more profitable, one possibility being the slave trade. Jerdone explained his thinking to Buchanan and Hamilton: "There is in general as many Purchasers as there is slaves imported, and the pay is always better than any other commodity and without something of this sort I must be under the necessity of leaving this town, for my expenses are too great for my current wages." Two days after this letter, Jerdone wrote to one of his best friends, Capt. Hugh Crawfurd of London, that he had offers from other firms and was tired of working for Buchanan and Hamilton. Apparently, throughout the 1750s Jerdone continued to have offers from other houses. In 1750 he mentioned receiving inquiries from two London firms which would have paid more, but which he did not follow up.

Throughout his years in Virginia Jerdone remained loyal to Buchanan and Hamilton despite their troubles, probably because of his earlier close association with the Buchanan family. Jerdone's loyalty may not have been entirely selfless; he expected benefits. For example, in 1751 he asked Buchanan and Hamilton to apply for the vacant position of Postmaster General of North America on his behalf. The office was for sale for £200 or £300, and Jerdone said that he would repay Buchanan and Hamilton and that the position would not interfere with his other business. The firm's bankruptcy prevented them from complying with his request.
Shortly after the bankruptcy of Buchanan and Hamilton, another event occurred which exerted a large influence on Jerdone's life. On 10 February 1753 he married Sarah Macon of New Kent County. In their eighteen years of marriage Jerdone and his wife had nine children, the last two of whom died in infancy. Very soon after his marriage Jerdone gave up his business in Yorktown and moved to the country. In a letter of 21 August 1753 to Hugh Crawfurd, Jerdone explained that, "I have been moved from York about a month. My present residence is at the Widow's [?], & some time at Col. Macon's [his father-in-law's]. I hope to be settled in Louisa by next May." He almost achieved his goal, reaching Louisa County at least by October 1754.

Jerdone now may have found more leisure time, for his letters began to turn to local and world affairs and to be less concerned with business. The French and Indian War which began in 1754 worried him for some time. On 12 September 1754 he wrote rather sarcastically to Hugh Crawfurd about the sad state of affairs since Colonel George Washington had been defeated by the French at the Ohio River on 3 July 1754. Not only had the Virginians been defeated, he reported, but the General Assembly refused to raise more men or money unless the governor allowed them to pay £2500 to the lawyer who represented them in England against the governor during the Pistole Fee controversy. Jerdone sounded most displeased with the assembly and noted that the country was "in a very sad situation." Indeed, he said that the Virginians were "now at the mercy of
the French & Indians, who are daily making inroads among the
back inhabitants."\(^{30}\)

In May 1756 Jerdone complained that the war was upsetting
the tobacco business because people were being drafted to help
Colonel Washington "build a Chain of forts along the frontier,
to defend our country from the depredations of those merciless
savages who spare neither woman nor child."\(^{31}\) Since the fight­
ing was "not above 100 miles" from where Jerdone lived, he and
his family moved to his father-in-law's home in New Kent County
in May, although they returned to Louisa County in early June.\(^{32}\)

The war also affected Jerdone's business interests. He
was still shipping tobacco to various firms in England, and
the trade was several times interrupted by embargoes, the
first of which lasted from late April to mid-May 1757.\(^{33}\) These
embargoes were meant to protect British ships from capture by
the French. Perhaps because of his business interests, Jerdone
not only followed the course of the war in America, but also
in Europe, mostly through papers sent him from England. One
example of his concern is a letter of 25 June 1757 to Hugh
Crawfurd in which he expressed "great concern that . . . Mr.
Pit is turn'd out of the ministry again & that you have nothing
but confusion at home as well as we here."\(^{34}\) After this Jerdone
rarely mentioned the war perhaps because British fortunes were
changing for the better.

For the first few years in Louisa County Jerdone did not
run a retail store although he did sell wholesale. In a letter
dated 1754, he mentioned that "Mr. Nelson [evidently William
Nelson of Yorktown] is now the only potent rival with me in the wholesale trade in this place, as for the retail I have no great dependence upon it." That Jerdone enjoyed his new lifestyle in Louisa County is evident from a letter of 22 February 1756 to William Hamilton: "I am as happy as my fellow creatures are in common in this world: being bless'd with a sufficiency to make life comfortable with an agreeable bosom companion & a fine matting [sic] girl & a boy just a few weeks old, for all these blessings I am truly & sincerely thankful to the Great Giver of all things." Nonetheless, in 1758 Jerdone succumbed to temptation, probably because of local pressure and his own business acumen, and opened a retail store at his home plantation. He had been selling goods wholesale since his move to Louisa, but had sold retail goods only to old customers. Most of the retail goods for his new store came from the firm of Flowerdew and Norton of London, where he had been placing most of his personal orders, with some from Samuel Rickards and Hugh Crawfurd. Crawfurd, however, soon fell very ill and turned over his business to a new man. Jerdone then transferred his business back to Flowerdew and Norton instead of dealing with Crawfurd's replacement.

Jerdone also continued to buy tobacco for a few others in England and Scotland, including the firm of Speirs and Brown of Glasgow. This company wanted Jerdone to buy tobacco only in Hanover and Louisa counties, considering the product of other western counties to be inferior. Jerdone objected to
this policy and in March of 1758 asked Speirs and Brown if 
he could purchase for them in Albemarle, Spotsylvania, and 
Orange counties. A month later Jerdone was considering giving 
up the buying of tobacco entirely since he lived far from the 
warehouses and was in poor health. Yet he did not stop. On 
1 June 1759 he at least told Speirs and Brown that he could not 
buy any more because he lived "too high up the Country to have 
the same chance of making large purchases with those who live 
below." Jerdone should have held to his resolution at that point, 
for 1758 and 1759 were bad years for tobacco and the price 
skyrocketed. Speirs and Brown were upset when during the 
summer of 1759 Jerdone bought tobacco for them at very high 
prices. On 22 November 1759 he wrote to them explaining his 
actions, claiming that he had tried to follow their ambiguous 
orders to the best of his ability. Speirs and Brown, however, 
were not pacified, and stopped honoring bills of exchange that 
Jerdone had drawn on them. According to Jerdone, moreover, 
Alexander Speirs not only did not honor a bill for £1195 15s. 
10d., but, because of his "peevish disposition," did not tell 
creditors that Thomas Flowerdew would honor them. In his 
letters Jerdone repeatedly maintained his innocence in the 
affair, saying that Speirs and Brown had wanted tobacco and 
that he had bought it before the price went even higher. 
Eventually, however, he conceded the argument. Speirs wanted 
Jerdone to give up all of his commission on the 1759 crop of.
tobacco, which amounted to £452 6s. 11d. On 20 October 1764 Jerdone wrote to Speirs,

> Necessity at this time compells me to give it up to you, having neither ability nor inclination to enter into vexatious lawsuits about it as I have lately met with many misfortunes, which have greatly diminished my small capital. ... Permit me to request one thing of you which is this vizt: lay your hand on your heart & try if you can satisfy your self, that you are doing in this affair as you would be done unto: if so: May God who is a witness of all our actions bless you with it Amen, I shall now trouble you no more.43

Jerdone then reminded Speirs that he still owed £258 18s. 8d. in another account.44

Meanwhile, Jerdone kept a small store at his plantation. From the entries in his account books, it seems to have been about the same size as the one in Yorktown. Yet in 1760, Jerdone denigrated "the little peddling store I keep," and later the same year he said that he was "now retired from almost all kinds of business, depending chiefly on the income of a small Virginia Estate to support my self & family."45

However modestly Jerdone described his business, his estate by the time of his death was far from small. Throughout the 1760's Jerdone bought land to add to his holdings. It is not known precisely how many acres Jerdone initially held in Louisa County, but it must have been around 1000. One of Jerdone's first purchases was in 1756. On 2 June of that year, he wrote to Samuel Rickards that he was thinking of buying 1535 acres which a Mr. David Bell had used to pay off his balance of £230 with the bankrupt firm of Buchanan and Hamilton. Jerdone
evidently did complete the purchase, for in February 1758 he wrote to Bell that he had exchanged the land "for a larger tract at the Mountain." This last was probably in Albemarle or Cumberland County, since in 1757 Jerdone paid James Lewis £1000 and 1535 acres in those two counties in return for 4753 acres in Albemarle.

