



# Contemporary broadside editions of the Declaration of Independence

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# Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence

ECENTLY, through the generosity of Carleton R. Richmond, '09, the Harvard College Library was enabled to acquire a copy of the first edition of the Declaration of Independence, printed as a broadside by John Dunlap in Philadelphia the night of 4 July or early on 5 July 1776. There would presumably be general agreement that this broadside constitutes the most important single printed document in our national annals. It was inserted in the 'rough' Journal of the Congress on 5 July 1776, in a space left blank by the Secretary, Charles Thomson. As a result, it supplied the text for the longhand copy of the Declaration in the 'smooth' Journal of the Congress, and that for the famous engrossed vellum copy signed by the delegates. It was the form of the Declaration disseminated to the new-born 'states' by order of the Congress, thereby becoming the basis for later printings in newspapers, broadsides, and books. It stands as the first official version of the Declaration, as well as its first appearance in print.

The present article is concerned with the bibliography of the contemporary broadside editions of the Declaration, all deriving ultimately from this first edition of Dunlap's, and hastily printed on single sheets of paper to convey the great news to the people as quickly as possible. Previous bibliographical listings of the Declaration broadsides have been made by Paul Leicester Ford in Some Materials for a Bibliography of the Official Publications of the Continental Congress (Brooklyn, 1888); I. Minis Hays, A Contribution to the Bibliography of the Declaration of Independence (Philadelphia, 1900); Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (Washington, 1906), Vol. VI; and Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Chicago, 1909), Vol. V. It is interesting to note that each in his turn was able to increase the number of known editions or variants of editions. P. L. Ford listed five, Hays listed eight, W. C. Ford listed ten, and Evans listed eleven. Enough additional information has been found to warrant the present bibliographical effort, in which nineteen different editions or variants of editions are recorded,

beginning with the first Dunlap edition and including the 'authenticated' copy printed at Baltimore early in 1777.

Much has been written on the evolution and history of the Declaration, including standard works by John H. Hazelton, Carl Becker, and Julian P. Boyd. In brief, the following were the important steps leading up to the first printing of the Declaration.

In the Continental Congress on 7 June 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered the following: 'Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved.'

Consideration of the resolution was postponed until the 8th of June. It was referred to the committee of the whole for discussion on the 10th, on which date there was adopted the following resolution: 'Resolved, that the consideration of the first resolution be postponed to this day three weeks [July 1], and in the mean while that no time be lost in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the said first resolution.'

The next day, June 11th, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston were chosen 'to

prepare the Declaration.'

On June 28th, the Committee brought in a draft of 'A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled.' Jefferson had been given the task of composing the Declaration and the draft presented by the Committee was his, with the exception of a few changes suggested by Adams and Franklin.

During the debate that followed further changes were made, the most important being the deletion of the paragraph on the restriction of the slave trade.

Finally, on July 4th, the Congress acting as a committee of the whole approved the Declaration as amended. The document then being read again, it was agreed to unanimously by all of the delegates,

The Declaration of Independence: Its History (New York, 1906).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Declaration of Independence. A Study in the History of Political Ideas (New York, 1912).

<sup>\*</sup>The Declaration of Independence, the Evolution of the Text (Washington, 1943).

Based on the Journal of the Congress, as printed in Hazelton, The Declaration of Independence, pp. 109, 118, 120, 170-171.

# CONGRESS, July 4, 1776. ECLARATION

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE

# VITED STATES OF AMERICA.

GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

HEN in the Course of hyrron Events, it becomes needlary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to offense among the Fowers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and offense of God envite them, a decent Response to the Opinion of Mankind requires that they floud declare the causes which impet them

Nature's God entitle them, a decent Refige to the Opinions of Mankins requires that they flouid declare the cautes which impet them to the Suparation.

We hold these Trushs to be felf-entited, that all Men are created equal, that they are endawed by their Creates with certain unalimable highes, that among these are life, Liberty, and the Purshit of Happiness—That to fecure shell Rights, Governments are inflituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Government, that whenever any Form of Government becomes defaultion of these lines, it is the Right of the Pruple to after or to shell his, and to institute new Government, laying its Poundation on such Principles, and erganizing its Powers in fach Form, as to them their factor that their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, instead, will distate that Government lang established sheated not be changed for hight and transfers and accordingly all Experience hath shown, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, white Earls are sufferable, than to right themselves by abiliting the Forms to which they are accordenate. Her when a long Train of Aluses and Userpations, pursuant to the time Objech, existes a Design to reduce them under abilities Desposition, it is their Right, it is their Day, to throw off fach Observations and to provide new Goards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colories, and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their farmer Eystems of Government. The Hastory of the present King of Great-Britain is a Hastory of repeated fajories and Userpations, all that effect his Assert to Laws, the meth wholesome and according to the public Goad.

He has resolved his Assert to Laws, the meth wholesome and according to the public Goad.

He has resolved his Government to public the action his Government of the Prople would relinquish the Right of Reported and whos so suffer Laws for the Accommodation of large Distribution of People would relinquish the Right of Reported and whos so suffer the

He has refuted to pair other Laws for the Accommodation of Jarge Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyronts only.

He has called together Legislative Books at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and diffinal from the Depository of their public Records. for the fole Purpose of Inighting them into Compliance with his Measures.

fire his differed Representative Houses repeatedly. For appoing with morely Fernancis his Incapins on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissentions, to evole takers to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Administration, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time expused to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convolutions within. It has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Fuseigness's resulting to past enhers to encourage these Migrations higher, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by resulting his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount of Payment of their Salaries.

He has created a Multimode of new Offices, and tent higher Salaries of Officers to barrais our People, and eat out their Substance.

