

‘LARGE AND HANDSOME VOLUMES’.
EARLY OWNERS OF BENJAMIN HOADLY’S *WORKS*.

Abstract: This article examines the sale of Benjamin Hoadly's Works in 1773 and who bought them. The Works were issued in a large paper and regular folio editions. This article shows that the two issues were differentiated by the weight of the paper not the printed face. The article also traces through ESTC the first individual and institutional purchasers and owners of the Works and argues that purchase was motivated by a combination of theological and political principles, bibliographic goals and admiration of Hoadly. The article contributes to our understanding of the ways in which book purchases were motivated in the eighteenth century.

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Abstract: this article examines the sale of Benjamin Hoadly's Works in 1773 and the purchasers of them. Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761) was a highly controversial Anglican bishop who sparked two major theological controversies, so his Works were principally theological polemic pieces. The Works were printed in a large paper and regular folio issues. This article shows the ways in which the two issues were differentiated which has hitherto been unclear. The article also traces through ESTC the first individual and institutional purchasers and owners of the Works. Such reconstruction recovers the nature of book purchasing in the eighteenth century. The purchase of Hoadly's Works was motivated by a combination of theological and political principles, bibliographic goals and admiration of Hoadly. The article contributes to our understanding of book purchases in the eighteenth century.

Introduction.

In May 1773, two months after it was published, Bishop Jonathan Shipley of St Asaph wrote to Thomas Cadell asking for two copies of Bishop Hoadly's *Works*, which had been published in three volumes. Shipley asked for the copies to be ‘half bound and lettered’ and sent directly to him.¹ Cadell, whose premises were at 144, The Strand, was London's leading bookseller.² The publishers of the *Works*, W. Boywer and J. Nichols,

¹ Princeton University Library, Elizabeth Montagu Letters, Series 2, Jonathan Shipley to Thomas Cadell, 6 May 1773.

² *Kent's Directory for the Year 1794. Cities of London and Westminster, & Borough of Southwark* (London 1794). Thomas Cadell (1742-1802) entered the London book trade in 1758 as an apprentice to Andrew

indicated that the seller of the *Works* was Robert Horsfield in Ludgate Street, the successor to John and James Knapton, who had been Bishop Hoadly's customary publisher since 1705. *The Works of Benjamin Hoadly DD, Successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester. Published by his Son John Hoadly LLD, Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester*, was described in the *Monthly Review* as: 'folio, 3 vols. With an index to the whole, and an introductory Account of the Author. £4 10/- bound.' The author of the notice in the *Monthly Review* also commented that 'it is with pleasure... that we see so handsome and so complete an edition of the works of his excellent prelate.'³ The work was indeed complete: the three volumes containing 701 + xciv; 990 + xiv; and 994 + xii pages respectively. The cost of the *Works*, in today's values, is something approaching £500. So it was a luxury item for the connoisseur rather than the commonplace reader.

The exclusive element in the work was heightened by the fact that two issues of the work were published in 1773: a large paper copy, of which only twelve were printed for presentation by John Hoadly, and a standard copy, of which three hundred were printed.⁴ Like many such works it was published without recourse to a subscription because it was commissioned by John Hoadly as a tribute to his father. A further reason

Millar. He entered in partnership with Millar in 1765, and became the sole proprietor in 1767. He was perhaps the leading bookseller in London until his retirement in 1793. He was succeeded by the firm of Cadell & Davies, consisting of his son Thomas Cadell (1773-1836) and William Davies (d. 1820). Cadell Jr. acted as sole proprietor after the death of Davies, and the firm came to a conclusion with his own death in 1836.

³ *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, July to December 1774, pp. 195 et seq.

⁴ K. Maslen & J. Lancaster (eds), *The Bowyer Ledgers* (London 1991), p. 390. Item 4986 in the ledgers records the publication date as 17 April 1773 and indicates that the three hundred standard copies were printed on writing demy, a high quality paper, and the large papers copies on medium demy. Altogether the printing took 711 sheets and six and a half reams extra for including the biographical article on Hoadly. The details of the printing were: '2° Vol. 1, 200 shts (π^2 a-q² r1 s-2a² A-7L² 7M1 7N-SP²); vol. 2, 251 shts (a-c² d1 A-11M² 11N1 11P-11S²); vol. 3 251½ shts (a-c² A-11S² 11T1). LEDGER P1023 711 shts (sic), 300 writing demy + 12 medium, dd on or just before 17 Apr 73; used 6½ R extra for 'Article Hoadly' [an off-print from vol. 1, b-q² r1 –not seen.]'

why there was no need for a subscription was that even a dozen years after Hoadly's death his books still sold well. While scholars have paid considerable attention to books published by subscription, there has been little discussion of the likely purchasers of such expensive works published without subscription.⁵ The aim of this paper is to address two questions: first what was the difference between the standard and large paper issues, which has been the cause of confusion. And secondly who were the initial purchasers of Hoadly's *Works* and what was the motivation for such a rarified book purchase in the second half of the eighteenth century. David Pearson has rightly pointed out the complex nature of book provenance and the difficulties of identifying original owners of individual books, so this study is an attempt to show that such a study is possible on a small scale.⁶

Benjamin Hoadly

Benjamin Hoadly was a controversial figure in his own lifetime and his ideas reverberated long after his death. As late as the 1790s his support for a repeal of the Test Act (which aimed to exclude all but Anglicans from public office) was widely quoted and his theological opinions were advanced and contested on both sides of the Atlantic well into the nineteenth century. Hoadly was a Latitudinarian, that is, a Low Churchman who was committed to the reunion of the Church of England with Protestant Dissent. To achieve this, he believed that the Church had to grant some latitude in doctrine and

⁵ See, for example, P. J. Korshin, 'Types of Eighteenth Century Literary Patronage' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1974), pp. 453-473 ; J. Feather, 'The Commerce of Letters: The Study of the Eighteenth-Century Book Trade' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 17, No. 4, Special Issue: The Printed Word in the Eighteenth Century (Summer, 1984), pp. 405-424; E. H. Jacobs, 'Buying into Classes: The Practice of Book Selection in Eighteenth-Century Britain' in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33, No. 1, Eighteenth-Century Print Culture (Fall 1999), pp. 43-64; D. Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge 1996); J. Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford 2006).

⁶ D. Pearson, *Provenance in Book History, A Handbook* (London, 1994), pp. 2-3.

practice to accommodate the views of dissenters. In the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), especially when Tory High Churchmen were in the ascendant after 1710, these views were violently attacked in print. But after 1714, under George I (1714-27) and George II (1727-60), Hoadly's Whig Low Church views were more acceptable. Hoadly was promoted to the bishopric of Bangor in 1716 and thereafter to Hereford, Salisbury and finally in 1734 to Winchester where he remained until his death in 1761. Hoadly sparked two major controversies. The Bangorian Controversy of 1716-22 was occasioned by Hoadly's sermon which argued that the Church had no claims to temporal power over consciences and therefore could not persecute people for their beliefs. The sermon sparked a furious controversy in which Hoadly's supporters claimed that he was undermining Church authority and his supporters argued that the Church had appropriated divine authority. The debate continued until 1723 and saw over three hundred books and pamphlets published on the issue. In 1734 Hoadly generated a second furious row when he argued that Holy Communion was simply a commemoration of the Last Supper and conveyed no intrinsic supernatural effect. Such views were naturally contested by High Church Anglicans and even some with more moderate opinions.⁷

Hoadly's Reputation.

The degree to which Benjamin Hoadly was reviled long after his death for his political and theological views is significant. Stephen Hyde Cassan, the compiler of a collective biography of the bishops of Winchester, wrote of Hoadly in 1827, 'I should never have spoken of Hoadly's 'judiciousness' because I believe him to have been profoundly ignorant of the doctrines and constitution of the Church of which he was a

⁷ For more on these controversies and Hoadly's life, see W. Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate, Benjamin Hoadly 1671-1761* (Cambridge, 2004).

bishop. In short, he was the greatest *Dissenter* who ever held preferment in the Church.’ Cassan could not even bring himself to write an original biography of Hoadly, resorting instead to copying his entry from the *Biographica Britannica*. At the end of the work Cassan could not restrain himself from further attacking Hoadly in the addenda to the lives. He noted that, since a cut had to be made in a column in Winchester Cathedral for Hoadly’s monument, ‘it may be said with truth of Bishop Hoadly that both living and dead he undermined the Church of which he was a prelate!’⁸

This attack on Hoadly is echoed by at least one contemporary reader. Inscribed in the copy of Hoadly’s *Works* at Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, are the words:

I believe these to be the only Socinian vols ever published by a Ch of Eng. Bishop let no one of the children come to them except for purposes of defence of Church Doctrine in the name of the Lord Jesus seen in His true bishops and manifoldly strengthened in the [illeg] and then confirmed Baptismal Grace + Wm.⁹

Such an inscription, not intending principally to indicate ownership, is a rare feature of book inscriptions.¹⁰ It shows that the acquisition of a copy of Benjamin Hoadly’s works was not just a costly one, but one steeped in political and theological controversy.