Jerdone next bought a mill and 456 acres in Spotsylvania County for £500 with a proviso that William Garret would receive half the mill's profits as long as he lived. In 1764 Jerdone bought an additional 1194 acres in the North Garden of Albemarle County. He must also have sold some land in Albemarle County shortly after this, because in 1765 he paid quit rents and land taxes on only 3927 acres in Albemarle, and 1090 acres in Louisa. By 1767 he owned 2680 acres in Spotsylvania County with 90 adjoining acres in Louisa; and in 1770 he sold 506 acres in Albemarle, reducing his holdings in that county to 3421 acres.

Jerdone's last major land purchases occurred in 1771, only months before his death. William Holt and the Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith, both Presbyterians, jointly held 2500 acres in New Kent and Charles City Counties. Included on the land was Providence Forge, after which the tract was named, two water grist mills, a bolting mill, a row mill, and several other buildings. When Rev. Smith died in late 1770, Jerdone bought his half of Providence Forge. At the same time Jerdone bought an adjoining 500 acres which Smith owned separately, half of 290 acres which were "part of the forge lands called
Chestnut Swamp," and half of the forty-eight slaves at Providence Forge. The whole package cost Jerdone £4635 5s. Thus, at the time of his death, Jerdone owned 3421 acres in Albemarle, 2500 acres in Spotsylvania, 1188 acres at his home plantation in Louisa, and 500 acres with half interest in 3190 additional acres in Charles City and New Kent counties.

Jerdone, like most Virginia planters, used slaves to work his lands. It is difficult to ascertain where he obtained most of those he owned. Some came with the land, and certainly he acquired some through local auctions. Sometimes he handled the auctions himself. For example, on 19 and 20 November 1760 he sold seventy-two slaves belonging to the Mines estate. The slaves sold for £4135 5s. , "a monstrous sum." Jerdone bought several slaves himself, helped bid up the prices on others, and asked £100 for his work, which was only half his normal 5 percent commission. By 1770 Jerdone had fifty-five slaves on his home plantation, thirty-four in Spotsylvania, and forty-nine in Albemarle. At his death in August 1771 he owned approximately 138 slaves with half interest in forty-eight others at Providence Forge.

As can be seen from Jerdone's land and slave holdings, he was a wealthy man. This is evident also in the purchases from England for himself and his family. Once he told his correspondent that since the goods were for his family he was to "get them of the best sorts." Loyal to the people he worked for, Jerdone was equally faithful to the people from whom he bought his personal supplies. On 20 September 1762
he ordered six pairs of summer, six pairs of winter, and six pairs of spring and fall shoes from Joseph Carpue in London from whom he had bought shoes since 1746. Another time Jerdone wrote to Archibald Crawfurd, brother of Hugh, that he was sending his watch, made by Joshua Wilson, to be cleaned and to have the crystal fixed. His watch may have represented a large investment, but it does seem rather extravagant to send it to England for repairs. Also in 1756 Jerdone placed an order with Messrs. Margan, Thomas and Hompy for a great coat to be made from three and three-fourths yards of duffle of a "mixt clouth colour a french grey that is firm & so thick as to keep out rain for 6 hours." Indeed, Jerdone was willing to pay as much as 10s. a yard and said if possible to have a tailor make the coat and "make it very full for a man near six feet high." Jerdone received his coat by June 1757, but it was neither big nor heavy enough. He sold it and ordered another.

Jerdone did not spend money solely on himself. He followed the Virginia planter custom of hiring tutors for his children. In his account book for 29 December 1761 was entered the sum of £6 paid to Samuel Pittard for schooling the Jerdone children, Mary, Francis, and Sarah. Francis and Mary, at least, had another tutor that year, since Jerdone paid George Lumden £4 for teaching them. Pittard, on the other hand, was still tutoring the children in 1765 when part of his account with Jerdone was paid by his schooling of the Jerdone children. By 1769 Pittard must have moved on, for Jerdone paid Thomas Powe
£20 "for teaching five of my Children to read & write from the 1st day of January 1768 to this 1st of September 1769."  
By this time Jerdone's oldest son, Francis, was in Scotland, apparently either at a university or as an apprentice. Jerdone had been thinking of sending his son abroad for some time, for on 25 February 1762 he wrote to John Norton of Yorktown, "I heartily congratulate Mrs. Norton on the safe arrival of my Godson George in England: were my own son of a proper age, I could very cheerfully wish him along with him." Francis was in Scotland by 1768, because Jerdone paid a Mr. Falconer there for his son's board from 21 October 1768 to 21 April 1769.  

From the amount of wealth Jerdone accumulated, it can be assumed that he was a shrewd businessman. He had a bit of the gambler about him, for he usually did not insure goods shipped to him in peace time or in time of war, if they were shipped by convoy. Even when he did insure, it was for only half the value. Jerdone also was not above bickering about small discrepancies in his accounts with firms in England. Even such a close friend as Hugh Crawfurd did not escape this side of Jerdone, who badgered Crawfurd about a discrepancy of only a few pounds in his account at a time when Crawfurd was very ill and his affairs in a somewhat confused state. Yet Jerdone evidently practiced what he preached to Buchanan and Hamilton about always trying to satisfy one's customers, and from his success one would assume that he succeeded. Jerdone tried to obtain not only the best goods possible, but those most suited to Virginia, a policy that his associates in England
and Scotland did not seem to appreciate. It must have appeared petty to the merchants in England, for example, when Jerdone insisted that hats shipped to him have deep crowns and wide brims because of the hot climate. Such attention to small details, however, is essential to the success of a businessman in any age. In another example, Jerdone found that farm tools ordered from Messrs. Tappendon and Hamby of London did not stand up in Virginia. On 25 June 1756 he submitted to Tappendon and Hamby a design for narrow hoes and grubbing axes, with a pound of steel in each of the latter. Perhaps Jerdone's interest in this, and Tappendon and Hamby's reluctance to follow his instructions, influenced his later decision to buy Providence Forge.

By the time of his death at two o'clock A.M. on 5 August 1771 Jerdone was established as a Virginia planter and merchant. The circumstances of his death are not known, but he may have been ill for some time. He had a "severe sickness" in early 1758, and in 1759 wrote to Archibald Crawfurd that he had not often left his plantation because of "a pain in my right hip, which is sometimes so severe that I am a downright cripple." That same year he ordered an "Easy or resting Chair for Sick persons." Also in Jerdone's will nothing is said of his being in sound mind or body, only that he is "reflecting on the uncertainty of life." At his death he left his wife and eight children, the oldest of whom was seventeen and the youngest, two.
The division of his estate again shows his wealth and concern for his family. He gave his wife, Sarah, the home plantation in Louisa County, twenty-one slaves, and £800 cash. His daughters, Mary, Sarah, Isabella, and Ann, received three slaves and £800 each current money to be paid when they came of age or married. Among his sons, John received 1250 acres in Spotsylvania County, all of the slaves on the land except for two who went to his sisters, fifteen slaves from the home plantation, half of the grist mill on the land, and £1000 current money when he turned twenty-one. William also received £1000 current money when he turned twenty-one, 1250 acres in Spotsylvania, and all the slaves on the land except for two reserved for his sisters. Jerdone also left other slaves to William, and one would assume additional money, but the exact number and amount are not known because that part of the will is missing. John and William also jointly received all of the lands Jerdone held in partnership with William Holt in New Kent County. Francis, the eldest boy, received Jerdone's lands and slaves in Albemarle County minus three slaves set aside for his sisters, as well as the remainder of the estate "not herein expressly disposed of."

