THE
HENLEY-HORROCKS
INVENTORY

With an Introduction by
FRASER NEIMAN

Issued on the 275th Anniversary of the College of William and Mary
by
The Botetourt Bibliographical Society
and
The Earl Gregg Swem Library

Williamsburg, Virginia
The

Henley-Horrocks Inventory

On July 23, 1772, the Virginia Gazette of Purdie and Dixon announced that the Reverend and Honorable James Horrocks, Counsellor of State to his Majesty for Virginia, President of William and Mary College, and Rector of Bruton Parish, had died at Oporto on his way to England on the 20th of March. The well-disposed writer of the brief obituary notice commended the late President as "a Gentleman well versed in several Branches of sound Learning, particularly the Mathematics." Very soon thereafter, on August 13, the Gazette carried the following advertisement: "The Library of the late Commissary consisting of a Number of Sermons, by the most celebrated Authors, is lodged for Sale at Mr. William Pearce's Store in this City; where Catalogues, with the Prices annexed, may be seen."

No known copy of the Catalogue survives, but among the records of financial transactions remaining in the archives of the College there is a scrap of paper that lists a few books from Horrocks's library that were purchased for the College, and received on December 8, 1772. The inventory is in the hand of Samuel Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College, aspirant to the rectorship of Bruton Parish, and outspoken opponent of Horrocks's design for an American episcopate, a design by which, some people believed, Horrocks himself aimed to be the first American bishop.

Although it is brief, the inventory is an interesting one. The titles are not those of sermons, such as were advertised in the Catalogue. They are, rather, titles that attest to Horrocks's regard for mathematics to which Three
his obituary alludes. As John Melville Jennings has noted in his important study, "The First One Hundred Years of the Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1693-1793," the inventory indicates one response of the College to the growing contemporary concern for the physical sciences. "The collections of the College library prior to 1772," John L. McKnight of the Physics Department of the College has commented,

show a strong emphasis in theology and a growing emphasis on the classics, but there is no evidence of any holdings in natural science or mathematics. By contrast, Harvard and Yale were actively engaged in the teaching of science and scientific research before 1735 and had libraries to support this study. The selection of books shown in Henley's list indicates a knowledge of the physical sciences and mathematics sufficient to identify the more significant work of the previous hundred years. It may well mark the beginning of the development of physics into a subject in which for a few years William and Mary's only rival was to be Harvard.

Some of the titles of the inventory, like Newton's *Principia* and Opticks and L'Hospital's *Method of Fluxions*, represent major works in their fields; some, like Ferguson's *Astronomy* and *Lectures*, are popular presentations; others, like Hodgson's *Fluxions* and Simpson's *Geometry*, are textbooks. Franklin's *Electricity*, the most significant American contribution to that science in the eighteenth century, described experiments that were no doubt repeated at William and Mary with equipment purchased by William Small.

When on March 30, 1762, Horrocks was appointed Master of the Grammar School in Williamsburg, Thomas Jefferson's admired teacher William Small had already been Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at the College for four years. This distinguished and humane scientist left his imprint on the College during his six year sojourn in Williamsburg. Whatever differences there were between Small and the ambitious and testy Horrocks — and differences seem to have existed on matters as diverse as the corporal punishment of students and the oath of allegiance to the Church of England — they had a common interest in practical science. Indeed it was during Horrocks's presidency of the College of William and Mary that Small was engaged, upon his return to England in 1764, in purchasing for the College an important collection of costly

*Four*
instruments for a basic physical laboratory. It is very possible that Small's continuing influence in advancing the study of science at the College prompted the selection of books in the Henley-Horrocks inventory.