The Organisation of the *Works*.

The printer of Hoadly’s *Works*, Bowyer and Nichols, was a prestigious firm. The founder, William Bowyer, was a graduate of St John’s College, Cambridge, who had secured the right to print the votes of the Commons in 1729 and became printer to the Society of Antiquaries, and later to the Royal Society and the House of Lords. In 1773,

⁸ S. H. Cassan, *The Lives of the Bishops of Winchester...* (London 1827), vol. 2, pp. 223, 404.

⁹ I am grateful to Ilhan Citak, of Lehigh University Library, Special Collections, for this information. The identity of the author remains unclear.

¹⁰ Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, pp. 50-2.

when Hoadly's *Works* were printed, he was 74, and died four years later. In 1759 Bowyer took John Nichols as his apprentice.¹¹ Nichols was an Islington baker's son who quickly impressed Bowyer and with whom he formed a partnership in 1766. By the time Bowyer and Nichols printed Hoadly's *Works*, they had established themselves as the foremost publisher and private printer for gentlemen. Indeed, given that the work ran to three large volumes and almost 3,000 pages, it was only a firm of Bowyer and Nichols's standing and experience that could cope with such a large publication.

John Hoadly, the Bishop's younger son, who commissioned the work, assumed editorial responsibility for it, and assiduously tracked down his father's publications, as well as his letters to Lady Sundon, who had been lady of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline.¹² These were the only significant body of his father's letters that survived. He arranged the material in the volumes in a broadly thematic fashion within which he arranged works chronologically. The first volume contained an account of his father's life, as well as a range of tracts and works on the Church and State; the second contained tracts Hoadly had written on the controversy in which he had engaged with Francis Atterbury (later bishop of Rochester) on the submission to the civil magistrate,¹³ and the extensive writings Hoadly had published on the Bangorian controversy of 1716-22; and the third volume contained his political writings, during the 1710 election, the

¹¹ John Nichols (1745-1826), printer, was based at 4, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street at the time of the printing of Hoadly's *Works*. He had been educated at Islington School under John Shield, but failed in his attempt to obtain Cambridge University privileges in 1765. Until Bowyer's death in 1777 he traded as part of Bowyer and Nichols, and later as a sole trader and finally with her son. He was apprenticed to William Bowyer for £20 in 1759, and became a freeman of the Stationers Company in 1766 (he served as master in 1804). Between 1766 and 1799 he provided 20 apprenticeships. He was associated with the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1778, and was sole manager from 1792 to his death. He published the Domesday Book edited by William Farley in 1783. He acknowledged his debt to William Bowyer in naming his son John Bowyer Nichols and in his literary anecdotes.

¹² For the content of Hoadly's letters to Lady Sundon and the Bishop's anxiety at their publication see, Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate*.

¹³ For details of Atterbury's career, see D. W. Hayton, 'Atterbury, Francis (1663-1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), hereafter cited as *ODNB*.

‘Britannicus’ letters in the *London Journal*, his account of the life of the Reverend Samuel Clarke,¹⁴ and his defence against Bernard Fournier’s attempt to defraud him of eight thousand guineas.¹⁵ The frontispiece to the *Works* was the portrait of Hoadly by the noted engraver James Basire,¹⁶ taken from the wax bust of Hoadly by the celebrated wax modeler, Isaac Gosset inscribed with Hoadly’s favourite phrase ‘Veritas et Patria’ –truth and country.¹⁷

The Large Paper Copies.

In *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Comprising Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, printer, FSA...* published by John Nichols in 1812, the *Works* of Hoadly were described in some detail. It confirms that

of these large and handsome volumes only twelve copies were printed on fine royal paper, for his Majesty’s and a few other Public Libraries, particularly those of the College and Cathedral at Winchester; and if I mistake not, to Catharine Hall and to Bene’t College, Cambridge.¹⁸

From the *English Short Title Catalogue* it is possible to reconstruct the location of seventy copies of Hoadly’s *Works*. It is also possible now to determine that the distinguishing characteristic of the twelve large paper copies was indeed paper quality and guttering rather than the text or print area itself. One institution to own both a large and a standard copy, the British Library, reports that the large paper copy (BL shelfmark

¹⁴ For Clarke, see J. Gascoigne, ‘Clarke, Samuel (1675–1729)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Bernard Fournier was a Catholic convert who counterfeited a document from Hoadly purporting to show that the bishop owed Fournier money.

¹⁶ For James Basire, see reference in L. Peltz, ‘Basire, Isaac (1704–1768)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁷ J. Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait 1550–1835* (London 1981), p. 225. For Gosset, see M. Craske and L. Craske, ‘Gosset, Isaac (1713–1799)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁸ *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, Comprising Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, printer, FSA...* (London 1812), vol. 3, pp. 140–3. Bene’t College is now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

17 h 2-4) has a gutter that is approximately 4.0 cm and the page size is 41.8 x 27.0 cm; whereas in the standard issue (BL shelfmark 479 h 9-11) the gutter is approximately 3.5 cm and the page size is 36.8 x 22.0 cm.¹⁹ The only other library that possesses a copy of both issues, that of St Catherine's College, Cambridge, shows a page height of 39.5 cm for the large paper copy compared with 38 cm for the standard.²⁰ In comparing the large and standard copies in St Catherine's College library, it is clear that the print space is the same and the leading and spacing of letters is identical, so that the printers did not adopt the practice for some large paper copies of unlocking the type, moving it apart and printing a version with a larger print area. A printer's error on page 534 is reproduced in both versions, and while this is not conclusive proof, it suggests that the same print matrix may have been used for both copies.²¹ The principal difference between the two copies therefore is the *weight* and quality of the paper, which means that the first volume of the large paper issue is 7.6 cm wide whereas the standard copy is 6.2 cm wide. The paper area is slightly larger on the large paper issue, though the bespoke binding of the standard copy means that this has been cropped differently in each case. However in the St Catherine's College copies, the paper is 1.6 cm higher, and 1.5 cm wider.

The binding of all the large paper copies was undertaken at John Hoadly's request, since they were presentation items, which would not have been given unbound.

¹⁹ I owe this information to Malcolm P Marjoram, Rare Books Reference Service of the British Library. The discovery of this information has resulted in the amendment of the ESTC entry, removing the copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California from the list of those libraries with a large paper copy. The British Library also owns vols 1 and 3 of a third copy previously in the possession of Arurah House.

²⁰ I am grateful to Mrs Suzan Griffiths of St Catherine's College Library for this information and for generously helping me to examine the two copies in the college's library. The large paper copy in St Catherine's College has a printed presentation sheet before the half-title page. The standard copy in the possession of St Catherine's College was donated in 1904 by Miss C. M. Ridding, a descendant of Hoadly through his sister Hannah, who first married John Childe the printed and subsequently Thomas Ridding.

²¹ On page 534, the pagination, which is normally in square brackets, is printed thus: (534] –i.e. the opening bracket is round not square.

The volumes in St Catharine's College are full leather bound in calf. The volumes are gilded with a fine fruit and leaf design with roses and thistles, which has been embossed around all four edges of each volume, front and back. The end papers were marbled paper, though these have been overlaid at a later date.²²

Of the twelve large paper copies, nine are listed in the *English Short Title Catalogue*.²³ The copies were produced as presentation volumes for John Hoadly to give to specific individuals and institutions each of which included a printed inscription, indicating the reason for the gift and the connection with either John or Benjamin Hoadly. Of these, the copy in the British Library was originally a gift to King George III, to whom the work was dedicated.²⁴ Those copies in Winchester Cathedral Library and Winchester College Fellows Library were presented by John Hoadly on publication and inscribed to indicate this donation.²⁵ Similarly the copy in the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge was inscribed to indicate that it was donated by John Hoadly, who was an alumnus of Bene't College, a predecessor of Corpus Christi College. Another large paper copy was given to Bishop Hoadly's *alma mater*, St Catherine's College.²⁶

²² I am very grateful to Ms Sarah Fletcher of St Catharine's College, Cambridge for sending me images of the bindings.

²³ A tenth is certainly at Winchester Cathedral Library, though not listed on ESTC. As a result of research for this article the eleventh was identified in the library of St Catherine's College, Cambridge and will be shortly listed on ESTC.