The has been among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armins, without the consent of our Levillatures.

He has expected a traditional of Perce. Standing Armins, without the confent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Justification foreign to our Conflictation, and unteknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Aste of

For quartering large Endies of Armed Troops among us:
For quartering large Endies of Armed Troops among us:
For protecting them, by a most Trial, from Punishment for any Merder, which they finally commit on the Inhabitance of these States :
For nating off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For impeling Taxes on as without our Challett.

For impeling Taxes on as without our Challett.

For depriving us, in many Cafes, of the lienafits of Trial by Jary:

For depriving us, in many Cafes, of the lienafits of Trial by Jary:

For transporting as beyond Stars to be tried for presented Offiners:

For abolithing the first System of English Laws in a reighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Concernment, and calarging its Boundaries, for trender it at once an Example and fit Influences for introducing the laws should Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fordamentally the Forms of our Government;

For suffereding our own Legislatures, and declaring theinstores invested with Fower to legislate for us in all Cases whatsever,

The has abolished Concernment here, by declaring up out of his Protection and waging War posings us.

For suspending our own Legistuses, and declaring theirstores invested with Fower to legislate for us in all Coles whatevers.

He has abdicated Concentrate here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against the.

He has plundered our Stas, ravaged our Coulds, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

It is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the Works of Doub, Declarion, and Tyraney, already began with three completes of Cruelry and Perfidy, searchly peralleled in the most burbarous. Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has confirmed our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Sees to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and

Beetheen, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

Breibren, or is fall themfelves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic Insurections amongs us, and has enduroused to bring on the Inhibitants of our Provient, the metrilets Indian Savager, whose known Rule of Warfare, is en undifficultied Destruction, of all Ages, Sears and Conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions we, have Principled for Reducts in the most humble Terms: Our respected Peritions have been answered only by repeated larger, A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every set which may define a Tyrane, is unformed the Reserved acres to the Rederion a free Propie.

Now have we been wanting in Attractions to our British Brethten. We have wanted them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an nowarrantable jurishitation over us. We have remainded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Connections and Correspondence. They too have been skull to the Veire of Julice and of Confungations. Which, would introduce in the Newfisty, which we, therefore, and hald them, as we hold the set of Mankind, Enderies in Wor, in Price, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Alignified, presently to the Suprame Judge of the World for the Rectification out in Intelligions, to, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of shife Colonies are, and of Kight ough: to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT TOTATES in the fact of Market 20 pathod from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all pathod Connection between them and the State of Creat-Histoin, is and ought to be british defined four than the state of the British Connection between them and the State of Creat-Histoin, is and ought to be british from Reliance on the British Connection of the

Signed by Onone and in Benale of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY. .

PLATE I

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE DEGLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(No. 1; Harvard copy)