Concerning Horrocks himself not a great deal is known. The best account is given by Richard Lee Morton in the Dictionary of American Biography. A native of Wakefield, Yorkshire, Horrocks matriculated in 1751, at the age of 17, as a sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge. He received his A.B. degree in 1755; he became a Fellow of Trinity in 1756, and his M.A. was conferred in 1758. He served as an usher in Wakefield School in 1757, the year in which he was ordained deacon at Peterborough. Licensed in 1761 to preach in Virginia, he became Master of the Grammar School connected with the College of William and Mary in 1762. Upon the death of the Reverend William Yates, he succeeded, amid considerable bitterness, to the presidency of the College. His kindest critic seems to have been the anonymous writer of his obituary; his most articulate critic was Richard Bland who wrote to his friend Thomas Adams on August 1, 1771, soon after Horrocks had sailed for England: "I acknowledge, for I will do him all justice, he made a tolerable Pedagogue in the Grammar School of our College. Here he ought to have continued; but unfortunately for his reputation, as well as for the College, he was removed from the only place he had abilities to fill to be President of the College. This laid the Foundation of his other exaltations, & by a Sycophantic Behavior he has accumulated upon him the Rectorship of Bruton Parish, the office of Bishop's Commissary, of a councillor, of a judge of the General Court, and of Ordinary of Newgate, all of which offices he now possesses except that of attending the condemned criminals in the Public Gaol, which he resigned upon his leaving the colony." Bland succinctly concluded, "Was his Sincerity and abilities equal to his good Fortune, he would be one of the most accomplished men amongst us."

The Reverend Samuel Henley, who apparently made the purchase of the books on behalf of the College, and who may have made the selection, was himself a collector of books. In his wide range of intellectual interests and in his latitudinarian views within the Anglican Church, he was one of the "new" men of the Enlightenment. His own very extensive library, accumulated after his return to England, was sold at auction in 1816, following his death, by Leigh and Sotheby over a period of several days. But even during his residence in Virginia he acquired an impressive library, of which at least a partial inventory remains; for on March 3, 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Henley from Paris listing fifty-one titles of
books he had chosen to purchase from among the books Henley had left behind him in America ten years before. Of these, forty are fully identified by E. Millicent Sowerby in her monumental Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson. From Jefferson's possession they became part of the original collection of the Library of Congress.

Samuel Henley was the son of Samuel Henley of Abbots Kerswell in Devonshire. He was born on November 23, 1744, and he was educated at the well esteemed Dissenting academy of Caleb Ashworth at Daventry. Education at Daventry included trigonometry, conic sections, and electricity as well as Hebrew, oratory, and theological studies. Ashworth's testimony survives among the credentials Henley deposited with the Bishop of London prior to his coming to America. He certified on June 13, 1766, that Mr. Samuel Henley had "gone thro' a regular course of academical Studies, has applied to business with diligence & behaved in every respect as became a candidate for the christian ministry." Henley officiated to a congregation of Protestant Dissenters at St. Neots, near Cambridge, during the greater part of the next two years. At the same time he resided in Cambridge, and on November 11, 1769, seven distinguished Cambridge men, including Edmund Law, the liberal Bishop of Carlisle, Michael Lort, the Regius Professor of Greek, Thomas Martyn, a well known botanist, and the versatile John Jebb, certified Henley's competence for a post as Professor of Moral Philosophy. Two of these men were associated with Queens College, to which Henley appears to have been admitted as a sizar, but from which he never received a degree. Sometime between March 1768 and November 1769 Henley chose to conform to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, for on December 7, 1769, he was recommended to Richard Terrick, the Bishop of London, and on December 25 he signed his bond to the Lord Bishop. President Horrocks reported to the Bishop of London that Henley and his friend Thomas Gwatkin had arrived in Williamsburg on April 4, 1770. Henley's name is first mentioned in the minutes of a faculty meeting at the College of William and Mary on May 2 in that year.

Henley's career in Williamsburg was a turbulent one. He was a knowledgeable man of wide interests, and he was ambitious. He appears to have learned something of Arabic at Cambridge as well as the more traditional subjects of his profession, and he had undertaken a correspondence on the nature of the picturesque in Vergil and Milton with the Reverend William Gilpin, who was already celebrated as the author of An Essay upon

Six
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayes's Dictionary</td>
<td>6 v</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton's Principia</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton's Opticks</td>
<td>2 copies</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton's Algebra</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priestley's Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin's Bo</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's D</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson's Miscell.</td>
<td>3 v 3/4</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson's Geography</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huygen's Astronomy</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metcalfe's Mechanics</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euclid's Elements of Algebra</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thucydides' History of Athens</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Hospital's Physics</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huygen's Fluxions</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locke on the Extent of God</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patern's Navigation</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Algebra</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gore's Geometry</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deidt's Syllogism</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keil's Physics</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calendars 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlets</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 17.12.0