²⁴ George III was an avid book collector, by 1820 it was recorded that he had spent a fifth of his income on books.

²⁵ These are inscribed: "To the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Winchester the Works of Bp Hoadly are presented by his only surviving son, the editor; as a remembrance of his Father's public connexion with them, and an acknowledgement of his own private happiness for upwards of twenty years in that Society, 1773." And "To the society of Winchester-College, the works of Bishop Hoadly are presented, by his only surviving son, the editor: as an acknowledgement of the civilities received by him, through a course of thirty-five years, from the respective members of that body. MDCCLXXIII."

²⁶ And inscribed "To the society of Catherine-Hall Cambridge in which he was some time Fellow and Tutor the works of Bishop Hoadly are humbly presented by his only surviving son the editor 1773." A second standard paper copy was given by a descendant of Bishop Hoadly's sister and is inscribed: "This book belonged to Thomas Ridding, third son of Archdeacon Thomas Ridding and Hannah Childe, sister of Bp Hoadly...should go to St Catharine's College, C.M. Ridding Aug 1 1904."

Other large paper copies are in Cambridge University Library (making Cambridge home to four), which seems likely also to have been a gift from John Hoadly, as might the copy originally owned by Bishop Beilby Porteus of London, which is now at the Senate House Library, London University. Of the remaining large paper copies, that in the possession of Wadham College, Oxford was bequeathed to the college in 1775 by Richard Warner, who was a botanist, literary scholar, and probably a friend of John Hoadly.²⁷ A similar gift by Hoadly to a literary friend was made to the Revd Thomas Newcombe, rector of Barlavington in Sussex. Newcombe was a poet and a fellow Whig who moved in the same circles as John Hoadly, being a client of the Duke of Newcastle, and often wrote odes on the events of the day. It may be that Hoadly's presentation of a copy to Newcombe was an act of charity since he was living in very distressed circumstances at the time of the gift.²⁸ This copy is now in the possession of Liverpool University Library.

Watermarks.

The watermarks in the paper used in the standard issue copies seems to be of two types. Some paper contains a fleur de lis watermark, straddling the chain lines; other paper contains the watermark of a capital letter B. In both cases, the printing process means that the watermarks appear upside down on some pages, as would be expected. Neither of the watermarks appears in the currently available databases of paper watermarks.²⁹

²⁷ G. S. Boulger, 'Warner, Richard (1713?–1775)', rev. D. J. Maberley, *ODNB*.

²⁸ Paul Baines, 'Newcomb, Thomas (1681/2–1765)', *ODNB*.

²⁹ The author has used the following databases to attempt to trace fleur de lis and letter B watermarks used in London in 1773 without success: the Bernstein Memory of Paper database (<http://www.memoryofpaper.eu/> accessed 26 March 2016); the Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive (<http://www.gravell.org/> accessed 26 March 2016) and the various databases housed at the University of Warwick Literary Manuscript Analysis site (<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/lima/paper/evidence/> accessed 26 March 2016).

The large paper copies, however, have clearly identifiable watermarks. One of these is the letters LVG between the chain lines of the paper.³⁰ The Gravell Watermark Archive has an instance of such paper in its database, from a letter dated 1755 in Hobart Papers in the Folger Library in Washington DC.³¹ A second record of such watermarked paper comes from the Bernstein Memory of Paper database. The paper is ascribed to Lubertus van Gerrevink a leading Dutch paper-maker whose mill was at Egmond aan den Hoef in Holland. The mill was actively producing paper between 1690 and 1819.³² There is also a watermark of a fleur de lis in the large paper issue, but as this was one of the commonest watermark symbols (with over five hundred separate examples in the Bernstein database alone) it is not traceable. What can be said therefore about the paper used in the two issues of the *Works* is that they almost certainly came from two sources, the higher quality paper being that of a noted Dutch paper-marker of some eminence.³³

Purchasers.

Who in 1773, or subsequent years, made the investment of four pounds ten shillings for their own copy of the *Works* of Hoadly? Clearly Bishop Jonathan Shipley was prepared to pay over ten pounds –as he had to pay for them to be half bound and lettered- for two copies. That Shipley ordered the items to be bound indicates that they could be bought unbound for purchasers to decide on their own binding. But who were the other purchasers? In total fifteen individual purchasers have been identified from those copies listed in the *ESTC*. These were: Stanesby Alchorne, Abel Smith, William

³⁰ I am extremely grateful to Sarah Fletcher of St Catharine's College, Cambridge for sending me images of the watermarks.

³¹ It records the paper as INIT.282.1 and the Folger shelf mark for the letter is X.d. 490 (1).

³² The example on Bernstein's Memory of Paper database (www.memoryofpaper.oeaw.ac.uk) is from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung in Munich. The database reference is Mbs.53.

³³ Lubertus van Gerrevink made the paper on which Thomas Jefferson drafted the Virginia constitution in 1776, D. Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*, Dover Publication, New York, 1947, p. 16.

Taylor, Samuel Jellicoe, Will Deacon, Richard Price, Francis Ferrand Foljambe, Lord Glenbervie, Robert Hoadly-Ashe, Andrew Burnaby, Martin Routh, the Duke of Grafton, Bishop Richard Terrick, Bishop John Douglas and Bishop James Yorke. A further five institutional purchasers were Durham Cathedral, Lincoln's Inn, All Souls College, University College, and Christ Church, Oxford.

Institutional Purchasers.

Of the institutional purchasers, Lincoln's Inn bought and bound the book in leather with gold lettering.³⁴ Durham Cathedral Library also purchased a copy in 1773;³⁵ and the library committee of All Souls College, Oxford took the decision to make the purchase on 17 November 1774.³⁶ This copy was part of the gift of a collection of theology books from All Souls to the Brotherton Library of Leeds University in 1929. It seems likely that the copies at University College, Oxford and Christ Church, Oxford were also purchased new.³⁷ It is also clear that some purchasers made the decision to buy copies with the intention of donating them to institutions. Robert Ashe, for example, who was a nephew by marriage of John Hoadly (John Hoadly married Elizabeth Ashe, whose brother was Robert Ashe's father), viewed his great-uncle with some regard, even entering a controversy with the Catholic bishop John Milner to defend him. In 1793 Robert Ashe hyphenated his name with Hoadly's on inheriting his uncle's estate. In 1773 Robert Ashe bought at least three copies of Benjamin Hoadly's *Works* and gave one each to Pembroke College, Oxford, of which he was an alumnus, and Corpus Christi College,

³⁴ Lambeth Palace Library acquired this copy in 1954.

³⁵ The copy in Durham Cathedral Library contains an inscription indicating that the books were bought new on all three volume title pages. I owe this to Ms Joan Williams, Assistant Librarian, Durham Cathedral Library.

³⁶ David Pearson makes the point that institutional records of book purchases are a vital source for book historians, Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, p. 172.

³⁷ I am grateful to Dr Robin Darwell-Smith, of University College and Janet McMullin of Christ Church for this information.

Oxford. It seems he also gave a copy to Henry Hall, whose copy is now in the Library of Johns Hopkins University, and inscribed "From the late Chancellor Hoadly's nephew".³⁸ In the middle of the nineteenth century Bishop Hoadly's American descendent, Charles J. Hoadly, also bought two copies, one for the Watkinson Library at Hartford, Connecticut, where he was State Librarian, and a second for Trinity College, Hartford. The merger of the two libraries in 1950 means that the Watkinson Library of Trinity College owns two copies of the work.³⁹

In the same way, the copy purchased by the radical Whig Richard Price was donated to Harvard University and is inscribed "To the University at Cambridge in New-England from Dr. Price".⁴⁰ Richard Price was also responsible for the donation of the copy in the Franklin Public Library, which claimed to be the first public library in the USA.⁴¹ When Franklin, Massachusetts, was incorporated in 1778 it was named for Benjamin Franklin; seven years later the citizens of the town asked Franklin to respond to this honour by donating a bell for the meeting house. Franklin felt that books would be a preferable gift, so he asked Richard Price to select books to be the initial stock of a library for the town. The *Works of Benjamin Hoadly* was one of the books Price chose.⁴² At this time, Richard Price was the Pastor of the Newington Green Presbyterian Chapel and was a DD of Aberdeen University as well as a Fellow of the Royal Society. He joined Shelburne's circle about this time, along with Jonathan Shipley. Like Hoadly, he was opposed to the strictures of clerical subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles of the

³⁸ I am grateful to Paul Espinosa, Library Assistant, George Peabody Library, Johns Hopkins University, for this information. See also [Anon.], rev. Robert Brown Ashe, 'Robert Hoadly-Ashe (1750/51-1826)', *ODNB*.

