
Benjamin Franklin's London Printing 1725–26

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WORKED as a pressman and compositor in London from January 1725 to July 1726, first at the printing office of Samuel Palmer on Bartholomew Close, and then at the office of John Watts on Wild Court. Franklin was only eighteen years old when he arrived in London, but he already had six years of experience in the trade. It was his “Bookish inclination” that persuaded his father to apprentice him at twelve in his older brother’s Boston printing house, and to the young Franklin the chief recommendation of the trade was “Access to better Books.”¹ It is evident throughout his *Autobiography* that Franklin took a keen interest in the material that he helped to compose and print. The eighteen months that Franklin spent in London were formative, both in terms of his intellectual development and his skill at printing. Following his return to Philadelphia, Franklin set up a press with Hugh Meredith, and throughout his long and varied career he remained active in the book trade. Franklin’s Philadelphia printing is exhaustively documented in C. William Miller’s descriptive bibliography,

1. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography and Other Writings*, [pub. 1791] ed. Ormond Seavey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, 2008), 13–14; henceforth referred to as *Autobiography*.

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but his early London work has never been investigated.² Almost everything that is known about Franklin's first London visit is derived from the *Autobiography*, which he began writing in 1771. Despite providing a description of Watts's office that remains the most vivid surviving account of life as a printer in the eighteenth century, in the *Autobiography* Franklin revealed almost nothing about what he actually printed. The appendices to this essay document for the first time the material that passed through the presses for which Franklin worked during his first London visit. The majority of these items have been assigned to Watts and Palmer for the first time here; the methodology for these identifications is laid out, along with an investigation of some of the ways in which knowledge of Franklin's London printing can inform our understanding of his life and work. I also consider other ways in which new scrutiny of the London book trade during 1725–26 can shed light on aspects of Franklin's biography. I assess the utility of booksellers' catalogues in determining what Franklin might have read, and suggest that he may have found work in London thanks to a network of Quakers with connections in the printing industry.

Samuel Palmer (1692–1732) established himself as a master printer following the completion of his apprenticeship in August 1715. In December 1723 he moved his growing business to Bartholomew Close, where he set up office on the mezzanine of the the Lady Chapel of the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, remaining there until his death in 1732. Over the course of his short career Palmer bound twelve apprentices, approximately eight of whom were indentured during the year of Franklin's employment.³ The office of John Watts (d. 1763) was larger than that of Palmer, and his career considerably longer. Watts set up a printing office with the Tonsons in Bow Street in 1705, and in

2. C. William Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's London Printing 1728–1766* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1974). In his masterful biography of Franklin, J. A. Leo Lemay covers Franklin's first London visit at length and provides important information—for example concerning which preachers were active and which plays were performed in London at the time—but relatively few details have been discovered about this period of Franklin's life that are not derived from the *Autobiography*. See Lemay, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume 1: Journalist 1706–1730* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). I am indebted to Lemay's work throughout.

3. D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701–1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978), 258–59, entries 6020–31.

1718 he moved to Wild Court where he occupied two floors, with the press room on the ground floor and the composing room above. Watts had bound twenty-three apprentices by the end of his career in the early 1750s; at least ten were indentured to Watts during Franklin's stay.⁴ In addition to apprentices, Watts's journeymen, pressmen, and compositors brought the number of workers at Wild Court in 1726 to around fifty.⁵ Palmer worked with a number of publishers and often shared the printing of large projects with others; Watts seems seldom (if ever) to have engaged in shared printing and worked almost exclusively for the Tonsons, the most powerful and influential bookselling family of the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶ Although Franklin's *Autobiography* will be well known to most readers, I begin with a summary of Franklin's own account of his time in London. This is familiar ground, but it is necessary to support my subsequent argument that knowledge of what Franklin may have printed during this formative period can shed new light on *Autobiography*.

Franklin took great pride in his London employers, describing Palmer's as "a famous Printing House" and Watts's as "still greater."⁷ This is high praise, considering how critical Franklin had been of his previous American workplaces. Following a series of professional and personal disputes with his brother James, Franklin had illegally abandoned his apprenticeship in Boston and fled to Philadelphia via New York in late 1723. There Franklin found work with Samuel Keimer, a new arrival from England, whose partner Aquila Rose had recently died, leaving him in need of assistance. Franklin's first job in Philadelphia was to work the press for Keimer's elegy for Rose, which Keimer had composed directly in type, without first drafting it on paper. On the whole Frank-

4. Ibid., 367–68, entries 8577–99.

5. The source for this figure, and for the information concerning the layout of the Wild Court office over two floors, is Franklin himself (*Autobiography*, 46).

6. In 1726 the active Tonsons were the famous Jacob Tonson the elder (1655/6–1736) and his nephew Jacob Tonson the younger (1682–1735), though the former had all but withdrawn from the daily running of the business by this point. On the Tonsons and Watts see David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, rev. James McLaverty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), esp. 18. On the importance of the Tonsons in the book trade and beyond see Kathleen Lynch, *Jacob Tonson: Kit-Cat Publisher* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1971).

7. *Autobiography*, 44, 46.

lin was unimpressed by Keimer's establishment, which "consisted of an old shatter'd Press, and one small, worn-out Fount of English"; Keimer himself, "tho' something of a Scholar, was a mere Compositor, knowing nothing of Presswork." Franklin was similarly unimpressed by Philadelphia's other printer, William Bradford, and described him as "very illiterate."⁸ Franklin worked with Keimer for several months, but he was ambitious, and easily persuaded when the governor of Pennsylvania, Sir William Keith, suggested that Franklin travel to London to purchase a press and type, and "make Acquaintances & establish Correspondencies in the Bookselling, & Stationary way."⁹ Franklin failed to secure a loan from his father for this enterprise, but Keith offered financial backing and letters of recommendation. Franklin duly set sail with his friend James Ralph, arriving in London on 24 December 1724. However, once on board ship Franklin realized that Keith's letters of recommendation had not been given to the ship's captain as promised, and he was informed by a fellow passenger, the Quaker merchant Thomas Denham, that Keith was notorious for making false promises of preferment. Denham advised Franklin to give up hope of Keith's support and to find work in London instead: "Among the Printers here, says he, you will improve yourself; and when you return to America, you will set up to greater Advantage."¹⁰ Franklin took Denham's advice and found lodgings for himself and Ralph in Little Britain. Franklin "immediately got into Work at Palmer's," but Ralph struggled to find employment. In the *Autobiography* Franklin unforgivingly recounted Ralph's unsuccessful attempts to get into acting at the Drury Lane theatre, magazine writing for a publisher in Paternoster Row, or copying for stationers and lawyers in the Temple. Ralph borrowed money from Franklin, and together they spent so much on books and on "going to Plays & other Places of Amusement," that they could no longer afford passage back to Philadelphia, let alone the press and type Franklin had intended to buy.¹¹ Ralph left London to take up a post in Berkshire as a teacher, but he considered the profession beneath him. He used Franklin's name as an alias to avoid tainting his own, and began sending Franklin installments of an epic poem he was writing, a pursuit Franklin attempted to

8. *Ibid.*, 28.

9. *Ibid.*, 36.

10. *Ibid.*, 42.

11. *Ibid.*, 43-44.

discourage by pointedly sending Ralph extracts from *The Universal Passion*, Edward Young's satires on the pursuit of fame. Unsurprisingly, Franklin's relationship with Ralph became strained, and it was pushed to breaking point when Franklin "attempted Familiarities" with "Mrs. T.," a woman with whom Ralph had lived before his departure from London. Ralph saw this betrayal as grounds for defaulting on his debts to Franklin. This led to Franklin's move to Wild Court in November 1725: "in the Loss of his Friendship I found myself reliev'd from a Burthen. I now began to think of getting a little Money beforehand [i.e. before returning to Philadelphia]; and expecting better Work, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's near Lincoln's Inn Fields."¹² Franklin remained at Watts's until July 1726. Having briefly considered setting up a swimming school in London, Franklin was persuaded by Thomas Denham to return to Philadelphia to enter into business together as merchants. The pair subsequently opened a shop, but when Denham died in February 1727, Franklin returned to printing.

Despite the fact that he was constantly engaged in composition and presswork in London for eighteen months, in the *Autobiography* Franklin only named two of the many items that he must have helped to print. In February 1725, during his second month at Palmer's, Franklin set the type for the third edition of William Wollaston's *The Religion of Nature Delineated*.¹³ In the work, Wollaston argued that morality exists independently from revealed religion and that moral truths have quasi-mathematical proofs. Objecting to this reasoning, Franklin wrote "a little metaphysical Piece" in response, which he called *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, and which he printed himself in a small run of one hundred copies.¹⁴ Although he did not use Palmer's name on his title page, he employed two of Palmer's most recognizable woodcut ornaments: on the title page, a cherub that Palmer used on other title pages; and on the final page an image of pressmen and compositors at work (see fig. 1). The *Dissertation* "occasion'd [Franklin's] being more consider'd by Mr Palmer, as a young Man of some In-

12. *Ibid.*, 46.

13. Wollaston's *Religion of Nature* was privately circulated in manuscript in 1722 and first published after Wollaston's death in 1724. Franklin described the edition he worked on as the second (*Autobiography*, 44), but it was in fact the third.

14. *Autobiography*, 44. The figure is given in his draft of the *Autobiography*, reproduced in the printed edition cited here, 177.

genuity,” although Palmer objected to “the Principles of my Pamphlet, which to him appear’d abominable.”¹⁵ In the *Dissertation* Franklin took issue with Wollaston’s claim that good and evil were natural concepts, and argued that there was essentially no such thing as evil, since pain was a motivator to change, and change was ultimately productive of good. Franklin’s argument bordered on atheistic, and he soon attempted to retrieve and destroy all one hundred copies of the pamphlet, though not before it had attracted the favorable attention of Dr. William Lyons, who introduced Franklin to a circle of radical thinkers including Bernard de Mandeville.

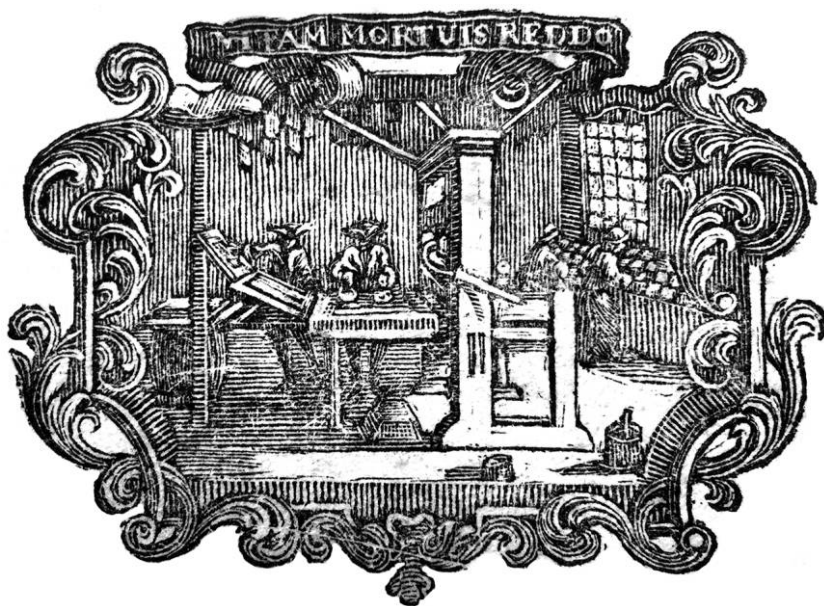


Fig. 1: Samuel Palmer printer’s ornament. William Wollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1725), A1^r. Used by Franklin in his *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity* (1725). Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

15. *Autobiography*, 44.