Jerdone expressly stated that he wanted each of his sons to "have a contingent fee in his estate and not an estate tail." He also said that if a daughter died, her share was to be divided among his remaining daughters and none was to revert to a son until all the girls died, and that any girl who married without the consent of her mother forfeited her rights to her
sisters' shares. Finally, Jerdone appointed as executors his wife, John Lewis of Spotsylvania County, George Pottie and Robert Armistead of Louisa County, and William Douglas of New Kent County. Although his will was proved in Louisa County court on 9 September 1771, settling the estate turned out to be a long task. In 1790 Mrs. Jerdone paid a bill to the clerk of the High Court of Chancery on behalf of the estate; and in 1797 the firm of Norton and Sons was still trying to collect from Mrs. Jerdone for goods shipped to William Holt in 1773, two years after Jerdone's death and the dissolution of his partnership with Holt.

When Jerdone died, he was a firmly established figure in Louisa County. He had come to this country from Scotland a young, ambitious man. Through hard work, a shrewd business sense, and considerable luck, he accumulated a substantial fortune and assumed the role of a Virginia planter. He was a good businessman, a loving father and husband, and a trusted and respected member of his community--another example of the American Dream.
CHAPTER II

THE LIBRARY OF FRANCIS JERDONE

Francis Jerdone was a prominent member of the Virginia planter society. He lived on a plantation, speculated in land, hired tutors for his children, and sent his oldest son abroad for an education. In one other way, Jerdone also fit the stereotype of the Virginia planter: he acquired a substantial library. There is no evidence that Jerdone procured books only because it was expected of a Virginia gentleman. He may have liked to read. Yet because many people in colonial Virginia did have libraries—one estimate is that there were about one thousand private collections by the last quarter of the seventeenth century—Jerdone may have felt that he needed a library to accompany his station in life.¹

Unfortunately no inventory of Jerdone's library exists. I have identified ten titles through his letters and papers, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation owns three of his titles, and the College of William and Mary has one hundred. William and Mary purchased its collection in the 1930s from Miss I. E. Jerdone of Mount Sterling, Virginia. The books evidently passed from Francis Jerdone to his oldest son, who, at his death in 1841, left his "Beaurow with the books" to his son
William. William's signature appears on several of the books previously signed by his grandfather. The collection then seems to have passed to Miss Jerdone, probably one of William's grandchildren.

The total of 113 books that have been identified as Francis Jerdone's conforms to the average library size in the eighteenth century estimated by George Smart in his study of private libraries in colonial Virginia. Jerdone almost certainly owned in addition religious books like psalters and hymnals. Such books were often mentioned in his accounts as items for sale in his store, and he probably kept copies for himself. It also is possible that other well-liked and heavily-used books have not survived. Thus the total of 113 titles is a minimum figure. There is also the problem that seventeen of the 103 extant titles presumed to be Jerdone's are unsigned. All of these, however, were published during Jerdone's lifetime and were in the library which the College of William and Mary purchased from Jerdone's descendant. For these reasons, I have accepted them as Jerdone's. Another potential problem is that some of the books could have been purchased and signed by Jerdone's oldest son, also Francis. This appears unlikely since all of the signatures in the books are in the same hand, which matches that in the elder Jerdone's letter books.

Did Francis Jerdone read his books? This question, of course, is difficult to answer. Jerdone unfortunately did not write marginalia in his books, although perhaps because he did
not like to mark them up. It is, I feel, rather obvious from his letters that Jerdone was literate and did like to read. His letters first mention reading in 1757 during the French and Indian War, when he wrote to Hugh Crawfurd:

You omitted to send me the newspapers which you refer me to in said letter [20 Oct. or 27 Nov. 1756] for which I am in some measure sorry, as it has deprived me of gratifying my curiosity in knowing what is passing in the world during these troubled times. I hope for the future you'll not forget them, or any curious pamphlet that is publish'd worth sending so great a distance. You need not send the London or Gent[leman's] magazine as Mr. Flowerdew never fails sending them to me.

Jerdone not only received newspapers from his associates in England, he sent them newspapers as well. On 18 September 1757 he sent a letter to Alexander Speirs and Hugh Brown about the poor state of the French and Indian War and referred them "to what newspaper [sic] are inclosed. . . ." Jerdone presumably read the magazines he received from Flowerdew, since he changed the titles he requested several times. On 1 June 1759 he told Flowerdew and Norton that "for the future you may send me only the London magazine, & in lieu of the Gentleman's the monthly review."

The Monthly Review was a literary and critical magazine which carried abstracts of books and excerpts from newly published books and pamphlets. In April 1760 Jerdone wrote to Flowerdew and Norton:

The monthly reviews which you have sent me of late, I don't well relish their manner of too severely censuring all kinds of Authors for which reason be pleased to discontinue it, & send me only the London Magazine, & any well wrote pamphlets that hereafter happen to be published & now & then a few public papers of the London Chronicle, some of which I have seen.
lately are very entertaining. Pray pardon me for giving you this trouble, but as I now live very retired I have no opportunity [sic] of knowing what is passing in the world, but what I collect from publick papers.7

Since Jerdone obviously read newspapers and magazines, perhaps one would not be amiss in supposing he also read his books.

It is of interest, too, where Jerdone obtained his books. Considering the early publication date of many of the books, it seems probable that Jerdone purchased some in England and brought them with him when he came to Virginia. Once in the colony, Jerdone did order some books from England. On 24 June 1756 he requested Sir Isaac Newton's Religious Philosopher [which I have not been able to identify], and Samuel Johnson's Dictionary from Archibald Crawfurd. On 10 September 1760 he ordered John Leland's View of the Principal Deistic Writers and Samuel Bourn's Christian-family Prayer Book and Sermons from Flowerdew and Norton.8 In addition, Jerdone may have kept copies of books that he ordered for his store. He sold many blank books, almanacs, and Bibles in his stores. In September 1750, for his Yorktown store, he ordered one dozen copies each of Bibles, New Testaments, the Book of Common Prayer, and several unidentified history books, and one-half dozen copies of Thomas Dyche's spelling book. He also requested specific titles for individual customers: for example, thirteen different works of classical authors for Major John Carr in 1756.9 Undoubtedly any of these works could have ended up in Jerdone's library.
Another source for Jerdone's books was estate sales. His copy of *The History of the Revolutions of Portugal* (1758) is signed "Patrick Belsches 1759," and his copy of *The Authentic Memoirs Concerning the Portuguese Inquisition* (1761) both by Jerdone and Patrick's wife, Judy. Jerdone handled the sale of Judy Belsches's estate in 1768 and purchased £9 17s. 6d. worth of "Sundry articles," among which were quite likely these two books. Another book which Jerdone acquired from an estate, although perhaps not from an estate sale, was Lawrence Echard's *The Gazetteer's: Or, Newsman's Interpreter* (1731), which had been owned by Jerdone's predecessor at Yorktown, William Johnston.

Jerdone also could have purchased books in Williamsburg. Records are available for books sold by William Hunter at the Printer's Office in the colonial capital for 1750 to 1752 and 1764 to 1766. Although these records do not show Jerdone as a buyer during these years, most of the titles he owned were available from the Printer's Office. It seems very possible, therefore, that Jerdone purchased books at Williamsburg during years other than the four for which records remain.