³⁹ I own this information to Peter J. Knapp of Trinity College, Hartford.

⁴⁰ I owe this to John Overholt, The Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson/Early Modern Books and Manuscripts, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁴¹ A claim disputed by the Boston Public Library which opened in 1848.

⁴² I owe this information to Ms Denise Coughlin of the Franklin Public Library.

Church of England and published arguments for the abolition of the Test Act, something Hoadly had also advocated. In time, Price became an Arian, to which principles Hoadly was sympathetic, having been a close friend and biographer of the leading Arian Samuel Clarke.⁴³ What could be more natural for a thinker sympathetic to the American colonist cause, than to buy two copies of Hoadly's *Works* and send one to Harvard as a gift and the other to a town named for Benjamin Franklin?⁴⁴ Other Whig radicals also bought copies. The copy in the library of the University of Aberdeen was bought by the library of King's College, Aberdeen, with money from a bequest given by Thomas Hollis of Corscombe, Dorset (1720-1774).⁴⁵ Thomas Hollis was a radical philosopher who espoused republican ideas of reforming the British government. He was also a prolific writer and book collector who gave many radical philosophical works to important libraries including Harvard's.⁴⁶

Book Collectors.

Of the other purchasers, some were noted book collectors rather than staunch adherents to Hoadly's political and religious views. Stanesby Alchorne (1727-1800) was King's Assay-Master in the Mint and his bookplate gave his address as 'The Tower of London.' He was one of the most assiduous and discriminating book collectors of the eighteenth century, building a library of numismatics and botany as well as other antiquarian subjects. Among his books were items by Caxton. On Alchorne's death Earl Spencer bought his library, picked out the best and rarest items, and sold the residue

⁴³ D. O. Thomas, 'Richard Price, (1723-1791)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ Thomas Hollis, who donated a copy of the works of John Milton to the people of Massachusetts, inscribed them to the 'People of Massachusetts... when your country shall be cultivated, advanced like this country, and your shore become elegant, refined in civil life, then –if not before- 'ware your liberties''. J. L. Abbott, 'Thomas Hollis and the Society, 1756-74' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 119, 1971, p. 713.

⁴⁵ King's College and Marischal College joined in 1860 to form the present day University of Aberdeen.

⁴⁶ [F. Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, esq*, London, J. Nichols, 2 vols. 1780.

which fetched over £1,700 on its re-sale in 1813.⁴⁷ Coincidentally, Spencer also obtained a copy of Hoadly's *Works* though not from Alchorne, and this was bought by Mrs Rylands for her library from the 5th Earl in 1892.⁴⁸ Another book collector was the Revd Samuel Harper, FRS, librarian at the British Museum. Among his duties were to select books to be bought, and identify duplicates to be sold from the Museum library. He also built up a significant personal collection of books. On the sale of Harper's books in 1802 his copy of Hoadly's *Works* was bought by the assiduous book collector William Henry Miller for his library at Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire. Miller was particularly discriminating in book purchases, and carried a foot rule with him so as to measure the size of the books he wished to buy, consequently he was nicknamed 'Measure Miller.'⁴⁹

Some collectors clearly purchased the works because they sympathised with Hoadly's political and religious views. Abel Smith (1717-1788) was a merchant who also established a series of banks in the east midlands including at Nottingham and subsequently at Lincoln and Hull. In 1774 he was, through the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, returned as MP for Aldborough and later St Ives. He was clearly a Whig, and benefited from a government victualling contract during the American War of Independence. In due course, Smith acquired a sugar estate in Jamaica. Little is known of Smith's religious views, though he was baptized an Anglican.⁵⁰ But as a Whig under Newcastle's patronage he would have supported Hoadly's politics. It is significant that a

⁴⁷ After Alchorne's death his copy of Hoadly's *Works* passed to the library of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and thence to Glasgow University Library.

⁴⁸ I owe this information to Thomas Gordon of John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

⁴⁹ P. R. Harris, 'Harper, Samuel (1732-1803)', *ODNB*. The Britwell Court Library was purpose-built with its own early fire proof system of water hydrants. The collection was sold in 1919. This copy was acquired by Duke University, North Carolina in 1927. I owe this information to Janie Morris, Research Services Librarian, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

⁵⁰ Jacob M. Price, rev., 'Abel Smith (1717-1788)' in *ODNB*. Smith's copy found its way into the library of Ruth and Chester Greenough, which was donated to the library of the Andover-Harvard Theological Library

merchant and politician saw in Hoadly familiar principles which he espoused. William Taylor (1765-1836), was too young to have bought a copy of Hoadly's *Works* on publication, he bought his copy in 1783, when it may be reasonable to assume copies were still available from Horsfield. In that year, Taylor had returned from the Grand Tour and had entered his family's Norwich mercantile business. It seems he was unsuited for a business career since his biographer notes 'in his leisure hours he immersed himself in literary pursuits and read widely in heterodox literature.' In some respects his reading of Hoadly may have helped to form his ideas since

in the late 1780s Taylor became increasingly prominent in the whiggish and dissenting intellectual circles in Norwich. He actively supported such liberal causes as the abolition of the slave trade and repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He gained a reputation as a formidable conversationalist with a passion for argument.⁵¹

All these had a clear resonance with Hoadly's intellectual legacy.

Of other purchasers only sketchy information remains. One owner, Will Deacon, is most likely to have been William Frederick Deacon (1799-1845), a Cambridge graduate and literary scholar, who spent most of his life trying to make sufficient income from writing and books. He edited a number of journals including the *London Magazine* and the *Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review*.⁵² The question remains how Deacon afforded his copy. Another purchaser, Francis Ferrand Moore Foljambe (1749-1815) added the name Foljambe to his own on inheriting an estate from his uncle, Thomas

⁵¹ David Chandler, 'William Taylor (1765-1836)', in *ODNB*. From Taylor's library Hoadly's *Works* disappeared from view until it resurfaced in 1911 and was bought by the library of the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

⁵² R. M. Healey, 'William Frederick Deacon (1799-1845)', in *ODNB*. From Deacon's library it also passed from view until obtained by The Newberry Library, Chicago which purchased the volumes in 1917 from Walter M. Hill, a Chicago book dealer.

Foljambe; and in 1774 he inherited Osberton Hall, Nottinghamshire from his first wife, Mary-Arabella Thornhaugh. There he created the estate of the Foljambes of Osberton. Francis Ferrand Moore Foljambe was an MP for Yorkshire in 1784, and also seems to have been an avid book collector, building up the Osberton Hall Library, and adding the family monogram to spines and title pages of the books. The library contained considerable manuscript material in addition to estate records. This manuscript collection has now been distributed to, among others, the British Library in London, the Berkshire Record Office, Nottinghamshire Archives and Sheffield Archives. Over time, the Foljambe library was steadily eroded through sales at a number of leading book auctioneers, including Maggs and Christies. Among the items bought by Foljambe was a copy of Francis Barlow's 1703 edition of *Aesop's Fables*. It is clear that Foljambe purchased a copy of Hoadly's *Works* and had it bound for the Osberton library.⁵³ The title page of the third volume is marked with Foljambe's book stamp of three italic Fs – indicating Francis Ferrand Foljambe.⁵⁴ A similar story accounts for the copy purchased by Revd Dr Andrew Burnaby. Burnaby was vicar of Greenwich and a Cambridge graduate who had travelled in North America and served as chaplain at Leghorn between 1762 and 1767. In 1770 he married Anna Edwyn heiress of Barrgrave Hall in Leicestershire. The marriage bought Burnaby sufficient money to build up a major collection of books at Barrgrave, one of which was Hoadly's *Works*.⁵⁵

Another purchaser was Sylvester Douglas, later Lord Glenbervie, (1743-1823), who was a graduate of Aberdeen and lawyer at Lincoln's Inn. In due course Douglas

⁵³ This copy of Hoadly's *Works* is in the possession of the author, purchased from Howes Bookshop, Hastings.

⁵⁴ For book stamps, see Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, pp. 87-92.