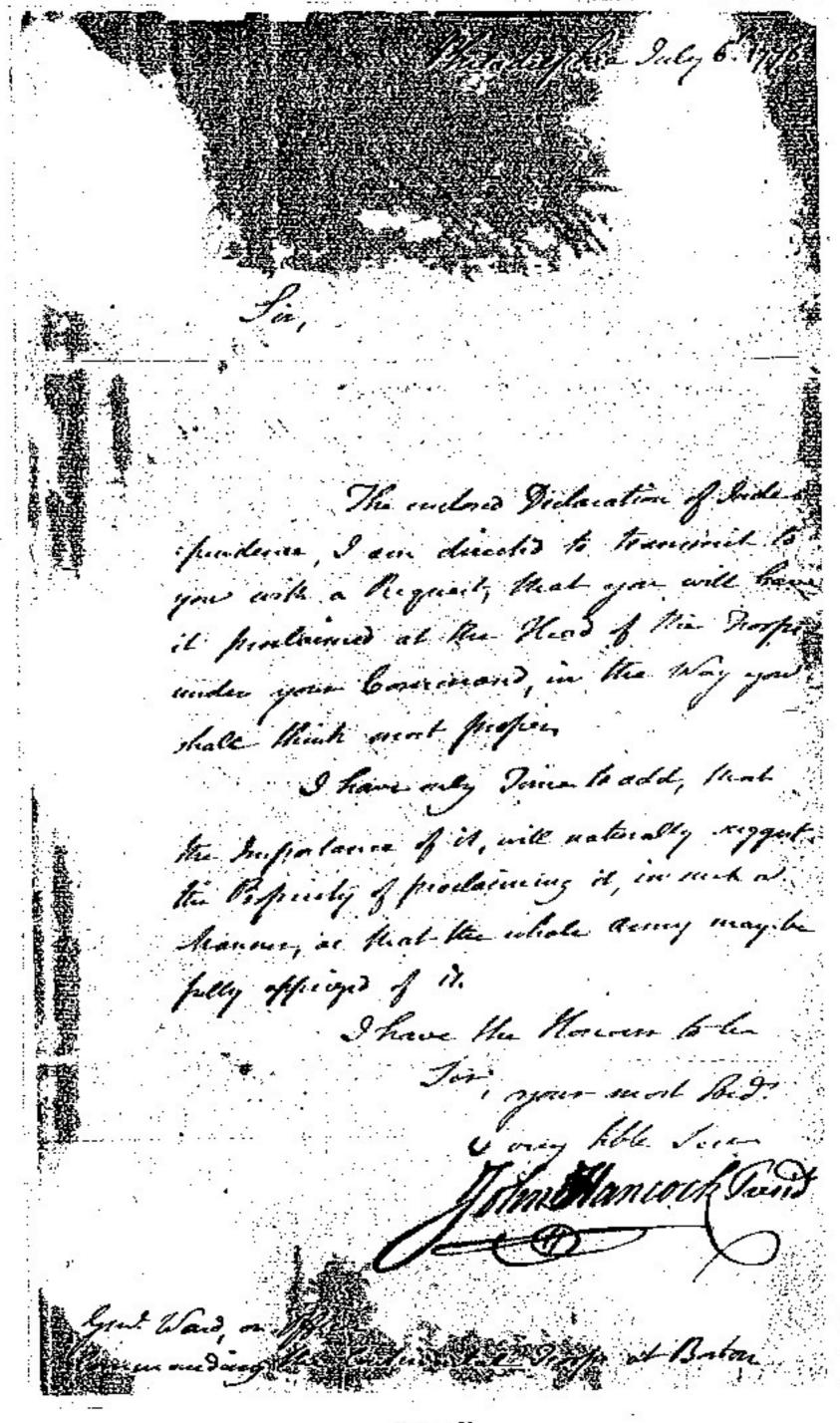


PLATE II

LETTER OF JOHN HANCOCK TO GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD, 6 JULY 1776

# BY THE REPRESEN CATES OF

GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED. HEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station, to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reference of the Course of Manual Course of Station and Course of Station of Station and Course of Station of Statio

iped to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which imped them to the Separation.

Whe hold these Truths to be self-tendent, that all Man are created ego-1, that they are endowed by their Contact with certain unafferable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursua of Happinels—That to some their Rights, Covernment are instituted enoung Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Government, that whenever my Form of Covernment becames destructive estates the Rights of the People to after or to shelfs in, and to institute new Covernment. Inside its Poundation on such Principles and output vision in Powers in such Form, as to them shell becaused their balance. instructe new Government, Injug its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seemented I kelly to effect their Basely and Happiness. Presidence, instead will did see that Governments long exact their states that the changest for light and transferst Causes; and occordingly all Experiroce hith Cown, that Monkind are more cit, wed to fuffer, while I do are inflerable, than to right themfoliers by abol Going the Ferens to which they are recoffered. But when a long Train of Abules and Uniquenous, purfaing invariably the fame Object, evinces a Delign to reduce them under abilistic Delpostine, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new timeds for their furnic Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of their Calonies; and fuch it now the Necessity which cookings their their forms. Systems of Covernment. The History of the perfect King of Great-British is a History of candid World.

He has called his Alient to Laws, the must whaleh me and necellary for the partie Good.

He has ferbifden his Governors to pas Laws of immeriate and peopling Importance, unled Sufpended in their Operation till his Affent through be obtained ; and

when fo suspended, he has otherly neglected to attend to that.

His has related to gala after Laws I.e the Acc context than of large Dillicha of People, urless thinks Feople would relinquife the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and so in a call to Tyrania activ.

He has called tegether Legistung Endier at 11 ces unefall, organisatable, and dahmt from the Depository of their public Percords, for the fale Purpose of fatigueing them into compliance with his Medicar .

He has fill well Represented Heafes repeatedly, for exposing with monly Firmness his lovelinns on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Turne, after fach Diffel atom, to ende others to be claded a velocity the Legislature Powers, incorporate of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State represents in the mean time expelled to all the Dangers of Inv. 6 to from within, and Consultions within. He has en leavoured to prevent the Population of thefe heree ; for that Purpole of faciling the Laws for Figure lands and Foreigness a refuting to pell others to on-

courage their M gratients led or and red ing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Links.

Lie has plifted bed the Administration of Johns by telesting bit Affect to Laws (gethal thing Judiciary Powers

His has made Judget dependent on his Well alone, for the Tenung of their Officer, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaties. He his molled a Milbrude of new totice, and fent lither Swarme of Officers to literafe our l'eigle, and ear out their Swiftence.

. He has kept among us, in Times of Pesce, Standing A saids, without the confest of our Legitlesines. His bus affected to revolve the Military independent of and Superior to the Civil Power,

He has comfined with offices to fubject at to a Juridishon foreign to our Conflication, and unacknowledged by our Laws a giving hit Affent to their Ads of preteaced Legitimian :

For quartering large Redies of Annet Troops among as.

For preceding them, by a mack Trial, from Publishment for any Markets which they foodle commit on the Inhabitains of their States a For curring all four Trade with all Parts of the World a

For impoling Taxes on us without our Confert. . I'm deprie ng on, in many Caren af the Benedit of Trial by Jury :

Fat transporting in begand bees to be tried for prefending Officares :

For the bling the free Systems of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enterging in Boundaries, false to render it at more an Evanuale and fit Instrument for Inst

For furgending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for ut in all Cafes whatbever.

He has addicated Generous at here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waying War against us. He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coulds, busine our Tuwns, and delicated the Liver of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of furigo Micromores to complete the Works of Derth, Defilition, and Tyranny, already begun with circum-flances of Cruelty and Pacifity, for only paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and tabily unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has configured our fellow Chizens, taken Cageve on the high least, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Esecutioners of their Friends and Beethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He have existed domeltid Informations amongst us, and has endeandured to bring on the Initial trans of our Frontiers, the meetilelis Indian Savages, whose known is Rule of Warfare, is an untilitinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions.

In every stage of these Oppositions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most burnels. Turns a Our repeated Petitions have been unsweed only by repeated so.

In the Prince whose three-life is the marked by some and which may define a Turns is to the Rules of a free People.

In every rays or these expressions we have real ones for Secrets in the most burned. Forms of Our repeated Frenches time men answered only by repeated surjust. A Prince, whole Character is thus granted by every oft which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to the Ruler of a free People.