Wherever Jerdone purchased his books, he appears to have had most of them bound at the same place. Almost all of his books are covered in full calfskin with two gold lines parallel to the borders on all four sides of both front and back covers. Lending support to the theory that Jerdone had his books specially bound is the fact that the two books previously mentioned which he acquired from the Belsches's estate are
bound in a different manner. Two of Jerdone's books appear particularly likely to have been specially bound. These are collections of plays, neither of which retains any of its leather binding, although from the boards attached to the books each appears to have had leather coverings at one time. The first contains William Congreve's *Old Batchelor* (1739), *Love for Love* (1723), *Double-Dealer* (1735), and *Way of the World* (1733); Francis Beaumont's and John Fletcher's *Rule a Wife, and Have a Wife* (1744); and George Farquhar's *Constant Couple* (1738), all well-known English dramas. The plays are small duodecimos with separate title pages, frontispieces, and pagination. Jerdone almost certainly purchased the pamphlets separately—considering their early publication dates—perhaps in England, and had them bound. The same is also true for a volume containing John Dryden's *All for Love* (1740), *Indian Emperor* (1743), and *Aureng-Zebe* (1735); Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* (1744) and *Don Carlos* (1734); and Elijah Fenton's *Mariamne* (1745). It is very difficult to determine where Jerdone had his books bound, since they are all in rather plain, common, bindings which could have been executed in Williamsburg or in England.

Jerdone's library, like most eighteenth-century private libraries, contained a broad spectrum of subjects, including history, religion, husbandry, literature, philosophy, natural theology, classics, and several miscellaneous volumes. Nine of the titles fall under history. Several of the better-known history works of the time are included in Jerdone's library.
He owned Abbé Vertot's histories of the revolutions in Rome, Sweden, and Portugal, from which Samuel Adams drew frightening comparisons with Great Britain in the eighteenth century. Baltic history was a favorite subject at the time, and Jerdone owned one of the most popular titles, Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* [of Sweden] (1738). A surprising feature of Jerdone's library is the scarcity of works on English history. He owned only two titles in this field, Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *History of His Own Time* (1725), which contained an account of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and James Welwood's history of the one hundred years before that event.

Jerdone owned thirty-one titles which can be classified under the broad heading religion. The most popular books in colonial America were religious, and topping the list, of course, is the Bible. According to one study, "In Virginia it is the one book everyone owned, and not uncommonly the only one." Jerdone had at least two copies of the Bible, and probably more. He also had separate copies of the New Testament, one of which belonged to his children. Along with the Bible were a host of related works. Jerdone owned at least one copy of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Bishop Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England*, Thomas Vincent's *Explicatory Catechism*, John Lewis's *Church Catechism*, and Leonard Howard's *Newest Weeks Preparation for ... Receiving the Lord's Supper*. Also included in Jerdone's library was the *Whole Duty of Man*, believed by critics to have been compiled by Bishop Fell from the sermons and lectures of Richard Allestree.
In terms of sales at the Printer's Office in Williamsburg, the *Whole Duty* was fourth in the class of religion, the most popular of all classes. The work was widely used in both Virginia and Maryland. Jerdone also had several collections of sermons, although the only one known to have been generally in favor was Laurence Sterne's *Sermons of Mr. Yorick*, the fourteenth most popular religious book sold by the Williamsburg printer. Other preachers whose sermons Jerdone owned were James Foster and Samuel Bourn. All of Jerdone's collections of sermons were by English ministers, none by Americans.

A popular area of thought in the eighteenth century, combining religion and philosophy, was natural theology, and Jerdone owned four of the major works in that field. One of these was the Earl of Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks* (1714). Shaftesbury was a Whig who despised high-church principles. He attempted in his writings to take the supernatural out of religion. Supernatural events might have occurred in Biblical times, but they no longer did, and people who believed in the supernatural suffered from "enthusiasm." In place of the supernatural, Shaftesbury saw God in nature and the whole world in harmonious order. Shaftesbury was an eternal optimist and believed that man, as the foremost work of God and nature, was almost divine himself and certainly fit into the harmony of the world. Although Shaftesbury, of course, had those who did not agree with his philosophy, he was very influential in the eighteenth century. Among others, he influenced Alexander Pope, many of whose works Jerdone owned. Other works in natural
theology which Jerdone owned were two English translations of French works, François Fénelon's *Demonstration of the Existence and Attributes of God, Given from the Knowledge of Nature* (1720) and Noel Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature* (1740). Jerdone's fourth well-known work in this area was William Derham's *Physico-Theology: Or, A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, From his Works of Creation* (1749).

Jerdone's religion is not known, although from his library he would seem to have had non-conformist leanings. He owned John Trenchard's and Thomas Gordon's *Independent Whig* in which they attacked High Church leanings and the general religious establishment.  

He also owned *Reliquiae Juveniles* by Isaac Watts, the great dissenter and hymnist. Jerdone also ordered Samuel Bourn's *Christian-family Prayer Book* because it was recommended by Watts. In addition, Jerdone owned *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* by Philip Doddridge, a "friend and contemporary" of Watts. Doddridge was not quite as influential as Watts—he rather tried to be agreeable to everyone and everything—but he was one of the leading dissenters of the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition to these men's individual books, Jerdone owned *A Present for Children* containing works by the men, and a biography of Doddridge by Job Orton.

The categories of religion, natural theology, and moral philosophy are often overlapping; and one book that Jerdone owned which fits all three was William Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated* (1724), a very popular book in Williamsburg.
Another book in moral philosophy owned by Jerdone was Richard Lucas's *Enquiry After Happiness* (1749).

Eight of Jerdone's titles are works of classic authors, all appearing in English translations. Ovid was probably the most popular classic author in Virginia; George Sandys, one of the colony's first planters, published a translation of the *Metamorphoses* in London in 1626. Jerdone owned the *Metamorphoses* in an edition cooperatively translated by Dryden, Pope, Addison, and others. Jerdone also owned copies of works by Caesar, Horace, Sallust, Terence, and Virgil (translated by Dryden), all of which were popular in Virginia. Also included in the library was Alexander Pope's successful translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

The second largest category of books in Jerdone's library, comprising thirty-eight titles, is literature. In Virginia and Maryland the most common authors in English literature were Pope, Swift, Addison, and Steele, all of whom except Swift appear in Jerdone's library. He owned five titles by Pope, *The Dunciad*, *An Essay on Man*, *An Essay on Criticism*, the *Poetical Works of Alexander Pope*, and the volumes of the *Works of Alexander Pope* which contained his letters. Three works by Richard Steele appear in the library, *The Dramatick Works*, *The Guardian*, and *The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff*. Jerdone owned two plays by Joseph Addison, *The Campaign* and *Rosamund*.

Overall, Jerdone had a good collection of plays. Besides those two just mentioned, he owned four by William Congreve, three by John Dryden, two by Thomas Otway, and one each by
Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher and Elijah Fenton. No works by Shakespeare appear in the library, but Jerdone did have a copy of Ben Johnson's plays. Jerdone, moreover, owned several books of poetry. The poets represented are Richard Glover, Allan Ramsay, James Thomson, and Marco Vida (translated from the Latin). Another standard category of literature which is well represented is contemporary English periodicals. Jerdone owned copies of the Guardian, a publication containing essays on the life and events of the day. At times Jerdone also subscribed to the Gentleman's Magazine and the London Magazine, both of which contained excerpts from books and pamphlets besides original material, and the Monthly Review, a critical review which covered current books and pamphlets.26

The one category of literature in which Jerdone's library was deficient is the novel. This genre was well represented in the Virginia libraries studied by Smart, but only two examples survive in Jerdone's library. These are an English translation of the French novel Gil Blas by Alain Le Sage, which was very popular, and Francis Coventry's History of Pompey the Little. Or, the Life and Adventures of a Lap-Dog.27

Jerdone's library also contained books on a variety of other subjects. Medical books were widely found in eighteenth-century libraries, and Jerdone owned four. One of these, John Quincy's Dispensatory (1749), has been documented as being highly regarded in Maryland.28 Two books probably proved useful to Jerdone in his business. These are William Gordon's and
Robert Dobson's arithmetic book, and Alexander Malcolm's Treatise of Book-keeping . . . in the Italian Method of Debtor and Creditor. Also useful, both for the information they contained and as memorandum books, were copies of the Virginia Almanack. Jerdone's copies for only 1757 and 1762 survive (the former printed by William Hunter, the latter by Joseph Royle), but almanacs were one of the most popular items sold at his store, and he certainly owned more. The Virginia Almanack, published in Williamsburg, came out late each summer; and special editions were available with interleaved blank pages to serve as memorandum books. 29 Jerdone's almanacs appear to be of this sort. Another practical book, perhaps used by Jerdone in his own education or that of his children, was James Talbot's Christian School-Master.