During his early years in Boston Franklin had taken advantage of his “Acquaintance with the Apprentices of Booksellers” to borrow books and read them overnight. He undertook this reading in the evenings and early mornings, when he “contrived to be in the Printing House alone.”¹⁶ Franklin came to a similar arrangement upon arrival in London, while working for Palmer:

While I lodg'd in Little Britain I made an Acquaintance with one Wilcox a Bookseller, whose Shop was at the next Door. He had an immense Collection of second-hand Books. Circulating Libraries were not then in Use; but we agreed that on certain reasonable Terms which I have now forgotten, I might take, read & return any of his Books. This I esteem'd a great Advantage, & I made as much Use of it as I could.¹⁷

John Wilcox (fl. 1709–40) traded under the sign of the Green Dragon. To the information given in the *Autobiography*, Lemay added that it was probably at Wilcox's that Franklin came across “a very rare book on witchcraft that he alluded to years later, Jacobus Rick's *Tractatus due singulares de examine sagarum*, published by T. H. Grentzii in 1685.”¹⁸ It may be possible to say something more about Wilcox's stock. Wilcox was not a printer, but in addition to trading in second-hand books, he published and sold new ones, and perhaps Franklin had access to some of these. The *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) lists eighteen items printed for Wilcox between the beginning of his career in 1709 and Franklin's departure from London in 1726, copies of which could conceivably have been at the Green Dragon when Franklin patronized it. The eighteen titles are as follows:

Elkanah Settle, *Thalia Triumphans* (London: for John Wilcox, 1709; ESTC N14269).

Elkanah Settle, *Honori Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Most Noble John Duke of Newcastle* (London: for John Wilcox, 1711; ESTC N66413).

Anon., *A Poem on the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of His Majesty King George* (London: for J. Wilcox, T. Warner, 1717; ESTC T42528).

John Hunt, *Vindiciæ Veræ Pietatis, Or Evangelical-Sanctification Truly Stated and Vindicated* (Bedford: U. Robinson for John Wilcox, Richard Ford, 1719; ESTC T98638).

16. *Ibid.*, 14, 16.

17. *Ibid.*, 44.

18. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 267–68.

- J. Lyons [pseudonym], *The Infallibility, Dignity, and Excellency of Humane Judgment* (London: for J. Wilcox, J. Roberts, 1719; ESTC T14627).
- Hermann Boerhaave, *De Viribus Medicamentorum* (London: for J. Wilcox, B. Creak, John Sackfield, 1720; ESTC T112340).
- Joseph Browne, *A Practical Treatise of the Plague* (London: for J. Wilcox, J. Roberts, 1720; ESTC T26142; 2nd ed. also 1720, ESTC N12289).
- Joseph Browne, *Antidotaria: or, A Collection of Antidotes Against the Plague* (London: for J. Wilcox, J. Roberts, 1721; ESTC T26143).
- Daniel le Clerc, *A Natural and Medicinal History of Worms* (London: for J. Wilcox, 1721; ESTC T147027).
- Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation in Four Parts* (London: for J. Wilcox, J. Sackfield, J. Batley, W. Chetwood, 1721; ESTC T133087).
- William Leybourn, *The Description and Use of a Portable Instrument, Vulgarly Known by the Name of Gunter's Quadrant* (London: for J. Wilcox, 1721; ESTC T139825).
- J. Lyons [pseudonym], *The Infallibility of Humane Judgment* (London: for J. Wilcox, 1721; ESTC T14636).
- Benjamin Whichcote, *Twelve Sermons* (London: for J. Wilcox, 1721; ESTC T179877).
- Anon., *Richmond or Richmount: A Poem* (London: for J. Wilcox, S. Chapman, J. Peele, 1721; ESTC T124894).
- Anon. (formerly attributed to Daniel Defoe), *An History of the Archbishops and Bishops, Who Have Been Impeach'd* (London: 1722; ESTC T73014).
- Joshua Kelly, *The Modern Navigator's Compleat Tutor* (London: for J. Wilcox, B. Macy, J. Marston, J. Eade, J. Kelly, 1724; ESTC T41322).
- John Stevens, *The Royal Treasury of England: or, An Historical Account of all Taxes* (London: for T. Tebb, J. Wilcox, 1725; ESTC T78578).
- Thomas Robe, *Ways and Means Whereby His Majesty May Man His Navy* (London: for J. Wilcox, 1726[?]; ESTC T52288).

The majority of these items concern religion and medicine, along with several poems, one book on navigation, and two on government. Notably, Wilcox published two editions of a treatise by a "J. Lyons," *The Infallibility, Dignity, and Excellency of Humane Judgment* (1719, 1721), which treats similar themes to Wollaston's *Religion of Nature* and Franklin's *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*. J. Lyons may have been a pseudonym for the Dr. William Lyons who introduced Franklin to Mandeville. If this is the case, Lemay was surely correct to suggest that it was via Wilcox that Franklin's *Dissertation* came into Lyons's hands.¹⁹ Franklin owned a copy

19. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 286–87. The ESTC entry for both editions of *The Infallibility of Humane Judgement* reads "Anonymous. Formerly attributed to William Lyons," but I cannot discover any reason for this doubt.

of the 1724 edition of Lyons's *Infallibility*, which included a section titled *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*. As James N. Green points out, it is unclear whether this title was a deliberate imitation of Franklin's or simply a coincidence, but Lyons was impressed by Franklin's *Dissertation* and "even filled the margins of a now-lost copy of Franklin's book with comments."²⁰

Other than books published by Wilcox, those interested in what Franklin read at the Green Dragon might consult Wilcox's book sales catalogues, though these are of limited use. In 1709, the first-known year of Wilcox's career, he co-published with John Reade a catalogue of English and Latin books for sale at auction at the Blue-Coat coffee house in St. Swithin's Alley, near the Royal Exchange, on 6 October.²¹ Wilcox and Reade gave their address as the Bishop's Head in Little Britain (Wilcox may not have set up independently at the Green Dragon until as late as 1717).²² The 1709 catalogue is too early to be of any real use in relation to Franklin, but I document it here because no other catalogue of Wilcox's stock survives, if indeed any further were made. He did hold occasional auctions of the libraries of deceased individuals, but not until after Franklin's visit: he held three auctions in 1727 and several more throughout the 1730s.²³ Since booksellers sometimes bulked out

20. James N. Green, *Poor Richard's Books: An Exhibition of Books Owned by Benjamin Franklin Now on the Shelves of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1990), 18.

21. *A Catalogue Of Choice Latin and English Books, which are many of the most Valuable Books in several Sciences, most of the Fathers, and a great Number of Classic Authors, printed by Elzevir, Plantin, &c. and of the best Editions* (London: John Willcox and John Reade, 1709), ESTC T62513. Wilcox is spelled with two "I"s in this catalogue, but that it is surely the same bookseller is suggested by the "Terms of Sale," which appear almost verbatim in later Wilcox catalogues. British Library shelfmark S.C.804(3) is the only known copy.

22. The first publication to bear this address is the 1717 *Poem on the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of His Majesty King George* listed above.

23. Wilcox, *Catalogus Librorum Præstantissimorum Quos Sibi Comparavit Tho. Sergeant* (London: 1727), ESTC T16306; Wilcox, *Catalogus Librorum in Omni Ferè Scientia & Facultate Præstantium: Ex Bibliothecis S. Moreland* (London: 1727), ESTC T62512. The third 1727 catalogue, *A Catalogue of the Library of a Foreign Minister, Collected by Himself in Italy and France* is undated on its title page. The only extant copy is in the British Library, shelfmark S.C.468(8), and is incomplete after page 32. The *ESTC* gives the date of this catalogue as 1725 (presumably because the latest publication to appear in the catalogue is from 1724), but unfortunately for Franklin studies it is in fact 1727: the sale was advertised in the

single-library sales with their own old and new stock, it is possible that the three 1727 catalogues also include some of the second-hand items that had been in Wilcox's shop since 1725. A sign of the silent insertion of stock from other sources can be the presence of multiple copies of titles, but there are no significant instances of this in Wilcox's 1727 catalogues.

It is unclear from the *Autobiography* whether Franklin's arrangement with Wilcox continued after his departure from Palmer's. When he changed positions, Franklin also moved his lodgings to Duke Street, just yards away from Wild Court. Continuing to borrow Wilcox's books would have been possible but by no means as convenient as previously, the Green Dragon being over a mile away from Franklin's new residence. If Franklin came to a similar arrangement with a bookseller farther west, he did not leave any record of it. I consider it unlikely that Franklin continued to patronize the Green Dragon, since it is clear from the *Autobiography* that life on Wild Court and its environs occupied almost all of Franklin's time.

Having worked as a compositor at Palmer's, Franklin began at Watts's by working at the presses, because he "felt a Want of the Bodily Exercise I had been us'd to in America, where Presswork is mix'd with Composing." Franklin's wholesome approach to printing was not shared by his fellow press crew:

I drank only Water; the other Workmen, near 50 in Number, were great Guzzlers of Beer. On occasion I carried up & down Stairs a large Form of Types in each hand, when others carried but one in both Hands. They wonder'd to see from this & several Instances that the Water-American as they call'd me was *stronger* than themselves, who drunk *strong* beer!²⁴

Each worker was required to pay a drinks levy of 4–5s. each, every Saturday night, and an alehouse boy delivered the beer to Wild Court. Franklin apparently paid the pressmen's levy, but his stay in the press room did not last long:

Daily Journal 1934, 27 March 1727. Surviving catalogues suggest that Wilcox held two auctions two per year from 1728–32, one auction in 1736, three in 1737, and one in 1738.

24. *Autobiography*, 46.

Watts, after some Weeks, desiring to have me in the Composing-Room, I left the Pressmen. A new *Bienvenu* or Sum for Drink, being 5s, was demanded of me by the Compostors [*sic.*]. I thought it an Imposition, as I had paid below. The Master thought so too, and forbade my Paying it. I stood out two or three Weeks, was accordingly considered as an Excommunicate, and had so many little Pieces of private Mischief done me, by mixing my Sorts, transposing my Pages, breaking my Matter, &c. &c. if I were ever so little out of the room, and all ascrib'd to the Chapel Ghost, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that notwithstanding the Master's Protection, I found myself oblig'd to comply and pay the Money, convinc'd of the Folly of being on ill Terms with those one is to live with continually. I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquir'd considerable Influence. I propos'd some reasonable alterations in their Chapel Laws, and carried them against all Opposition.²⁵

The exact nature of Franklin's "alterations" to the Chapel Laws is unknown. He may have been referring to his success in persuading a number of compositors to opt out of the weekly beer levy of 5s. and instead to spend three-halfpence-a-day on bread, butter, and cheese. Franklin's abstinence from alcohol, however, softened in later life. On a visit to London during the 1760s, Franklin called in at the Wild Court office, which was then owned by Watts's successor Richard Hett II. Franklin's grandson described the visit:

When Franklin came to England previous to the breaking out of the American war, he went to Mr. Hett's Printing Office . . . and entering the Press-room, he went up to a particular press, and thus addressed the two men who were working. "Come, my friends, we will drink together; it is now 40 years since I worked like you as a journeyman printer": on this he sent for a gallon of porter, and they drank "success to printing."²⁶

Perhaps Franklin's good cheer during his later visit was inspired by the memory of turning his colleagues' intemperance to his advantage. Those who "continu'd sotting with Beer all day" often found themselves in debt, and the ever-enterprising Franklin began lending the beer-drinkers money (at interest), and "watch't the Pay table on Saturday Night, and collected what I stood engag'd," which was sometimes almost 30s. per

25. *Ibid.*, 47.