Rec'd Dec. 8 1772 the Contents $17.12.0
J. Hanley
Prints (1768). In Williamsburg Henley lectured on ethics and the laws of nature and nations, he offered a course of lectures on "elementary ideas of poetry," he earned the thanks of the House of Burgesses for his active opposition to an American episcopate, he gracefully commended in conventional verse young Nathaniel Tucker's poem The Bermudian, he sent samples of cotton seed and castor beans to the lawyer and antiquarian Daines Barrington and a "specimen of Indian oratory" to Bishop Thomas Percy, he became secretary of the new Philosophical Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge in Williamsburg, and he recommended to Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony, sample papers to frustrate the counterfeiting of Virginia currency. His student James Madison, later president of the College, dedicated to Henley his oration delivered on the anniversary of the founding of the College, August 15, 1772.

But Henley also aspired to the rectorship of Bruton Parish. Unfortunately his views on important topics were believed in a powerful circle to be strongly heterodox. His opinions concerning the meaningfulness of subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles were latitudinarian in the extreme. Colonel Richard Bland detected in him a Socinian attitude toward the divinity of Jesus Christ. Mrs. Jacquelin Ambler, Jefferson's fair Belinda, remembered that her sister had once said that Henley denied that Christ was the Son of God. John Page III of Rosewell questioned his opinions about the nature of the Trinity. Mrs. Robert Carter Nicholas asserted that he had denied that there was such a place as Hell, or such a being as the Devil. And Robert Carter Nicholas was a member of the Bruton vestry, as well as a member of the Board of Visitors of the College.

The controversy was protracted and vituperative. Beginning in May 1773, the Virginia Gazette published innumerable charges and countercharges, culminating in the publication by Purdie and Dixon on April 28, 1774, of A Candid Refutation of the Heresy Imputed by Ro. C. Nicholas, Esquire to the Reverend S. Henley. Presumably the pamphlet had wide circulation. The copy now in the Boston Athenaeum belonged to George Washington; from England the Bishop of Carlisle regretted that "the illiberal, persecuting spirit" had reached America.

Henley prolonged the controversy until his departure. Late in April 1775 he advertised his possessions for sale; he left Virginia on May 24. Soon after, Nathaniel Tucker met Henley by chance in a street in London. He wrote to his brother St. George in Bermuda, "You may be sure it was not long before I waited on the Professor whom I found not remarkably well affected towards the Americans."
Henley instituted a series of claims for real and estimated losses consequent upon the American Revolution, but he thought well enough of his association with the College, or of the advantage even then to add to his bibliography, to publish in Cambridge in 1776 the text of his Discourse Delivered in the Chapel of William and Mary College; on the Anniversary of the College Foundation. Presumably it was on the basis of proposals made in that essay to reform the curriculum of the College to include, among other subjects, work in chemistry, anatomy, medicine and natural history, that Henley, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson on November 16, 1785, proposed the fitness of the College’s rewarding him with “the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.”

Henley did not achieve that distinction. From the position of assistant master at Harrow and curate at Northall he rose to be Rector of Rendlesham and principal of the East India Company College at Hertford. He was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, for his wide interests for a while continued — in books, inscriptions, and languages. An interest in Arabic, perhaps stimulated originally by his acquaintance with John Jebb at Cambridge, endeared him for a while to William Beckford, whose exotic novel Vathek Henley translated from the French, and published without authorization, an act that has cast him in the role of villain among Beckford’s biographers.

Henley’s own library was advertised in a catalogue issued after his death in 1815 as containing “A very choice Collection of Books in Critical Divinity, Numismata and Asiatic Literature.” Henley’s interest in scientific subjects had evidently diminished, for the scientific books he acquired for William and Mary were not duplicated in his own collection.