Of a different value was the Acts of Assembly, Now in Force in the Colony of Virginia. Jerdone was one of the five hundred subscribers to this book which was printed at Williamsburg. 30 Interestingly, this title is the only law book in Jerdone's library. Although without a complete list of his library it is not possible to know whether Jerdone had other law books, it would be odd if he did not since this category constituted so large a percentage of books known to have been owned by Virginians and Marylanders generally. 31 Yet since Jerdone never held county office and rarely had contact with the legal process, he may never have felt the need for legal books.

Three other interesting titles in the miscellaneous group are political. The first is Joseph Addison's Freeholder, or
Political Essays, which Jerdone owned in addition to two of Addison's plays. Addison had a large influence on thinkers of the day, especially through his play Cato. The hero of the play was held up as a symbol of resistance to tyranny because of his opposition to Caesar. Also interesting, in view of recent interpretations of the ideology of the Revolutionary era, are John Trenchard's and Thomas Gordon's Cato's Letters and The Independent Whig. In The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution Bernard Bailyn called Trenchard and Gordon "the most important of these publicists and intellectual middlemen' who adopted the ideas of seventeenth-century politics, and thereby did "more than any other single group of writers [to shape] the mind of the American Revolutionary generation." The Independent Whig was Trenchard's and Gordon's first collaboration, and as mentioned above, attacked High Church leanings. Cato's Letters was written in the aftermath of the South Sea Bubble and was "a searing indictment of eighteenth-century English politics and society," Bailyn said. In sum, "The writings of Trenchard and Gordon rank with the treatises of Locke as the most authoritative statement of the nature of political liberty and above Locke as an exposition of the social sources of the threat it faced." 

In conclusion, it might be useful to compare Jerdone's library with others from the eighteenth century. Actually, few studies of individual libraries have been made, and those only of the largest. I have chosen four for comparison with Jerdone's: Thomas Jefferson's, William Byrd II's, James Logan's,
and Robert Carter's at Nomini Hall. The first three were among the largest libraries in the colonies, each numbering over two thousand volumes. Robert Carter's library is much smaller, around 450 titles, still many more than Jerdone's. Given the wide disparity in size, it would seem likely that the largest libraries—Jefferson's, Byrd's, and Logan's—would contain most of the titles that Jerdone owned. Yet this is not the case. Jefferson had more titles in common with Jerdone, forty-five, than did any of the others. He also had six books by authors of books which Jerdone owned, making a total of fifty-one authors or titles in common. Thus Jefferson's library included about half of Jerdone's. The next highest number of titles or authors held in common with Jerdone was in the other large Virginia library, William Byrd's. Byrd shared twenty-nine titles and five authors with Jerdone. The remaining Virginia library, Robert Carter's, had only thirteen titles and one author that Jerdone had. Similarly, out of nearly 2200 titles the Pennsylvania Quaker James Logan owned, only twenty-one titles and six authors duplicated Jerdone's. Jerdone had the least in common with the other libraries in his large collection of plays and religious works. Jefferson had most of the dramatic works that Jerdone owned, but Jerdone had several religious works that Jefferson did not: for example, Philip Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, and Matthew Henry's life of the Anglican clergyman, Philip Henry.
Along with the dissimilarities, the titles that all the libraries have in common are informative. As could be expected, the Bible and the New Testament were present in each. Also represented in all five were Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks*, Vertot's *History of the Revolution in Sweden*, More's *Utopia*, Horace's *Odes*, Caesar's *Commentaries*, and at least one work by Joseph Addison. Titles found in Jerdone's library and three of the others include the *Iliad*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Le Sage's *Gil Blas*, Burnet's *History of His Own Time* and *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles*, Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and at least one work by Virgil and Voltaire. Three of the five libraries, including Jerdone's, contained William Sherlock's *Practical Discourse on Death*, Bradley's *New Improvements in Planting and Gardening*, Foster's *Sermon's*, Pluche's *Spectacle de la Nature*, Vertot's *History of the Revolutions of Portugal*, Welwood's *History of England*, the *Guardian*, and plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, and Otway.

Jerdone's library fares least well when compared with Jefferson's list of 148 essential books for a library. Jerdone owned only seventeen of these titles. Perhaps this, along with the absence of many titles found in the four larger libraries, indicates that Jerdone had more in mind when he bought his books than just assuming the appearance of a Virginia gentleman.

Assuming that Jerdone selected his books to please himself, one may draw some tentative conclusions about his interests.
Around one-fourth of the books known to have belonged to Jerdone are on religion, and another fourth are works of English literature. Although religion was a common subject in eighteenth-century libraries, Jerdone's wide range of books in that category, including several uncommon ones, indicates a broad, non-conformist interest. The large number of plays in Jerdone's library seems to indicate that he made a special effort to collect them.

Perhaps one of the most interesting questions raised by Jerdone's library can never be answered since he died in 1771, before the American Revolution broke out. If Jerdone's library is a clue to which side he would have supported, he would seem to have favored the colonials. He owned many of the books which influenced the leaders of the American Revolution. Vertot's histories of the revolutions in Rome, Portugal, and Sweden showed how great empires had fallen in the past. After reading these works, Samuel and John Adams, among others, saw interesting parallels with the empire of Great Britain.

Joseph Addison, three of whose works Jerdone owned, influenced many people in the colonies with his denunciations of tyranny and his popularization of such heroes as Cato. Finally, *Cato's Letters* and *The Independent Whig* by Trenchard and Gordon exercised the most direct and important radical influence on the Revolutionary generation. Jerdone would have experienced all of the traumas of that generation had he lived five years longer. He had been born in Scotland and maintained close
ties to friends there and in England. Yet he made his
fortune in Virginia and had become assimilated into the society
and culture there. Which side Jerdone would have supported in
the Revolution is a tantalizing, if moot, question. From the
books in his library, assuming he read them, he would have had
a strong background in the radical traditions which influenced
many of the leaders of the Revolution, and that background
might have made the difference.
CHAPTER III

THE CATALOG OF THE LIBRARY OF FRANCIS JERDONE

The following is a listing of the 113 titles known to have been in the library of Francis Jerdone. The majority of the books, 100, belong to the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Only the location of works other than those at the college will be indicated in the catalog. Three books belong to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the remaining ten titles are works that I identified through Jerdone's papers. The source in which I located the book is cited below the main listing for that book.

The catalog consists of both the signed and unsigned titles in one alphabetical arrangement. The books are listed by the last name of the author or, if the author is unknown, by the title. Translated works are entered under the name of the original author with a cross-reference from the name of the translator to that of the author. If the translator's name appears as a part of the title, it is only identified in that manner. If the translator's name is known but does not appear in the title, it has been added in brackets after the name of the author.

38.
Each entry for a book lists the author, the title (as it appears on the title page), the place of publication, the publisher and/or printer, and the date of publication. The date is recorded in the catalog in Roman numerals when it appears in that form on the title page with Arabic numerals supplied in brackets. Below the main entry for a book is a notation of the number of volumes in the work if more than one, and the format of the work, e.g., folio, quarto, etc. For signed works there is a notation of Jerdone's signature on the book, usually in the form "FJ signature on title page," and for books identified through Jerdone's papers, a notation of the reference is given.

For full bibliographic information three sources proved most helpful. These were the National Union Catalog, the British Museum Catalog, and Bibliotheca Britannica. For general background information on rare books, especially with regard to format, Ronald McKerrow's An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students and Philip Gaskell's A New Introduction to Bibliography proved valuable.