26. William Temple Franklin, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (London, 1818), reproduced in *Franklin in His Own Time*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes and Isabelle Bour (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2011), 143.

week.²⁷ Before concluding his account of life at Wild Court, Franklin made just one allusion to the material he helped to print: "my constant Attendance, (I never making a St. Monday), recommended me to the Master; and my uncommon Quickness at composing, occasion'd my being put upon all Work of Dispatch which was generally better paid." It is unclear exactly what Franklin meant by "Work of Dispatch," but for one suggestion see Appendix B, item 15, below. Franklin's hopes of improved finances were certainly met by the move to Wild Court, and he "went on now very agreeably."²⁸

When Franklin wrote that he moved to Watts's printing office "expecting better Work," he was of course thinking of his finances, but this may not be the whole story. The reputation of Watts's business was such that Franklin surely considered the quality of the items passing through the presses, both in terms of form and content. C. William Miller has claimed that the first London visit "left [a] considerable mark on Franklin and contributed much to a developing interest in type founding and design," since Palmer shared the Lady Chapel of St. Bartholomew's with the typesetter Thomas James, and both Palmer and Watts had encouraged William Caslon's first experiments in punchcutting.²⁹ However, unlike Watts, Palmer relied on a network of other printers and booksellers with whom he shared printing and costs, and this led Palmer to discourage Caslon after initially persuading him to cut a new fount of roman pica. As C. H. Timperley put it, "Mr. Palmer, whose circumstances required credit with those whose businesses would have been hurt by Mr. Caslon's superior execution, repented of the advice he had given him."³⁰ Franklin may have been aware that in 1725–26 it was Watts, rather than Palmer, who had a stake in Caslon's budding enterprise. Years later Franklin purchased Caslon's type for use in Philadelphia.

Despite his disavowal of Caslon, Palmer's printing was of a very high standard, but Watts's work was perhaps better known for its inventive-

27. *Autobiography*, 48.

28. *Ibid.* "St. Monday" was a work day missed because of a hangover.

29. C. William Miller, "Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Type," *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958): 179–206, 182.

30. C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London: H. Johnson, 1839), 714.

ness and elegance, and his publications were often of a higher profile.³¹ This was chiefly thanks to Watts's partnership with the Tonsons, who were an indomitable presence in the early eighteenth-century book trade. The Tonsons had their publishing and bookselling office in the Strand, opposite Katherine Street, and did not themselves engage in printing.³² Nonetheless, Watts and the Tonsons seldom distinguished between their roles on their title pages, one of their preferred imprints being "Ex Officinâ Jacobi Tonson, & Johannis Watts." Examination of the Tonsons' output shows that this imprint invariably indicates an item printed at Wild Court, as does "Printed for J. Watts" (my emphasis). Although Watts often acted as publisher or co-publisher of works printed at his own office, he does not seem to have branched out into publishing the works of other printers. Watts himself owned copyrights and did print for other publisher-booksellers (notably James Roberts), but the majority of his business was with the Tonsons.³³ They experimented both with bibliographical formats and business strategies: the Tonsons were the first to use subscription publication for English works, and together the Tonsons and Watts popularized Dutch Elzevier type and the duodecimo format. They came to the market in literary publications with their miscellanies, their work with the likes of Pope and John Gay, and their luxury editions of earlier English authors whose reputations had previously been in decline, such as Shakespeare, Spenser, and Beaumont and Fletcher. The printing office at Wild Court was unusual for its time in that the majority of its output was literary, historical, or otherwise learned. Watts printed far fewer popular items (such as almanacs, remedy books, and periodicals) than most other eighteenth-century printers, presumably because he was assured of regular work from the Tonsons. The lack of this kind of jobbing work allowed Watts to print long, multi-volume works or series in-house,

31. On the quality of Watts's printing see James McLaverty, *Pope, Print, and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5–6. Pope doubted Watts's skill when he was first hired to print the *Odyssey*, but he was won round. See Stephen Bernard, ed., *The Literary Correspondences of the Tonsons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), esp. 232.

32. The Tonsons occupied the Bow Street office with Watts ca. 1706 and may have shared some of the labor of printing around this time, but their roles were certainly distinct by the time Watts moved to Wild Court in 1718.

33. On the nature and extent of the collaboration between Watts and the Tonsons in the 1710s and early 1720s (as far as is known), see Foxon, *Pope*, 12–18.

rather than by sharing printing. As well as ensuring a consistent volume of work, this would perhaps have allowed an intellectually curious compositor such as Franklin to make sense of the material he was printing. As shown in Appendix A, Palmer often printed only a few sheets of large, multi-printer works, which presumably were then delivered to the office of the publisher or principal printer to be collated and assembled. Whether complete copies of such works ended up back at Palmer's office is uncertain.

In Appendices A and B I have listed twenty-four works printed at Palmer's and seventeen printed at Watts's during the months of Franklin's tenure at each office. Given the likelihood that Franklin took an interest in some or all of the material being printed at his places of work, it is surprising that no previous study has attempted to list the works printed during his London visit; the reason for this is probably that the vast majority of the products of both presses do not bear their printers' names. Previously, only five items printed at Palmer's during Franklin's stay were known: two of these were Wollaston's *Religion of Nature* and Franklin's *Dissertation*; the other three, despite featuring Palmer's name on their title pages, have not been mentioned in Franklin studies before. Only two items printed at Watts's during Franklin's stay were known, and these have likewise escaped attention. The remaining thirty-four works in Appendices A and B I have attributed to Palmer and Watts on the basis of evidence from wood- or metal-cut printers' ornaments. Unlike decorative type (fleurons) and cast ornaments, cut ornaments were made by hand, and therefore each is unique. By studying their repeated use over time, ornaments can be assigned to the printing office that owned them and used to identify the printer of a book in the absence of other documentary evidence (such as signed imprints or ledgers).³⁴ Or-

34. This method has been successfully used in Keith Maslen, *The Bowyer Ornament Stock* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974); Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London* (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2001); J. C. Ross, *Charles Ackers' Ornament Usage* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1990); and Patrick Spedding, "Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock: a Checklist," *Script and Print* 39, no. 2 (2015): 69–111. (with thanks to Patrick Spedding for sharing with me his work on Thomas Gardner). It was possible to make copies of cut blocks using the casting processes described by James Mosely in his introduction to Johann Michael Funcke, *Kurtze Anleitung von Form- und Stahlschneiden* [1740], ed. Martin Bodgardt, A. Janssen, and Walter Wilkes (Darmstadt: Lehrdruckerei der Technischen Universität, 1998). It is not known how common cast copies of hand-cut ornaments

nament designs were often copied by hand, but even very good copies are easily distinguished by close scrutiny; the main pitfall in using ornaments as evidence is that printers sometimes borrowed ornament stock from other offices. In many cases it is possible to establish who lent what to whom, though the process of tracing borrowed ornaments is a laborious one. I could not have compiled Appendix A without the assistance of John C. Ross, who has spent years working on Palmer's output and has scrupulously traced examples of shared printing and borrowed ornaments. Appendix B is the product of my own ongoing work on Watts's output and ornament usage throughout his career; because of the lack of shared printing and ornament lending, Watts makes for a more amenable subject than Palmer. More items may of course come to light, but both lists are as comprehensive as current evidence allows.

To be certain that each item listed in the appendices was printed during Franklin's tenure at the relevant office, it was necessary to establish publication dates as precisely possible. I have only included items for which there is direct evidence of the month of publication. This has meant excluding a number of titles which may have been printed at each office during Franklin's tenure, but which cannot be more precisely dated than the year of publication. Given that Franklin did not spend a whole calendar year at either office, and that titles may have been pre- or post-dated, the year of publication alone is not sufficient evidence for inclusion.

The excluded items are briefly documented here, beginning with Palmer items excluded from Appendix A:

Arabian Nights Entertainments. Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories, vol. 8 (London: Printed for J. Osborne and T. Longman, 1725), ESTC T221032.

This work shares ornaments with ESTC T99261 and T116140. Palmer printed the eighth volume of this anonymous English translation of Antoine Galland's French *Arabian Nights*, dated 1725; I find no advertisements to determine in which month it was printed.

were, but the possibility of their existence means that printer identifications should be based on multiple ornaments, and on their appearance in multiple books with known attributions. Damage and wear can also be used to confirm identifications, and wood grain, where detectable, can confirm that an ornament is a wood cut and not a cast. Likewise, casts can sometimes be identified by the imprints of nail heads.

Edmund Gibson, *Sermon prêché par Monseigneur l'Eveque de Londres, dans l'Eglise de Ste. Marie Le-Bow le 6e Janvier 1723-4. Aux Societez etablies pour la Réformation des Moeurs*, (Londres: Imprimé chez S. Palmer, 1725), ESTC N492824.

Palmer signed the imprint to this French sermon by Edmund Gibson. The sermon itself was first preached in January 1724, which might suggest a publication date of early 1725, although it could feasibly indicate that the sermon was printed in 1724 and post-dated.

Patrick Gordon, *Geography Anatomiz'd: or, the Geographical Grammar. 10th edn, Corrected and Somewhat Enlarged. And with a Set of New Maps* (London: Printed for R. Knaplock, J. and B. Sprint, S. Burroughs, D. Midwinter, A. Bettsworth, J. Brotherton, R. Ford, A. Ward, and J. Clark, 1725), ESTC N18489.

Ross has assigned this edition of Patrick Gordon's *Geography Anatomiz'd* to Palmer on the basis of ornament evidence, but the exact date of publication is unknown.³⁵

Laurence Howel, *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible, Contain'd in the Old and New Testament*, 3 vols. (London: for E. and R. Nutt, 1725), ESTC T114483.

I find one of Palmer's tailpieces at the end of the second volume of Laurence Howel's history of the Bible, but the ornaments of another printer are also present, suggesting shared printing (or possibly that Palmer loaned the tailpiece to another). The volumes are dated 1725, but the month of publication cannot be determined. From 1721 to 1727 Palmer was engaged in printing the Psalms and New Testament in Arabic for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). William Caslon cut a new font of Arabic specially for this project, but the printing was carried out slowly and sporadically as the funds of the SPCK dwindled.³⁶ Although the printing of the Arabic Psalter was certainly ongoing during 1726 and beyond, we cannot be certain that any of it was actually printed during the months of Franklin's stay.

35. Unless otherwise specified, attributions made by Ross were shared with me in private correspondence. Ross has kindly given his permission for them to be reproduced here; they will also be published in Ross's book length study of Palmer, forthcoming with the Oxford Bibliographical Society.

36. On the Arabic Psalter and Bible, see John C. Ross, "A Progress Report Upon a Study of Samuel Palmer," in *An Index of Civilisation: Studies of Printing and Publishing History in Honour of Keith Maslen*, ed. R. Harvey, W. Kirsop, and B. J. McMullin (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 1993), 113-28, esp. 119-23.

John Selden, *Joannis Seldeni Jurisconsulti Opera Omnia, Tam Edita Quam Inedita*, 3 vols. (Londini: anno salutis humanæ, 1725), ESTC T153463.

Ross has established that Palmer shared the printing of this edition of Selden with William Bowyer and Thomas Wood; Palmer printed ten sheets of volume 1, and most of volume 2. The publication was advertised in the *Monthly Catalogue* for January 1726, making it unlikely that it was printed during Franklin's time at Palmer's, though some confusion arises from the existence of two issues, a large paper dated 1725 and an ordinary paper dated 1726. It is conceivable that the entry in the *Monthly Catalogue* refers to the ordinary paper only, and that the large paper was issued earlier, though this cannot be confirmed.