Note have we been warning in Altertians to our Britis. Brethers. We have worsed them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislant to extend an unwardantable formation over us. We have conjugated to their native for five and Magnanizate, and we have conjugated them by the Time of our removes Kindred to chiefe Usurpations, which would have appealed to their native for persons and Confedence which would have been deaf to the Veice of Julice will be Confined in the purely of the purely to the Needlery, which denounces our Separation, and had them as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Priends.

We, their faire, the Representatives of the UNITEDSTATESOFAMER (CA, in General Proofs of the Colonies, federally Poblish and Described to the Reference of the Reference of the Reference of the Reference of confined to the Native which was and the colonies followed Poblish and Described to the Reference of th

Supreme Judge of the World for the Restande of par Interious, do, in the Names, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, feleminty Poblish and Declare, That their Delted Colonies are, and of Pight cought to be, FRER AND INDIPERSON STATES, that they are obsolved from all Allegiques to the Braith Crowns, and that all political Counterion between them and the State of Grea-Britain is and ought to be totally diffored; and that as PREE AND In DEFENDENT STATES, they have full Power to lovy War, conclude Peice, controlt Alliances, effablish Commerce, and to do all other Ads and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the fapport of this Dichardian, with a firm Relacce on the Protection of divine Provideoce, we mutually gledge to each other our Large, our Fortunes, and our facted flator.

Signed by Order, and in Brunt of the Concesses,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

HOMBON, Secretary.

PLATE III

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; FIRST NEWPORT EDITION (No. 7; Harvard copy)

THE N in the coorse of boman estant, labertumen decelluy for one people to have een needed them with somber, and to again; among the powers of the curb, the Aperen and squal and of extent's God entitle them, downs relief to the opinion of eleulare the earles which lange them to the Separation.

We hold these trains to be feltevident, that all med are created g . squad , that they are endewed by the ... Crettor wich certain posliceable righes, shat smong their are life. history, and the parties of happenede. That to fempethele mants, pareindeciring their top powers from the cholenies the courses that phen the course design in their sade in the

the right of the possible situs or to abolith it, and to inflictur new gosecoures, Etint fre (annuetion on Lich principles, and a gameing its powers in much famu, as he them shall feen track likely to the sheit falle wand happingle. Prodente it. Ered, will diden that green mirte long emahlified from I not beckungeri for light and manden remaits , 2 & prenedingly all experience hath Showe, that markind see more difpoled to faffer, while easts are fuf-ferable, than to right themselves by abolithing the forme to which ther are secultomed. But when a long train of aboles and ofcepation purfaing invalidity the femanbjeft. eninces a deliga to reduce them under ebiolute describito, is in beit right, it is their daty. to throw of fach government, and to provide seem grande for their future feverity. Burb has berd the present fufferance of their Colonies, and fach it at w the atteffin which tenthalps them to elect their farmet lyftems of government. The history of the profess King of Opest-British is a prefent King of Upeat-Britain is a biftery of repeated injuries and effec-pations, all being to Greek object. 124 ellublidement of so ablalate bernoy over their States. To prove this, let felle be februitted to

He bie refered filialeurso ben. be mel whelefene und netellay.

tor she public grant. He ber forbidden his Covernous to publicant of immediate tool preffing importance, exists forested in

for the second medicion of left: fif-nicle of phopic, which thate people woold mingoith the right of ret oreleantion to the logituity v. 4 ight incitionable to them, and for-

aguidable to Tyrants only. He has called porrater regidatire bedies at places unufunt, uncomfortable, and differe from the depolitory of their public records. for the fale purpole of tanguing then has compliance with his

He has diffolved representation केंद्र कुर्गालक करते हुए कि कार्या क्षेत्रक करते हो है जो कि कार्य हो कि केंद्र

richii ed ike propie. Ple dan rejokal for a Zwel Green dan Gronning (1800) where to be elected a whereby Abs legislative potenti, incapable of grand guidistice, have received in the people at large for their exercises a the state remaining in the bases, sime expelet to all the dangers of foreign from without, and convulfing wirbin.

He has endersored to prevent the population of their heaters for the population of a living the form of their fifth a refuging to puts others to effecting to their migrations hirter, bod raifing the conditions of new approxiprintings of leads.

He has abdrufted the ubeinle Aration of Jallice, by reloging his uffer to laws for establifing judieinie finnen.

E Be her made Judges dependent po his will there, for the arture of their effect, and the amount of priment of fieb frante. He ber ereftet a meldende of

men efficer, tal fler batter ferrene of officers to barrets out prople, and est out their folitiege.

He has kept among the in times of peace, Rending strong, without

the populat of our Legifletures. He Hes aff: Sed to :ender the military independent of seal fup:rice to the givil power.

He has combined with others to lubject . io . jurifdiction foreign to our conditions and taxacknowledged by car laws a giv-so his effent to their acts of gre-Roded kellsom i

For connering large bodies remed traces serving bit:

their operation much his extinct.

The protection the state of the states in the states of the state

e Inches rem toa

of the bearing of mal by jury : For engigerting es beyond fem to be tried for pretended offerces of Englifa lems in a neighboring proung generinstent, me entriging in byond tries, fo as m render it in once

as example and figurespect for la-sendating the func shedom rule in-to shelp Debroics : For taking away our Charters, abolifing our most velocitic laws, and alterial the properties of

For leigend of one own Legitatives, and pleakering themselves in-

in all order manufactured.

If has abolitated government have, by declaring us could bis proendion and waging war estion us. The las plendered our fore, re-Their our crade, burnt our lower, tod delivered the lives of our people.