I was not able to identify two of the books, which are therefore given in the catalog with only the short titles Jerdone used for them. The first is Isaac Newton's Religious Philosopher, and the second Dr. Leonard's Private Devotions. The latter may have been Leonard Howard, The Newest Manual of Private Devotions: in three parts . . . London, Printed for James Hodges [1745]. The third part of Howard's work is entitled The Newest Weeks Preparation for the Worthy Receiving
the Lord's Supper. Since there is an unsigned book with this title in the Jerdone collection, it is probable that this was what Jerdone received when he ordered Dr. Leonard's Private Devotions. It is also possible that Jerdone owned both the whole work and a copy of the third section, printed as a separate work. But since Private Devotions may have been an entirely different work, I have cataloged it under Leonard with only the short title given.


8vo.

Bound with ADDISON, JOSEPH. Rosamund. FJ signature on title page.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


8vo.

Bound with ADDISON, JOSEPH. The Campaign.

ADDISON, JOSEPH. See also OVID. Metamorphoses.
[ALLESTREE, RICHARD, supposed author]. The Whole Duty of Man. Laid down in a Plain and Familiar Way for the Use of All, but especially the Meanest Reader. Divided into XVII Chapters. One Whereof being Read every Lord's Day, the Whole may be Read over Thrice in the Year. London: Printed for John Eyre, and Sold by W. Mount and T. Page, and the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1737.

12 mo.

FJ signature on title page.


2 vols., 8 vo.

FJ signature on title page of both volumes.


12 mo.


BENTLEY, DR. see HORACE. Odes.


Ordered from Thomas Flowerdew by FJ in a letter of 10 Sept. 1760.

2 vols., 8vo.

FJ signature on title page of both volumes.


Ordered by FJ from Thomas Flowerdewe in a letter of 10 Sept. 1760.


4to.

FJ signature and Judy Belsches signature on title page.


FJ signature on title page, FJ Esq. signature on first blank page, and FJ signature plus "February 10, 1765" on last blank page.


8vo.

John Brown signature on title page. Unsigned by FJ.

8vo.

FJ signature on title page.


8vo.

Unsigned.


long 12mo.

FJ signature on title page.

BURNET, GILBERT. See also MORE, SIR THOMAS. Utopia.


8vo.

FJ signature on title page.

4to.
FJ signature on title page.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Book of Common Prayer.


12mo.


12mo.

——. The Old Batchelor. A Comedy. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, in the Strand. MDCCXXXV [1735].

12mo.
CONGREVE, WILLIAM. The Way of the World. A Comedy. London: Printed for J. Tonson; and Sold by W. Feales, at Rowe's Head, the Corner of Essex-Street, in the Strand. MDCCXXXIII [1733].

12mo.


CONGREVE, WILLIAM. See also OVID. Metamorphoses.

COOPER, ANTHONY ASHLEY. See SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, 3rd EARL OF.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


4to.

unsigned.

CROXALL, SAMUEL. See OVID. Metamorphoses.

DAVALL, PETER. See RETZ, JEAN FRANCOIS PAUL DE GONDI, CARDINAL DE. Memoirs.

2 vols., 8vo.

unsigned.

DOBSON, ROBERT. Elements, Analysis, and Practice of Arithmetic. See under GORDON, WILLIAM.

DODDRIDGE, PHILIP. The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul: Illustrated in a Course of Serious and Practical Addresses, Suited to Persons of every Character and Circumstance: With a Devout Meditation or Prayer added to each Chapter. The Fifth Edition. London: Printed for J. Waugh, at the Turk's Head in Gracechurch-Street; and J. Buckland, at the Buck in Pater-noster-Row. MDCCXLIX [1749].

8vo.

FJ signature on title page.

DODDRIDGE, PHILIP. See also A Present for Children.


4to.


4to.

Bound with DRYDEN, JOHN. All for Love. Indian Emperor. OTWAY, THOMAS. Don Carlos. Venice Preserv'd. and FENTON, ELIJAH. Mariamne. FJ signature on inside front cover of book.

4to.


DRYDEN, JOHN. See also OVID. Metamorphoses. and VIRGIL. Works.

DYCHE, THOMAS. The Spelling Dictionary; or a collection of all the common words and proper names made use of in the English tongue; carefully compared with the original language, from whence they are derived, and marked, as they are to be pronounced. Whereby persons of the meanest capacity may attain to spell and write English true and correctly. London: R. Ware, 1743.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page. Also date "1737" and "William Johnston" crossed out.

ECHARD, LAURENCE. See also TERENCE. Terence's Comedies.


8vo.

FJ signature on title page.
EUSDEN, LAURENCE. See OVID. Metamorphoses.

FARQUHAR, GEORGE. The Constant Couple: Or, A Trip to the Jubilee. A Comedy... The Seventh Edition... London: Printed for John Clarke, Under the Royal-Exchange; and Sold by W. Feales, at Rowe's-Head, over-against St. Clement's Church. MDCCXXXVIII [1738].

12mo.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


4to.


FLETCHER, JOHN. Rule a Wife. See under BEAUMONT, FRANCIS.


4 vols., 8vo. Vol. 2 is 1737. Vols. 3 and 4 are 1744. FJ signature on title page of all four volumes.

12mo.

Unsigned.

GARTH, SAMUEL. See OVID. Metamorphoses.

GAY, JOHN. See OVID. Metamorphoses.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE: AND HISTORICAL CHRONICLE.

No copies that belonged to Jerdone survive, but it is obvious from his correspondence that he did own copies. See page 23 above.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.

GORDON, THOMAS. Cato's Letters and Independent Whig. See under TRENCHARD, JOHN.

GORDON, WILLIAM and ROBERT DOBSON. The Elements, Analysis, and Practice of Arithmetic, Vulgar, Decimal, and Duodecimal, and All the Parts of Modern Business, Mercantile or Mechanical. . . . Glasgow: Printed by Robert Urie, for the Authors. MDCCLXXI [1771].

8vo.

FJ signature on half-title page.

12mo.
Unsigned.


8vo.

4 vols., vol. 1 is missing. FJ signature and date "1758" on first blank page of vol. 2.


8vo.

FJ signature on title page.


12mo.
Unsigned.

2 vols., vol. 2 is missing. 8vo.

FJ signature on title page. Also FJ signature on the third blank page, but this is in a different handwriting, probably that of Jerdone's son.

HOLY BIBLE. Containing The Old Testament and The New: Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, And with the former Translations diligently Compared and Revised. By His Majesty's Special Command. Appointed to be read in Churches. London: Printed by John Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty. MDCCXXXVII [1737].

12mo.

FJ signature on title page.

______. Unidentified edition.


6 vols., 4to.

FJ signature on title page of all six volumes.


12mo.

Signed [?] Jerdone, Jerdone Castle, Louisa County, Virginia, on the first blank page and the front cover. The first name is illegible, but the handwriting appears to be Jerdone's.

12mo.

unsigned.

HUMPHREYS, J. See PLUCHE, NOEL ANTOINE. Spectacle de la Nature.


Listed in the Letter Copy Book of Francis Jerdone, 1756-1763, in a letter of 24 June 1756 to Captain Archibald Crawfurd. Among other personal items Jerdone wanted was "Johnson's Dictionary in 8vo price 10/ sold by Kingston."


2 vols., 12mo.

FJ signature on title page of both volumes.


2 vols., 8vo.

FJ signature on title page of both volumes.
LELAND, JOHN. A View of the principal Deistic writers that have appeared in England in the last and present century; with observations upon them, and some account of the answers that have been published against them. In several letters to a friend. The third edition, improved. London: B. Dod, 1757.

Ordered by FJ from Thomas Flowerdew in a letter of 10 Sept. 1760.

DR. LEONARD. Private Devotions.

Jerdone listed this book under "Household Expences" in his Account book, 1750-1772, under 1 August 1758, but I have not been able to identify it. See page 39 above.


4 vols., 24mo.

FJ signature on page iii of all four volumes.

L'ESTRANGE, ROGER. See TERENCE. Terence's Comedies.