Watts items excluded from Appendix B are as follows:

Coley Cibber, *Cæsar in Ægypt, a Tragedy* (London: Printed for John Watts, 1725), ESTC T73428.

Coley Cibber, *The Careless Husband* (London: for J. Tonson and J. Longman, 1725), ESTC T26006.

Peter Anthony Motteux, *Camilla. An Opera* (London: for J. Tonson, 1726), ESTC T19857.

Nicholas Rowe, *The Biter* (London: for Jacob Tonson, 1726), ESTC T22865.

Nicholas Rowe, *The Fair Penitent* (London: for Jacob Tonson, 1725), ESTC T151814.

Nicholas Rowe, *Tamerlane* (London: for J. Tonson, 1726), ESTC T175065.

Watts and the Tonsons were the unofficial printer-publishers of plays performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (occasionally in partnership with others). The six playtexts above were all printed by Watts and are dated 1725 or 1726. Rowe's *Fair Penitent* was being acted at Drury Lane during November and December 1725, so it was probably printed at Wild Court during Franklin's stay, which began in November, but this is unverifiable in the absence of discoverable advertisements for the text itself. Likewise, no advertisements survive for the text of Cibber's *Careless Husband*, but the play was acted in November 1725, February 1726, April 1726, and November 1726. If the publication coincided with any of the first three performances, it would likely have been printed during Franklin's tenure. Although Cibber receives no mention in the *Autobiography*, his name does appear in Franklin's notes on this period.³⁷

37. *Autobiography*, 177.

Elijah Fenton, *Mariamne* (London: for J. Tonson, 1726), ESTC N4405.

The Tonsons and Watts did advertise their edition of Fenton's *Mariamne*: its publication was announced on 1 August 1726.³⁸ Franklin set sail from Gravesend on 23 July, so *Mariamne* may have been in the press before his departure.

Joseph Addison, *The Campaign* (London: for J. Tonson and J. Brotherton, 1725), ESTC T129197.

Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (London: for J. Tonson, 1725), ESTC T74577.

Comité François, *Etats de la Distribution de la Somme de Trente Neuf Mille Livres* (Londres: de l'imprimerie de J. Tonson & J. Watts, 1725), ESTC T103568.

George Granville Lansdowne, *Poems Upon Several Occasions* (London: for J. Tonson, 1726), ESTC T84598.

Ovid, *Ovid's Art of Love, in Three Books* (London: for J. Tonson, 1725), ESTC T99250.

Matthew Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London; for J. Tonson, 1725), ESTC T75636.

François de Salignac de la Monthe-Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Telemaque fils D'Ulysse* (Londres: Imprimerie dans Wild-Court, 1726), ESTC T139621.

The Thousand and One Days: Persian Tales (London: for J. Tonson, 1726), ESTC N478406.

These last eight items were all printed by Watts during 1725 and 1726, but their months of publication are unknown. Since Franklin only worked for Watts in November and December of 1725, the items dated 1725 are less likely to have been printed during Franklin's tenure than those bearing the date 1726.

As well as undateable items, there is of course the question of what was printed at Palmer's and Watts's in the months prior to Franklin's arrival. Both offices must have had items both in the press and recently completed that Franklin may have seen. Ross's forthcoming book will reveal the entirety of Palmer's printing in 1724, and I hope my work on Watts will lead to a comprehensive list of the output of Wild Court prior to November 1725. However, there are a few examples of items from both offices printed prior to Franklin's tenure that are significant enough to warrant mention here.

38. *Daily Post* (London) 2138, 1 August 1726.

Ornament evidence shows that Watts was the printer of Edward Young's series of satires, *The Universal Passion*, which Franklin sent to Ralph to discourage him from his literary aspirations. Watts printed the first four of Young's satires in the months leading up to Franklin's relocation. As shown in Appendix B, the fifth and final satire was printed at Wild Court after Franklin's arrival (B17).³⁹ If Franklin was observing the products of the Wild Court presses before moving there, the fourth edition of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* would surely have caught his attention: it was printed by Watts less than a month before Franklin's move across London.⁴⁰ Lemay speculated about Franklin's relationship with the circle surrounding Mandeville:

While associating in London with people like Dr. Lyons and Bernard Mandeville, Franklin must have heard discussions of the most recent thoroughgoing skeptical, yet fideist, work: Bishop Pierre Daniel Huet's *Traite de la foiblesse de l'esprit*, which was first translated into English in 1725 and had three editions that year. One, translated by Edward Combe, was titled *The Weakness of Human Understanding* and had two editions; the other translation was titled *A Philosophical Treatise Concerning the Weakness of Human Understanding*. Huet was the most Pyrrhonic thinker between Bayle (and possibly Berkeley) and Hume. Franklin probably read Huet in 1725.⁴¹

In fact, it is almost certain that Franklin read Huet in 1725 since Palmer printed the anonymous translation (A13) while Franklin was working for him,⁴² and Watts printed Combe's translation (*The Weakness of Human Understanding*) in 1725, prior to Franklin's move. Given that during 1725 Watts was printing Young, Mandeville, and Huet, three of the authors Franklin is known to have taken a particular interest in during his London visit, it seems certain that the "better Work" Franklin was expecting at Wild Court was not simply financial but intellectual.

39. Entries in the Appendices are henceforth referred to in the body of the text by the letter A or B and the entry number.

40. See advertisement for *The Fable of the Bees* in *Daily Courant* (London) 7490, 18 October 1725.

41. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 288–89. See also Richard H. Popkin, "Scepticism in the Enlightenment," *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 26 (1963): 1321–46.

42. The distinctive cherub ornament that Palmer frequently used, and which Franklin chose for his *Dissertation*, appears at D8^r of the *Philosophical Treatise*. It was advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7301, 12 March 1725.

By scrutinizing Palmer's work prior to Franklin's arrival in England, it may even be possible to suggest how Franklin "immediately got into Work" in London with such apparent ease. Ornament evidence reveals Palmer to have been Elias Bockett's printer. Bockett was a London-based distiller and writer who was presumably of English birth but evidently closely involved with Quaker society in both London and Philadelphia. In 1724 Palmer printed Bockett's pamphlet *A Determination of the Case of Mr. Thomas Story, and Mr. James Hoskins, Relating to an Affair of the Pennsylvania Company*.⁴³ This was written by Bockett under the pseudonym Benjamin Braine and reprinted in Philadelphia by Franklin's former employer, Samuel Keimer, at some point in 1724.⁴⁴ Palmer printed another work by Bockett in 1724, an elegy for Keimer's partner Aquila Rose, whose death had created a vacancy for Franklin in Philadelphia.⁴⁵ The elegy shows that Bockett was a friend of Rose, and Keimer's reprinting of Bockett's pamphlet on the Story and Hoskins case suggests a relationship between Bockett and Keimer too, presumably established prior to Keimer's departure from London ca. 1723. The opening of Bockett's elegy for Rose is intriguing. It is a pastoral dialogue between "Marino" and "Damon," the latter signifying Bockett. The first stanza is spoken by Bockett-as-Damon:

MARINO! — — — welcome from the Western Shore,
Welcome to *Britain!* to thy Friend once more:
Why silent thus? — — Why this dejected Air?
The melancholy Cause let Damon hear.⁴⁶

Marino goes on to inform Damon of the death of Rose (who is styled Amintas). Despite the pastoral guises, this poem does seem to recount an actual meeting between Bockett and an old friend arriving from Philadelphia. Bockett-as-Damon gives no real clues as to whether

43. ESTC T97168.

44. The American edition of *A Determination of the Case of Mr. Thomas Story and Mr. James Hoskins* (ESTC W28452) was assigned to Keimer's press in C. S. R. Hildeburn's *List of the Publications Issued in Pennsylvania from 1685 to 1776* (Philadelphia, PA: Collins, 1882), item 214.

45. *A Poem to the Memory of Aquila Rose, Who Dy'd at Philadelphia, August the 22d, 1723* (Printed for the Author, 1723/4), ESTC T109163. On the first page of the poem appears the ornament depicting a printing house that Franklin later chose for his *Dissertation*. For Bockett's other publications with Palmer, see the forthcoming work of Ross.

46. Bockett, *To the Memory of Aquila Rose*, A3^r.

Marino is an American arriving in England for the first time or an Englishman returning from a trip to America. The former would imply that Bockett had been to Philadelphia prior to 1724, but so little is known about Bockett's life that this is impossible to verify.⁴⁷ Bockett's elegy is dated 1723/4, suggesting that it was printed between January and March 1724 (new style), approximately nine months before Franklin's arrival (though it may have been post-dated). Despite these several uncertainties, all of this nonetheless serves to show that in 1725 London was host to a small network of Philadelphians and Quakers with Philadelphia connections who were in touch with Samuel Keimer and for whom Palmer acted as printer. It is worth remembering that Franklin's companion Thomas Denham was a Quaker, and it may have been he who was aware of Palmer's Quaker connections. Certainly it seems very possible that it was through this network that Franklin obtained his introduction at Palmer's, a coincidence that has not been observed before.

As I have demonstrated, scrutiny of items printed at Palmer's and Watts's can lead to new insights into Franklin's time in London and the works he helped to print. Having excluded undatable items and those printed prior to Franklin's arrival at each office, we are left with forty-one titles printed by Palmer and Watts during Franklin's tenures. Of course, the fact that these items were printed in Franklin's workplaces does not constitute proof that he was directly involved in their production, or that he read, browsed, or otherwise took an interest in them. With regards to production, we have Franklin's assurance that he was in "constant Attendance" at Watts's and that he counted himself one of the fastest compositors; if his estimations are to be believed, we might assume that Franklin set more type than most of his colleagues and that he therefore composed the type or operated the press for significant

47. Bockett had used the name Damon previously in *The Yea and Nay Stock-Jobbers, or the 'Change Alley Quakers Anatomiz'd* (London: for J. Roberts, A. Dodd, J. Billingsley, 1720), ESTC N470600, a pamphlet expressing disappointment in Quakers who invested in the stock market. In 1729 the *American Weekly Mercury*, Andrew Bradford's Philadelphia-based newspaper, published a series of letters and poems by a "Damon," an Englishman newly arrived in Philadelphia, who finds vice and hypocrisy among the residents, particularly the Quakers. Given the name, and the moral disappointment in the Quakers which this "Damon" shares with the author of *The Yea and Nay Stock-Jobbers*, it is tempting to think that both Damons might be Bockett, but the evidence is scant. See *American Weekly Mercury*, 3 April, 12 June, 26 June, and 3 July 1729.

portions of the items listed in the appendices. In determining the relevance of Appendices A and B to the study of Franklin's intellectual development, we must ultimately rely only on our knowledge that Franklin was a voracious reader and that he had a history of using his positions in the book trade to gain access to reading material. With this in mind, the appendices can be scrutinized for items that may have been particularly likely to attract the young Franklin's attention, given our knowledge of his interests and habits.