⁵⁵ This copy of Hoadly's *Works* is in the possession of the author.

married the daughter of Lord North and entered politics, becoming secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Westmorland. In 1800 he was due to be appointed governor of the Cape Colony in South Africa when a change of ministry aborted his appointment, and he was consoled with the post of paymaster for the army.⁵⁶ Although a Tory, and therefore not likely to have had much sympathy with Hoadly's Whig views, Glenbervie was a literary scholar and significant book connoisseur, publishing a translation from the Italian of *The First Canto of Ricciardetto: Translated from the Italian of Forteguerra* in 1822. He was also a trustee of the British Museum and a long-standing diarist.⁵⁷

The third Duke of Grafton (1735-1811) purchased his copy of Hoadly's *Works* in 1792. Grafton was a Whig minister and in later life became a Unitarian, which gave him a dual interest in Hoadly's ideas. He was also an assiduous book collector, which added a further motive for him to buy a copy of the *Works*. His copy was subsequently bought by W. E. Gladstone, who was a noted theological scholar and had considered taking Holy Orders prior to pursuing a political career. This copy was subsequently donated, with most of Gladstone's other books, to St Deiniol's Library in Hawarden, North Wales.⁵⁸ This copy of Hoadly's *Works* shows the importance of retaining book provenance in spite of the passage of the volumes through three owners.

The three bishops who purchased Hoadly's *Works*, Richard Terrick, James Yorke and John Douglas, were respectively bishops of London, Ely and Salisbury at the time of their purchases of the books. Terrick was a strictly orthodox bishop, who supported the government during the American colonial contests, who might be an unlikely purchaser

⁵⁶ H. G. Rose, *A New Biographical Dictionary* (London 1848).

⁵⁷ His copy of Hoadly's *Works* is now in the possession of Edinburgh University Library. Roland Thorne, 'Douglas, Sylvester, Baron Glenbervie (1743-1823)', *ODNB*.

⁵⁸ I owe this information to Patsy Williams, Librarian, St Deiniol's Library.

of Hoadly.⁵⁹ In fact he did not buy the book for himself, but donated it to Sion College Library in London.⁶⁰ Bishop James Yorke was the son of the Whig Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who owed his advancement to family patronage. Yorke was a collector and spent large sums on clothes and books, and it is no surprise that he bought a copy of a book which collected together the politics and theology from his father's period in government.⁶¹ John Douglas, a distant cousin of Lord Glenbervie, was also a scholarly and literary divine with interests in journalism; he had even discussed Jansenism with Montesquieu. He was a Whig and succeeded Hoadly in the diocese of Salisbury, both reasons may have motivated his decision to invest in a copy of the *Works*.⁶²

The final identified individual purchaser was Martin Routh. It is unlikely that he bought the books in 1773, since he was just about to graduate, but it is possible that he did so soon afterwards. The books remained in his collection until 1855 when, on his death, they were bequeathed to Durham University Library.⁶³ Routh was a classical scholar, but who clearly had a strong admiration for the divines of the early eighteenth century. He was, by inclination, a Tory High Churchman, and seems to have bought Hoadly's *Works* as a curiosity, although he shared with Hoadly a sense that the Church of England was the best form of 'catholic' Christianity.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ G. M. Ditchfield, 'Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)', *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Each volume has the inscription: "Bibliothecae huic Sionensi hunc Librum donavit Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater Ricardus Episcopus Londinensis anno Xti MDCCLXXIII" –I owe this reference to Anna James, Assistant Librarian at Lambeth Palace, which inherited the rarer items from Sion College.

⁶¹ Bishop James Yorke is little-documented, not even earning an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. His only notice in any depth is E. A. B. Barnard, 'A Georgian Prelate: James Yorke, Bishop of Ely, 1781-1808' in *Notes and Queries*, April 1949. The copy owned by Yorke is now in the possession of the Library of the University of New South Wales in Australia, it is inscribed: "SUCCESSORIBUS SUI IN SEDE ELIENSI LEGAVIT PRÆSUL MUNIFICUS HON. IACOBUS YORKE MDCCCVIII."

⁶² Ian Simpson Ross, 'Douglas, John (1721-1807)' *ODNB*. This copy passed to the collection of John Keate before coming into the possession of Reading University Library.

⁶³ For the donation of Routh's books to Durham see Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, pp. 144, 203.

⁶⁴ V. H. H. Green, 'Routh, Martin Joseph (1755-1854)', *ODNB*.

There remain some unidentified original owners of other surviving copies of Hoadly's *Works*. For example, the copy in the library of New College, Oxford has the name James Ranke Holmes in it, but this individual is untraced. The bookplate, above the name, has the motto "Inter folia fructus" –a common motto for bookplates- beneath which there is a drawing of a strawberry plant with foliage, flowers and berries.⁶⁵ Similarly the copy obtained by the Library of Congress in 1873 has the name 'Sam'l Jellicoe' in it, but this person is untraced. The copy owned by the University of California, Riverside, is inscribed "W___de Le" but this does not help in tracing its purchaser.⁶⁶

Hoadly's *Works* remained available for many years after their publication, though their second hand value fell. In January 1842 the new London Library bought a copy from Baynes, a London bookseller.⁶⁷ In 1843 John Bohn advertised a copy bound in calf for sale for three guineas.⁶⁸ As late as 1880, Frederick Muller & Co of Librairie Ancienne in Amsterdam sold a copy for one pound eighteen shillings to the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia.⁶⁹ Some nineteenth century purchasers of second-hand copies of Hoadly's *Works* are of significance. The copy in the Founders' Library at

⁶⁵ I owe this information to Naomi van Loo, Librarian of New College. The style of this bookplate may be nineteenth century which suggests that Ranke Holmes was not the first owner. For bookplates as a source of information see Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, pp.69-82.

⁶⁶ This copy was sold to the University by Professor Henry Snyder, who wrote to me: "I bought them in England in 1965 if I recall correctly. The book had been in the stock of Day's Booksellers, a London firm before World War II. After the war the last partner (?) took the stock and opened a small shop in Oxfordshire. I visited him and bought some things from him. The folios from the London stock went to a book shop in Aylesbury. I visited there and inquired about them. I was taken to a warehouse some distance from the shop. It was very impressive. I had been looking for Hoadly for some years. This was the only set I ever saw offered for sale. I purchased it." –Pers. com. 29 April 2008.

⁶⁷ I owe this information to Mrs Amanda Corp of the London Library.

⁶⁸ *Catalogue of English Books in all classes of Literature on sale by John Bohn, 11, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden* (London 1843). In the same catalogue, Bohn advertised seven other works by Hoadly ranging in price from a shilling to five shillings. For Bohn see Pearson, *Provenance in Book History*, p. 156.

⁶⁹ I own this information to Miss Jan McDonald, Rare Books Librarian of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

University of Wales Trinity Saint David was given to St David's College, Lampeter in 1847, as part of a series of generous donations by Thomas Phillips given between 1830 and 1851 of over 20,000 items, most of which were purchased in London book and manuscript auctions.⁷⁰ The Queen's College, Oxford copy was purchased in the 1840s with money left to the College by a benefactor, Robert Mason.⁷¹ The Birmingham Central Library copy, which was obtained in 1902, contains the signature of 'G. M. Clements, October 1869.'⁷² The Norwich Cathedral Library copy was purchased around 1836; the catalogue of that date was annotated to indicate the intention to purchase Hoadly's complete works.⁷³

Conclusion.

It is clear that the costly nature of the *Works* and the controversial nature of Hoadly's Low Church Whig Anglicanism made the purchase of a copy a deliberate theological, political and bibliophilic act. For family members, friends and political or theological supporters, the purchase was clearly an attempt to memorialise Bishop Hoadly and ensure his views lived on after his death. The number and vehemence of Hoadly's opponents provided a strong motivation for such purchases. For those bishops, clergy and book collectors who purchased copies, the antiquarian desire to own a piece of religious history also seems a likely motivation. But the work was also an exclusive publication with only three hundred copies available. Book collectors with even a passing theological interest would have found it hard to ignore or neglect.

⁷⁰ I owe this information to Caroline Pilcher, Special Collections Library Services, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter.

⁷¹ I owe this information to Amanda Saville, Librarian of the Queen's College, Oxford.

⁷² I owe this information to Ian Bolton, Team Leader, Social Sciences, Birmingham Central Library.

⁷³ I owe this information to Mrs Gudrun Warren of Norwich Cathedral Library.

Long after his death, Hoadly remained a hero to some and a villain to others. Horace Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory on 22 June 1782: ‘I suppose tonight I shall dream of Bishop Hoadly for you see, Madam, I am an old Whig even in my sleep’.⁷⁴ Walpole had known Benjamin Hoadly, and regarded him with veneration. For those radical ‘old Whigs’, like Horace Walpole, who looked back to the Glorious Revolution, Benjamin Hoadly was literally an iconic figure –for years Walpole kept a wax bust of Hoadly in the Green Room at Strawberry Hill.⁷⁵ But for others, such as Cassan and the inscriber of the Lehigh University copy, Hoadly was a detested representative of virulent Low Churchmanship, which bordered on nonconformity. Unsurprisingly, the purchasers of Hoadly’s *Works* were principally connoisseur book collectors with either a Whig political outlook or a Latitudinarian theological viewpoint. The desire of these collectors to memorialize Hoadly’s principles can be seen not just in their purchase of his *Works* but in their frequent donation to libraries in America and Britain.