LEWIS, JOHN. The Church Catechism Explained By Way of Question and Answer; And Confirmed by Scripture Proofs. . . . The Twenty Sixth Edition. London: Printed for B. Dod, Bookseller to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary Lane, near Stationers Hall. M.DCC.LVII. [1757].

8vo.

Unsigned.

LOCKE, JOHN. Discourse on Miracles. See under BURNET, GILBERT. Treatise.
LONDON MAGAZINE: OR, GENTLEMAN'S MONTHLY INTELLIGENCER.
London: Printed for R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater­noster-Row; Of whom may be had, compleat Sets, from the Year 1732, to this Time, neatly bound, or stitched, or any single Month to compleat Sets.

Copies for August and October 1764. These magazines are unsigned, but from FJ's correspondence it is clear that he did have copies. See page 23 above.


FJ signature on title page of both volumes.

MAINWARING, ARTHUR. See OVID. Metamorphoses.


8vo.

FJ signature on Title page.

MANNINGHAM, RICHARD. The Symptoms, Natures, Causes, and Cure of the Febricula, or Little Fever: Commonly Called the Nervous or Hysteric Fever; the Fever on the Spirits; Vapours, Hypo, or Spleen. London: Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn. M,DCC,XLVI [1746].

4to.

FJ signature on page iii.


3 vols., 8vo.
Unsigned.

MONTHLY REVIEW; OR, LITERARY JOURNAL. Ralph Griffiths, ed. London: Printed for R. Griffiths.

There are no extant copies of this magazine belonging to Jerdone, but from his correspondence it is certain that he did own copies. See page 23 above.

MORE, SIR THOMAS. [Translated by Gilbert Burnet]. Utopia: or the Happy Republic; A Philosophical Romance, In Two Books. . . . Glasgow, Printed by Robert Foulis, and sold by him there; and, at Edinburgh, by Mess. Hamilton and Balfour Booksellers. M,DCC,XLIII [1743].

8vo.
FJ signature on title page.

MOREL, THOMAS. See VIDA, MARCO GIROLAMO. Poems on Divine Subjects.

NEW TESTAMENT. Unidentified edition.

Listed in the Account book of the mercantile business of Francis Jerdone, 1750-1772, under 29 July 1760. "1 new Testament 1s. 8p."

NEWTON, SIR ISAAC. Religious Philosopher

Listed in FJ's Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763, in a letter of 24 June 1756 to Archibald Crawfurd, "Sir Isaac Newtoms religious Philosopher." I have not been able to identify this book.
OLDISWORTH, WILLIAM. See HORACE. Odes.


8vo.

FJ signature on first blank page.


4to.


4to.


OVID. Ovid's Metamorphoses, In Fifteen Books. Translated by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Addison, Dr. Garth, Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Pope, Mr. Gay, Mr. Eusden, Mr. Croxall, And other Eminent Hands. Publish'd by Sir Samuel Garth, M.D. The Fourth Edition. London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson in the Strand. MDCCXXXVI [1736].

2 vols., 12mo.

FJ signature on title page of both volumes.
OZELL, JOHN. See VERTOT, RENE AUBERT DE. History of the Revolutions . . . of the Roman Republic.


PITT, CHRISTOPHER. See VIDA, MARCO GIROLAMO. Vida's Art of Poetry.


4 vols., Vol. 2 is missing. Vol. 4 is the third edition, 1740. 12mo.

FJ signature on title page of all three volumes.

POPE, ALEXANDER. The Dunciad, In Four Books. Printed according to the complete Copy found in the Year 1742. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus and Notes Variorum. London Printed, and Dublin Re-printed for G. and A. Ewing at the Angel and Bible in Dame Street. M.DCC,XLIV [1744]. 12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


POPE, ALEXANDER. See also HOMER. Iliad. and OVID. Metamorphoses.


8vo.
Unsigned.

RAMSAY, ALLAN. Poems by Allan Ramsey [sic]. London: Printed for J. Clarke in Duck-Lane; W. Bickerton without Temple-Bar; A. Millar against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; F. Cogan at the Middle-Temple Gate, Fleet-street; R. Willock in Cornhill, and S. Palmer and J. Huggonson, Printers, in Bartholomew-Close. 1731.

2 vols., 8vo.
FJ signature on title page of volume one.

RETZ, JEAN FRANÇOIS PAUL DE GONDI, CARDINAL DE. [Translated by Peter Davall]. Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, containing All the Great Events during the Minority of Lewis XIV, And Administration of Cardinal Mazarin. Done out of French. London: Printed for J. Brotherton, at the Bible in Cornhill; Mr. Stag, and Mr. King, in Westminster-Hall; T. Payne, near Stationers-Hall; and A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar, 1723.

8vo.
Unsigned.

ROWE, JOHN. See OVID. Metamorphoses, and SALLUST. Historian.


12mo.
FJ signature on title page.
SAVILE, GEORGE. See HALIFAX, GEORGE SAVILE, 1st MARQUESS OF.

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, 3rd EARL OF. Characteristics. Printed in the Year MDCCXLIV [1744].


FJ signature on title page of all three volumes.


2 vols., 8vo.

Unsigned.

SMOLLETT, TOBIAS. See also LE SAGE, ALAIN RENE. Gil Blas.


12mo.

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12mo.

FJ signature on title page.
[STEELE, RICHARD]. The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.

4 vols., 12mo.
FJ signature on title page of all four volumes.


2 vols. 8vo.
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SWAN, JOHN. See SYDENHAM, THOMAS. Entire Works.


8vo.
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8vo.
Unsigned.

12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


12mo.

Unsigned.


8vo.

FJ signature on title page of Spring.

THOMSON, JAMES. See also AURELIUS ANTONINUS, MARCUS. Meditations


4 vols., 12mo.

FJ signature on title page of all four volumes.
3 vols., 12 mo.

VALE, [?]. See CORNARO, LUIGI.

8vo.
FJ signature on title page.

8vo.
"Patrick Belsches 1759" appears on title page. See page 25 above for how Jerdone acquired this title.

8vo.
FJ signature on title page of vol. 1. Vol 2 is unsigned.

8vo.

FJ signature on title page.


12mo.

FJ signature on Dedication page.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


Format uncertain.

FJ signature on first extant page. The first several pages, including the title page, are missing.


3 vols., vol. 1 is missing. 12mo.

Initials FJ on inside front cover of vols. 2 and 3.
[VIRGINIA (COLONY)]. The Acts of Assembly, Now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia. With the Titles of Such as are Expired, or Repealed; Notes in the Margin, shewing how, and at what Time they were Repealed; And An exact Table to the Whole. Publish'd Pursuant to an Order of the General Assembly. Williamsburg: Printed by William Hunter, 1752.

folio

FJ signature on title page.

[Owned by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation].


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.


12mo.

FJ signature on title page.

WATTS, ISAAC. See also PRESENT FOR CHILDREN.


8vo.

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8vo.

FJ signature on title page.

WREG, THEOPHILUS. The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1757. . . . Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by William Hunter.

FJ signature on title page.
[Owned by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation].

WREG, THEOPHILUS. The Virginia Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1762. . . . Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by Joseph Royle, and Co.

FJ signature on Front cover. "Memorandum book belonging to Francis Jerdone of Louisa County, Anno 1762."
[Owned by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation].


12mo.