A few items have obvious and specific relevance to Franklin's career in London, most notably the editions of Bishop Huet and Young's *Universal Passion* satire series, as discussed above. A number of other items may have had particular appeal for Franklin due to his interest in self-improvement and his appetite for books, plays, and sermons. Readers of the *Autobiography* will recall Franklin's early attempts to cultivate an urbane writing style. In Boston he read and re-read the *Spectator* and then devised tests for himself in which he made "short Hints of the Sentiment in each Sentence, laid them by a few Days, and then, without looking at the Book, try'd to compleat the Papers again, by expressing each hinted Sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been express'd before."⁴⁸ Franklin would have met with the *Spectator* again at Watts's, in two different formats (B3, 4), alongside the complete *Guardian* (B2), and Thomas Tickell's famous edition of the verse and prose works of Addison (B1). At Watts's Franklin may well have made use of the opportunity to reacquaint himself with the favorite authors of his early youth. On the subject of eloquence and writing, at Palmer's Franklin may have helped to print Anthony Blackwall's *Introduction to the Classics* (A1), which focussed on the use of rhetorical figures, and William Turner's short guide to rhetoric, *Troporum et Figurarum Rhetorices Præcipuarum* (A21). Given his broader concern with self-improvement, Franklin may have taken an interest in the author of B5, a volume of poetry by the natural philosopher Henry Baker (1698–1774). In 1723 Watts had printed Baker's *An Invocation of Health*, a poem advocating temperance, which seems to have been Franklin's bugbear during his time at Wild Court. Baker later wrote a treatise on microscopy, and was best known in 1725 as a teacher of deaf people, both subjects that Franklin happened to engage with in later life.⁴⁹

48. *Autobiography*, 15–16.

49. In 1751 Franklin gave one of the earliest descriptions in America of the microscope in his magazine *Poor Richard*, and in 1793 the *American Philosophical*

Franklin's chief financial expenditure in London was, by his own admission, the buying and borrowing of books and attendance at plays. Whether Franklin attended book auctions as well as booksellers' shops we do not know, but at Watts's his attention may have been caught by the printing of two library sale catalogues (B6, 7), and Nicola Francesco Haym's descriptive catalogue of rare Italian books (B11). Lemay took it as read that Franklin must have attended the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, particularly since he lived only yards away on Duke Street from November 1725.⁵⁰ The fact that Watts was the unofficial printer of plays performed at Drury Lane supports Lemay's assumption. As well as attending performances, Franklin may have composed the text of any of the six playtexts of uncertain date listed above, and Thomas Southerne's *Money the Mistress* was certainly printed at Wild Court in March 1726 (B16). The other demand on Franklin's time was attendance at sermons, and in his draft outline of the *Autobiography* he wrote "Preachers I heard," though he neglected to actually list any names.⁵¹ Lemay proposed that Franklin would probably have heard the likes of Gilbert Burnet, Edmund Calamy, Samuel Clarke, Edmund Massey, and Thomas Wheatland.⁵² It is reasonable to assume that Franklin may have read the several sermons printed at Palmer's and Watts's, which include the works of John Evans (A7), Henry Grove (A10,11), Samuel Knight (A14), and Francis Lockier (B14). Evans's sermon was specifically written "for the Promoting of Early Piety" in the young.

Given Franklin's later scientific career, it is tempting to see as significant the printing at Palmer's of the works of Robert Boyle (A3). Likewise, Thomas Denham instilled in Franklin hope of mercantile work in the West Indies following their return to America, so it is perhaps notable that in early 1725 Palmer was printing in installments John Stevens's translation of Antonio de Herrera's history of the West Indies (A18). These are probably mere coincidences in subject matter, and it must also be noted that Palmer shared the printing of both works.

Society, which he helped to found, published the first American report on methods of teaching deaf children. According to Francis Green, Franklin took a great interest in deaf education during a visit to Edinburgh in the latter half of the century, where he observed "the celebrated Mr. Braidwood of Edinburgh," teacher to the deaf (Francis Green, *Vox Oculis Subiecta* [London: Benjamin White, 1783], 12).

50. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 260–61.

51. *Autobiography*, 177.

52. Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 262.

Other items printed at Palmer's during Franklin's stay include a guide for farriers (A9), pamphlets on religious disputes (A4,6), a guide to the use of color in painting (A2), and sacred poems (A16). Several of the remaining items in Appendix B are literary and classical works, including Plato's *Republic* in French (B15), the comedies of Terrence (B10), David Lewis's collection of aristocratic poetry (B13), and the monumental five-volume engraved supplement to Montfaucon's *Antiquities* (B12), the previous ten volumes of which were advertised as for sale at Wild Court, having been printed shortly before Franklin's arrival (see note to B12). All of these are arguably candidates for the "better Work" Franklin expected when he moved to Wild Court, if by that he intended instructive and heavyweight reading material of the type he tended to seek out.⁵³

It remains to be seen whether there is more to say about the relevance of Franklin's London printing to his later life and work. It may be possible to demonstrate the influence of Palmer and Watts's typographical styles and techniques on Franklin's Philadelphia printing. There exist several similarities between the use of ornaments, rules, and swash capitals by Franklin and Watts, but a thorough investigation of this requires a better understanding of Watts's career than is currently available.⁵⁴ This essay has necessarily remained speculative with regards to Franklin's actual role in printing the items listed below, and we will probably never know to which jobs he was assigned. I entertain faint hopes on this front that by continuing to scrutinize copies of the items printed at Watts's it may be possible to discover transposed type or other printing anomalies that could be evidence of the "Chapel Ghost" that haunted Franklin in the composing room.⁵⁵

53. Omitted from this very brief survey of the material in the appendices is B8, a single volume containing two shipwreck narratives, the second of which, *The Voyage, Shipwreck, and Miraculous Preservation of Richard Castelman*, contains an account of the city of Philadelphia. I am producing an annotated edition of *The Voyage of Richard Castelman* (under contract with AMS Press, New York, NY), in which I explain the complex history of this neglected publication, and explore the possibility that Franklin may have encouraged its appearance or even contributed to it.

54. I am presently engaged on a long term project on Watts and hope to address the subject of Watts's typographical influence on Franklin in due course.

55. The research for this essay was made possible by an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation fellowship at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical

APPENDICES

Appendices A and B contain bibliographical descriptions of the titles that can be assigned to the printing offices of Samuel Palmer and John Watts during the months in which they employed Benjamin Franklin. The descriptions are arranged alphabetically by author or translator, and are comprised of the following elements: the name(s) of the author(s), translator(s), and/or editor(s); a quasi-facsimile of the general title page; a collation of each volume; copies consulted, with the primary copy listed first; evidence of publication month/day; ESTC number; and notes. Names of libraries are abbreviated as follows: British Library, London (BL); Cambridge University Library, Cambridge (CUL); and the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA (LCP). Collations have been made from the primary copy and should be considered as representative only. Where a title is attributed to Palmer or Watts for the first time, a list is given of ESTC numbers of signed Palmer or Watts publications which share ornaments with the title in question. As evidence of publication date, the first known newspaper advertisement, and/or appearance in Wilford's *Monthly Catalogue*, are cited.⁵⁶ Items that cannot confidently be assigned to the months of Franklin's tenure have been excluded (see above). We do not know the exact day of Franklin's departure from Palmer's and arrival at Watts's, so items with any date in October 1725 have been included in A (Palmer), and those with any date in November have been included in B (Watts). Only items A9, B3, and B12 are affected by any uncertainty regarding the date of Franklin's change of employment.

John C. Ross has been of great assistance in the compilation of Appendix A, as credited above. In the course of my research I attributed twelve items to Palmer's office for the period from January to October 1725. Seven of these had been already identified by Ross in his as-yet unpublished work, and the remaining five proved to be new attributions.

Society of Pennsylvania. I am indebted to the expertise of James N. Green, Connie S. King, J. C. Ross, Robert Williams, and the members of the American Literature Research Group at the University of Cambridge.

56. John Wilford, *The Second Volume of the Monthly Catalogue: Being a General Register of Books . . . Printed and Published in London, or the Universities, in the Years 1725, and 1726* (London: Printed for John Wilford, 1726). Referred to as *MC* in the appendices.

Ross alerted me to seven further Palmer publications from this period that I had not identified, and kindly gave permission for these to be listed here. In Appendix A I have used an asterisk (*) to indicate my original attributions, a single cross (†) to indicate items which both Ross and I identified independently, and a double cross (‡) to indicate Ross's original attributions. Where no symbol is present, the item is identified as Palmer's in the imprint. In Appendix B asterisks indicate my new attributions.

APPENDIX A

Titles printed at the office of Samuel Palmer during Franklin's tenure from January to October 1725 inclusive.

*1. Blackwall, Anthony.

Title page: AN | INTRODUCTION | TO THE | CLASSICS: | CONTAINING, A | *SHORT DISCOURSE* | ON THEIR | EXCELLENCIES: | AND | DIRECTIONS | HOW TO | STUDY Them to ADVANTAGE: | WITH | An ESSAY, | ON THE | *NATURE* and *USE* | Of those *Emphatical* and *Beautiful* | FIGURES | WHICH GIVE | STRENGTH and ORNAMENT | TO WRITING. | [rule] | By *ANTHONY BLACKWALL*, M.A. | [rule] | The THIRD EDITION with ADDITIONS and an INDEX. | [rule] | *LONDON*, | Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON, at the *Bible* and *Crown* in | *St. Paul's Church-Yard*; and WILLIAM CANTRELL, | Bookfeller in *Derby*. M. DCC. XXV.

Collation: 12°: A⁴ B–M¹² N⁸.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T99261, T58872, T116140. Advertised in *British Journal* 142, 5 June 1725; *MC* June 1725, S2^v.

References: BL 833.d.11; ESTC T55744.

*2. le Blon, Jacob Christoph.

Title page: COLORITTO; | OR THE | Harmony of Colouring | IN | PAINTING: | Reduced to | MECHANICAL PRACTICE, | UNDER | *Eafy Precepts*, and *Infallible Rules*; | Together with fome | COLOUR'D FIGURES, | In order to render the faid PRECEPTS and RULES intelligible, not only to | PAINTERS, but even to *all Lovers of PAINTING*. | By *J. C. le BLON*.

Collation: 4°: A⁴ (A₂+ a–b²) B–C⁴ D², ²A⁴ (\$a–b signed '\$\$').

Notes: *MC* May 1725, N2^r.

References: BL 561*.d.19; ESTC T115966.

*3. Boyle, Robert, and Peter Shaw (ed.).

Title page: THE | Philofophical Works | Of the HONOURABLE | ROBERT BOYLE Esq; | Abridged, methodized, and difpofed under the | GENERAL HEADS | OF | [three-line column braced right] PHYSICS, | STATICS, | PNEUMATICS, [three-line column braced left] NATURAL HISTORY, | CHYMISTRY, and | MEDICINE. | The whole illuftrated with NOTES, containing the *Improve-ments* made in the feveral *Parts* of natural and experimental | *Knowledge* fince his time. | [rule] | In THREE VOLUMES. | [rule] | By *PETER SHAW*, M. D. | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed for

W. and J. INNYS, at the *West-End* of St. *Paul*'s; | and J. OSBORN, and T. LONGMAN, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. | [quarter rule] | M. DCC. XXV.
Collation: 4^o: Vol. 1: [A]² a-e⁴ f² B-4Z⁴ 5A²; Vol. 2: A² a-b⁴ B-4Z⁴; Vol. 3: [A]² a-b⁴ B-5C⁴ 5D².
Notes: Vol 1. Ornaments shared with T10213, T116140, T114290; Palmer's ornaments appear only in vol. 1; vols. 2 and 3 likely printed elsewhere. *MC* June 1725, Q1^v.
References: BL 8707.f.13; ESTC T80857.

†4. Chandler, Edward.