He is at the time, truliporting buye arctine of lovers mercaners in complete the works of death, defoliation and tyranty, elecady begun with circumfunces of cruelty and serticly fearethy problems in the most Parhaceas ages, and tetally sewer-ely the head of a civilized states. He has contrained our fellow

biu cens careo capcine on the high Sen en benr urme ig tieff their emmhit, to become the conclusioners of their frieude sed breibren, et ta fall makines by their bands.

He has exercis danellie lafate dious smongs at, and her eaterperd to being on the inhibitence of or freeziers, the absorbed bedjen erages, whole a nown tole of warre, ja na nadiftirepublich dell ruffi. 62 of all trus, fract, and conditions. 4 In every tragger of their operations he have perimoced for endress, in

period petitive : have b unty by repeated in ... A Priore, whose character is then mirked by every all which pray define a Tyfree People.

Nor have we been wenting la atteption to our Partiff, brethien. We hare warmed einem from eine Eiffene. af græmpie by ide ir legill atmyeifert-tead am unwarren table jurifili from over as. We have reminded them of the encountraces of a or maigue. tion and feriencethers. Wagerr appealed to they eative juffice and paragraphics, and we have conjust. eil them to the ties of our comme if Ringed to blever their along di Das, which would begin they interpape war conne Liens car coerespon . econe. They work we been doubte ? abe notes of judice and of economics are about the special state of the contesting which deroutes our feparetien, and kold even, as we hold the real of male. hind, exemics in war , in powe

We, pleggefate, who Russeleutative of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, in General
Condains allowing appearing to
the figurement and the world for the tellinate ex our intentions, do in the 'name and by the matherity ef the pace Prople of thefe Colon.e., formanly publich and doclare, That their United Colomics are, and of right anything he, Feel Ann Lag, republic Thanks, thoughty are at Solved from all allegainer to the Britiff: Crown, and that all pofinited connections between them and the State of Great-Britain, in, and tought to be treatly diffused [ and that at Fere Aus Inorgikurer Stanes, they here full games to alliences, effahl ib commerce, and to do at leases adx and things which langerapart Statts beit to right do. And for the Support of der Deelbruiden, with & fi'er teleanue an the protection of Distinc Providence, we maintally elides to. each ether out lives, our formmra and our facred book.

Bigued to Opnie and in Rivers of the Concurrent

JOHN HANCOCK, FRANKEN

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

PLATE IV

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: [SALEM, E. RUSSELL?] (No. 12; Harvard copy)

save those from New York, who had no power to act. It was thereupon 'Ordered That the declaration be authenticated & printed. That the committee appointed to prepare the declaration superintend & correct the press. That copies of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions & committees or councils of safety and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops that it be proclaimed in each of the united states and at the head of the army.'

In obedience to this order the manuscript was given to John Dunlap and the broadside was printed and ready for distribution the next day, July 5th. It is known that on that day Hancock sent a copy to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, a copy to the Convention of New Jersey, and a copy to Colonel Haslet. John Adams sent a copy, and Gerry two copies, to friends.<sup>5</sup>

The dissemination of this first printing of the Declaration stirred into action printers from Williamsburg, Virginia, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Besides the nineteen editions or variants of editions in broadside form now known, the Declaration was printed in at least twenty-nine newspapers during July. Its first newspaper appearance was in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of July 6th,6 a copy of which has recently been added to the Harvard Library.

<sup>a</sup> Hazelton, Declaration of Independence, p. 476.

- <sup>8</sup> Dr Clarence S. Brigham has generously allowed the writer to use the following list of newspaper printings of the Declaration, the result of a complete check by him of all existing American newspapers of the period:
  - July 6 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Evening Post
  - July 8 Philadelphia, Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet
  - July 9 Philadelphia, Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote
  - July 9 Baltimore, Dunlap's Maryland Gazette
  - July 10 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Gazette
  - July 10 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Journal
  - July 10 Baltimore, Maryland Journal
  - July 10 New York, Constitutional Gazette
  - July 11 New York Packet
  - July 11 New York Journal
  - July 11 Annapolis, Maryland Gazette
  - July 12 New London, Connecticut Gazette
  - July 13 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Ledger
  - July 13 Providence Gazette
  - July 15 New York Gazette
  - July 15 Hartford, Connecticut Courant
  - July 15 Norwich Packet
  - July 16 Exeter, New Hampshire Gazette, Extraordinary
  - July 16 Salem, American Gazette

The first publication of the Declaration in a book was apparently in The Genuine Principles of the Ancient Saxon, or English Constitution, Carefully Collected from the Best Authorities; with Some Observations, on Their Peculiar Fitness for the United Colonies in General, and Pennsylvania in Particular, By Demophilus (Philadelphia, Printed and Sold by Robert Bell, in Third-Street: MDCCLXXVI), a copy of which is at Harvard.

Harvard also possesses the original letter (Plate II) written by John Hancock to Major General Artemas Ward, dated Philadelphia, 6 July 1776, transmitting a copy of the Declaration broadside, with the request 'that you will have it proclaimed at the Head of the Troops under your Command in the Way you shall think most proper.' General Ward was the first American Major General and was then in command of the Massachusetts troops.

Hazelton's exhaustive research has shown that besides the copies already mentioned as having been sent (with covering letters) on July 5th, Hancock sent letters and copies on July 6th to General Washington, the Convention of New York, the Assembly of Massachusetts, the Assembly of New Hampshire, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, and Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, and on July 8th to Maryland and Virginia."