⁷⁴ W. S. Lewis (et al. eds.), *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence* (Yale 1935-1982), vol. 33, p. 339.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 502n.

The owners of Benjamin Hoadly's *Works*.

Those items in **bold** represent copies of the large/royal paper issues. The ESTC entries for this item are hopelessly muddled and fail to distinguish between the two issues.

Institution/owner [source of information]	Provenance and first owner
University of Aberdeen Library. [June Ellner, Special Collections]	An annotation dated 1774 on the title page of volume 1 states that it was bought by the library of King's College, Aberdeen with money from a bequest given by Thomas Hollis of Corscombe, Dorset (1720-1774).
Andover-Harvard Theological Library [Russell Pollard, Collections Management Librarian]	First owner, Abel Smith (bookplate); Ruth and Chester Greenough (bookplate) donated to the library
Birmingham Central Library [Ian Bolton, Team Leader, Social Sciences]	Volumes 2 and 3 contain a signature and date on the fly leaf of G. M. Clements, October 1869. A library collation date of 1902
Birmingham University Library [Anne Clarke, Information Assistant Special Collections]	The University Library accession register for 1949 shows that this work was acquired by the University by purchase from Blackwells for £1/5/0 6 January 1949. No information on previous owner.
Bodleian Library Oxford [Lucy Evans, Rare Books]	No indication of provenance.
British Library [BL Corporate Archive Corporate Information Management Unit]	The large paper edition (BL shelfmark 17 h 2-4) is part of King George III Library which came to the British Library (then British Museum) in 1828.
British Library [Malcolm P Marjoram, Rare Books Reference Service]	The standard edition (BL shelfmark 479 h 9-11) has an old British Museum oval stamp (MVSEVM/BRITAN/NICVM) that was in general use by 1811 and had ceased being used by 1834. The Library owns a partial set of the standard edition (just volumes 1 & 3) shelved at RB 31 c 135. They contain a book plate for the 'Library of the Arurah House' to whom they were presented by the Rev. Prof. Major.
University of California, Riverside [Gwido Zlatkes, Reference Librarian]	First owner unknown, inscription "W___de Le" in each vol. Sold to the library by Prof Henry Snyder who bought it from Day's Booksellers UK
Cambridge University Library [From Nicholas Smith, Rare Books Dept]	Assumed to be bought by the library
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Parker Library) [Gill Cannell, Sub Librarian]	Donated directly to the college by John Hoadly.
Corpus Christi College, Oxford [Julian Reid, Archivist,]	Register of "Library Donations and Additions", 1695-1824, records the gift to the library in 1791 of 'Bishop Hoadly's Works, 3 vols. Folio, given by the Revd. Mr. Ash of Southampton'.

Christ Church, Oxford [Janet McMullin, Assistant Librarian]	No annotations and no indication of ownership. The collection in which they are shelved is named after Otho Nicholson, a general benefactor to Oxford, who gave money in 1613/14 to buy books.
Devon and Exeter Institution Library [Roger Brien, Chief Library Officer]	No information, records destroyed in WW2.
Duke University Library Special Collections [Janie Morris, Research Services Librarian]	Acquired by the library in 1927. Handwritten in volume 1 is an undated note that reads "The 3 volumes were bought at the Britwell Court sale. W. L. Laprade". Bookplate in volume 1 with a crest that reads "sibi Quisque Dat. Rev. S Harper M:A F:R:S"
Durham Cathedral Library [Joan Williams, Assistant Librarian]	Cathedral library was first owner.
Durham University Library [Dr Sheila Hingley, Head of Heritage Collections]	Came with the collection bequeathed by Martin Routh in 1855
Edinburgh University Library [Denise Anderson]	Bookplate of 'Sylvester Lord Glenbervie', Baron Glenbervie, b. 1743.
Emory University Library [Kathy Shoemaker, Research Services Associate Archivist, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.]	Bookplate notes that it once belonged to Emory's Oxford College. There is a name "Charles W. Mitchell" inside the cover.
Franklin Public Library, 118 Main St., Franklin, MA [Denise Coughlin]	Richard Price of London selected the volumes for the library for the town of Franklin.
W Gibson	Revd Andrew Burnaby, vicar of Greenwich [subsequently archdeacon of Leicester] who married Anna Edwyn heiress of Burrgrave Hall in 1770. The purchase of the book was clearly for the library at Burrgrave Hall on publication in 1773. Bought by current owner from Burrgrave Library, Burrgrave Hall, Leicestershire
W. Gibson	Foljambe family, Osberton Hall, bought by the current owner from Howes Bookshop, Hastings
Glasgow University Library [Claire McKendrick, Special Collections Department]	Bookplate of 'Stanesby Alchorne, Tower of London'. Transferred from the library of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland
Harris Manchester College, Oxford	Presented by Miss Mallet in Memory of her Uncle William Flexman Vowler Esq. March 14 1874
Harvard University, Houghton Library [John Overholt, The Donald and Mary Hyde Collection of Dr. Samuel Johnson/Early Modern Books and Manuscripts]	Inscribed "To the University at Cambridge in New-England from Dr. Price".
Huntington Library, San Marino California [Stephen Tabor, Rare Book Librarian.]	No information on provenance, but the HL copy had been listed as a large paper edition, which subsequent examination has proven erroneous.