Title page: A | DEFENCE | OF | CHRISTIANITY | FROM THE | PROPHECIES | OF THE | *OLD TESTAMENT*; | Wherein are CONSIDERED | All the OBJECTIONS againft | this KIND of PROOF, | Advanced in a LATE | DISCOURSE | OF THE | *FOUNDATIONS* and *REASONS* | of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION. | [rule] | By the Right Reverend FATHER in GOD | *EDWARD*, Ld. Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*. | [rule] | [Greek epigraph] | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed for JAMES KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in | St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. M DCC XXV.
Collation: 8^o: A⁴ a² B-2I⁸ 2K⁴.
Notes: Ornaments shared with T116140, N1574, T92383, N19801. Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7244, 4 January 1725; *MC* January 1725, A1^v. Printing shared with William Botham (J. C. Ross).
References: BL 222.k.3; ESTC T56768.

†5. Chandler, Edward.

Title page: A | DEFENCE | OF | CHRISTIANITY | FROM THE | PROPHECIES | OF THE | *OLD TESTAMENT*; | Wherein are CONSIDERED | All the OBJECTIONS againft | this KIND of PROOF, | Advanced in a LATE | DISCOURSE | OF THE | *FOUNDATIONS* and *REASONS* | of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION. | [rule] | By the Right Reverend FATHER in GOD | *EDWARD*, Ld. Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*. | [rule] | [Greek epigraph] | The SECOND EDITION, with a Summary View of the whole Argument | and an Index of the Texts explain'd. | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed for JAMES and JOHN KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in | St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. MD CC XXV.
Collation: 8^o: A-2C⁸.
Notes: Ornaments shared with T116140, N1574, T92383, N19801. *MC* March 1725, I2^f. Printing shared with William Botham (J. C. Ross).
References: BL 1113.g.16; ESTC T56767.

*6. Chandler, Samuel.

Title page: A | VINDICATION | OF THE | Chriftian Religion. | [rule] | In TWO PARTS. | [rule] | I. | A Difcourfe of the *Nature* and *Ufe* of | MIRACLES. | II. | An Anfwer to a late Book entitled, | *A Difcourse of the Grounds and Rea-|fons of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.* | [rule] | By SAMUEL CHANDLER. | [rule] | *Defendat quod quisque sentit: sunt enim judicia libera.* | [flush right] Cicer. Tufc. Disp. l. 4. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for SAMUEL CHANDLER, at the | Crofs-Keys in the Poultry, MDCCXXV.

Collation: 8°: A⁸ 2B⁶ B–2C⁸ 2D².

Notes: MC May 1725, N1^v. Palmer printed only B–E⁸ (J. C. Ross).

References: BL 224.g.1; ESTC T64777.

*7. Evans, John.

Title page: [within double rules] SERMONS | UPON | Various Subjects, | PREACH'D to | *YOUNG PEOPLE*; | Designed for the | Promoting of Early Piety. | [rule] | By JOHN EVANS. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: cross keys within florals] | LONDON: | Printed for J. CLARK, and R. HETT, at the *Bible* | and *Crown* in *Cheapside*, near the *Poultry*; and SAMUEL | CHANDLER, at the *Cross Keys* in the *Poultry*. | M DCC XXV.

Collation: 12°: A–M⁶.

Notes: MC March 1725, H1^r.

References: BL 4479.aaa.51; ESTC T105025.

8. Franklin, Benjamin.

Title page: A | DISSERTATION | ON | *Liberty* and *Necessity*, | PLEASURE and PAIN. | [rule] | [epigraph] | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: cherub] | LONDON: | Printed in the Year MDCCXXV.

Collation: 8°: A–D⁴.

Notes: Exact date of printing unknown, but certainly printed by Franklin at Palmer's.

References: BL C.57.e.36.(2.); ESTC T126964.

†9. Gibson, William.

Title page: THE | FARRIER'S | New Guide. | Containing FIRST, | The ANATOMY of a HORSE, being an exact | and compendious Description of all his Parts; with their | Actions and Ufes: Illuftrated with FIGURES curi-|oufly engrav'd on COPPER-PLATES. | SECONDLY, | An Account of all the DISEASES incident to | HORSES, with their *Signs*, *Caufes*, and *Method of Cure*; | wherein many Defects in the Farrier's Practice are | now

carefully supply'd, their Errors expof'd | and amended, and the Art greatly
im-|proved and advanced, according | to the lateft Discoveries. | THE |
Whole intersper'd with many curious and useful Ob-|fervations concerning
FEEDING and EXERCISE, &c. | [rule] | The THIRD EDITION corrected. |
[rule] | By *W. GIBSON*. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: ship and trumpeters] |
LONDON: | Printed for T. LONGMAN, at the *Ship* and *Black-Swan* in
Pater-|nofter-row. M.DCC.XXV.

Collation: 8°: A-2A^s 2B².

Notes: Ornaments shared with N1574, T116140. *MC* October 1725, 2F2^v. This
“third edition corrected” is described as a fourth edition in *MC*. Seen only
on *ECCO* (copy from National Library of Ireland).

References: ESTC N31419.

†10. Grove, Henry.

Title page: [within a compartment, headstone with skull at top] *Dying in*
FAITH. | [heavy rule] | A | SERMON, | Occasioned by the | DEATH |
Of the late Reverend | *Mr. STEPHEN JAMES*. | [heavy rule] | *LONDON*: |
Printed for SAMUEL CHANDLER, | at the *Crofs-Keys* in the *Poultry*. |
M. DCC. XXV.

Collation: 8°: [A]² B-E⁴ F².

Notes: Ornaments shared with T62906, T138655. *MC* January 1725, B1^r.

References: BL 1415.k.32; ESTC T69843.

‡11. Grove, Henry.

Title page: [within a compartment, headstone with skull at top] | *The*
Thoughts and Purposes of | Men broken off by Death. | [rule] | A | SERMON, |
Occasioned by the Death of | *Mr. Samuel Darch*, | IN THE | XXII. Year
of his Age. | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed for SAM. CHANDLER | at the
Crofs-Keys, in the | *Poultry*. 1725.

Collation: 8°: A-E⁴.

Notes: *MC* January 1725, B1^r. Seen only on *ECCO* (copy from Bodleian
Libraries, Oxford).

References: ESTC T175255.

†12. Huet, Peter.

Title page: A | PHILOSOPHICAL | TREATISE | Concerning the |
WEAKNESS | OF | Human Understanding. | [rule] | By PETER HUET,
Late Bishop of | *AVRANCHES*. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: helmeted
head and trumpets] | *LONDON*: | Printed for GYSBERT DOMMER; and

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Sold by J. MAC-|EVEN in the *Strand*, J. CLARK under the *Royal-|Exchange*, and S. CHANDLER in the *Poultry*, 1725.

Collation: 8°: A⁸ b⁸ *4 B–F⁸.

Notes: Shares over eight ornaments with T58872, T99261, N1574, T116140, T118520, T98741, T103946, T62906. MC February 1725, D1^v.

References: BL 8405.f.21; ESTC T109142.

13. Isocrates.

Title page: SCHOLIA | IN | Duas ISOCRATIS Orationes | AD | DEMONICUM & NICOLEM. | Quibus eæ ita illuſtrantur, ut ex earum Me-|taphraſi propriam ac ſimplicem vocum ſigni-|ficationem, e Periphraſi earundem ſenſum varium | ac elegantem diſcas, e Phraſibus egregiam tum | Græce, tum Latine loquendi facultatem acquiras: | e Græciſmis, quantum Oratio Græca peculiari | quodam dicendi ornatu non ſolum a Lingua La-|tina, verum etiam a vulgari Græce loquendi mo-|do differat, facile perſpicias, e Sententiis morum | integritatem ac ſapienter vitæ inſtituendæ ratio-|nem percipias: ac denique ex omnibus hiſce | quævis Græca eleganter Latine interpretandi mo-|dum, ac non mediocre veram Latinitatem a falſa | & barbara diſcernendi iudicium compares. | [rule] | EDITIO SEXTA. | [rule] | *Studio & Opera* G. SYLVANI, *Pannonii Medici*. | [rule] | LONDINI. | [rule] | Typis S. PALMER, | Impenſis J. KNAPTON, J. WALTHOE, D. | MIDWINTER, R. ROBINSON, B. COWSE, | B. MOTTE, & A. WARD.

Collation: 12°: A–M⁶.

Notes: Date estimated as 1720 in *ESTC*. J. C. Ross suggests 1723 based on the active dates of the publishers involved, and an advertisement list on M6^{r-v} (“BOOKS Printed for J. Knapton, | J. Walthoe, D. Midwinter, R. Ro-|binſon, B Cowſe, B. Motte, and | A. Ward”). I give May 1725 here, based on advertisements for its publication in the following: *Whitehall Evening Post* (London) 1049, 29 May 1725; *Daily Post* (London) 1772, 31 May 1725; *London Journal* (London) 307, 12 June 1725.

References: Christ Church Library, Oxford OX.8.3; ESTC N69930.

†14. Knight, Samuel.

Title page: *The great Happineſs of a lawful* | GOVERNMENT. | [rule] | A | SERMON | Preached before the HONOURABLE | HOUSE of COMMONS, | AT | St. Margaret's *Weſtminſter*, | On SATURDAY, May 29, 1725. | Being the Anniverſary of the | Reſtauration of the Royal Family. | [rule] | By SAMUEL KNIGHT, D.D. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: lamb and foliage within ornate frame] | LONDON: | Printed for T. Cox, at the *Lamb* under the *Royal Exchange*, | *Cornhill*. M DCC XXV. (Price 6d.)

Collation: 8^o: [A]⁴ B–D⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T116140, T103946, T118520. MC June 1725, R1^r.

References: BL 4476.bb.54; ESTC T35844.

***15. Reynolds, John.**

Title page: A VIEW of DEATH: | OR, | *The Soul's Departure from the World.* | [rule] | A PHILOSOPHICAL | Sacred POEM, | With a copious Body of | EXPLANATORY NOTES, | AND | Some additional Composures. | [rule] | By J. Reynolds. | [rule] | *Non omnis moriar, multaq; pars mei | Vitabit Libitinam.* | [flush right] Hor. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for JOHN CLARK and RICHARD HETT at | the Bible and Crown in the Poultry near Cheapside, | and W. HINCHLIFFE at Dryden's Head under the | Royal Exchange. 1725.

Collation: 4^o: [A]² a⁴ B–R⁴.

Notes: MC June 1725, R2^r.

References: BL 11630.c.7.(10.); ESTC T50756.

***16. Shower, John.**

Title page: [within double rules] SERIOUS | REFLECTIONS | ON | *Time and Eternity.* | And some other | SUBJECTS, | MORAL and DIVINE. | With an | APPENDIX | CONCERNING THE | *First Day of the Year*, how observed by the *Jews* | and may best be employ'd by a serious *Christian.* | [rule] | By JOHN SHOWER. | [rule] | The SIXTH EDITION, Corrected and very much Enlarged. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for J. and B. SPRINT, at the Bell in Little-Britain | and the Assigns J. NICHOLSON, decess'd. 1725.

Collation: 12^o: A–M¹².

Notes: MC March 1725, I2^v. Ornaments shared with T99261, T71037.

References: BL 1606/1685; ESTC T118416.

***17. de Herrera, Antonio, trans. John Stevens.**

Title page: THE GENERAL | HISTORY | OF THE VAST | CONTINENT and ISLANDS | OF | AMERICA, | Commonly call'd THE | WEST-INDIES, | FROM | The FIRST DISCOVERY thereof: | With the Best ACCOUNTS the People could give of their | ANTIQUITIES. | Collected from the Original RELATIONS | sent to the Kings of SPAIN. | [rule] | By ANTONIO DE HERRERA, | Historiographer to His CATHOLICK MAJESTY. | [rule] | Translated into *English* by Capt. JOHN STEVENS. | [rule] | VOL. I. | [rule] | Illustrated with CUTTS and MAPS. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for JER. BATLEY at the Dove in Pater-noster-row. | [quarter rule] | M.DCC.XXV

Collation: 8^o: A⁸ B–3B⁴ 3C².

