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The Library of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall

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THE LIBRARY OF ROBERT CARTER OF NOMINI HALL

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

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

By
Katherine Tippett Read
1970
APPROVAL SHEET

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

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the library of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall in order to ascertain the kinds of books that were popular in eighteenth-century Virginia. Carter's library was selected because it was unusually large; because Carter's extant letterbooks and Philip Fithian's journal provide much information about Carter and his library; and because Carter himself was a typical representative of the eighteenth-century Virginia aristocracy.

Identification of the titles listed in a catalogue of Carter's library revealed the diverse nature of his library, while a comparison of his books with those listed in other large contemporary libraries showed a strong similarity, not only in the nature of the books, but frequently in specific titles as well. Thus Carter's library is a good gauge by which to measure the literary tastes of eighteenth-century Virginians.

In addition to the classics, the library contained contemporary works of literature, religion, history, and law. Some sixteenth and seventeenth-century books, mainly religious, historical, and utilitarian works, also were included in the library.

Eighteenth-century Virginia plantation libraries were assembled as much for pleasure as knowledge. From the contents of Carter's library, it is evident that Virginians were aware of current popular tastes in literature. The planters, eager to pattern themselves after their counterparts on the other side of the Atlantic, purchased the same kinds of books. Robert Carter's library proves that cultural interests did not languish in the American colonies, but rather that styles and tastes were closely related to those of London.
THE LIBRARY OF ROBERT CARTER OF NOMINI HALL
INTRODUCTION

Robert Carter's library, known through Philip Fithian's catalogue, provides a rare opportunity to study the literary interests of a man who was representative of the planter class of eighteenth-century Virginia. A member of a wealthy and aristocratic family, Carter fulfilled the duties expected of the gentry, serving as parish officer, local justice and military officer, and member of the Council of Virginia. With the coming of the Revolution, however, Carter removed himself from public life and played no part in the war effort or in the formation of the new state or national governments. Of less interest to the political historian, he has been studied by Louis Morton from an economic and social standpoint, and through his library, the cultural interests of Carter himself and of the planter class as a whole are revealed.

In an attempt to determine the literary interests of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, I began my research with the catalogue of his library in order to find what books were most readily available to him. The catalogue was included
as an appendix to Hunter Dickinson Farish's edition of *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian*, first published in 1943. Fithian was a Princeton theology student who served as tutor to the Carter children at Nomini Hall Plantation from November, 1773, until October, 1774, while he was preparing for the Presbyterian ministry. During this time, he kept a journal in which he recounted his experiences and observations. This journal presents a sprightly and revealing account of eighteenth-century Virginia plantation life in general and of the Carter family in particular.

It is from this journal that we know that on Saturday, June 11, 1774, Fithian "was sitting in the Colonels Library. . .[and] took a Catalogue of the whole of His Books. . . ."\(^1\) The tutor also reported that Carter had left behind "458 volumes besides Music & Pamphlets"\(^2\) at his Williamsburg home, but no catalogue of these was ever made. Fithian's catalogue of the approximately 1500 volumes at Nomini Hall, though made some thirty years before Carter's death, is especially valuable because Carter directed in his will that no inventory be made of his personal possessions, all of which he bequeathed to his son George. The ultimate fate of Carter's library is unknown.\(^3\)
The catalogue, invaluable though it is, has other limitations, for it is not the original list. Philip Fithian died in 1776 while serving as a chaplain in the Revolutionary army. His brother Enoch, thinking the papers valuable enough to take special pains to preserve them, copied the loose letters and journal into several bound volumes, which he later gave to the Princeton University library. When Princeton published them in 1900, the original manuscripts had disappeared. The erratic spelling of many of the titles in the catalogue, especially noticeable in Latin books, may be due to Enoch's unfamiliarity with the books and the language.

In Robert Carter's letterbooks for the years before Fithian's catalogue was made, there are several lists of books included with orders for other merchandise from various English merchants. But these requests were not numerous enough to identify many of the doubtful titles in the catalogue; on the other hand, some of the books ordered did not appear in the library catalogue.

In Carter's letters themselves, only once did he mention that he was reading a book - *Clarissa* - and never did he discuss the content of a book or make an obvious literary
allusion. I conclude that the surviving letterbooks contain only business correspondence and that letters of a more general nature were written separately.

The problems of identification, created by the garbled list, were compounded by the fact that the titles recorded by Fithian were, for the most part, taken from the spines of the bound volumes rather than from the title pages. This was a common practice among appraisers, and other catalogues of contemporary libraries which I consulted were listed in the same way. Yet bibliographical aids, such as Robert Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica (1824), use the title as taken from the title page and are of little help in instances where the author is not given. Donald Wing's Short-title Catalogue is limited to the period before 1700 and therefore does not include most of the non-classical works found in Carter's library. The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books generally lists by author only and covers books printed in Britain up to the present time, making it cumbersome to use.

The most useful catalogues of contemporary libraries were those of William Byrd II and Thomas Jefferson. A list of Byrd's library of almost four thousand volumes, presumably made in 1777 when the library was offered for sale,
appears as an appendix to John Spencer Bassett's edition of Byrd's writings; another list of Byrd's books subsequently sold in Philadelphia was edited by Edwin Wolf II in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1958. Millicent Sowerby's five-volume work on the contents of Jefferson's library also was very helpful. Though Byrd's library was earlier and most of Jefferson's somewhat later than Carter's, they nevertheless provide the most extensive material for the study of any eighteenth-century Virginia library. Another contemporary source used was *The Gentleman's Magazine*, containing notices of the latest books, many of which appeared in Carter's library.

Likewise useful, though again earlier in time, was Louis B. Wright's *The First Gentlemen of Virginia*, in which he examined the libraries of such men as William Fitzhugh, Ralph Wormeley, Richard Lee, and John and Robert Carter of Corotoman - all late-seventeenth century founders of Virginia families that grew to great importance in the eighteenth century. Various periodical articles on colonial libraries, cited in the bibliography, also provided identification for a few of the titles. The identification of the
titles listed in Fithian's catalogue and appearing as the appendix to this paper constituted the major effort in the research and writing of this paper.
CHAPTER I
COUNCILLOR CARTER AND THE PLANTATION SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA

Robert Carter III, the only son of Priscilla Churchill and Robert Carter, Junior, inherited a legacy of leadership and prestige that few could match. "No other clan succeeded so well as the Carters in allying itself with influential families; no family occupied a higher social position; few controlled so much property; and only the second William Byrd exceeded the Carters in elegance of surroundings."

The progenitor of the family in America was John Carter (died 1669), who came to Virginia about 1650 and settled in Upper Norfolk County. Whatever his English background may have been, he quickly achieved importance in the colony as colonel in the county militia, member of the House of Burgesses, and finally in 1658 member of the Council. A royalist sympathizer, he complained so loudly of the succession of Richard Cromwell that an order was issued for his arrest. Nothing seems to have come of this, however, and Carter continued to prosper under the Stuart restoration. He established his seat at Corotoman, Lancaster County,
married five times, and had three sons, John, Robert, and Charles. Both John and Charles died at an early age, leaving Robert to establish the Carter dynasty in Virginia.

Robert Carter of Corotoman (1663-1732) became a member of the House of Burgesses in 1691, Speaker of the House in 1696, and Treasurer of the colony in 1699. A member of the Council for thirty years (1699-1732), he was its president during the last six years of his life. Following the death of Governor Drysdale in 1726, Carter was appointed acting governor until the new governor, William Gooch, arrived in 1727. In 1702 Carter had become the agent for the Fairfaxes, proprietors of the Northern Neck of Virginia. In this position, which he held from 1702 to 1711 and from 1722 to 1732, Carter was able to amass more than 300,000 acres of land for himself and his heirs. His wealth and position, and perhaps his arrogance, earned him the sobriquet of "King" Carter and made him the best-known of all the Carters.

"King" Carter married Judith Armistead, daughter of Colonel John Armistead of Gloucester County, who bore him four children, including a son, John. After his wife's death, Carter married a young widow, Elizabeth Landon Willis, who bore him eight more children, including three sons -
Robert, Charles, and Landon. Robert Carter, Junior, also known as Robert of Nomini, married Priscilla Churchill, daughter of William Churchill, a member of the Council. Robert of Nomini died in 1732 at about age thirty, leaving a son Robert (born 1728) and a daughter Elizabeth.

Robert Carter III was put under the guardianship of his Carter uncles, John, Charles, and Landon, who held his estate in trust until his majority. Robert's mother soon remarried, and Robert and his sister went to live at Warner Hall in Gloucester County, home of their new step-father, Colonel John Lewis. At the age of nine Robert was sent to the grammar school of the College of William and Mary. He remained there for at least two years and possibly longer, but the records for these years are incomplete. In any event, it is certain that his education continued, for in 1749 at the age of twenty-one, Robert set off for London, where he apparently lived a very gay life for two years. He was admitted to the elite society of the Inner Temple, and it was at this time that the portrait, showing him adorned in all the dazzling finery of a courtier, was painted, possibly in the studio of Sir Joshua Reynolds.
John Page, a cousin of the Carters who was denied the English education promised him, soothed his wounded pride by writing:

But fortunately for me, several Virginians, about this time, had returned from that place (where we were told learning alone existed) so inconceivably illiterate, and also corrupted and vicious, that he [Page's father] swore no son of his should ever go there, in quest of an education. The most remarkable of these was his own Cousin Robert Carter, of Nominy.

Page's criticism of Carter's English education probably was unfair. The jealous cousin did qualify his pronouncement by stating that after Carter obtained his seat on the Council, he began to study law, history and philosophy and conversed "with our highly enlightened Governor, Fauquier, and Mr. Wm. Small, the Professor of Mathematics at the College of Wm. and Mary."