The Earl Gregg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary at present possesses only one volume that formerly belonged to James Horrocks. It is not one of the titles included in the Henley-Horrocks inventory; however, it is further evidence of Horrocks’s interest in acquiring books reflecting the scientific aspect of the age. This is the second volume of The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; in which the whole circle of Human Learning is Explained, and the Difficulties attending the Acquisition of Every Art, whether Liberal or Mechanical, are Removed, in the most easy and familiar manner. This work, which was complete in three volumes and was published for the authors in London 1765-1767, was compiled by the Reverend Temple Henry Croker, Thomas Williams, and Samuel Clark. The single volume in the College library bears the

Nine
signature of James Horrocks; it was presented to the Library in 1948 by Mr. Homer Shannon.

The Earl Gregg Swem Library has editions of seven of the titles that Henley purchased for the College. None of these volumes is known to have been a part of the original collection, for they are more recent acquisitions. The celebration in 1968 of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the College is an auspicious time to complete reassembling all the seventeenth and eighteenth century titles known to have been among its holdings.

The following list identifies, in an abbreviated bibliographical form, the entries in the Henley–Horrocks inventory. Of course one cannot determine from Henley’s manuscript the particular edition that the College possessed if more than one edition was printed before 1772. In the case of Pierre Bayle’s great monument of learning and skepticism, the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Horrocks’s copy may have been in French or in English, for Henley’s entry “Diction. 6 V” affords no guide; moreover, it may conceivably have existed in six volumes through rebinding, for no six volume folio edition is listed in the catalogues of printed books of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, or the Library of Congress. The entries listed, therefore, represent editions that might have been acquired through this purchase. They are given in alphabetical order rather than in Henley’s sequence. Those in the Earl Gregg Swem Library are indicated by WM in parentheses.

Identity of the final entries in the manuscript inventory — the three “Calendriers” and the “Pamphlets” — may, like the song the Sirens sang, not be beyond conjecture, but it seems to be beyond conjecture for bibliographical purposes. The cost of the three ephemerae relative to that of the other items suggests almanacs or tables of considerable substance, such as, to use an example in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, Nathaniel Colson’s *The Mariner’s New Calendar* (1764).

Pierre Bayle. *A General dictionary, historical and critical; in which a new and accurate translation of that of ... Mr. Bayle ... is included ... with reflections on such passages of Mr. Bayle, as seem to favour scepticism and the Manichean system. By the Reverend Mr. John Peter Bernard ... the Reverend Mr. Thomas Birch ... Mr. John Lockman, and other hands ...* 10 vols. London, 1734-41. (WM)

William Emerson. *The Mathematical principles of geography; containing, I. An account of the various properties and affections of the earth and sea . . . II. The Use of the artificial or terrestrial globe . . . III. The principles of spherical and spheroidal sailing.* London, 1770.


James Ferguson. *Lectures on Select subjects in mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, and optics; with the use of the globes, the art of dialling, and the calculation of the mean times of new and full moons and eclipses.* London, 1760. (WM, editions of 1790 and 1803)

James Ferguson. *Astronomical tables and precepts for calculating the . . . times of new and full moons, and showing the method of projecting eclipses from the Creation . . . to A.D. 7800. To which is prefixed a short theory of the solar and lunar motions.* London, 1763.

Benjamin Franklin. *Experiments and observations on electricity, made at Philadelphia in America . . . To which are added, letters and papers on philosophical subjects.* London, 1769. (WM)


Charles Leadbetter. *Mechanick dialling: or, the new art of shadows; to which are added, a collection of mottos in Latin and English; a table of the most eminent cities and towns, showing at each place the elevation of the pole.* London, 1737.

Eleven

Sir Isaac Newton. *Universal Arithmetick; or, a treatise of arithmetical composition and resolution*. London, 1769. (WM)


John Ward. *A Compendium of algebra: containing plain, easy, and concise rules in that mysterious science*. To which is added, a treatise of interest and annuities, taking of leases, etc. London, 1724.


*Twelve*
Of this edition of *The Henley-Horrocks Inventory* 750 copies have been printed at the *Virginia Gazette* in 12 point Caslon Old Style on Sulgrave Laid Text, with a facsimile plate by the Meriden Gravure Company tipped in.
The general purpose of Botetourt Publications is to make available a series of annual checklists describing eighteenth century Virginia libraries. Each number will be based upon previously unpublished materials, and each will be edited by a different invited authority. Checklists of the Jerdone Collection and the St. George Tucker Library are projected for future numbers.