The following bibliographical list of the separate contemporary broadsides is as nearly in the order of their probable appearance as can be estimated, the order correlating roughly with geographical distances from Philadelphia. Unless otherwise stated, the broadsides are printed in single columns. The transcriptions have been designed to provide adequate data, in conjunction with the accompanying comments, for distinguishing the various editions or variants of editions. Line endings

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July 17 Worcester, Massachusetts Spy
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July 17 New Haven, Connecticut Journal

July 18 Boston, Continental Journal

July 18 Boston, New England Chronicle

July 18 Newport Mercury, Extraordinary

July 19 Newburyport, Essex Journal

July 19 Williamsburg, Virginia Gazette [Purdie] (extracts only of the Declaration)

July 20 Williamsburg, Virginia Gazette [Dixon and Hunter]

July 20 Portsmouth, Freeman's Journal

July 22 Watertown, Boston Gazette

July 26 Williamsburg, Virginia Gazette [Purdic].

Hazelton, Declaration of Independence, pp. 240, 559 (note 39).

have been indicated and the punctuation carefully followed. On the other hand, an elaborate reproduction of type sizes, fonts, and capitalization has not been attempted, as serving no useful purpose and as affording opportunity for the introduction of potentially confusing typographical errors. In consequence, some standardization in the capitalizing of initial letters has been necessary.

I

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [rule] / Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap.

Evans 15155. The first printing of the Declaration of Independence. Reproduced in Plate I; and in The Declaration of Independence; Its History, by John H. Hazelton (New York, 1906), opposite p. 170; in A History of the United States and Its People, by Elroy McKendree Avery (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904–10), V, 395; in The Declaration of Independence, the Evolution of the Text, by Julian P. Boyd (Washington, 1943); and in One Hundred Influential American Books (New York, The Grolier Club, 1947).

14 copies: Am. Phil. Soc.; Lib. of Cong. (three copies, one imperfect); Henry N. Flynt; Roberts Harrison; Harv.; Mass. Hist. Soc.; N. Y. Hist. Soc.; N. Y. Pub. Lib.; Hist. Soc. of Penn.; Public Record Office, London; Lib. of the late John H. Scheide; Yale.

2.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [rule] / Printed by John Dunlap.

Evans 15156. Reproduced in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXIX (1900), opposite p. 72, and in the reprint therefrom, A Contribution to the Bibliography of the Declaration of Independence, by I. Minis Hays (Philadelphia, 1900).

t copy: Am. Phil. Soc. (printed on vellum).

3.

White-Plains, July, 9 1776. / In Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York. / Resolved Unanimously, That the Reasons assigned by the Continental Congress, for declaring / the United Colonics Free and Independent States, are cogent and conclusive, and that / while we lament the cruel Necessity which has rendered that Measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and / will at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, join with the other

Colonies in supporting it. / Resolved, That a Copy of the said Declaration and the aforegoing Resolution be sent to the Chairman / of the Committee of the County of Westchester, with Orders to publish the same with Beat of Drum, at this / Place, on Thursday next, and to give Directions that it be published with all convenient Speed in the several / Districts within the said County. — And that Copies thereof be forthwith transmitted to the other County / Committees within the State of New-York, with Orders to cause the same to be published in the several / Districts of their respective Counties. Extract from the Minutes, / Robert Benson, Secretary. / [line of type ornaments] / In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / by the / Representatives / of the / United States / of / America, / In General Congress Assembled. / . . . . . , / Signed by order and in behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [line of type ornaments] / New-York: Printed by John Holt, in Water-Street.

Evans 15158. Two columns, within border of type ornaments, and with line of type ornaments between the columns. Printed surface, including border, measures 19% x 10% in. It is probable that Evans had not seen a copy. Although his wording is correct, the punctuation and capitalization differ in some places.

The Huntington copy was bought at an American Art Association sale 17 February 1920 for \$810.00. The cataloguer stated that it was at that time the only known copy. It is reproduced in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915–28), IV, pl. 46, opposite p. 928.

Hazelton's Declaration of Independence, p. 491, describes a Declaration broadside printed by John Holt which in 1904 was to be found in the New York State Library. While the Resolution of July 9th is not mentioned in the description, it is possible that the person who sent the information to Hazelton did not think the Resolution was of sufficient bibliographical importance to copy it. Without the Resolution, the line endings, capitalization, and punctuation agree with the above. It is now known that the copy in question was destroyed in the fire at the State Capitol in 1911.

2 copies: Henry E. Huntington Lib.; N. Y. Pub. Lib.

4.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [rule] / New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, in Hanover-Square.

Not in Evans. According to Hazelton (p. 566) there was a copy in the Public Record Office, London, in 1905. The Record Office now says, however, that they do not have this edition, but do have No. 1 on this list. On 22 March 1938 the copy described was sold at auction at the American Art Association Anderson Galleries, and was purchased by the late Gabriel Wells, New York bookseller, for Mr Lucius Wilmerding. Mr Wilmerding recently presented it to the New York Historical Society. It has been reproduced in the New-York Historical Society Quarterly, XXXII (1948), 220.

1 copy: N. Y. Hist. Soc.

5.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in / General Congress Assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. Charles Thomson, Sec'ry.

Previously unrecorded. No imprint. Two columns, with 70 lines in the first. copy: N. Y. Hist. Soc.

6.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress Assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary.

Previously unrecorded. No imprint. Two columns, with 65 lines in the first. The copy described was recently found in an old house near Kingston, N. Y. As there are no records for printing in Fishkill until late in 1776, or in Poughkeepsie and Kingston until 1777, it is highly improbable that the broadside was printed in one of these places.

1 copy: Mrs Joseph Carson.

7

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order, and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / attest. / Charles Thomson, Sceretary. / [rule] / Newport, June 13, 1776: Printed by S. Southwick.