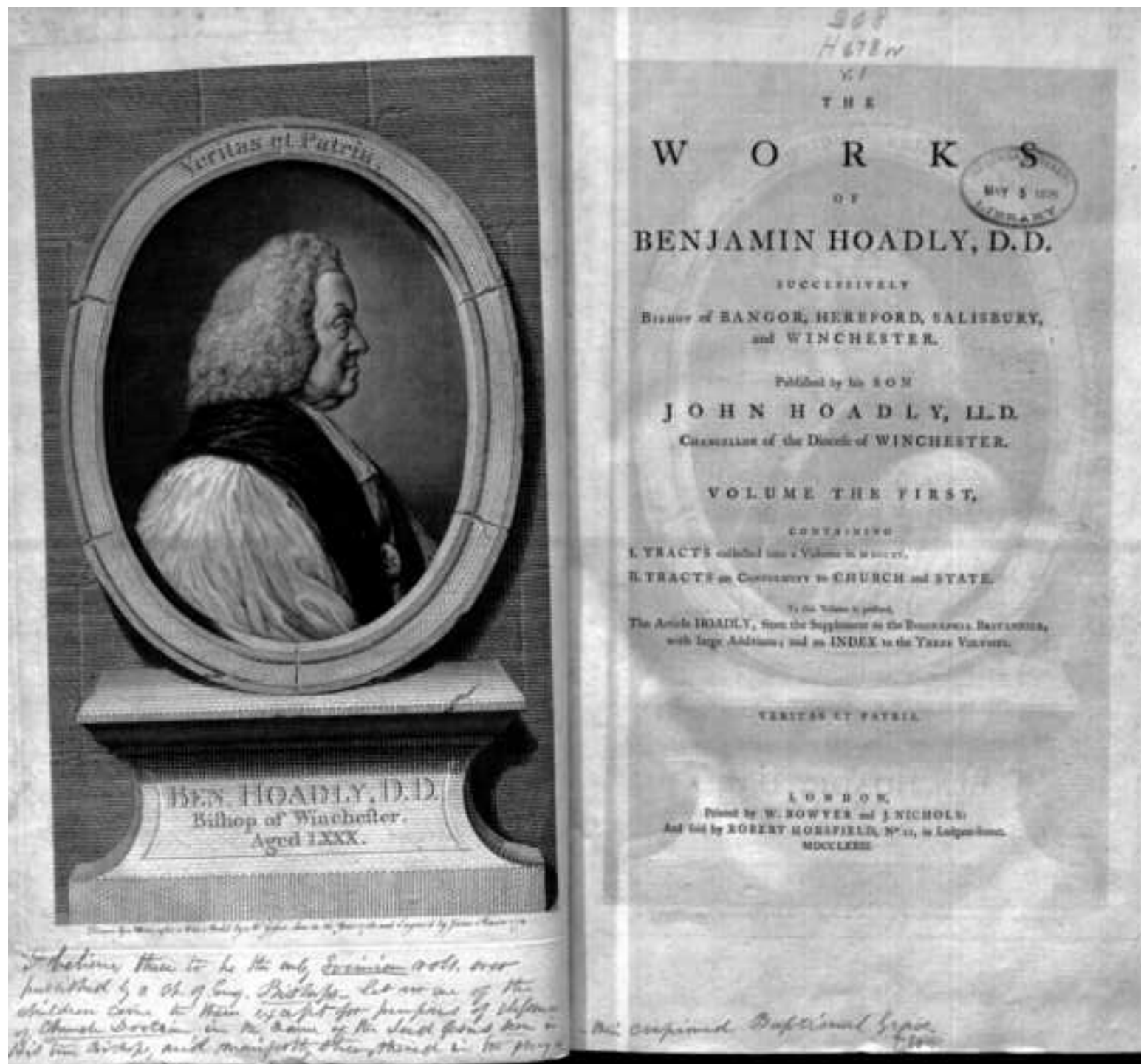
John Rylands University Library, Manchester University [Thomas Gordon]	In 1892 Mrs Rylands purchased the Library (about 40,000 volumes) of John Poyntz Spencer, 5th Earl Spencer.
Johns Hopkins University, Peabody Library. [Paul Espinosa, Library Assistant George Peabody Library]	The first volume is inscribed: "Henry Hall - 1791 3 volumes" (verso of front board) and "From the late Chancellor Hoadly's nephew" (first fly leaf recto) All 3 volumes have bookplates pasted on the verso of the front board "Deposited by the Maryland Historical Society 1921." This bookplate was pasted on top of another one in each volume.
Johns Hopkins University, Eisenhower Collection Main Library [Paul Espinosa, Library Assistant George Peabody Library]	The copy has an early accession number and appears to have been bought in 1864, probably at auction as there is a 'lot number' in the vols.
Lambeth Palace Library (1)	Bought by Lincoln's Inn. Acquired it from Lincoln's Inn Library in 1954. There are no other provenance marks. In addition to a book stamp, Lincolns [sic] Inn Library is lettered in gold on the front board of each volume.
Lambeth Palace Library (2) [Anna James, Assistant Librarian]	Bought by Richard Terrick. The volumes (shelfmark A52.1/H65) were donated to Sion College Library in 1773 by Terrick, Bishop of London. Each volume contains the following inscription: "Bibliothecae huic Sionensi hunc Librum donavit Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater Ricardus Episcopus Londinensis anno Xti MDCCLXXIII".
University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter [Caroline Pilcher, Special Collections. Library Services]	The Hoadly volumes came to the University in 1847 - part of a donation given over the years 1830-1851 of some 20,000 items by Thomas Phillips, most of which one imagines were purchased in London.
Leeds University, Brotherton Library [Richard High, Team Librarian Special Collections, Leeds Norma Aubertin-Potter, Librarian in charge, All Souls]	According to the All Souls College Library Committee Book the purchase of Bishop Hoadly's works was agreed to on 17 November 1774. The only historic ownership information they contain is the bookplate of All Souls College, Oxford. They are part of the All Souls Theology collection which was donated to Leeds University Library in the 1929.
Lehigh University Library [Ilhan Citak, Special Collections]	There is a note with a pencil runs through from the plate on the verso of the frontispiece to the title page and likely to have been there before Lehigh's acquisition. ⁷⁶
Library of Congress [Clark Evans]	First owner Saml. Jellicoe. All three volumes contain a Library of Congress stamp from 1873
Liverpool University Library [Dr Maureen Watry, Head of Special Collections and Archives, Sydney Jones Library]	The second volume has a bookplate on the front pastedown. This bookplate reads Revd T. Newcome
London Library [Mrs Amanda Corp, Issue Desk]	The library bought the work from a bookseller in January 1842. The bookseller was either J. or T. Baynes. Hoadly's works themselves contain no signatures or other clues to previous ownership. As the London Library was founded in 1841, this

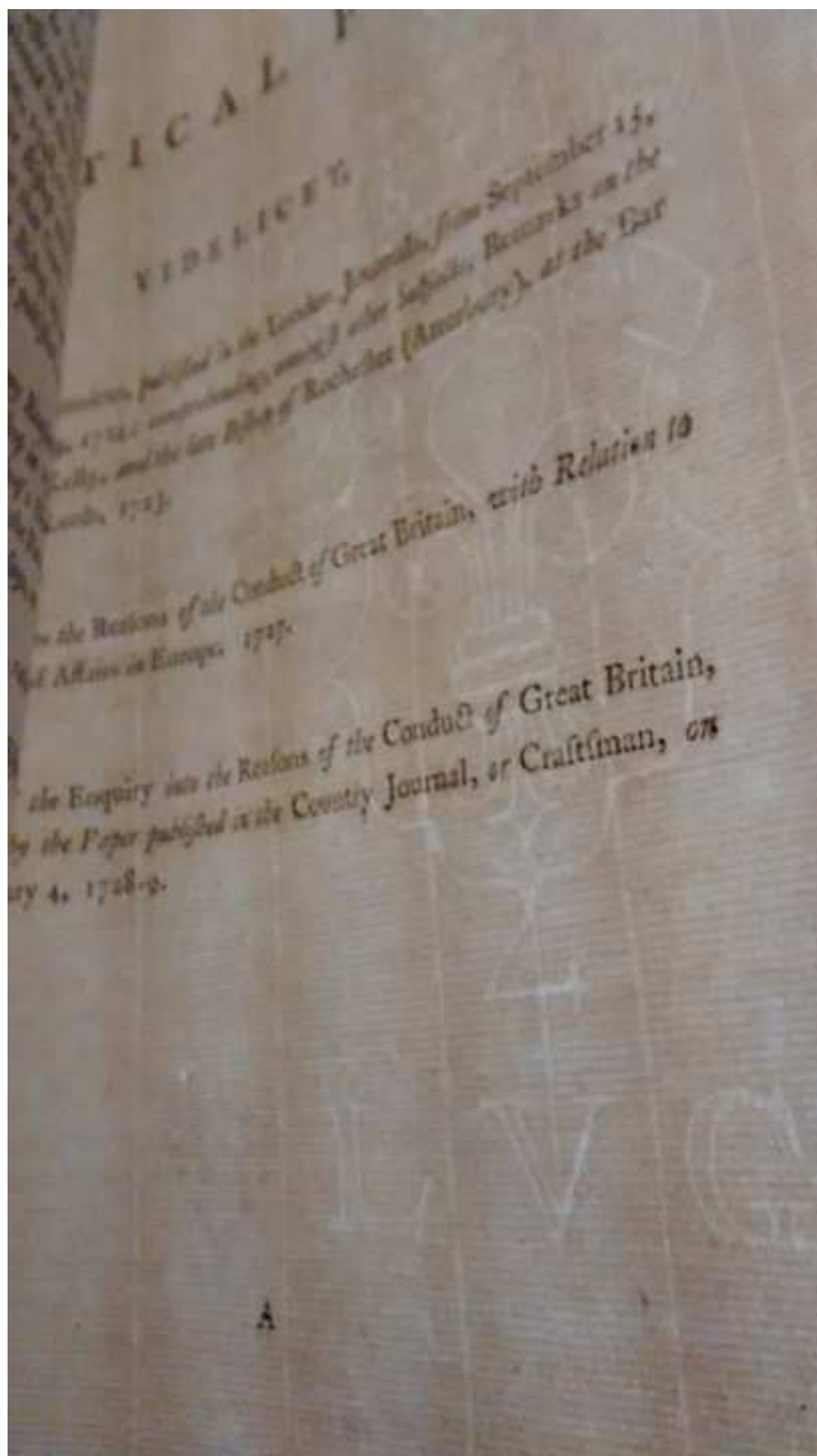
⁷⁶ This reads: "I believe these to be the only Socinian vols ever published by a Ch of Eng. Bishop let no one of the children come to them except for purposes of defence of Church Doctrine in the name of the Lord Jesus seen in His true bishops and manifoldly strengthened in the [iileg] and then confirmed Baptismal Grace +Wm"