The journal of Philip Fithian, the children's tutor, provides intimate glimpses of Carter's character and habits. After two months at Nomini Hall, Fithian made this appraisal of his employer: "Mr. Carter is sensible judicious, much given to retirement & Study; his Company, & conversation are always profitable - His main Studies are Law & Music, the latter of which seems to be his darling Amusement - It seems to nourish, as well as entertain his mind!" Fithian
thought Carter a good scholar in classical learning and in English grammar. The tutor was also impressed with the economy and moderation of the Carters though he had heard reports of Carter's wealth being "perhaps the clearest fortune . . . in Virginia." 6

Three years after his return from England, Robert Carter married Frances Ann Tasker of Baltimore, youngest daughter of Anne Bladen and Benjamin Tasker, whose family connections were equal to those of the Carters. One of the founders of the Baltimore Iron Works, established in 1731, Benjamin Tasker had been president of the Council of Maryland for thirty-two years and had served as acting governor at one time. One of the wealthiest men in the colony, his position of influence had been aided by his marriage to Anne Bladen, whose father, William Bladen, had been Secretary and Attorney General of Maryland. Colonel Thomas Bladen, Mrs. Tasker's brother, was Governor of Maryland from 1742 until 1747 before removing to England, where he subsequently became a member of Parliament for Old Sarum, a position from which he was able to dispense favors to his relatives in the colonies.

In addition to her family background and fortune, Frances Tasker was an ideal mate for Robert Carter by virtue of her temperament, wisdom, and gentility. Of Mrs. Carter Fithian
wrote: "I am daily more charmed & astonished with Mrs. Carter. I think indeed she is to be placed in the place with Ladies of the first Degree." Fithian admired Mrs. Carter who, though she was middle-aged and had borne twelve children, "looks & would pass for a younger Woman than some unmarried Ladies of my acquaintance, who would willingly enough make us place them below twenty." Mrs. Carter was always "cheerful, chatty, & agreeable." The tutor also recorded a dinner conversation on the subject of reading, stating that "among many remarks the Colonel observed that, He would bet a Guinea that Mrs Carter reads more than the Parson of the parish!" Mrs. Carter undoubtedly was an exceptional woman.

The Carters first took up residence at his plantation at Nomini Hall in Westmoreland County, situated in the Northern Neck between the Potomac and the Rappahannock Rivers. Carter was kept busy managing his two-thousand-acre estate and tending to the public duties which his position in society required of him. His inheritance from his grandfather, "King" Carter, included land in Westmoreland and Richmond counties, a mill in Richmond County, equipment, stock, cattle, and more than a hundred slaves. From his father he had inherited more than 40,000 acres of land,
mostly undeveloped, lying in the Valley in what later became Loudoun, Fairfax, Frederick and Prince William counties. By the time he reached his majority, Carter's landholdings amounted to more than 70,000 acres, most of which was rented out to tenants and farmed under the supervision of overseers, the main crops being tobacco and corn. Carter realized before most of his contemporaries the problems inherent in single crop cultivation, and as early as the 1760's he began to decrease tobacco production in favor of grain crops. This became so profitable that Carter not only cultivated wheat for export, but he also purchased large quantities of wheat for resale.

Carter was somewhat unusual in that his interests extended beyond farming to manufacturing. He acquired a one-fifth interest in the Baltimore Iron Works a few years after the death of his father-in-law, an interest that provided him with an ample income and helped offset the losses caused by poor tobacco crops. During the Revolution, Carter found a ready market for his iron, a product needed by the government for munitions and other supplies. In addition, his own smith shop at Nomini Hall was engaged in turning out such items as ploughs, nails and axes which were sold to his neighbors and tenants.
Prior to the Revolution, Carter had established a fulling mill at Nomini Hall which boasted of finishing cloth quickly "and in the neatest manner." When difficulties with Great Britain came to a head, Carter decided to establish a manufactory for textiles, employing spinners and weavers to turn out woolen and linen cloth. He also operated several grist mills and a bakery, and manufactured salt, the latter for his own use only. For some ten years, roughly between 1775 and 1785, all of Carter's manufacturing endeavors brought in a profit due to the increased demand for locally-produced items. However, after 1785 these ventures became less profitable, and one by one they were discontinued.

As if all these economic interests were not more than enough to occupy Robert Carter's time, he also performed other functions and duties which naturally fell to him as a result of his station in society. During his residence at Nomini Hall, he served his county as a justice of the peace, and his parish as a vestryman and a churchwarden. Twice Carter was a candidate for a seat in the House of Burgesses, but he was not elected, perhaps because he was not well-known in Westmoreland County, having spend most of
his life elsewhere. However, this was only a temporary setback in his political career, for in 1758, when he was only thirty years old, Carter secured an appointment to the Council through the influence of his wife's uncle, Thomas Bladen, then a member of Parliament. At the time when he became a member of the Council, he was also made a colonel in the militia, so that from this time he was referred to as Councillor or Colonel Carter.

Members of the Council enjoyed great power and prestige. The Council functioned as the upper house of the legislature, as an advisory body to the governor, and as judges in the General Court. Because of the numerous duties associated with his post on the Council, Carter moved his wife and three children to Williamsburg in 1761. Here they occupied a large frame house adjacent to the Governor's Palace overlooking the Palace Green. This house, though of relatively simple design, had served temporarily as the residence of Governor Robert Dinwiddie while the palace was being repaired. Other occupants had included such prominent persons as Carter's uncle, Charles Carter, Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, and Robert Carter Nicholas, Carter's cousin. Carter's Williamsburg home was tastefully and expensively furnished
with fine wallpaper, silk window hangings, damask-upholstered furniture, marble hearths, Wilton carpets, and silver and plate with the Carter crest. 14

Among Carter's closest friends in Williamsburg were Governor Francis Fauquier (1758-1768), with whom Carter was on terms of great intimacy; George Wythe, the eminent lawyer; William Small, professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary; Peyton Randolph, Carter's second cousin who later became the first president of the Continental Congress; and John Tazewell, a Williamsburg lawyer. Carter and Governor Fauquier shared a love for music, and the Governor's Palace was the scene of many musical concerts. Together the two traveled to New York and to Charleston, South Carolina, and finally in his will, Fauquier named Carter one of the executors of his estate.

In addition to the company of friends, the colonial capital provided many other enjoyments. Normally a quiet town of about 1800 inhabitants, Williamsburg's population swelled to 5000 during the "public times" occasioned by meetings of the General Court each April and October. There were horse races, plays, and balls, diversions not so easily obtained on the more isolated plantations.
For eleven years Carter efficiently performed his duties as Councillor. In 1763 he was named to the Committee of Correspondence charged with communicating the colony's needs to its agent in England. It was Carter who wrote a letter to George III on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act which acknowledged the favors the King had bestowed on the colony and pledged the colonists' loyalty to the crown. Carter served on committees for welcoming the governor and preparing addresses to him. With the approach of the Revolution, Carter supported the First Continental Congress's non-importation agreements, and in 1777 he took the oath renouncing allegiance to the king.

In May of 1772 Robert Carter and his family removed from Williamsburg and returned to their home in Westmoreland County because, in Carter's words, "a new system of politics in British North America, began to prevail, generally." It is not known whether Carter resigned his post on the Council at this time. His name appears in the Legislative Journals of the Council of Virginia only once after April of 1772. Philip Fithian, the children's tutor, recorded in his journal that Carter journeyed to Williamsburg to attend the sessions of the General Court; however, it is uncertain whether this was in the role of client or judge. In any event, by the
middle of the year, 1772, Carter had removed himself from an active political role.

Returning to his plantation, Carter devoted himself to managing his estate and making improvements to his house. The house at Nomini Hall was situated on a high bluff overlooking the Nomini River and visible, according to Fithian, at a distance of six miles. The house was impressively large, seventy-six feet by forty-four feet, with the shorter side facing north toward the river, while the longer east side was approached by two rows of poplars extending about three hundred yards from the house. These were the principal river and land entrances. The north front, seven-bays wide with a central portico, Fithian thought the "most beautiful of all." The south front was four-bays wide with two doors in the center and a Palladian window at each end; "a beautiful Jutt . . . eighteen feet long, & eight Feet deep from the wall . . . supported by three tall pillars" completed this side. The west end had no windows. The house was of brick covered with stucco and probably was topped by a hipped roof. There were five chimney stacks, two of which were purely ornamental.

Instead of the four rooms with a central hall typical of most Virginia houses of the period, Nomini Hall featured
an off-center hall to the east, making the northwest and southwest rooms larger than those on the east side of the house. On the first floor were the formal dining room, also used as a sitting room by the family, the children's dining room, Carter's study with his "over-grown library of Books," and the thirty-foot long ballroom. On the second floor were four bedrooms, one for Mr. and Mrs. Carter, one for the Carter girls, and two reserved for guests.

The house itself was situated at the center of a large square whose four corners were marked by outbuildings standing one hundred yards from the house. At the northeast corner was the schoolhouse; at the northwest corner, the stable; at the southwest corner, the coach house; and at the southeast corner, the wash house. Fifthian, Carter's clerk, and the Carter boys lived in the schoolhouse, which was a large brick, one-and-a-half story building with dormer windows. The four outbuildings were of the same design and size with the exception of their roofs, those of the stable and coach house being higher pitched to hold the hay and fodder. A terrace ran in front (south) of the house ending at the kitchen, while an area northeast of the house was laid out for a bowling green. Other outbuildings, including a bake house, dairy, and storehouse, formed a street due west
of the house. Notwithstanding the comforts and pleasures of such a situation, Fithian reported a dinner conversation in which Mrs. Carter "told the Colonel that he must not think her settled . . . till he made her a park and stock'd it."  

The Carters found plantation life very agreeable. So active was the social life, so numerous the social gatherings, that it could be wondered whether Carter ever missed the activity which he formerly had enjoyed in Williamsburg. Philip Fithian, in his journal, reported the frequency of balls, dances, horse races, barbecues, and Sunday visits following church services with such families as the John Turbervilles of Hickory Hill, the Augustine Washingtons of Bushfield, Colonel Richard Henry Lee of Chantilly, the Lees of Stratford, and Colonel John Tayloe of Mount Airy.

Indeed, the Presbyterian tutor seemed surprised and pleased to discover that Virginians were not the degenerate people he had been led to believe they were. Instead he found them "extremely hospitable, and very polite both of which are most certainly universal Characteristics of the Gentlemen in Virginia." He observed that "almost every Gentleman of Condition, keeps a Chariot and Four; many drive with six Horses."
Together the families of the neighboring plantations provided for a dancing master, Francis Christian, to instruct their children in one of the most necessary social accomplishments of plantation society. The Princeton-educated tutor, who did not know how to dance himself, observed that Virginians "will dance or die!" and lamented, "But poor me! I must hobble, or set quiet in the Corner!"