Evans 15159. The first of two Newport editions, containing an error in the publication line, where 'June' is printed instead of 'July.' Reproduced in Plate III.

6 copies: Am, Ant. Soc. (imperfect); John Carter Brown Lib.; Harv.; Hist. Soc. of Penn.; R. I. Hist. Soc.; Rosenbach Co.

8,

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order, and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary. / [followed by the State resolution approving the Declaration and authorizing the publishing and reading of it, printed in two columns] A true copy: / Witness Henry Ward, Sec'ry. / [rule] / Newport, Printed by S. Southwick. A true copy. witness / [signature of] Henry Ward Secr'y

Evans 15160. The second Newport and the 'official' Rhode Island edition. Reproduced in the Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, V, 3 (May, 1948), opposite p. 64.

7 copies: John Carter Brown Lib.; Lib. of Cong.; Harv.; Eric P. Newman, Attorney; R. I. Hist. Soc.; Rosenbach Co.; Wis. Hist. Soc.

9.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thompson, Secretary. [Boston, Printed by John Gill, and Powars and Willis, in Queen-Street. 1776.]

Evans 15162. Not in Worthington C. Ford, Broadsides, Ballads &c. Published in Massachusetts 1639–1800 (Boston, 1922). No imprint. Two columns, with 68 lines in the first. Reproduced in W. C. Bryant and S. H. Gay, A Popular History of the United States (New York, 1876–81), III, 482.

5 copies: Lib. of Cong.; Essex Inst.; Harv.; Mass. Hist. Soc.; Yale.

10.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thompson, Secretary. / [rule] / America: Boston, Printed by John Gill, and Powars and Willis, in Queen-Street.

Evans 15161. Ford, Mass. Broadsides, 1954. Two columns. Reproduced in Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America (Boston, 1884-89), VI, 267. This is a second issue of No. 9, with the 'rule' and imprint added. Additional spacing has been allowed between the lines of the heading, and an error in the word 'Declare' in the last paragraph has been corrected, but otherwise there were no substantial changes.

3 copies: Bost. Pub. Lib.; Bostonian Soc.; Mass. Hist. Soc.

ıı.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest. / Charles Thomson, Secretary.

Previously unrecorded. No imprint. Two columns, with a line of 65 type ornaments between.

1 copy; Bos. Pub. Lib.

IZ.

In / Congress, / July 4, 1776. / A / Declaration / by the / Representatives / of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest, / Charles Thompson, Secretary. [Salem, Printed by E. Russell (?)]

Evans 15164. Ford, Mass. Broadsides, 1953. No imprint. Four columns. The arrangement of the heading and the similarity of type would suggest that this was

printed at Salem by E. Russell previous to the 'official' Massachusetts edition which follows. Reproduced in Plate IV.

2 copies: Essex Inst.; Harv.8

13.

In / Congress, / July 4, 1776. / A Declaration / by the / Representatives / of the / United States of America, / In General Congress assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock, President. / Attest, Charles Thompson, Secretary. / In Council, July 17th, 1776. / Ordered, That the Declaration of Independence be printed; [etc., 5 lines] / In the Name, and by Order of the Council, R. Derby, Jun. President. / A true Copy Attest, John Avery, Dep. See'y. / [rule] / Salem, Massachusetts-Bay: Printed by E. Russell, by Order of Authority.

Evans 15163. Ford, Mass. Broadsides, 1955. The 'official' Massachusetts edition. Reproduced in the Month at Goodspeed's, VIII, 4 (December, 1936), 109, and XIII, 9 (June, 1942), 274.

11 copies: Am. Ant. Soc.; W. L. Clements Lib.; Lib. of Cong.; Essex Inst.; Harv.; Henry E. Huntington Lib.; Mass. Hist. Soc.; William G. Mather; N. Y. Pub. Lib.; Rosenbach Co.; Yale.

14.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / Declaration, / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress Assembled. / . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hacock. President. / Attest. / Charles Thompson, Secretary.

Ford, Mass. Broadsides, 1952. Not in Evans. No imprint. Two columns, with 58 lines in the first.

With the American Antiquarian Society copy is a letter from the donor, Simon Greenleaf, dated 1822, who states that, 'It was posted up in Newburyport, and afterwards preserved by my grandfather, the late Hon. Jonathan Greenleaf, who gave it to me.' From this it has been suggested that the broadside may have been printed in Newburyport. However, Frederick R. Goff in a detailed study of the Library of Congress variant described below (No. 15) and published in the Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, V, 1 (November, 1947), 12–16, gives it as his opinion that evidence regarding the place of printing would seem to point to Exeter.

2 copies: Am. Ant. Soc. (imperfect at the top); Yale.

15.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / Declaration, / By the Representatives of the / United States of America, / In General Congress Assembled. / . . . . . . / Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress, / John Hancock President. / Attest. / Charles Thompson. Secretary.

<sup>6</sup> The Harvard copy was recently purchased through a generous gift for the purpose made by Stephen W. Phillips, '95, of Salem.

Not in Evans or Ford, Mass. Broadsides. No imprint. Two columns, with 58 lines in the first.

This is a later printing of No. 14 with the missing letter 'n' inserted in 'Hancock' and with the last three lines reset. Reproduced in the Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, V. 1 (November, 1947), opposite p. 1.

3 copies: Am. Ant. Soc.; Lib. of Cong.; N. H. Hist. Soc. Another copy is reported as having been sold in 1925 by I. N. Phelps Stokes to Lathrop C. Harper. It was afterwards in the possession of A. S. W. Rosenbach. Its present location is unknown. A photostat of this copy in the library of the American Antiquarian Society shows that in its printing the word 'which' at the end of the first line in the second column dropped out.