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Notes: Vol. 1 published in installment: *MC* January 1725, B2^r; March 1725, H1^v; April 1725, L2^v. Published in six volumes. Only vol. 1 can be assigned to Palmer's office *and* dated to Franklin's tenure. Vols. 3–6 are dated 1726. Vols. 1–2 are dated 1725, but vol. 1 alone shares one ornament with T92383. Printing certainly shared with other printer(s).
References: BL 145.a.22–27; ESTC N1037.

***18. Taylor, Jeremy.**

Title page: [within double rules] THE | RULE of CONSCIENCE; | OR, | Bishop TAYLOR's | *Ductor Dubitantium* | ABRIDG'D. | [rule] | By RICHARD BARCROFT, Curate | of *Christ Church* in Surrey. | [rule] | In Two VOLUMES. | [rule] | VOL. II. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for S. BILLINGSLEY, at the Judge's | Head in Chancery-Lane. 1725.
Collation: 8^o: [A]² a–b⁸ c² B–T⁸ (T)⁴ U–2C⁸ 2D².
Notes: *MC* April 1725, L1^v. Palmer printed vol. 2 U–Y⁸ only. Printing shared with William Bowyer and possibly others (J. C. Ross).
References: BL 846.m.15; ESTC T134043.

***19. Thomas, William.**

Title page: ANTIQUITATES | PRIORATUS MAJORIS | MALVERNE | IN AGRO | WICCIENSI. | CUM | CHARTIS ORIGINALIBUS | EASDEM | ILLUSTRANTIBUS, ex REGISTRIS | SEDIS | *Episcopalis Wigorniensis*. | Nunc PRIMUM EDITIS. | [double rule] | LONDINI, | Apud J. OSBORN & T. LONGMAN. 1725.
Collation: 8^o: ^πA⁴ χ¹ a–n⁴ *A–*E⁴ *F² A–2B⁴ 2C².
Notes: *MC* June 1725, Q1^v.
References: BL 210.b.1.; ESTC T147216.

20. Turner, William.

Title page: TROPORUM | ET | FIGURARUM | *RHETORICES* | PRÆCIPUARUM | Institutio Brevis. | [rule] | In Usum SCHOLARUM. | [rule] | *A Gulielmo Turnero, A. M.* | Pridem Scholæ Stamfordensis, nunc | Colcestriensis MAGISTRO. | [double rule] | LONDINI: | Typis S. PALMER; | Prostant venales apud S. BALLARD, in | vico dicto *Little-Britain*; & J. OSBORN, | & T. LONGMAN in *Pater-noster-Row*. | MDCCXXV.
Collation: 4^o: A–D⁴ E².
Notes: Advertised in *Evening Post* (London) 2526, 30 September 1725; *MC* September 1725, 2B2^v.
References: BL 624.a.25.(2.); ESTC T86922.

21. Vida, Marco Girolamo.

Title page: VIDA's | ART of POETRY, | Tranſlated into | ENGLISH
VERSE, | By the REVEREND | Mr. CHRISTOPH. PITT, A.M. | Late
FELLOW of *New-College* in *Oxford*, Rector | of *Pimperm* in *Dorſetſhire*, and
[sic] Chaplain to the Right | Honourable PHILIP, Earl STANHOPE, &c. |
[woodcut ornament: five linked floral bouquets] | LONDON: | Printed by
SAM. PALMER, | For A. BETTESWORTH, at the *Red Lion* in | *Pater-noſter-*
row. 1725.

Collation: 12°: A² B–L⁶.

Notes: Advertised in *London Journal* (London) 301, 1 May 1725; *MC*
February 1725, D2^r.

References: BL 237.f.37; BL RB.23.a.26223; ESTC T98741.

22. Wollaston, William.

Title page: THE | RELIGION | OF | NATURE | DELINEATED. | [rule] |
[five-line Greek epigram] | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: printing office
interior within ornate frame, top banner 'VITAM MOTRUIS REDDO'] |
LONDON: | Printed by *S. Palmer*, and ſold by B. LINTOTT, W. and
J. INNYS, | J. OSBORN, J. BATLEY, and T. LONGMAN. 1725.

Collation: 4°: A² B–2E⁴.

Notes: *MC* February 1725, F1^r.

References: BL 4014.g.44; ESTC T138365.

†23. Anon.

Title page: THE | LIFE | AND | GLORIOUS | ACTIONS | Of the moſt |
HEROIC and MAGNANIMOUS | JONATHAN WILDE, | GENERALISSIMO
of the | PRIG-FORCES | IN | GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND |
Introduced with the moſt | MEMORABLE PASSAGES | IN THE | LIVES of
his ANCESTORS; | AND CONCLUDING | With his BEHAVIOUR in
Newgate, | And at the | PLACE of EXECUTION. | WITH | An Explanation
of the moſt uſual Terms of Art | in the CANTING DIALECT. | [rule] |
LONDON: | Printed for H. WHITRIDGE, in *Searle-ſtreet* by *Lincolns-Inn* |
Back-Gate. 1725. (Price One Shilling.)

Collation: 4°: A–H⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T92383, T62906. *MC* April 1725, O2^v. Seen
only on *ECCO* (copy from Harvard University, Houghton Library).

References: ESTC N3340.

***24. Anon.**

Title page: THE | SPEECH | OF THE | Reverend FATHER, | The ADVOCATE
for the | *Jefuits* of THORN, | On Occaſion of the | Tumult in that CITY, |

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Delivered before the | Affeſſorial Tribunal | OF THE | Great Chancellor
of *Poland*, on the | 31ſt Day of *October*, 1724. Demand-|ing Sentence
againſt the PROTES-|TANTS of the ſaid City. | [rule] | *Bombalio; Clangor;*
Stridor; Taratantara; Murmur! | [rule] | *London*: Printed for J. PEELE at
Locke's Head | in *Pater-noſter-row*. 1725. (Price 6*d.*)

Collation: 4°: [A]⁴ B–C⁴ D².

Notes: MC March 1725, I1^r. Ornaments shared with T99261, T90028.

References: BL C.133.g.7.(47.); ESTC N24863.

APPENDIX B

Titles printed at the office of John Watts during Franklin's tenure from November 1725 to June 1726 inclusive.

***1. Addison, Joseph.**

Title page: MISCELLANEOUS | WORKS, | IN | VERSE and PROSE, | Of the Late Right Honourable | *Joseph Addison*, Esq; | [rule] | In THREE VOLUMES. | [rule] | *Consisting of such as were never before Printed | in Twelves.* | With some Account of the LIFE and | WRITINGS of the AUTHOR, | By Mr. *Tickell*. | [double rule] | *London:* | Printed for JACOB TONSON in the *Strand*. | [rule] | MDCCXXVI.

Collation: 12°: Vol. 1: A–N¹² O⁴; Vol. 2: A–N¹² O⁶; Vol. 3: A–N¹² O⁸.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T84080, T74576, T138247, T137775.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7677, Wednesday 25 May 1726.

References: LCP O.Eng.Add.69330.D; LCP O Eng Addi Mis 1726 65290.D.3; BL RB.23.a.28610; BL 12275.g.5; CUL S718.d.72.1–3; ESTC T89165.

***2. Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele.**

Title page: [within double rules] THE | GUARDIAN. | [rule] | VOL. I. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament, bust of Shakespeare within oval braid border] | [rule] | The FOURTH EDITION. | [rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for J. Tonson, at *Shakespeare's-Head*, over-against | *Katherine-street* in the *Strand*. MDCCXXVI.

Collation: 12°: Vol. 1: A⁶ B–Q¹²; Vol. 2: A⁶ B–Q¹².

Notes: Ornaments shared with T128953, T200826, T94822, T84080. Date uncertain. No advertisements found in newspapers or *MC*, but advertisement on Vol. 1, A1^v, reads “*Now in the Press*, The Miscellaneous Works, in Verse and Prose, of the late Right Honourable JOSEPH ADDISON.” This edition of Addison was published in May 1726 (see item B.1, above), well into Franklin's tenure at Watts's; if the *Guardian* was completed while the Addison was in the press, it was very probably being printed during late April 1726. For this reason it is included here.

References: BL 1560/2541; ESTC N17917.

***3. Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele.**

Title Page: THE | SPECTATOR | [rule] | VOL. I. | [rule] | [ornament] | [rule] | The SEVENTH EDITION. | [rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for J. TONSON in the *Strand*. | [half rule] | M DCC XXIV.

Collation: 12°: Vol. 1: A–M¹² N⁶ [Sixteen volumes; only Vol. 1 seen].

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Notes: Ornaments shared with T128953, T200826, T74576, T94842.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7514, Monday 15 November 1725.

References: BL RB.23.a.7475 [vol. 1 only]; ESTC T207571.

*4. Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele.

Title page: THE | SPECTATOR. | [rule] | VOL. I. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament, bust of Shakespeare within oval braid border] | [rule] | The EIGHTH EDITION. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for J. Tonfon, at *Shakespear's-Head*, over-againft | *Katherine-freet* in the *Strand*. MDCCXXVI.

Collation: 12°: Vol. 1: A⁶ B–O¹² P⁶; Vol. 2: A⁶ B–O¹² P⁶; Vol. 3: A⁶ B–O¹² P⁶; Vol. 4: A⁶ B–N¹² O⁶; Vol. 5: A⁶ B–O¹²; Vol. 6: A⁴ B–O¹² P²; Vol. 7: A⁶ B–P¹²; Vol. 8: A–N¹² O⁶.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T128953, T200826, T84080, T137775, T74576.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7599, Wednesday 23 February 1726.

References: LCP Per S 110 Log 1518.D; LCP Per S 110 68.D (Rush); LCP Per S 110 1618.D (Preston); BL P.P.5250.ea; ESTC T97946.

*5. Baker, Henry.

Title page: The SECOND PART of | ORIGINAL | POEMS: | *Serious and Humorous*. | [rule] | By Mr. HENRY BAKER. | [rule] | *Good Nature and good Sense must ever joyn; To err, is human, to forgive, divine*. | [flush right] Mr. *Pope's* Criticifm. | [double rule] | LONDON: | Printed for the Author; and Sold by J. Parker next the | *Cocoa-Tree* in *Pall-Mall*; T. Wotton, and T. Worral | in *Fleetstreet*; R. Franklin in *Ruffel-street*, *Covent-Gar-den*; J. Brotherton in *Cornhill*; and J. Roberts in | *Warwick-Lane*. 1726. [within brackets] Price 1s. 6d.

Collation: 8°: A⁴ B–G⁸ H⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T74576, T84080, T50340, T137775.

Advertised in *Daily Post* (London) 2017, 12 March 1726.

References: BL RB.23.a.8972; ESTC N21835.

*6. Bridges, John (subject).

Title page: CATALOGUS | LIBRORUM | JOHANNIS BRIDGES, | ARMIGERI; | NUPER EX | HOSPITIO LINCOLNIENSI. | *Juxta Exemplar CATALOGI MSti quem ipse dum in vivis erat, concinnari fecerat*. | Adjicitur APPENDIX MSSorum. | [rule] | Φιλοκαλία μετ' ω'φελείας | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: globe, bust, instruments within vegetal frame] | [rule] | LONDINI: | Ex Officinâ JACOBI TONSON, & | JOHANNIS WATTS. | [half rule] | MDCCXXV.