	work was part of its earliest acquisitions.
<u>London University, Senate House Library</u> [Dr Karen Attar, Rare Books Librarian]	First owner Bishop Beilby Porteus (1731-1809), whose library belongs to the Church of England and is deposited at the University of London
House of Lords Library [John Greenhead, Senior Assistant Librarian]	Probably acquired between 1897 and 1908. Possibly a bequest from a peer
National Trust [Mark Purcell, Libraries Curator]	MS on front pastedowns: "Lascelles Iremonger. Decr. 18. 1774." Lascelles Iremonger was the Vicar at Goodworth Clatford, Hampshire, and Prebendary of Winchester. He died in 1830. Binding: Eighteenth-century full calf; sewn on to six raised bands; red leather spine labels: "Bp. Hoadly's works"; green leather vol. labels. The copy is at Baddesley Clinton, in Warwickshire, and would have been acquired with the house in 1980.
Newberry Library, Chicago [Jill Gage, Reference Librarian]	First owner Will Deacon. The Newberry purchased the volumes in 1917 from Walter M. Hill, a Chicago book dealer.
New College, Oxford [Naomi van Loo, Librarian]	Bookplate on volume 1 with the motto "Inter folia fructus"; beneath there is a drawing of a strawberry plant with foliage, flowers and berries and the name "James Ranke Holmes""
University of New South Wales Library, Australia [Joanna Lee, Special Collections Team Leader]	Inscribed "SUCCESSORIBUS SUIS in SEDE ELIENSI LEGAVIT PRÆSUL MUNIFICUS HON. IACOBUS YORKE MDCCCVIII" [His bequest as successor in the seat of Ely, bishop generous patron James Yorke, 1808]
New York Public Library	Not known
Norwich Cathedral Library [Mrs Gudrun Warren, Librarian]	The set came to the Cathedral after 1836; the catalogue of that date has been annotated to indicate the intention to purchase Hoadly's complete works.
Northwestern University Library, IL	Not known
Oriel College, Oxford [Marjory Szurko, Oriel College]	Not known
Pembroke College, Oxford [Lucie Walker, Librarian]	Part of a collection bequeathed by Bishop John Hall, who had been Master of Pembroke in the early 18th century. The inscription bears the name of Revd. R. Ashe, a Pembroke alumnus.
The Queen's College, Oxford [Amanda Saville, Librarian]	Purchased in the 1840s with money left to the College by a benefactor, Robert Mason.
Reading University Library [Fiona Barnard, Rare Books Librarian]	First owner John Douglas (armorial bookplate); subsequent owner John Keate DD (?1773-1852, armorial bookplate).
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, AUS [Miss Jan McDonald, Rare Books Librarian]	According to the Library's stockbook, it was ordered from Frederick Muller & Co of Amsterdam [Librairie Ancienne AMSTERDAM HEERENGRACHT KK No. 130] in March 1880 and received in the Library in August 1880. The Library paid one pound eighteen shillings for it.
<u>St Catherine's College, Cambridge</u> [Suzanne Griffiths, St Catherines College Library]	Height 39.5cm Vol 1 has xciv, 701p and is very tightly bound so it is hard to measure the gutter, however the height of the (cut?) page is 39.8 cm and width is 26.9 mm. On p 35 the top margin is 43mm, outer is 74 mm, bottom (from catchword) is 73mm and gutter approx 20mm

	Printed inscription before the title page "To the society of Catherine-Hall Cambridge in which he was some time Fellow and Tutor the works of Bishop Hoadly are humbly presented by his only surviving son the editor 1773."
St Catherine's College, Cambridge [Mrs Suzanne Griffiths, St Catherines College Library]	Height 38 cm Vol 2 has xciv, 701p however the height of the (cut?) page is 38 cm and width is 24.3 cm On p 35 the top margin is 39mm, outer is 52 mm, bottom (from catchword) is 64mm and gutter approx 30mm. Inscribed: "This book belonged to Thomas Ridding, third son of Archdeacon Thomas Ridding and Hannah Childe, (sister of Bp Hoadly) and passed through his son Thomas Ridding of Southampton, to the daughter of the last named Thomas Ridding, Miss Mary Ridding of Brighton now of the Cottage, Twyford, Hants, by whom it was given to me (being the great granddaughter of Archdeacon Ridding's youngest son John, of Winchester) with the wish that it should ultimately go to St Catharine's College, as being Bp Hoadly's College. C.M. Ridding Aug 1 1904." This item is also inscribed: "TR died March 1766. Thomas Ridding and Hannah Childe were married Dec 4 th 1740 at Chelsea Chapel by the Rt Revd Father in God Benjamin Lord Bp of Winchester. Tracing from the family bible belonging to Miss Mar Ridding of the Cottage Twyford. HR died Jan 7 1779."
St Deiniol's Library [Patsy Williams, Librarian]	First owner Duke of Grafton, subsequently belonged to W.E. Gladstone. It is inscribed 'D. of Grafton 1792' in the top left corner of the title page. Unfortunately, Gladstone stuck his own bookplate over a smaller plate in each volume. It looks as if it just has a name, possibly 'Lord -----'.
St. Mark's Library, General Theological Seminary	Not known
St John's College, Oxford [Catherine Hilliard]	Not known
Trinity College, Dublin [Helen Beaney, Department of Early Printed Books and Special Collections]	Shelfmark Fag.Y.2.5-7 was bought in 1802 in a collection of about 20,000 items belonging to the Fagel family in Holland.
Trinity College, Dublin [Helen Beaney, Department of Early Printed Books and Special Collections]	The other set, call number F.bb.1-3 was acquired before 1872 - it is listed in the Printed Catalogue which was compiled in that year.
Union Theological College, Belfast [Stephen Gregory, Librarian]	No information on provenance except that "W.(?)Grylls" is written at the centre of the verso of the first leaf in all three vols. - probably an 18th century hand. This could be William Grylls (b. 1786), scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge and vicar of Crowan, Cornwall, who was a noted book collector, who died in 1863. He left his library of over 14,000 volumes to Trinity College.
University College Oxford [Dr Robin Darwell-Smith Archivist and Jacco Versteeg librarian, New College, Oxford]	Assumed from ms shelfmark to be late 18c and from the condition of the vols to have been bought new.
University of Minnesota Library	Not known
Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT [Peter J. Knapp]	The library has two copies of this work: one has formed part of the Watkinson's collections since the early 1880s; the other was a transfer from the Trinity College Library to the Watkinson. From its inception in the late 1860s to the early 1950s, the Watkinson was an independent research library in Hartford. A merger with the Trinity College Library, also in Hartford,

	<p>occurred in the early 1950s, and at that point, the Watkinson became the special collections division of Trinity's library while retaining the character of a research library.</p> <p>Copy 1 of Hoadly's works was presented to the Watkinson in 1884 by Charles J. Hoadly, a Trinity alumnus and a descendant of Benjamin Hoadly. Copy 2 was presented to the Trinity College Library by Charles and his brother George at an unknown date, possibly at more or less the same time given the design of the library bookplate. This copy was eventually transferred to the Watkinson. In neither case is any earlier provenance indicated.</p>
Washington University Library, St Louis MO	Not known
<u>Wadham College, Oxford</u> [Sandra Bailey]	Bequeathed to the library by Richard Warner, (qv) 1775.
Dr Williams's Library/Congregational Library [Ms Alice Ford-Smith, Principal Librarian]	The set is included in the printed <i>Catalogue of the Library in Red Cross Street, Cripplegate; founded pursuant to the will of the Reverend Daniel Williams of 1841</i> . The three volumes were rebound by Chivers in 1936. The Hoadly volumes were included in Vol. II of our printed catalogue (1910), but the variety of shelfmarks they have borne suggests that they may well have been given to the library many decades earlier, perhaps when the library was first founded in the 1830s. There is no indication who gave them, except that they presumably didn't come in 1874 ex libris Joshua Wilson, since a special stamp was made for his books. The volumes have no mark of ownership. But (each of the three volumes being bound in two) they are sometimes marked H / 1 or H / 2 on the title page or one of the other preliminary pages.
<u>Winchester Cathedral Library</u>	Given by John Hoadly and inscribed: "To the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Winchester the Works of Bp Hoadly are presented by his only surviving son, the editor; as a remembrance of his Father's public connexion with them, and an acknowledgement of his own private happiness for upwards of twenty years in that Society, 1773."
<u>Winchester College, Fellows' Library</u> [Geoffrey Day, Fellows' Librarian]	Inscribed 'To the society of Winchester-College, the works of Bishop Hoadly are presented, by his only surviving son, the editor: as an acknowledgement of the civilities received by him, through a course of thirty-five years, from the respective members of that body. MDCCLXXIII.'
University of Wisconsin Madison [Jill Rosenshield, Associate Curator]	First owner Willm. Taylor, 20. Aug: 1783. Acquired by library 1911
York Minster Library [John Powell, Librarian]	Not known





The caption for _benjamin_hoadly.jpg is "The title page and portrait of volume one of the Works of Benjamin Hoadly DD, including James Basire's portrait of Bishop Hoadly. This copy, from Lehigh University Library includes the attack on Hoadly from an unknown reader."

[This should be close to footnote 9 which it relates to.

The caption for Image2.jpg is "The LVG and fleur de lis watermarks in the large paper issue of Hoadly's Works"

[place close to footnote 30].

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