16.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. Declaration, by the Representatives of the United States of America, In General Congress Assembled . . . . Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress John Hancock, President.

Not in Evans or Ford, Mass. Broadsides. Title from the Libbie Auction Catalogue of 19-21 May 1903, lot 72. Described as '2 pages, double folio. Wide margins untrimmed, slightly injured, but repaired and backed; and very suitable to head a collection of Signers. An excessively rare Broadside, being a printed copy of the Declaration, issued by the Congress, and sent to the several Colonics to be Communicated to the General Public.'

If actually in two pages, this would be a broadsheet rather than a broadside, but the writer feels it still would belong in this list.

No copy located.

17.

[Copper-plate engraved, oval portrait of John Hancock, framed by crossed palms and surmonted by a liberty cap, from which sun rays extend.] In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States / of America, in General Congress assembled. / . . . . . . / Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress, / Attest, C. Thomson, Secretary. John Hancock, President.

Previously unrecorded. No imprint. Two columns, with 58 lines in the first, and a double rule between.

Sabin, No. 17516, mentions this broadside in his listing of the John Carter Brown file of the Crisis, an English weekly published in London during 1775 and 1776. The paper was severe in its attacks on the government and sided strongly with the American colonies. For a description and collation see Paul Leicester Ford, 'The Crisis,' The Bibliographer, I (1902), 139–152.

The text of the Declaration was printed in No. 84 of the Crisis, 24 August 1776, and it is probable that the separately printed broadside bound with the John Carter Brown file was issued at about the same time. Inquiries to libraries in this country and England owning files of the Crisis have not resulted in the location of other copies of the broadside.

There is more than slight evidence to favor London as the place of printing. The

Hancock portrait is after a mezzotint published in London in October 1775.9 The use of the liberty cap and the crossed palms suggest English printing rather than American, and the type used is a standard English font of the period, which resembles that used in the *Crisis*.

t copy: John Carter Brown Lib.

18.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States / of America, in General Congress assembled. / . . . . . . / Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress, / Attest, C. Thomson, Secretary. John Hancock, President.

Evans 15157. No imprint. Two columns, with 58 lines in the first, and a double rule between.

Printed without the Hancock portrait, but from the same type as No. 17, and therefore possibly printed in England. The thought naturally occurs that the portrait could have been trimmed off. There is, however, sufficient blank space at the top to show that the portrait was not printed with this edition. In No. 17 the portrait is printed very close to the text and the lower edge of the plate mark runs through the first line. In the present broadside there is no plate mark.

1 copy: Free Lib. of Phil.

19.

In Congress, July 4, 1776. / The Unanimous / Declaration / of the / Thirteen United States of America. / . . . . . . / John Hancock. / [follows the list of signers from the various states, in four columns] / In Congress, January 18, 1777. / ordered, / That an authenticated Copy of the Declaration of Independency, with the Names of the Members of Congress, subscribing the same, be sent to each / of the United States, and that they be desired to have the same put on Record. / By Order of Congress, / John Hancock, President. / [rule] / Baltimore, in Maryland: Printed by Mary Katharine Goddard.

Evans 15650. The Declaration is printed in two columns. The title was changed to 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.' This is the first edition to contain the names of the signers. The copy in the Massachusetts Archives, the only one examined, is signed by Hancock. A reproduction of the Library of Congress copy appears facing page 284 of Hazelton's Declaration of Independence, and shows that Hancock also signed that copy.

9 copies: Lib. of Cong.; Conn. State Lib.; Library of the late John W. Garrett; Md. Hall of Records; Md. Hist. Soc.; Mass. Archives; N. Y. Pub. Lib.; Lib. Co. of Phila.; R. I. Archives.

The foregoing list includes four broadsides previously unrecorded: Nos. 5, 6, 11, 17. The eight broadsides not recorded in Evans (whose

\*The Hampton L. Carson Collection of Engraved Portraits of Signers of the Declaration of Independence . . . Catalogue Compiled . . . by Stan V. Henkels (Catalogue No. 906, Pt. III; Philadelphia, 1904), lot 3189.

total of cleven had been the previous highest assemblage) are Nos. 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Copies of the various editions or variants are on the whole scarce. Out of a total of 71 located copies (73 recorded), three entries account for almost half: No. 1 with 14 copies, No. 13 with 11 copies, and No. 19 with 9. Of the remaining entries, 1 shows no located copy, 7 show 1 only, 3 show 2, and 2 show 3. The following table gives the order of the entries based on the number of located copies:

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The largest number of editions or variants are held by Harvard and the Library of Congress, with 6 each (Harvard: Nos. 1, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13; Library of Congress: Nos. 1, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19). Four each are held by the American Antiquarian Society (Nos. 7, 13, 14, 15); Massachusetts Historical Society (Nos. 1, 9, 10, 13); New York Public Library (Nos. 1, 3, 13, 19); and Yale (Nos. 1, 9, 13, 14). Thereafter follow 4 holdings of 3 each, 5 of 2 each, and 19 of 1 each, making a total of 34 holdings covering 71 copies (the Library of Congress owning three copies of No. 1).

Of the 19 entries, there are 9 for which no published reproductions

have been noted. Of these, No. 7 and No. 12 are here reproduced, in Plates III and IV, leaving Nos. 5, 6, 11, 14, 16, 17, and 18 apparently not reproduced. Photostats or facsimiles of all entries except No. 16 (for which no copy is now known) are available for consultation in the Harvard Library.

MICHAEL J. WALSH

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