Collation: 4°: π1 a² A–2U⁴ 2X².

Notes: Ornaments shared with T50340, T84080, T138247, T74576, T94824.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7548, Friday 24 December 1725.

References: LCP Am 1725 Bri 66402.O; BL 125.d.4; BL 679.c.24; BL 125.d.7; CUL 7880.c.47; ESTC T28880.

***7. Bridges, John (subject).**

Title page: CATALOGUS | BIBLIOTHECÆ | PLUS | Quater Mille
LIBRIS Impressis & | Manuscriptis instructæ, iisque ex-|quisitissimis, &
in omni difci-|plinarum & linguarum ge-|nere rarissimis, fumma | curâ,
judicio, & fum-|ptu conquifitis, | A | JOHANNÉ BRIDGESIO, *Armig.* | &
Regiæ Societatis apud Britannos Socio. | *Illius Auctio habebitur Londini*
apud Ho-|spitium Lincolnienfi, in Cameris | *Defuncti*, Feb. 7¹⁸, *proximo seq.* |
[rule] | A CHR. COCK in vico vulgo vocato Broadstreet, | Londini. |
Profant Venales apud Abr. le Hondt, Biblio-|polam Hagæ-Comitii; &
apud Bib-|liopolas Parisienfes.

Collation: 4°: [A]² B-2C⁴.

Notes: Date from title, before 7 February 1726. Ornaments shared with T138247. Seen only on *ECCO* (copy from Harvard University, Houghton Library).

References: ESTC N15010.

***8. Castelman, Richard, and William Chetwood.**

Title page: [within double rules] THE | VOYAGES | AND | ADVENTURES |
OF | Captain *Robert Boyle*, | In feveral Parts of the World. | Intermix'd
with | The STORY of Mrs. *VILLARS*, | an *English* Lady with whom he
made his | furprizing Escape from *Barbary*; | The HISTORY of an *Italian*
Captive; and | the LIFE of *Don Pedro Aquilio*, &c. | *Full of various and*
amazing Turns of Fortune. | [rule] | To which is added, | *The Voyage*,
Shipwreck, and Miraculous | Prefervation, of | *Richard Castelman*, Gent. |
With a Description of the City of *Philadelphia*, | and the Country of
Pensylvania. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for JOHN WATTS, at the
Printing-Office in | *Wild-Court*, near *Lincolns-Inn Fields*. 1726.

Collation: 8°: π1 A⁴ B-2A⁸ 2B⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T125842, T50340, T94822, T130837.

Advertised in *Evening Post* (London) 2589, 24-26 February 1726.

References: LCP Am 1725 Che 69315.O; BL G.13744; ESTC T144534.

***9. Hare, Francis.**

Title page: EPISTOLA | CRITICA | AD ERUDITISSIMUM VIRUM |
H. B. S. E. I. | IN QUA | Omnes doctissimi BENTLEII in | PHÆDRUM
Notæ atque Emenda-|tiones expenduntur. | [double rule] | LONDINI: |

Benjamin Franklin's London Printing 1725–26 177

Ex Officinâ JACOBI TONSON & JOHANNIS WATTS. | [half rule] | M. DCC. XXVI.

Collation: 4°: A–T⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T226268. Advertised in *Daily Post* (London) 2049, Tuesday 19 April 1726; *MC* April 1726, L1^v.

References: BL T.1553.(8.); BL 631.k.20.(3.); CUL Cam.d.726.3; CUL G.9.51; ESTC T32886.

***10. Terence, Publius, trans. Francis Hare.**

Title page: P TERENTII | COMOEDIAE | Ad Exemplar FAERNIANUM | A PETRO VICTORIO editum ANNO M.D.LXV. | SUMMA FIDE RECENSITAE. | Lectore femper monito, ubi a FAERNO disceditur. | In hac infuper EDITIONE veruum genera diversa diligenter | indicata sunt; quicquid vero in iis difficile aut impeditum, | nova quadam methodo tam facile redditur, | ut quivis ftatim intelligat. | *Accedunt FAERNI emendationes integrae, & quae alia erant | in editione VICTORIANA, necnon DONATI quaedam, | cum INDICE LOCUPLETISSIMO.* | [rule] | Recenfuit, notisque auxit, & differtationem de metris comicis | ADIECIT | FRANCISCUS HARE, S. T. P. | Decanus Wigornienfis, & Regiae Maieftati a Sacris. | [rule] | *Editio altera, auctior & emendatior.* | [rule] | LONDINI: | Ex Officinâ JACOBI TONSON & JOHANNIS WATTS. | [half rule] | M. DCC. XXV.

Collation: 4°: A⁴ a–m⁴ B–3P⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T226268, T84080, T200826, T137775, T74576, T138247.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7567, Monday 17 January 1726.

References: CUL X.8.40; ESTC T153693.

***11. Haym, Nicola Francesco.**

Title page: NOTIZIA | DE' | LIBRI RARI | NELLA | LINGUA ITALIANA | Divisa in quattro Parti principali; | CIOE, | ISTORIA, POESA, PROSE, | ARTI e SCIENZE. | *Aneffovi tutto il Libro della Eloquenza Italiana | di Monf. Guifto Fontanini, con il fuo Ra-|gionamento intorno la detta matera.* | Con TAVOLE copiofiffime, e neceffarie. | [woodcut ornament: flourish with vines] | In LONDRA: | Per GIACOB TONSON, e GIOVANNI WATTS. | M DCC XXVI.

Collation: 8°: A⁸ a⁸ b⁴ (–b₄) B–U⁸ X–2C⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T84080, T94822, T34858, T130837.

Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7678, 26 May 1726.

References: ESTC T115766.

***12. Montfaucon, Bernard de, trans. David Humphreys.**

Title page: [within double rules] THE | SUPPLEMENT | TO | ANTIQUITY | EXPLAINED, | And REPRESENTED in | SCULPTURES, | BY THE | Learned Father *MONTFAUCON*. | [rule] | Translated into *English* by | *DAVID HUMPHREYS*, M. A. | And Fellow of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*. | [rule] | In FIVE VOLUMES. | [rule] | VOLUME *the* FIRST. | [double rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed by J. TONSON and J. WATTS. | MDCCXXV.

Collation: 2°: Vol. 1: [A]² a² b¹ B–2O²; Vol. 2: 2P–3Y²; Vol. 3: 3X–5I²; Vol. 4: 5K–6K²; Vol. 5: 6L–7M² 7N¹.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T₄₁₉₄₆, T₃₄₈₅₈, T₉₄₈₂₂, T₉₄₈₂₄, T₂₂₉₅₅₄. Advertised in *Daily Post* (London) 1912, 10 November 1725; *MC* October 1725, 2E1^r. Appears in *MC* for October 1726, the month prior to Franklin's move to Wild Court; however, it is unclear whether all volumes were completed in October, since the whole set was not advertised in the *Daily Post* until November 1726. Advertisement in *Daily Post* states that “the former ten Tomes” may be purchased at Watts's office.

References: LCP *U Anc Mont Suppl 7041.F; LCP *U Anc Mont 44.F; BL 840.m.1.(34.); BL J/7703.c.14–15; CUL 400:8.a.95.45; ESTC N25915.

13. Lewis, David.

Title page: MISCELLANEOUS | POEMS, | BY | SEVERAL HANDS. | [rule] | Published by *D. LEWIS*. | [rule] | *Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse Poetas*, | *Excerptam numero*. — Hor. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: floral bouquet with vines] | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed by J. WATTS. M DCC XXVI.

Collation: 8°: A–X⁸.

Notes: Advertised for delivery to subscribers on 27 June 1726 in *Daily Post* (London) 2105, 23 June 1726; *MC*, July, V1^r.

References: BL 1077.1.30; CUL Williams.682; CUL S721.c.72.1; ESTC T117257.

***14. Lockier, Francis.**

Title page: [within double rules] A | SERMON | Preach'd before the Honourable | HOUSE of COMMONS, | AT | *St. Margaret's Westminster*, | On *Monday, January 31, 1725*. | BEING THE | ANNIVERSARY-FAST | For the MARTYRDOM of | King *CHARLES I*. | [rule] | By *FRANCIS LOCKIER*, D. D. Dean of *Peterborough*, | and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. | [rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed for J. TONSON at *Shakespeare's Head* in the *Strand*, and | J. WATTS at the Printing Office in *Wild-Court* near *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*. MDCCXXVI.

Collation: 4°: π₁ A–C⁴ χ₁.

Notes: No ornaments, attribution to Watts inferred from imprint. Advertised in *Daily Post* (London) 1996, 16 February 1726 (date on A1^r is 1 February 1726); *MC*, January 1726, E1^r.

References: BL 226.f.18.(15.); 694.f.2.(10.); CUL 6.21.3; ESTC T49008.

15. Plato, trans. Francis de la Pillonniere.

Title page: LA | REPUBLIQUE | DE | PLATON; | OU | DU JUSTE, ET DE L'INJUSTE. | [rule] | Traduit, | Par Mr. DE LA PILLONNIERE. | [rule] | [woodcut ornament: floral bouquet with vines] | [rule] | Imprimé à LONDRES, aux frais, & sous les yeux du Traducteur. | [half rule] | M DCC XXVI.

Collation: 4°: [A]⁸ a–b⁴ c² B–2S⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T229554, T74576. Advertised for “a few Months” time in *Daily Post* (London) 2056, Wednesday 27 April 1726. Assigned to Watts in *ESTC*. The imprint to this volume—“Imprimé . . . aux frais, & sous les yeux du Traducteur” (“printed at the expense and under the eyes of the translator”)—is curious, given that as a general rule authors had relatively little involvement over the minutiae of printing (Alexander Pope being a notable exception). If this is not an empty boast, and Francis de la Pillonniere did supervise the preparation of his translation in addition to paying for its publication himself, it may have been considered a high priority job, perhaps a candidate for the “Work of Dispatch” alluded to by Franklin.

References: BL 521.k.2; BL8461.f.29; CUL Q.2.48; ESTC T132450.

***16. Southerne, Thomas.**

Title page: *Money the Mistress*. | A | PLAY, | As it was Acted at the | THEATRE-ROYAL | in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*. | [rule] | Written by | THOMAS SOUTHERNE. | [rule] | ————— *Formam Regina Pecunia donat*, | *Et bene nummatam decorate*—Hor. Epift. 6 Lib. 1. | [double rule] | LONDON: | Printed for J. TONSON at *Shakespeare's Head* over-|againft *Katharine-Street* in the *Strand*. 1726.

Collation: 8°: A⁴ B–E⁸ F⁴.

Notes: Ornaments shared with T138247, T74576. Advertised in *Daily Courant* (London) 7608, Saturday 5 March 1726.

References: BL 643.h.3.(14.); CUL Brett-Smith.895; ESTC T2471.

***17. Young, Edmund.**

Title page: [within double rules] THE | UNIVERSAL PASSION. | SATIRE | THE LAST. | To the RIGHT HONOURABLE | Sir ROBERT WALPOLE. | [rule] | *Carmina tum melius, cum venerit Ipse, canemus*. Virg. |

[rule] | [woodcut ornament: basket of fruit] | [double rule] | *LONDON*: |

Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*. | [half rule] | M DCC XXVI.

Collation: 2°: [A]² B–D².

Notes: Ornaments shared with T73428. Advertised in *Daily Post* (London)
1970, Monday 17 January 1726.

References: BL 840.m.1.(34.); ESTC T50489.