Likewise, the planters of the neighborhood employed a music master, Mr. Stadley, to instruct their daughters in such musical instruments as the forte-piano, violin, flute, and harpsichord. Fithian recounts many evenings when Councillor Carter and Mr. Stadley played together upon various musical instruments. Fithian commented that Carter had "a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good Instruments."

With Fithian's departure in October of 1774, we lose our most intimate glimpses of the Carter family. Life must have continued much as before, until Frances Tasker Carter died in 1787, leaving her husband and eleven of her seventeen children surviving. Following this tragic event, Robert Carter devoted himself almost entirely to the quest for religious faith which had begun as early as 1776, when he
embraced the prevailing thoughts of Deism. By 1778 he had been converted to the new Baptist church, whose teachings inspired him to draw up an Act of Manumission, freeing a certain number of his slaves each year for twenty years, beginning in 1791. Although he never formally disassociated himself from the Baptist church, Carter later came to oppose certain doctrines of that church. After a brief flirtation with Arminianism, he adopted the philosophy of the Church of the New Jerusalem, founded on the teachings of the Swedish mystic, Emmanuel Swedenborg.

Carter's eccentric religious beliefs alienated him from his neighbors, and with the death of his wife, life at Nomini Hall became less agreeable. In 1793 Carter placed the management of his Virginia estates in the hands of others and moved to Baltimore, where he enjoyed the company of friends and relatives. There he helped found the Library Company of Baltimore, a private circulating library modeled after Franklin's in Philadelphia. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall died and was buried in Baltimore in March, 1804, in his seventy-sixth year.
CARTER'S BOOKS OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION

The foundation of any library, great or small, are the books which provide useful information. This was especially true in the eighteenth-century plantation society of Virginia where the planter had to have some knowledge of farming and trading to make his living, a familiarity with the principles of surveying and architecture to lay off his lands and build his dwelling, a working knowledge of law and medicine because experts were scarce and costly, manuals of instruction to educate his children, and, of course, an abundant supply of religious works to instruct him in the path of an upright life. All these kinds of books appear in the catalogue of Robert Carter's library.

On agriculture and gardening, Carter had the standard sources: Jethro Tull's Horse-Hoeing Husbandry described the author's invention, the drill plow, and advised planting crops in orderly rows. Philip Miller's Gardener's Dictionary contained "the best and newest methods of cultivating and improving the kitchen, fruit, flower garden, and nursery"
as well as hints on practical agriculture, including the "management of vineyards" and winemaking. In addition, Carter had Richard Bradley's Dictionary of Plants, several almanacs, and two books on farriery.

Aaron Rathborne's Surveyor in four Books and John Love's Art of Surveying were no doubt helpful to one who accumulated as much land as Robert Carter. John Love was the first English writer to consider the differences between surveying land in England and America, and his book was a widely used and useful work on the methods and tools of surveying. One afternoon when Fithian, the Carter boys, and the Councillor went surveying, the tutor observed that Carter was "perfectly well acquainted with the Art."¹

Another time he recorded that

This morning the Colonel with his Theodolite observed the Centre of the Sun at his rising, & found it bore East 5° South - This he is doing to fix a true East & West Line for regulating the Needle at any time. This Bearing he corrected by finding the Sun's Declination, & fixed his Points -²

For architectural models, Carter could make use of William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis and Batty Langley's City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs, books on practical aspects of architectural embellishment widely used in the colonies, where carpenter-builders rather
than architects were erecting mansions for the wealthy. Both of these books gave practical illustrations of specific architectural details such as doorways, mantels, "cornices, windows and cabinetwork." Three particular features of Nomini Hall have been related to the design plates in Palladio Londinensis: the glazed doors on the north and east elevations, virtually unknown in England or the colonies at this period but appearing in Plates XXV and XXIII of Palladio Londinensis, and the large Palladian windows on the south elevation which appear in Plate XXVIII.

Another book known to have been in Carter's library, although it does not appear in Fithian's catalogue, is William Chambers' Treatise on Civil Architecture, which first appeared in London in 1768. The book, now in the possession of the National Trust for Historic Preservation at Oatlands, Loudoun County, Virginia, bears Robert Carter's signature. It was the inspiration for many architectural details embodied in Oatlands, the mansion built by George Carter, who inherited all his father's personal property, including his books.

The isolation of plantation society also dictated the planter's need to have a good, albeit a layman's, knowledge of medicine. Indeed, such knowledge attained by the study
of books of varying quality often was not much inferior to
the skill of the physician who, in all probability, had
studied the same books in addition to serving an apprentice-
ship to a practicing physician. A well-trained doctor who
had studied medicine at a university, such as Edinburgh, was
rare, especially in remote areas, while quacks abounded.
Thus, the patient probably was none the worse for receiving
treatment from the planter rather than from the doctor.
Furthermore, illness was so prevalent in the eighteenth
century that the planter's ability to dose his family and
slaves was an economic necessity. Accordingly, a doctor
was summoned only when the planter's own efforts had failed
to effect a cure.

Among the medical books most commonly found in eighteenth-
century Virginia, Carter had Peter Shaw's version of Hermann
Boerhaave's *Elements of Chemistry* and Baron von Swieten's
*Commentaries upon the Aphorisms of Dr. Herman Boerhaave*, con-
cerning the knowledge and cure of the several diseases in-
cident to human bodies, a compendious collection of eighteen
octavo volumes. Archibald Pitcairne's *Dissertationes Medicae*
and John Quincey's *Dispensatory*, a book on the formulas and
properties of drugs, were also standard sources. However,
it is surprising that the catalogue did not include perhaps
the most widely circulated medical books, those of Nicholas Culpeper, Thomas Sydenham, George Bates, and William Salmon. Specific treatises included James Daran's work on the Urethra, John Friend on Fevers and Small Pox, Daniel Turner's Syphilis, and the Experiments upon the Human Bile by the Virginian, James McClurg. McClurg matriculated in 1762 at the College of William and Mary, where he distinguished himself as a scholar, especially in classical learning. It is possible that Carter met McClurg at this time, for Carter's close friend Governor Fauquier often associated with William Small and George Wythe and their most promising pupils, who included Thomas Jefferson and James McClurg. The latter subsequently became Professor of Anatomy and Medicine at the College of William and Mary.

In addition to medical books, cook books and those on gardening often contained instructions for the use of certain herbs as medicinal remedies. An interesting bit of medical curiosity is the Reflections on Tar-Water, while Bernard Lynch's Guide to Health is a book full of the myths of medical folklore. Two attempts to treat Philip Fithian were recorded by the tutor. Once when he was unwell, Mrs. Carter gave him some spirits of hartshorn for his head.
Another time when Fithian had just recovered from a bout with dysentery, Carter prescribed Saltpeter "as a useful Dieuretick" but Fithian "declin'd."7

Carter also possessed several books relating to trade and commerce, a necessary knowledge for any planter trying to find a market for his produce and to obtain merchandise and goods for himself and his family. Such books as the *Guide to London Trader* and the *Book of Rates* provided useful knowledge concerning business methods. Postlethwayt's *Dictionary of Trade & Commerce* acquainted Carter with the "Laws, Customs, and Usages to which all Traders are subject." Carter also had Castaing's *Interest Book*, a standard work popular in the colonies, and John Mair's *Book-Keeping* which, in addition to detailed instructions for merchants and storekeepers, contained a chapter on tobacco and the tobacco trade.

Knowledge of the law and legal procedures was regarded as a necessary accomplishment for the gentleman who wished to understand his own affairs concerning deeds, wills, property transactions, or to act as a judge in the local courts. Since he had manufacturing interests in Baltimore, it was natural that Carter should have Thomas Bacon's *Laws of Maryland* as well as the *Virginia Laws*. George Webb's
Virginia Justice and the Compleat parish Officer provided detailed instructions for the justice of the peace, an office Carter held in Westmoreland County.

An extremely helpful book for Carter was Tenants Law, which set forth the laws concerning the buying, selling, and renting of lands. Carter also had such basic elementary guides as John Rastell's Terms of Law, first published about 1525 under a different title and the first law dictionary to be published; Giles Jacob's Law-Dictionary; and John Worrall's Bibliotheca Legum, which listed all the law books published in Great Britain to 1765. Among standard legal works found in most libraries, Carter had Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, a good elementary text on the common law; Sir Edward Coke's Institutes of the Laws of England, frequently referred to as Coke on Littleton, a widely read work most useful for the laws relating to real property; and Henry Swinburne's Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills, another elementary work. Charles Molloy's De Jure Maritimo et Navali dealt with international law, even devoting a chapter to planters and colonization.

Since Carter was one of the judges in the General Court and the Court of Oyer and Terminer, he needed a greater
knowledge of the law than most of his peers, and his library reflects attempts to better acquaint himself with legal procedures. In addition to several practical books on the common law regarding estates, executors, and trusts, and on the laws of chancery and equity, Carter had legal works of a philosophical bent such as Samuel Puffendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*.

That Robert Carter was deeply interested in the education of his children can hardly be doubted. Both the large number of books of instruction found in his library and his particular advice to Fithian on the education of his brood attest to this concern. Shortly after Fithian's arrival at Nomini Hall, the tutor recorded in his journal that Mr. Carter "informed me more particularly concerning his desire as to the Instruction of his Children." The conscientious tutor undoubtedly obeyed his employer's instructions. The eldest son, Benjamin Tasker, was being prepared for Cambridge University, and therefore he was given Greek and Latin to study. Fithian's journal tells us that Ben began with Sallust and Aesop (both Greek and Latin) and progressed to Virgil, the Greek Testament, and the odes of Horace. Apparently the young scholar was less than enthusiastic about his Greek lessons for, according to Fithian,
"he swore, & wished for Homer that he might kick Him, as he had been told Homer invented Greek." The second son, Robert Bladen Carter, and the nephew, Harry Willis, were given Pope's Homer to read. The five daughters, Priscilla, Nancy, Fanny, Betty Landon, and Harriot Lucy, were to learn reading and writing. All the pupils were taught arithmetic. The girls were frequently dismissed from classes to practice music, and both sons and daughters enjoyed the benefits of the visits of Mr. Christian, the dancing master.

Carter was constantly aware of the progress of his children's education and occasionally gave Fithian specific books for their use. The library contained several English, Latin and Greek grammars and dictionaries. Among these were some of the best and most widely used books of the period, including Nathan Bailey's Etymological Dictionary of the English language, Julius Bates' Hebrew and English Dictionary for use in interpreting passages from the Bible, Thomas Ruddiman's Latin and Greek grammars, Abel Boyer's Dictionary in French and English, and, of course, Samuel Johnson's Dictionary. In a letter to Edward Hunt and Son of London dated June 5, 1767, Carter requested the latest folio edition of Johnson's Dictionary unless "there hath been published a work on the same Plan by another Person, which is in higher Estimation, than S. J's Dictionary."
Carter's library also included the standard work of John Comenius, the *Janua Linguarum Trilinguis* in Latin, English and Greek which "King" Carter had called "the best stock of Latin Words and in the best sense to Suit the Genius of Boys Even to their Manhood, of any Book that Ever I met with In my life."¹² "King" Carter had directed that his son Landon be instructed in this book, and since Landon Carter was one of the guardians of his nephew, it seems highly probable that the Councillor himself studied this book and that his children also used it. John Mair's *Tyro's Dictionary*, Latin and English, an elementary Latin book, was also used at Carter's direction.

In mathematics, the library included Edmund Wingate's *Arithmetic*, John Ward's *Mathematicks*, Colin McLaurin's *Algebra*, an *Elements of Geometry*, and Sir Isaac Newton's *Arithmetica Universalis*. Other schoolbooks included the *Art of Reading* (perhaps by John Rice or P. Sproson), James Buchanan's *Spelling Dictionary*, a *Geography for Children*, and Patrick Gordon's *Geography* (which Fithian gave to Ben to read). Carter himself asked his daughter Nancy to read *The Ladies Compleat Letter Writer*, being a *Collection of Letters*, written by Ladies not only on the more Important Religious, Moral, and Social Duties, but on subjects of every other kind.
that usually interest the Fair Sex. Sheridan on Elocution and Walker's Rhetoric were also included. The Spectator - the most frequently found work in colonial libraries - was also used by Fithian in the classroom.

Religion played a prominent role in the eighteenth century, and Robert Carter's library reflects his sincere concern for personal morality. He kept a Latin Bible in folio in his study, and there were additional Bibles and prayer books for other members of the family as well. In January of 1772, Carter placed an order for nine Books of Common Prayer, three of which were to be of superior quality; at the same time he ordered seven Bibles, one to be an elegant edition in two volumes, and the remaining six to be "half bound not so good." Presumably the six inferior Bibles and Common Prayer Books were for the use of the children.

The Carter family frequently attended services at the nearby Nomini Church and sometimes went to the more distant church of Cople Parish, Yeocomico Church. The family was certainly as religious as any, and the library reflects this interest.

Books about the Bible included Henry Hammond's Expositor of the New Testament, used by Fithian in the preparation of
his thesis; Samuel Wesley's histories and Edward Wells' geographies of the Old and New Testaments; Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel; the Reverend Thomas Craddock's Version of the Psalms; and Augustine Calmet's Scripture Prints, which Fithian found "beautiful, & vastly entertaining." Various collections of sermons, including those of Bishop Francis Atterbury, also provided food for religious thought.

Christian ethics and conduct were discussed in such works as Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ and Edward Synge's A Gentleman's Religion, which were still held in high regard in Carter's day. An unidentified book entitled Lady's Religion and a three-volume work by John Chamberlayne, The Religious Philosopher; or the right use of contemplating the works of the Creator, must have given rise to pious meditation. Again there are some surprising omissions. Richard Allestree's Whole Duty of Man and his Gentleman's Calling, and Lewis Bayly's Practice of Piety appear in nearly every extant list of colonial Virginia libraries. Perhaps they were on loan to neighbors or among the five hundred books remaining at the house in Williamsburg at the time that Fithian made his catalogue.
Periodical publications contained recent news, gossip, and reviews of new books, as well as poems and essays. They were necessary reading for the colonists who, as transported Englishmen, longed to know the latest news and styles from England. In March, 1774, Fithian noted that the newly arrived editions of both the *Monthly Review* and the *Universal Magazine* carried favorable reviews of the poetry of "that ingenious African Phillis Wheatly of Boston." Carter also subscribed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* and had bound volumes of *The Guardian*, *The Medley* and *Whig Examiner*, *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*. In a purchase order of 1767, Carter requested *The Critical Review* to be sent immediately, but there is no record of it in the library. The *Virginia Gazettes* and also the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which brought news from the northern colonies, were delivered to Nomini Hall. Following the meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Carter ordered six copies of the *Continental Association*, as well as all papers published at the direction of the delegates to the Congress, "& what ever late political Pamphlets, you have received, one Copy of each -".

Thus, of the books of practical information, Carter's library could boast a good selection in most of the categories
discussed above. Where there were only a few books dealing with any one subject, they were usually the most popular and respected. More than half Carter's books were contemporary, eighteenth-century works; about one-third were seventeenth-century publications. There was a sprinkling of books first brought out in the sixteenth century. These were the tried-and-true sources of information, revered as authorities from one generation to another. Classical literature comprised about one-fifth of the library. While purely utilitarian works were found in Carter's library, their number was insignificant when compared to the remainder of the library.

Of the eighteenth-century books, Carter's collection was most numerous in literature, especially poetry; religion, including moral philosophy; law, history, and schoolbooks, including grammars, dictionaries, and contemporary editions of the classics. There were also a number of periodical publications and ten medical books. History, religion, and poetry dominated the list of seventeenth-century titles, with religion and contemporary versions of the classics most in evidence among the sixteenth-century books. The largest single group of books represented were the Greek and Latin classics, both in their original languages and in translation,
followed by literature (half of which was poetry), religion, history, and law, in that order. Thus, Carter's library reflects an interest in the most recent information and contemporary works of all kinds, as well as a reverence for the classics. The balance between tradition and modernity assured a well-rounded selection of views.
CHAPTER III

BOOKS REFLECTING CARTER'S SPECIAL INTERESTS

An overwhelming necessity of plantation life was the ability to invent one's own forms of amusement. Visits from neighboring families on the occasion of a ball or barbecue or following Sunday church services were welcome diversions. At such times, the evening might be spent in dancing, cardplaying, listening to music, playing games such as "Break the Pope's Neck," or in reading aloud the latest popular novel or play.

Among the games played by the gentry, cards were the most popular. One of the standard works on this subject was Edmund Hoyle's *Games of Whist, Quadrille, Piquet, Chess and Backgammon*. This man, from whom the expression "according to Hoyle" came, was the first to publish a "scientific study of a card game,"¹ and his books were manuals of expert, rather than elementary, play. Carter also had Abbé Bellecour's *Academy of Play*, which provided rules and instruction in similar games popular on the Continent. Nowhere in Fithian's journal, however, is there mention of cardplaying at Nomini Hall. In a conversation recorded by the tutor, Carter stated
that he could not send his children to the College of William and Mary to further their education because "he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards in publick Houses in the City, and has often seen them drunken in the Street!" Nevertheless, Fithian discovered that cardplaying was a well-established amusement in the Northern Neck when, at one social gathering, George Lee "asked me why I would come to the Ball & neither dance nor play Cards?"

Among recent publications, probably the most popular novels were Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* and Lawrence Sterne's *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, followed by Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Charles Johnston's satire *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea*. Other popular works were *The Turkish Spy*, the semifictional writings of Giovanni Paolo Marana; *Henry and Frances*, an epistolary novel that *The Critical Review* found dull and too much like Richardson; and *Margaretta*, a *Sentimental Novel*, consisting of letters between the Countess of Rainsford and her husband during a separation, which *The Critical Review* called "too mawkish" and full of "love and passion." Novels generally were frowned upon as endangering the morals of young ladies and gentlemen, for they stimulated the imagination and passions of the unwary. However, neither the uncomplimentary reviews
nor the prevailing thoughts on the ill effects of novels dissuaded Carter from purchasing them. In fact, the only book that he actually mentioned reading was Richardson's *Clarissa*. Even the Presbyterian tutor indulged in light reading when, after two weeks of diligent study, he became so fatigued that he resolved one day to "read only for Relaxation" and "took out of the Library to read for entertainment the Amusement of the German Spa; it is a well written piece - Designed entirely for Amusement."

Other popular novels were John Hawkesworth's *Almoran* and *Hamen*, a tale of two royal brothers in which the good triumphed over the evil, and Derrick's *Voyage to the Moon*, described as "a comical romance from the French. . . ." Another curious work was *The Athenian Oracle*, a monthly publication consisting of questions and answers on many subjects ranging from love to religion.

The quantity and variety of belle lettres in Carter's library is very impressive. The library contained all the well-known seventeenth and eighteenth-century English novelists, satirists, dramatists, and poets, as well as the best representatives of contemporary French literature, usually in translation. The plays of Congreve, Wycherley, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh were owned by Carter, and the two
most revered English authors, Chaucer and Shakespeare, were well represented.

In addition to the works of the religious poets of the seventeenth century, Waller, Cowley, Milton and Donne, Carter had such contemporary poets as Cobden, Collins, Gay, Dodsley, Prior, Thomson, and Young. Butler's anti-Puritan Hudibras, still very popular in Virginia in Carter's day, also appeared in the library. Carter's special love for music may explain the large number of poetic works in his library. This theory is supported by an entry in Fithian's journal recording Carter's opinion "that many of the most just, & nervous sentiments are contain'd in Songs & small Sketches of Poetry; but being attended with Frippery Folly or Indecency they are many times look'd over."\(^9\)

The most popular French works were widely circulated in the colonies, and Carter acquired many of them: Lesage's Gil Blas, a picaresque novel depicting all elements of eighteenth-century French society; Fénelon's Télémaque, a kind of sequel to Homer's Odyssey, with political implications; the fables of La Fontaine, the essays of Montaigne, and the comedies of Molière. An important French epistolary novel was Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloïse which, by its emphasis on excessive sentimentality and descriptions of nature, its
lyricism and exaltation of the individual, was the forerunner of the romantic novel.

The Greek and Latin classics were read more for their moral and practical guidance than for aesthetic enjoyment, and the great quantity of classical literature in Carter's library proves his faith in their value. Since every gentleman was supposed to have at least a passing knowledge of classical authors, their works were represented to some degree in every colonial library. Carter had the poetry of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Horace; the histories of Plutarch, Caesar, Justin, Livy, Sallust, Tacitus, Quintus Curtius, and Velleius Paterculus; the satires of Juvenal and Perseus; the comedies of Plautus and the tragedies of Terence; Seneca's morals, Aristotle's philosophy, and Cicero's rhetoric. Carter also had the works of a number of lesser classical authors. To aid in the study of the classics, there were Addison's *Dissertations on the Most Celebrated Roman Poets*, and comments on the classic authors by Anthony Blackwall and Edward Mainwaring.

Histories and biographies, both ancient and modern, were zealously studied as examples of right conduct second in value only to works of divinity. Thus it is not surprising to find most of the important Latin histories,
though usually in translation, as well as many contemporary histories in the library. The history of Livy, whose literary style exceeded his historical accuracy, and the Lives of Plutarch were basic to any sizeable library, as were Caesar's Commentaries and the histories of Tacitus and Justin. Similar to Plutarch's comparison of Greek and Roman leaders was Cornelius Nepos' Lives of Illustrious Men of Greece, Carthaginia, and Persia. Carter also had individual works on the lives of Cicero, Horace, Ovid, and Pliny the Younger. Examples of writings on ancient Rome and Greece included Lawrence Echard's Roman History and John Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

Carter's library was even richer in contemporary histories of England. The best works were probably Hume's History of England, which ended with the Revolution of 1688, and Smollett's History of England, which overlapped Hume's but carried the story down to 1748 and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; Smollett's Continuation, published in 1763, brought his history up-to-date. Others included Humphrey Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England, Bishop Burnet's Whig History of His Own Time, and Paul de Thoyras Rapin's History of England in fifteen volumes.
Like his contemporaries, Carter was somewhat less interested in countries other than his own, but he did have the histories of Scotland by George Buchanan and William Robertson, Vertot's *Revolutions of Sweden*, and Robert Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*. Modern biographies included Voltaire's *History of Charles XII of Sweden*, Robertson's *History of Charles V*, and Lord Littleton's *Life of Henry Second*, as well as lives of Christopher Columbus, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough.

In addition to Raleigh's *History of the World*, valued not only for its historical content but for its moral and political thoughts as well, Carter had Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* in eight books, which described all the events in Christendom during half of the sixteenth century. Another curious compendium, *The Historical and Chronological Theatre of Christopher Helvicus*, though published a century after Columbus' discovery of the New World, makes no mention of that event or of any other explorations. The twenty-one volume *Universal History*, though compiled from many historians, treated only ancient history, leaving the forty-four volume supplement to record modern history. The collection of histories in Carter's library was so large as to warrant the conclusion that he appreciated their value and made frequent use of them.
Especially fascinating to eighteenth-century people were books on travel and geography. Carter owned Lord Anson's *Voyage round the World in 1740-2-3-4*, Thomas Salmon's *Universal Traveller*, and Richard Brooke's *General Gazateer*.

In the realm of political theory, Carter possessed the writings of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. Bolingbroke's *Dissertation Upon Parties* and the works of Nathaniel Bacon and Algernon Sidney on government, both of the latter favoring Parliament against the crown, were also in the library, as were twelve volumes of *Parliamentary Debates* and Roger Acherley's *Britannic Constitution*. The *Lettres Persanes* and the *Spirit of the Laws* by Montesquieu, both very popular in the colonies, were likewise present.

Decorum was the mark of a well-bred gentleman or lady, and books of conduct were a requirement for any library. In addition to the morally-oriented books of conduct, Carter possessed a book entitled *Manners, from the French*, and, of course, Castiglione's *Courtier*, which formed the basis of aristocratic manners still adhered to. Likewise, every man who fancied himself an aristocrat possessed books on the peerage. Carter had Kimber's *Peerage of England* and his *Peerage of Scotland*, and Porny's *Elements of Heraldry*, all of which were advertised for sale in Williamsburg.
Carter's two books on art - Daniel Webb's *Enquiry into the Beauties of Painting, and into the Merits of the Most Celebrated Painters, Ancient and Modern*, and Charles du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting, with an Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern* - taught art appreciation rather than the actual skills of painting. Since Carter did not paint, he probably saw little need for instructive books on the subject.

Carter had an interest in science and was "often pidling in some curious experiment." Fithian recorded the Councillor's attempt at making printer's ink from linseed oil, wheat bread, onions, and turpentine, colored with lamp black for black ink and vermilion for red, "a rank compound truely." In 1774 Carter placed an order for "12 best glass tubes to make Thermometers & Barometers." On another occasion, he initiated a conversation with the tutor concerning eclipses, "the manner of viewing them; Thence to Telescopes, & the information which they afforded us of the Solar System; Whether the planets be actually inhabited &c." Perhaps Carter had read his copy of the *Discovery of Celestial Worlds* or Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds*, which popularized the current theories of astronomy. Another source of scientific information, and misinformation, were the many
dictionaries of the arts and sciences, such as that of Ephraim Chambers and the unidentified *Dictionnaire Universel de toutes les Sciences and des Arts* in three folio volumes.

Other books of a scientific nature were a *Treatise on Ventilators* (which may have been Stephen Hale's work or Henry Ellis' comments on Hale), John Cramer's *Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals*, and Desaguliers' and Gravesande's works on Newtonian principles of physics. Carter also had Woodward's *Natural History of the Earth and Terrestrial Bodies*.

Fithian's comment that "the Colonel read philosophy"15 one Saturday night doubtless referred to moral philosophy as well as natural. Carter's interest in religion, which caused him to seek consolation in several philosophies, is apparent in the library, for in addition to the Anglican sermons, treatises, and prayer books, several opposing views of religion were represented. The Deist Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation* was counteracted by the Protestant Dissenter Simon Browne's *Defense of the Religion of Nature, and the Christian Revelation*. Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* attacked the High Church, Middleton's *Letter from Rome* linked popery to paganism, and Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*
defended the Quaker doctrine. Also in the library were discourses on toleration, atheism, and the priesthood. Carter also had books of moral philosophy and ethics such as Dodsley's *Economy of Human Life*, Pierre Charon's *Of Wisdom*, the Earl of Shaftsbury's *Characteristics*, and the writings of Spinoza.

Carter's "darling amusement," however, was music, a recreation in which he indulged almost daily. From Fithian's journal, it is evident that most evenings were spent with Carter playing upon various musical instruments, frequently accompanied instrumentally or vocally by other members of the family. At Nomini Hall Carter had a "Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica, Guitar, Violin, & German Flutes, & at Williamsburg . . . a good Organ. . . ."¹⁶ This "Harmonica" was Franklin's new invention, the armonica. In 1764 Carter wrote:

> Mr. Pelham of this Place is just returned from New York, he heard on that Journey Mr. B. Franklin of Phila: perform upon the Armonica: The Instrument pleased Pelham amazingly & by his advice I now apply to you, to send me an Armonica as played on by Miss Davies at the great Room in Spring Gardens, being the Musical Glasses with out Water: Formed into a complete Instrument, capable off Thorough-bass, & never out of tune. Charles James of Purpoole-lane, near Gray's Inn London is the only maker of the Armonica in England.¹⁷
The first time Fithian heard Carter play the armonica, he was greatly impressed:

The Notes are clear and inexpressibly Soft, they swell, and are inexpressibly grand; & either it is because the sounds are new, and therefore please me, or it is the most captivating Instrument I have Ever heard. The sounds very much resemble the human voice, and in my opinion they far exceed even the swelling Organ.\(^{18}\)

In addition to Carter's ability to perform well on his instruments, he was also able to transpose music and often busied himself making new arrangements of familiar tunes. Fithian praised the Colonel's ability by saying, "To be sure he has a nice well judging Ear, and has made great advances in the Theory and Practice of Music."\(^{19}\) Once when Carter had given Fithian and Ben a piece of music to play on their flutes, the tutor was extremely pleased "to hear the Colonel say that I have my part perfect."\(^{20}\)

Fithian's catalogue listed a number of music books: a book of Italian Music, Handel's Operas for Flute, Handel's musical version of Dryden's "Alexander's Feast," and "17 volumes of Music, by various Authors." These seventeen unidentified volumes may include music books Carter ordered by title along with other merchandise. In 1773, he requested Dr. Burney's *Present State of Music in France and Italy,*
John Holder's Essay towards a Rational System of Music, Principles of Harmony, "the latest treatise or Instructory on Psalmody," and a "collection of Psalms Set to Music." Some two months after he catalogued the library, Fithian wrote, "I looked to day over Dr Burney's present State of Musick in Germany - I think it more entertaining than reaily useful."  

Carter was very fond of religious music. In one order he requested a number of "tunes or musical compositions regulated to the measure of the new version of Davids Psalms, for an organ - and a variety of interludes or voluntaries after the stanzas, proper for each tune -" One evening Fithian recorded that the Colonel shew'd me a book of vocal Musick which he has just imported, it is a collection of psalm-Tunes, Hymns, & Anthems set in four parts for the Voice; He seems much taken with it & says we must learn & perform some of them in their several parts with our voices & with instruments.  

Other orders included two small German flutes and a "complete Tutor for the German Flute," as well as an organ to be made to his specifications. Music was so important to Carter that he informed the tutor of his plan to make the vacant end of the schoolroom a place for the practice and performance of music.
Carter's interest in experiments carried over into music, and he devised his own methods of tuning instruments. For the harpsichord and forte-piano, he "made a number of Whistles, of various Sizes so as to sound all the Notes in one Octave." In one of his letterbooks, Carter described his method of tuning the guitar:

I stretched a Wire - of the size of the 1st or smallest string of a Gittar, it bearing on two wooden Bridges distant from each other 5 Inches and hung a Weight thereto - weighing 81b - 5ou - 10No: - 4 Grains Troy, or gold weight - This operation produced a tone, wch was in unison with D - in alt, of my Forte Piano - that Instrument being then in Concert Pitch.

Robert Carter's interest in music, in literature (especially poetry), in history, and in natural and moral philosophy is apparent from the predominance of these subjects in his library. Although his use of the library cannot be determined, it is evident that he devoted most of his leisure time to his music, but he undoubtedly had a cultivated gentleman's acquaintance with the classics, current literature, histories, and the polite arts practiced among the gentry as well.
CONCLUSION

Carter probably would have agreed with the sentiment expressed by the popular seventeenth-century poet, Sir John Denham, that "Books should to one of these four ends conduce, For wisdom, piety, delight, or use."\(^1\) It was precisely from these criteria that Carter selected his library.

Carter's library contained many excellent books, which increased his knowledge in many fields. The Greek and Latin classics were read for their great store of wisdom as were histories, and Carter had an abundance of both. His concern with religion and moral philosophy, especially evident in his later life, was nurtured by the numerous and diverse religious and philosophical books in his library. Fithian's diary reveals that Carter derived his greatest enjoyment from music. It is certain that Carter made frequent use of his music books in transposing and playing tunes. Other books meant for entertainment included novels, plays, and collections of poems. Some of Carter's books, by their very nature, were intended for use rather than display. These books, which taught necessary skills, included agriculture
and trade, surveying and architecture, medical and legal works, and textbooks. Such books were indispensable to a Virginia planter.

The extent to which Robert Carter used his library is unknown. Although there was perhaps more than a little pride involved in the ownership of such a sizeable collection of the latest and best books available, the library at Nomini Hall was used by members of the family, neighbors and guests. It was not simply an ornament for display.

Carter's extant letterbooks, consisting mostly of business correspondence, do not provide clues to his reading habits, although the purchase orders reveal the types of books he was interested in acquiring. It seems likely that Carter's many business interests, together with his duties as councillor, county justice, and church officer, occupied so much of his time that he had little opportunity to indulge in reading. Most of his leisure time was devoted to music. However, he was well enough acquainted with the library to select several specific books that he desired Fithian to use in the classroom. From Carter's remark that Mrs. Carter read more than the parson,² it is certain that she also used the library.
Carter's library is not important as a source of his ideas, for we do not know which books he read or what he thought about them. His library is significant because it reflects the typical literary taste of the times, the social, moral, ethical, and intellectual values of a particular class - the eighteenth-century Virginia aristocracy. A public servant, a successful planter, and a cultivated gentleman, Robert Carter was a typical representative of his class. His interests and tastes were the conventional ones, whose roots were founded in England, especially London, and imitated in America. Carter's library is a valuable social document of the cultural state of the Virginia colony just prior to the Revolution.
Notes to Pages 3 - 11

INTRODUCTION


2. Ibid.

3. One book bearing Robert Carter's signature, William Chambers' Treatise on Civil Architecture, is owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation at Oatlands. George Carter III, Carter's great-grandson, gave the book to Mrs. William Corcoran Eustis when she purchased the house in 1903.

CHAPTER I

COUNCILLOR CARTER AND THE PLANTATION SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA


2. The college records for these years are fragmentary, but Carter must have had more preparation in order to be admitted to the Inner Temple.

3. "Governor Page," Virginia Historical Register, III (1850), 147.

4. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 71.
8. Ibid., p. 40.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 66.
11. Louis Morton, Robert Carter of Nomini Hall; A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century (Williamsburg, 1941), p. 64.
12. Ibid., p. 170.
13. Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), June 14, 1770, p. 3.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 81.
21. Ibid., p. 44.
22. Ibid., p. 29.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 177.
25. Ibid., p. 43.


CHAPTER II

CARTER'S BOOKS OF PRACTICAL INFORMATION


16. Ibid., p. 73.


CHAPTER III

BOOKS REFLECTING CARTER'S SPECIAL INTERESTS


3. Ibid., p. 57.


5. Ibid.


10. Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), November 29, 1770, p. 2.


12. Ibid.


15. Ibid., p. 53.


19. Ibid., p. 48.

20. Ibid., p. 68.


25. Carter to Edward Hunt, & Son, October 19, 1765, Robert Carter Letterbook, 1764-1768, p. 21, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.


28. Ibid., p. 43.


CONCLUSION


APPENDIX

The catalogue of Carter's library is arranged in the order in which Fithian copied the titles from the shelves, with folio volumes first, followed by quartos, octavos, and duodecimos, respectively. The repetition of some authors may be due to the fact that Carter owned their works in different size volumes or different editions; it is also possible that multi-volume sets became separated on the shelves. Where several authors were grouped together in the original listing, I have separated them to avoid confusion.

All publication dates are those of the first edition unless specifically stated otherwise, for it is impossible to know which editions Carter owned. No publication date is given for classical or other works written before the beginning of printing in Europe. No further explication of major classical works is given because they are self-explanatory.
CATALOGUE OF LIBRARY OF ROBERT CARTER

COMPILED BY PHILIP FITHIAN

Folio's

Molls large correct map of the whole world.
[Herman Moll, Atlas Manuale: or, a new sett of maps of all the parts of the earth, as well Asia, Africa and America, as Europe. Wherein geography is rectify'd. 1709.]

Chamber's Dictionary of the Arts & Sciences, 2 Vols.
[Ephraim Chambers, Cyclopaedia, or General Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences, containing the definitions of the terms, and account of the things signified thereby. 1728.]

Supplement to Ditto, 2 Vol.
[Ephraim Chambers, Supplement to Cyclopaedia, or General Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences. 1753.]

Millers Gardeners Dictionary.
[Philip Miller, Gardener's Dictionary; or, A Complete System of Horticulture. 1731-39.]

Postlethwayts Do. of Trade & Commerce, 2 Vol.
[Malachy Postlethwayt, The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, translated from the French of Savory; with large additions and improvements, incorporated throughout the whole Work, which more particularly accomodate the same to the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms, and the Laws, Customs, and Usages to which all Traders are subject. 1751-56.]

Bayley's Etymological Ditto.
[Nathan Bailey, An Universal Etymological English Dictionary. 1721.]

Laws of Maryland.
[Thomas Bacon, Laws of Maryland, with proper Indexes, now first collected into a complete Body, and published from the original Acts and Records in the Secretary's
Office of the said Province, with Notes, etc. to which is prefixed, the Charter, with an English Translation. 1765.]


Salmons universal Traveller, 2 Vols.

[Thomas Salmon, The Universal Traveller; or, a Description of the several Foreign Nations of the World; shewing, 1. The Situation, Boundaries, and Face of the respective Countries. 2. Number of Provinces, and Chief Towns in each. 3. The Genius, Temper, and Habits of the several People. 4. Their Religion, Government, and Forces by Sea and Land. 5. Traffic, Produce of their Soil, Animals, and Minerals. 6. An Abstract of the History of each Nation brought down to the present time. 1754.]

Grotius on War & Peace.

[Hugo Grotius, Treatise Concerning the Law of Peace and War, in three books. 1625.]

Lockes Works, 3 Vols.

[John Locke, Posthumous Works. 1706.]

Wilkin's real Character.

[John Wilkins, An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language; with an Alphabetical Dictionary. 1668.]

Principle of Equity.

[Henry Home, Lord Kames, Principles of Equity. 1760.]

Homes Decisions of the Court of Sessions.

[Henry Home, Lord Kames, Decisions of the Court of Session, from its first institution to the present time. Abridged and digested in form of a Dictionary. 1741.] or [__________________, Remarkable Decisions in the Court of Session from 1716 to 1728. 1728.] or [__________________, Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session, from 1730 to 1752. 1766.]
Treatise & Maxims of Equity or Chancery.

[Richard Francis, Maxims of Equity; collected from and approved by Cases out of the Books of best authority in the Court of Chancery; to which is added, the Case of the Earl of Coventry, concerning the defective execution of powers. 1728.]

Stackhouse History of the Bible, 2 Vols.

[Thomas Stackhouse, New History of the Bible, from the beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity. 1732.]

17 Volumes of Music, by various Authors.

Temples Works, 2 Volumes.

[Sir William Temple, Works; with some Account of the Life and Writings of the Author by Dr. J. Swift. 1731.]

Cases in Equity Abridged, 2 Volumes.

[General Abridgement of Cases in Equity argued and adjudged in the Court of Chancery. 1734-36.]

Ackerley's Britanick Constitution.

[Roger Acherley, The Britannick Constitution: or, the Fundamental Form of Government in Britain. Demonstrating, the original contract entered into by King and people, according to the primary institutions thereof, in this nation. Wherein is proved, that the placing on the throne King William III. was the natural fruit and effect of the original constitution. 1727.]

Spelmans Works.

[Sir Henry Spelman, Reliquiae Spelmannianae: or, his Posthumous Works, relating to the laws and antiquities of England; with a Life of the Author, by Edm. Gibson. 1698.]

Swinburne of Wills.

[Henry Swinburne, Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills; compiled out of the Laws, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Canon, as also out of the Common Laws, Customs, and Statutes of this Realm. 1590.]
Vavassoris omnia Opera.
   [Francis Vavasseur, Works. 1709.]

Hughes's natural History of Barbadoes.
   [Griffith Hughes, Natural History of the Island of Barbadoes, in 10 books, with 24 plates. 1750.]

Salmons Abridgment of state Trials.
   [Thomas Salmon, Abridgment and Review of the State Trials, with some new Trials. 1737.]

Vossii Epistolae.
   [Isaac Vossius, Ignatii Epistolae, et Barnabae Epistola, Graece et Latine, cum Notis. 1646.]

Observations on Caesars Comment.
   [Clement Edmondes, Observations on the first five books of Caesar's Commentaries of the Civil Wars. 1600.]

Clarendons Tracts.
   [Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Collection of Tracts. 1727.]

Scripta Senecae Philosophi.

Books of Common Prayer.

The Surveyor in four Books.
   [Aaron Rathborne, The Surveyor; in 4 Bookes. 1616.]

Hortensii Enarrationes in Virgilium.
   [Lambert Hortensius, Commentaries on the First 6 Books of the Aeneid, and on Lucan. 1596.]

Advices from Parnassus.
   [An anonymous English translation, 1722, of T. Boccallini's "De' Ragguagli di Parnaso."
Blounts Censura Authorum.

[Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Censura Celebrium Authorum, sive Tractatus in quo varia virorum doctorum de clarissimis cujusque seculi Scriptoribus Judicia traduntur, unde facillimo negotio lector dignoscere queat, quid in singulis quibusque istorum Authorum maxime memorabile sit et quonam in pretio apud eruditos semper habet fuerunt. 1690.]

Bacon's Government.


Dictionnaire universel de toutes les Sciences, & des Arts, 3 Volumes.

[Thomas Dyche, Nouveau Dictionnaire Universel des Arts et des Sciences, Frac. Lat. et Anglais, trad. de l'Anglois de Thomas Dyche. Illustrated with 300 plates. 1756.]

or [Antoine Furetiere, Dictionnaire Universel. 1690.]

Biblia Sacra.

Stephani Thesaurus, 4 Volumes.

[Robert Stephanus, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. 1532.]

Le grand Dictionnaire History, 4 Volumes.

Acta Regia.

[Paul de Thoyras Rapin, Acta Regia, or an Account of the Treaties, Letters and Instruments between the Monarchs of England and Foreign Powers, published in Mr. Rymer's Foedera, in English. 1726-27.]

Raleighs History of the World.

[Sir Walter Raleigh, History of the World. Part I. extending to the end of the Macedonian Empire. 1614.]
Calmets historical, critical, geographical, chronological and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible in 3 Volumes.  
[Augustine Calmet, Historical, Geographical, Critical, Chronological, and Etymological Dictionary of the Holy Bible. 1722.]

Bundys Roman History, 3 Volumes.  
[John Bundy, The Roman History, from the French of Catrou and Rouille. 1728.]

Works of Virgil, 2 Volumes.

A View of universal History.  
[Francis Tallent, View of Universal History, from the Creation to the destruction of Jerusalem by Adrian. 1695.] or [View of Universal History, from the birth of Jesus Christ to the year 1680. 1681.]

Cooke on Littleton.  
[Sir Edward Coke, Institutes of the Law of England, Part 1st, or a Translation and Commentary on the Tenures of Sir Thos. Littleton, not the name of a Lawyer, but the Law itself. 1628.]

Sidney on Government.  
[Algernon Sidney, Discourse Concerning Government. 1698.]

Cornu Copia of Terence Varra.  
[Nicolaus Perottus, In hoc volumine habentur haec Cornucopiae. sive linguae latinae commentarii recogniti. Index. . . dictionum omnium, quae in hisce Sypontini commentariis, quae in libris de lingua latina, & de Analogia M. T. Varronis. 1513.]

Calmets Prints.  
[Augustine Calmet, Dictionnaire Historique, Critique, et Chronologique de la Bible, enrichi d'un grand nombre des figures en taille-douce, qui representent les antiquitez Judaïques. 1722.]
Alexanders Feasts, or the Power of Music, an Ode in Honour of St. Cecelia by Dryden set to Music by Handel.


[Henry Hammond, Expositor of the New Testament. 1653.]

Quarto.

Bates Hebrew & English Dictionary.

[Julius Bates, Critica Hebraea, or a Hebrew-English Dictionary, without points, in which the several derivatives, are reduced to their genuine roots, their specific significations from thence illustrated and exemplified, by passages cited at length from Scripture, the several versions of which are occasionally corrected. The whole supplying the place of a Commentary on the words and more difficult passages in the Sacred Writings. 1767.]

Christianity as old as the Creation.

[Matthew Tindal, Christianity as Old as the Creation; or the Gospel a republication of the Religion of Nature. 1730.]

North's Examen.

[Roger North, Examen; or an Inquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended complete History; viz., Dr. White Kennet's History of England; shewing the perverse and wicked design of it: together with some Memoirs occasionally inserted, all tending to vindicate the honour of King Charles II. 1740.]

Blackstones Comment., 4 Volumes.


Harris's Justinian, in Latin.

[George Harris, D. Justiniani Institutionum Libri quatuor: and a Translation of them into English, with Notes. 1756.]
Shaws Boerhave, 2 Volumes.
   [Peter Shaw, *Elements of Chemistry, from the original of Boerhaave*. 1753.]

Simpsons Justice.
   [William Simpson, *The Practical Justice of the Peace and Parish-Officer of ... South Carolina*. 1761.]

Builders Treasure of Designs.
   [Batty Langley, *City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs; or, the Art of Drawing and Working the Ornamental parts of Architecture*. 1756.]

Palladio Londenensis.
   [William Salmon, *Palladio Londenensis; or the London Art of Building, to which is annexed, the Builder's Dictionary, with Cuts*. 1734.]

Marine Dictionary.

Newtons observations on Daniel.

Guidonis de Rebus memorabilibus.

Piscarnii Dissertationes medicae.
   [Archibald Pitcairne, *Dissertationes Medicæ*. 1701.]

Carmina quadrigessimalia.
   [Charles Este, ed., *Carmina Quadrigesimalia ab AEdis Christi Oxon. Alumnis Composita et ab ejusdem AEdis Baccalaureis Determinantibus in Schola Naturalis Philosophiae Publice Recitata*. 1723.]

History of the London Royal Society.
   [Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London for the improving of natural knowledge*. 1667.]

Erasmus de optimo Rei Statue.
   [Sir Thomas More, *De Optimo Reipublicae Statue deque Nova Insula Utopia*. 1516.]
The Courtier by Castigio.
[Balthazar Castiglione, The Courtier. 1556.]


Hedorici Lexicon.
[Benjamin Hederich, Graecum Lexicon Manuale, tribus partibus constans; Hermeneutica, Analytica, et Syntheteca. 1722.]

Morphosii Polyhistor, 2 Volumes.
[Daniel George Morhof, Polyhistor, sive de Notitia Auctorum et Rerum Commentarii. 1688.]

Helvicus Chronology.
[Christopher Helvicus, Theatrum Historicum, sive Chronologiae Systema Novum. 1609.]

Hieronymi Syphilis.

Pearoes Longinus.
[Zachary Pearce, Longinus on the Sublime, Gr. and Lat. 1724.]

Boyers Dictionary.

Aurelii de Levitate Dei.
[St. Augustine (or St. Austin D. Aurelius), De Civitate Dei. 1468.]

Phisica, a manuscript.

[Monthly Review: Giving an Account, with proper Abstracts of, and Extracts from, the New Books, Pamphlets, etc. as they come out. By several hands. 1749-89.]
Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoris.
[Marcus Fabius Quintilian, Institutiones Oratoriae.]

Barcleys Argenis.
[John Barclay, Argenis. 1621.]

Apology of the Church of England.
[Degory Whear, The Apology of the Church of England, and an Epistle to one Seignior Scipio, a Venetian gentleman, concerning the Council of Trent . . . made English by a person of quality, etc. 1685. This was a translation of J. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury's, Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae. 1562.]

Newton's Milton, 3 Vols. neatly gilt.
[Thomas Newton, Milton's Paradise Lost. A new edition with Notes of various Authors. 1749.]

Horatius Bentleii.
[Richard Bentley, Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione et cum Notis atque Emendationibus Richard Bentleii. 1711.]

Cowleys Works.
[Abraham Cowley, Works. 1669.]

Chubbs Tracts.
[Thomas Chubb, Three Tracts: 1st, A Discourse Concerning Persecution. 2d, A Letter of Thanks to the Author of the Tract entitled, A Friendly Admonition to Mr. Chubb. 3d, Some Remarks on Dr. Morgan's Tract entitled, A Letter to Mr. Chubb, &c. 1727.]

or [_______, A Collection of Tracts on various Subjects. 1730.]

Robertsons Charles 5., 5 Vols. Gilt.
[William Robertson, The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.; with a View of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the 16th C. 1769.]

Desaguliers Experiment. Philos., 2 Vols.
[John Theophilus Desaguliers, A System of Experimental Philosophy; proved by Mechanics, as shewn at the Public Lectures, in a Course of Experimental Philosophy. 1719.]
Gravesande Elements of Philosophy, 2 Vols.
[William James S. Gravesande, An Introduction to the Newtonian Philosophy; or a Treatise on the Elements of Physic, confirmed by experiments, by Desaguliers. 1720.]

Sheridan on Elocution.
[Thomas Sheridan, A Course of Lectures on Elocution: together with two Dissertations on Language; and some Tracts relative to other subjects. 1763.]

Grotius de la Guerre & de la Paix.
[Hugo Grotius, De la Guerre et de la Paix. 1625.]

Fingal; an Epic Poem.
[James MacPherson, Fingal, an ancient Epic Poem, in six books; together with several other Poems composed by Ossian, son of Fingal. Translated from the Gaelic Language. 1762.]

Octavo's.

Universal History, 21 Vols.
[An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time. Compiled from Original Authors; and illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes &c. with a General Index to the Whole. 1747-48.]

Supplement to Ditto.
[Supplement to An Universal History. 1736-65.]

Smiths Moral Sentiments.
[Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments; or an Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which man naturally judges concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbours, and afterwards of themselves: to which is added, a Dissertation on the Origin of Languages, and on the different Genius of those which are original and compounded. 1759.]

Wingates Arithmetic.
[Edmund Wingate, Arithmetic Made Easy, or natural and artificial Arithmetic, in two books; with an Appendix concerning Equation of Time, &c. 1630.]
Newtons Arithmetic.

[John Newton, The Art of Natural Arithmetic; in Whole Numbers and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal. 1671.]

Middletons Life of Cicero.

[Conyers Middleton, History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero. 1741.]

Dissertation upon Parties.

[Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Dissertations Upon Parties. 1739.]

Free-thinking with remarks.

[Richard Bentley, Remarks upon Collin's Discourse of Freethinking, in two parts, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis. 1713.]

Middletons Letter from Rome.

[Conyers Middleton, A Letter from Rome, shewing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism; or, the Religion of the Present Romans derived from that of their Heathen Ancestors. 1741.]

Watts's Logic.

[Isaac Watts, Logick; or the right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth. 1725.]

Buchanans History, 2 Vols.

[George Buchanan, History of Scotland. 1582.]

Atterbury's Sermons, 2 Vols.

[Francis Atterbury, Sermons and Discourses on several subjects and occasions. 1730.]

Familiar Letters.

[A Collection of Familiar Letters, in French and English; designed for the use of Schools and Young Gentlemen and Ladies. 1755.]

or [Familiar Letters on Various Subjects of Business and Amusement. 1753.]

or [Abraham Hill, Familiar Letters, which passed between him and several eminent and ingenious persons of the last century. Transcribed from the Original Letters. 1767.]

or [James Howell, Epistolae Ho-Elianae; or, Familiar
Letters, Domestic and Foreign, divided into sundry Sections, partly Historical, partly Political, partly Philosophical. 1645.

Chaucers Tales, 2 Vols.
[Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales.]

Loves Surveying.

McLaurin's Algebra.
[Colin Maclaurin, Treatise of Algebra, in three parts. To which is added, An Appendix concerning the General Properties of Geometrical Lines. 1748.]

Erasmus's Colloquies.
[Desiderius Erasmus, Colloquies. 1519.]

Jacob's Law-Dictionary.
[Giles Jacob, New Law Dictionary, explaining the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Law, in theory and practice, defining and interpreting the terms or words of art, and comprising copious Information, Historical, Political, and Commercial, on the subjects of our Law, Trade, and Government. 1729.]

Quincy's Dispensatory.
[John Quincy, The Dispensatory of the Royal College of Physicians in London, with Notes relating to the Manner of Composition. 1721.] or [__________, Pharmacopoeia Officinalis et Extemporanea; or, A Complete English Dispensatory; in four Parts. 1718.]

Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals.
[John Andrew Cramer, Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals. 1739.]

Mairs Book-Keeping.
[John Mair, Book-Keeping Methodized; or, Merchants' Accounts, by double entry, according to the Italian form. 1741.]
Oxford Grammar.

Preceptor, 2 Volumes.
[Robert Dodsley, *The Preceptor*. 1748.]

Harris's Hermes.
[James Harris, *Hermes; or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Language and Universal Grammar*. 1750.]

Sheridan on Education.

Athenean Oracle, 4 Vols.
[The Athenian Oracle: being an entire collection of all the valuable questions and answers in the old Athenian Mercuries. Intermixed with many cases in divinity, history, philosophy, . . . never before published. By a Member of the Athenian Society. 1703-28.]

Echard's Roman History, 6 Vols.
[Lawrence Echard, *The Roman History, from the building of the City to the perfect settlement of the Empire, by Augustus Caesar*. 1698-99.]

or [________________, *The History from the Settlement by Augustus Caesar, to the removal of the Imperial seat of Constantine the Great*. 1699.]

Patricks Terence, 2 Vols.
[Samuel Patrick, *The Comedies of Terence*. 1745.]

Watson's Horace, 2 Vols.
[David Watson, *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace*. Translated into English prose, as near as the propriety of the two languages will permit, together with the original Latin, from the best editions; wherein the words of the Latin Text are put in their grammatical order; the Ellipses carefully supplied; the observations of the most valuable Commentators, both ancient and modern, represented; and the Author's design and beautiful descriptions fully set forth, in a Key annexed to each Ode and Poem: with Notes, both geographical and historical. 1741.]
Johnstons Dictionary, 2 Vols.

[Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language; in which the Words are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers. To which are prefixed, A History of the Language and an English Grammar. 1755.]

Greys Ecclesiastical History.

[Richard Grey, A System of English Ecclesiastical Law. 1730.]

Hales History of the Law.

[Sir Matthew Hale, History of the Common Law of England, in twelve chapters: together with an Analysis of the Laws, being a Scheme or Abstract of the several Titles and Partitions of the Law in England digested into method. 1713.]

Virginia Justice.

[George Webb, Office of a Justice of the Peace, Duty of Sheriffs, etc. of Virginia; with Precedents. 1736.]

Elements of Criticism, 2 Vols.

[Henry Home, Lord Kames, Elements of Criticism. 1762.]

Gilbert of Wills.

[Sir Geoffrey Gilbert, Law of Devises, Revocations, and Last Wills; to which are added, Choice Precedents of Wills. 1730.]

Terms of Law.

[John Rastell, Les Termes de la ley. 1525.]

Trials Per Pais.

[Sampson Ever, Tryals per pais; or, the law concerning juries. 1665.]

Law of Estates.

[Giles Jacob, General Laws of Estates; or, Freetholder's Companion; rights and qualifications to be Members of Parliament, Electors, Justices of Peace, and Jurymen, and to kill game, erect dovecotes, etc. 1740.]
Hawkins's Crown Law.
[William Hawkins, Summary of the Crown Law, or an abridgment of his Pleas of the Crown. 1728.]

Duty of Executors.
[Sir John Doddridge, The Office and Duty of Executors, or, A Treatise of Wills and Executors, etc. in 2 parts. 1641.]

Law of Uses & Trusts.
[Sir Geoffrey Gilbert, Law of Uses and Trusts, digested in a proper order, from the Reports of Adjudged Cases in the Courts of Law and Equity, and other Books of Authority; together with a Treatise of Dower. 1734.]

Molloy's de Jure Maritimo.
[Charles Molloy, De Jure Maritimo et Navali, or a Treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce. 1676.]

Kaim's Law Tracts.
[Henry Home, Lord Kames, Historical Law Tracts. 1758.]

Montesque's Spirit of Laws, 2 Vols.
[Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws. 1748.]

Laws of ordinance, 2 Vols.

Attorney's Practice of Kings-Bench.
[Robert Richardson, The Attorney's Practice in the Court of King's-Bench: or, an Introduction to the knowledge of the practice of that Court, as it now stands under the regulation of several late Acts of Parliament, rules and determinations of the said Court: with variety of useful and curious precedents in English, settled or drawn by Counsel; and a complete index to the whole. By a Gentleman of the Inner Temple. 1739.]

Harrison's accomplished practiser, 2 Vols.
[Joseph Harrison, The Accomplish'd Practiser in the High Court of Chancery. 1741.]
Burns Justice, 4 Vols.
    [Richard Burn, Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer. 1755.]

Ladies Compleat letter Writer.
    [The Lady's Complete Letter Writer, being a Collection of Letters, written by Ladies not only on the more Important Religious, Moral, and Social Duties, but on subjects of every other kind that usually interest the Fair Sex. 1766.]

    [James Brown, The Directory, or List of Principal Traders in London. 1732. Continued from year to year by Mr. Henry Kent, printer.]

Letter to Serena.
    [John Toland, Letters to Serena; containing the Origin and Force of Prejudices; the History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens; the Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism; as also a Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, shewing Spinoza's System of Philosophy to be without principle or foundation. 1704.]

Poetical Works of the Earl of Halifax.
    [Sir George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, Miscellaneies. 1704.]
    or [J. Langhorne, The Viceroy; a poem: addressed to the Earl of Halifax. 1762.]

A Voyage to Cacklogallinia.
    [Captain Samuel Bruut, A Voyage to Cacklogallinia. 1727.]

Kennets Roman Antiquities.
    [Basil Kennet, Romae Antiquae Notitia; or, the Antiquities of Rome, in 2 parts; 1. A Short History of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Commonwealth: 2. A Description of the City; an Account of the Religion, Civil Government, and Art of War; with the Remarkable Customs and Ceremonies, Public and Private, with Copper cuts of the principal Buildings, etc. To which are prefixed, two Essays concerning the Roman Learning, and the Roman Education. 1696.]
Fresnay's Art of Painting.
[Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy, *Art of Painting*, with an account of the most eminent Painters, both ancient and modern. 1673.]

Herodian History Libri 8.
[Herodian, *Herodiani historiarum libri viii.*]

Zenophon in Latin.

Stillingfleet, & Burnet Conf: of Rel:.

Discovery of celestial Worlds.

Minucii Felicis Octavianus.
[Felix Marcus Minutius, *Octavius*.]

Wards Mathematics.

Demetrii Phalerii de Elicutione.
[Phalereus Demetrius, *De Elocutione*.]

Submission to the civil Magistrate.
[Benjamin Hoadly, *The Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate considered, in a Sermon on Rom. xiii l. With a Defence of the same*. 1706.]

Sacerdotism display'd.

Platonis Dialogi selecti.
Lexicon Plautinum.
[Lexicon Plautinum, in quo elegantiae omnium
simplicium vocabulorum antiquae linguae Romanae . . .
eruuntur et explicantur . . . auctore J. P. Pareo. 1614.]

The compleat Gentleman.
[Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman. 1622.]

Ovid de Tristibus.

Valerius Maximus.
[Valerius Maximus, De Dictis et Factis Memorabilibus
Antiquorum.]

Wyckerleys Works.
[William Wycherley, Posthumous Works, in Prose and
Verse, published from the original MS. by Theobald. 1728.]

[Thomas Salmon, Review of the History of England, as
far as it relates to the Titles and Pretensions of four
several Kings, and their respective Characters, from the
Conquest to the Revolution. 1722-25.]

Hist poeticae Scriptores antiqui.
[Thomas Gale, Historiae Poeticae Scriptores Antiqui,
Gracie et Latine. 1675.]

Bowdens Poetical Essays.
[Samuel Bowden, Poetical Essays, on several occasions.
1733.]

Noetica & Ethica.

Van Sweetens Comment, 8 Vols.
[Baron von Swieten, Commentaries upon the Aphorisms
of Dr. Herman Boerhaave, concerning the knowledge and cure
of the several diseases incident to human bodies. 1752.]

Ausonii Opera.
[Decimus Magnus Ausonius, Opera.]

Ovids Metamorphosis.
Wells Geography of New Testament, 4 Vols.
[Edward Wells, Historical Geography of the New Testament. 1708.]

Uptons observ: on Shakespear.
[John Upton, Observations on Shakespeare. n. d.]

Spinoza reviv'd.
[Spinoza Reviewed; with a Preliminary Discourse by Dr. Hicks. 1707.]

History of the Belles Lettres.
[Charles Rollin, The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres, or an Introduction to languages, poetry, rhetoric, history, moral philosophy, physicks, etc. 1726-28.]

Montaignes Essays, 2 Vols.
[Michel de Montaigne, Essays. 1580.]

Salmons Chronology, 2 Vols.
[Thomas Salmon, Chronological Historian, containing a regular Account of all material Transactions and Occurrences, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military, relating to the English Affairs, from the Invasion of the Romans to the 14th year of King George II; with Cuts. 1733.]

Lactantii Opera.
[Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius, Opera.]

Present state of Great Britain.
[Miege-Guy, Present State of Great Britain and Ireland; with the Lists of Officers in Church and State, of both Houses of Parliament, and of the Convocation. 1707.]

Gays Fables, 2 Vols.
[John Gay, Fables. 1727-38.]

The Chace by Somerville.
[William Somerville, The Chace; a Poem. 1735.]

Mitchels Poems, 2 Vols.
[Joseph Mitchell, Poems. 1729.]
Cobdens Poems.
[Edward Cobden, Poems. 1748.]

Seneca Tragediae.

Livii Historia, 3 Vols.
[ Titus Livius, Historia Romana.]

Rays Wisdom of God.
[ John Ray, Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation. 1691.]

Terentii Delphini.
[P. Terentii... Comoediae sex. Interpretatione et notis illustravit N. Camus... In usum Delphini. 1675.]

Law of Executors.
[ Law of Executors and Administrators. 1744.]

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