Unsigned.
APPENDIX

THE JERDONE FAMILY

FRANCIS JERDONE (b. Jedbury, Scotland, Jan. 30, 1720. d. Louisa Co., Va., Aug. 5, 1771)
Married on Feb. 10, 1753,

Children:

1) Mary (b. Jan. 17, 1754. d. April 20, 1837)
   Married 1st:
   George Pottie:
   a) George Pottie
   Married 2nd:
   Adam Toler:
   a) Sarah Toler
   b) Elizabeth Toler

2) Francis (b. Feb. 9, 1756. d. April 29, 1841)
   Married on June 20, 1799,
   Polly (Mary) Byars (b. Dec. 2, 1781. d. March 21, 1821)
   a) John (b. Oct. 11, 1800)
      Married,
      Barbara ?
   b) Francis (b. Dec. 6, 1802)
   c) William (b. March 4, 1805)
      Married on Nov. 22, 1831,
      Maria Ann Glanville Coleman (b. Dec. 20, 1812. d. Dec. 25, 1833)
      (1) Maria C. (b. Nov. 27, 1833)
      Married on Dec. 1, 1847,
      Anne Burfitt (Burford)
(1) William M. (b. Nov. 8, 1848)
(2) Ellen
(3) Earnest

d) Sarah (b. Feb. 10, 1807. d. Feb. 15, 1863)
   Married,
   General C. G. Coleman


3) Sarah (b. Sept. 12, 1757. d. April 1, 1793)
   Married,
   George Braikenridge

4) Elizabeth (b. April 7, 1759. d. Feb. 3, 1830)
   Married on Dec. 5, 1782,
   a) Helen Maxwell (b. June 25, 1784)
      Married 1st, on Feb. 17, 1802,
      Peyton Southall
      Married 2nd, on Aug. 18, 1814,
      Robert Anderson
   b) Alexander, Jr. (b. Feb. 20, 1787, d. 1812-1813)
   c) Sarah (b. May 14, 1789, d. Sept. 30, 1789)
   d) John (b. Oct. 11, 1791, d. Jan. 20, 1795)
   e) Francis (b. March 3, 1793, d. Sept. 30, 1811)
   f) Patrick (b. April 27, 1795)

5) Isabella (b. Sept. 30, 1761, d. April 8, 1825)
   Married on ?, 1783,
   Thomas Mitchell (d. 1816)
   a) Sarah (b. Sept. 23, 1785, d. Nov. 15, 1831)
      Married on Nov. 7, 1810,
      Garland Thompson (b. Feb. 22, 1787, d. May 10, 1835)
      (1) Francis William (b. Feb. 25, 1819, d. Aug. 13, 1819)
      (2) Virginia (b. Feb. 29, 1820, d. July 7, 1826)
      (3) two other children
6) **Anne** (b. April 3, 1763, d. Oct. 2, 1794)  
   Married on Nov. 19, 1778,  
   **Charles Thompson** (b. 1743, d. 1836)  
   a) **Garland** (b. Feb. 22, 1787, d. May 10, 1835)  
      Married on Nov. 7, 1810,  
      **Sarah Mitchell** (see immediately above)  

7) **John** (b. Sept. 19, 1764, d. Jan. 15, 1786)  
8) **Martha** (b. June 10, 1767, d. Sept. 12, 1767)  
9) **William** (b. March 26, 1769, d. Dec. 2, 1772)
NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Va.), 15 Aug. 1771. For the date of Jerdone's death, see "Jerdone Family," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st Ser., VI (1897-1898), 38. Hereafter cited as WMQ.


7 Ibid.


12 Jerdone to William Hamilton, 26 May 1750, "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone," WMQ, 1st Ser., XI (1902-1903), 156. The anonymous author of the article says the letter was addressed to William Buchanan, the senior member of the firm of Buchanan and Hamilton. The letter he quotes is only addressed, "Dr. Wm.," and it would seem likely that the letter was actually to William Hamilton, the senior partner in the firm after the death of Neill Buchanan in 1744.


Jerdone to Samuel Rickards et al., 25 Apr. 1761, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


Jerdone to Hugh Crawfurd, n.d., "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone," WMQ, 1st Ser., XI (1902-1903), 158, and Jerdone to Samuel Rickards, 8 Sept. 1758, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763. Jerdone wrote often to Hugh Crawfurd and his brother Archibald, and it is obvious from the letters that they were two of Jerdone's closest friends. In the "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone," their name is spelled Crawford, but Jerdone spelled it Crawfurd in the original letters.


"Jerdone Family," WMQ, 1st Ser., VI (1897-1898), 37. See Appendix for a genealogy of the Jerdone family.


Ibid., and Jerdone to Alexander Speirs and Hugh Brown, 2 June 1756, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


37 Jerdone to Samuel Rickards, 10 Sept. 1757 and 8 Sept. 1758, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
38 Jerdone to Samuel Rickards, 10 Dec. 1757, and Jerdone to Hugh Crawford, 10 June 1758, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
40 Jerdone to Alexander Speirs and Hugh Brown, 1 June 1759, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
41 For Jerdone's comments on the bad years for tobacco see Jerdone to Flowerdewe and Norton, 8 Sept. 1758, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763. For Jerdone's explanations to Speirs and Brown see Jerdone to Speirs and Brown, 27 Oct. 1759 and 22 Nov. 1759, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
42 Jerdone to Thomas Flowerdewe, 15 July 1760, and Jerdone to Alexander Speirs, 15 July 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763. Hugh Brown was dead by this time. See Jerdone to Alexander Speirs, 10 May 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
45 Jerdone to Hugh Crawford, 10 Mar. 1760 and Jerdone to John Hyndman, 10 Sept. 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
46 Jerdone to Samuel Rickards et al., 2 June 1756, and Jerdone to David Bell, 21 Feb. 1758, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.
47 Deed of 20 Dec. 1757 to Jerdone from James Lewis, Jerdone Papers, Folder 17. See also Jerdone Papers, Account book, 1750-1771, folio 123, 4 May 1758.


49 Ibid., folios 237, 261, and 173.


51 Ibid., and Slave Book, 1761-1865, Francis Jerdone Papers, Colonial Williamsburg.


53 For the slaves Jerdone owned in 1771, see Francis Jerdone Papers, Slave Book, 1761-1865, Colonial Williamsburg. See page 15 above for the slaves Jerdone owned at Providence Forge.

54 Jerdone to Archibald Crawfurd, 4 July 1761, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


60 For an example of this policy, see Jerdone to Messrs. Tucker and Bedford, 24 Oct. 1761, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


64 Coleman, "Will of Jerdone," WMQ, 2nd Ser., XI (1931), 7-9, "Jerdone Family," WMQ, 1st Ser., VI (1897-1898), 37, ft. 1, and Bill to Court Clerk, and Answer of Sarah Jerdone . . . to surviving partners of the House of Norton & Sons, Jerdone Papers, Lot 2, Folder 1.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II


6 Jerdone to Flowerdew and Norton, 1 June 1759, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.

7 Jerdone to Flowerdew and Norton, 10 Apr. 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.

8 Jerdone to Archibald Crawfurd, 24 June 1756, and Jerdone to Thomas Flowerdew, 10 Sept. 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


11 See pages 2-3 above for information on Jerdone's predecessor, William Johnston.

76.


15 Ibid., p. 44.


17 Stiverson, Books, p. 74.


20 Robbins, Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman, pp. 246-251; Stephen, English Thought, pp. 385-386; and Jerdone to Thomas Flowerdewe, 10 Sept. 1760, Jerdone Papers, Letter Copy Book, 1756-1763.


22 Stiverson, Books, p. 132.


28 Ibid., pp. 42, 51-52, 75-76.

29 A complete list of the subscribers is included in the front of the book.


31 Colbourn, Lamp of Experience, pp. 24, 153.

32 Bailyn, Ideological Origins, p. 35.

33 Ibid., p. 36.


36 See pages 27-31.

37 Colbourn, The Lamp of Experience, pp. 74 and 99; and Robbins, Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman, p. 292.

38 See page 33.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III


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Hunter's Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg, Va.).


80.
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  Group I
  Group II
  Group III


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The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints. London: Mansell, 1968-


VITA

David Gerard Null

Born in Windsor, Missouri, 30 August 1954. Graduated from Warrensburg (Missouri) High School, May 1972. A.B., summa cum laude, Central Missouri State University, 1975. In September 1975 entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate assistant in history. In September of 1976 entered the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago.