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Appendices

§1: The distribution of Morgan’s medical works

Morgan’s medical works had a broad distribution.\(^1\) Isaac Newton had a copy of the *Philosophical principles of medicine* in his library.\(^2\) The antiquary Thomas Baker (1656-1740), Fellow of St John’s College Cambridge, had a copy of the first edition of Morgan’s *Philosophical principles of medicine*.\(^3\) The work was found in the library of the American medical practitioner in Wethersfield in Connecticut, Jonathan Williams (1708-1738), who graduated from Yale.\(^4\) The American bookseller Samuel Gerrish (c.1680-1741) in Boston had a copy in 1725.\(^5\) The book was for sale at the booksellers James McEuen in Edinburgh in 1726, Arthur Bettesworth at the Red Lion in Pater-Noster-Row in 1728, Samuel Birt (d.1755) at the Bible and Ball in Ave-mary-lane in 1736, and at Thomas Osborne (d.1744) in Gray’s Inn in 1736, the last three all in London.\(^6\) Both editions were for sale by the bookseller Fletcher Gyles (d.1741) against Gray’s Inn in 1738.\(^7\) Gyles sold another copy in 1739 from the library of Thomas West.\(^8\) In 1739 Thomas Osborne offered for sale the *Philosophical principles*.\(^9\) In 1740 Thomas Warren (d.1767) in Birmingham offered another copy for sale.\(^10\) A copy was for sale by William Bathoe (d.1768), bookseller in Church Lane in 1749.\(^11\) Thomas Osborne the younger sold in 1752 a copy from the library of Dr. Abraham Hall

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\(^1\) I found most of the here mentioned catalogues by *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and Google’s advanced book search (retrieved 13.12.2017).

\(^2\) J. Harrison, The library of Isaac Newton, Cambridge, 1978, 196 nr.1118; Newton had more than fifty medical books in his library.


\(^7\) (F. Gyles), *A catalogue of the libraries of the Rev. Mr. Batty, rector of St. John’s Clerkenwell, and of a person of quality*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1738), 94 nr.1579-80.

\(^8\) (F. Gyles), *A catalogue of the libraries of the reverend mr. Sampson Estwick ... and of Thomas West, M.A., fellow of the college of physicians*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1739), 127 nr.1401.

\(^9\) (Th. Osborne), *An extensive and curious catalogue of valuable books and manuscripts*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1739), 180 nr.3005; 216 nr.4566.


(d.1752), physician to the Charterhouse. In 1754, he sold two other copies. The Dublin bookseller William Ross (d.1766) sold in 1755 a copy of the *Philosophical principles of medicine* out of the library of the counselor at law, Samuel Card (d.1755). The bookseller Thomas Payne (bapt.1719-1799) at Castle Street sold a copy in 1757. The *Philosophical principles of medicine* belonged to the library of John Clerk, physician in Edinburgh. Another copy belonged to the library of the Medical Society in Edinburgh in 1770. Harvard College Library possessed a copy in 1790. Benjamin Franklin, one of the founding fathers of the United States, had two copies in his library. Another copy is found in the library of the Aberdeen Medical Society in 1796. There are many more to be found.

The *Philosophical principles of medicine* and *The mechanical practice of physic* were for sale by the bookseller Thomas Green at Chelmsford in 1739. The bookseller Thomas Payne had a copy of *The mechanical practice of physic* in 1749. Richard Mead, physician to King George II, had the two books in his possession. The bookseller William Cater, opposite Red-Lion Street, had in 1764 two medical books of Morgan for sale. The bookseller John Murray (1737-1793) in Fleet Street sold the two books in 1785. The bookseller John Hayes in High-Holborn, opposite Dean Street, had the two books for sale in 1791. The booksellers S. and

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12 (Th. Osborne), *A catalogue of the library of books, of the late learned Dr. Abraham Hall, physician to the Charter-House*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1752), 240 nr.8857.

13 (Th. Osborne and J. Shipton), *A catalogue of the libraries of the late right honourable Henry, lord viscount Colerane ... and many others*, volume 2, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1754), 188, nrs.24556-7.

14 (W. Ross), *Catalogue of books: being, the library of Samuel Card*, Dublin, 1755, 11 nr.314.


16 (W. Gibb), *A catalogue of books; being the library of the learned Dr. John Clerk, physician in Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1768, nr.575.

17 N.N. *A catalogue of the books belonging to the library of the Medical Society in Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh), 1770, 30.


24 (W. Cater), *A catalogue of valuable and elegant books*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1764), 43 nr.1142; 52 nr.1455.


B. Nock offered the two books in their catalogue of ‘cheap medical books’ in January 1846 for two shillings each.\textsuperscript{27} Thomas Payne sold the \textit{Letter to Dr. Cheyne} in his catalogue of 1761.\textsuperscript{28} The bookseller Homan Turpin (d.1791) at St. Johns’ Street, had all three medical books by Morgan for sale in 1783.\textsuperscript{29}

\section*{§2: Morgan’s theological publications in eighteenth-century Libraries and Catalogues}

Edmund Burke wrote in 1790: ‘Ask the booksellers of London what is become of all these lights of the world’.\textsuperscript{30} This part of the phrase is not much quoted, but when we ask the booksellers of London we can say that the works of Thomas Morgan are found in many eighteenth-century libraries and in many catalogues of booksellers in Britain and abroad. All the works of Morgan had a vast distribution. A copy of the \textit{Collection of tracts} was found in the library of the deist, Anthony Collins in Baddow Hall.\textsuperscript{31} The same work was found in the library of Samuel Mather, son of the New England minister Cotton Mather.\textsuperscript{32} It was announced in the in \textit{Bibliothèque Angloise} by the Huguenot Michel de Laroche published in Amsterdam at the end of 1725.\textsuperscript{33} Thomas Osborne the younger (bapt.1704-1767) sold a copy of \textit{The moral philosopher} in 1739.\textsuperscript{34} A copy of the \textit{Physico-Theology} was offered for sale by the bookseller Jeremiah Roe in Derby in 1741.\textsuperscript{35} A copy of \textit{The moral philosopher} was already in the library of the church historian Michael Lilienthal (1686-1750) in Königsberg in East Prussia.\textsuperscript{36} The Provost of King’s College Cambridge, Andrew Snape (1675-1742), had a copy of \textit{The moral philosopher} in his library.\textsuperscript{37} A copy of \textit{The moral philosopher} was noted in the catalogue of the library of the bibliophile Edward Harley (1689-1741), 2\textsuperscript{nd} Earl of Oxford, edited by his literary secretary, the antiquarian William Oldys (1696-1761) and printed by Thomas Osborne.\textsuperscript{38} The independent minister of Pinners’ Hall in London, Jeremiah Hunt

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{27} N.N., \textit{The British and Foreign Medical Review}, 21 (January 1846) Appendix 10.
\bibitem{28} (Th. Payne), \textit{A catalogue of a large collection of the best books}, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1761), 131 nr.5294.
\bibitem{30} Burke, \textit{Reflections}, 133.
\bibitem{31} O’Higgins, \textit{Anthony Collins}, 37.
\bibitem{33} \textit{Bibliothèque Angloise}, 13 (1725) 508-9.
\bibitem{34} (Th. Osborne), \textit{A catalogue of the libraries of...}, s.l.s.a., (=London, 1739), 99.
\bibitem{35} (J. Roe), \textit{A catalogue of books}, Derby, 1741, 9 nr.101.
\bibitem{36} Lilienthal, \textit{Theologische Bibliothec}.
\bibitem{37} (W. Thurlbourn), \textit{A catalogue of the remaining part of the library of the reverend dr. Andrew Snape}, (Cambridge, 1743), 40 nr.807.
\end{thebibliography}
(1678-1744), had a copy in his library. The booksellers John Whiston (1711-1780), son of William Whiston, and his companion Benjamin White (c.1725-1794), in Fleet Street, had various works by Morgan for sale in 1751. Thomas Osborne the younger sold in 1752 a copy of The moral philosopher out of the library of Abraham Hall, physician to the Charter-House. The bookseller Thomas Payne (bapt.1719-1788) at Castle Street sold a copy of A brief examination in 1756. The politician and book collector Robert Hoblyn (bapt.1710-1756) had a copy of The moral philosopher in his library. A copy of The moral philosopher was sold at the book sale of Thomas Osborne and J. Shipton at the end of 1757. Payne offered for sale in 1758 three books by Morgan. William Ross sold in 1758 in Dublin a copy of The moral philosopher out of the library of Doctor Thomas Lloyd (d.1758). Whiston and his companion had a copy for sale in 1758. The German bibliographer Christian Gottlieb Jöcher (1694-1758) had the three volumes in his library. The German preacher Johann Anton Trinius (1722-1784) observed in 1759 that the book was rare even in England, but that seems a bit strange with respect to the overwhelming evidence present here. The booksellers Lockyer John Davis (1717-1791) and Charles Reymers against Gray’s Inn tried to sell three copies of The moral philosopher and other works of Morgan in 1760. Four years later they still had two copies in stock. The bookseller Edward Ballard (1707?-1796)

39 N.N., A catalogue of the entire library of the late learned and reverend Jeremiah Hunt, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1744), 10 nr.178.
40 (J. Whiston and B. White), A catalogue of several libraries, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1751), 127, nrs.4159-61.
41 (Th. Osborne), A catalogue of the library of books, of the late learned Dr. Abraham Hall, physician to the Charter-House, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1752), 240 nr.8856.
42 (Th. Payne), A catalogue of a very large and valuable collection of books, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1756), 126 nr.3756.
44 (Th. Osborne), The first volume ... of a catalogue of the libraries of many eminent persons, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1757), 433.
45 (Th. Payne), A catalogue of a very large and curious collection of books, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1758), 94, 117 and 172.
46 (W. Ross), A catalogue of books. Being the library of Doctor Thomas Lloyd, s.l.s.a. (=Dublin, 1758), 28 nr.726.
49 Trinius, Freydencker=Lexicon, 371.
50 (L.J. Davis and Ch. Reymers), A catalogue of several valuable libraries, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1760), 235 nrs.6498-6500; 265 nrs.7631-34.
51 (L.J. Davis and Ch. Reymers), A catalogue of about four thousand volumes, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1764), 47, nrs.1627-8.
in Little Britain had a copy for sale in 1761. Robert Downes (d.1763), Bishop of Rophoe, possessed *The moral philosopher*, as is clear from the auction of his books in January 1764 in Dublin by William Ross. John Hutton (d.1764) possessed a copy of *The moral philosopher*, as is clear from the auction of his books in October 1764 in London. John Whiston had three books by Morgan for sale in his catalogue of 1764.

So it goes on and on. There is too much material to sum it all up. From now on we quote only specific items. The philosopher David Hume probably had a copy of *The moral philosopher* in his library. The City Library of Bern in Switzerland had copies of many of Morgan’s works in 1767. In the auction catalogue of the library of Hermann Samuel Reimarus we find the three volumes of *The moral philosopher*. Another copy of *The moral philosopher* was sold at a book sale by the bookseller Cornelis Kribber in company with others in Utrecht in the Netherlands in October 1776. The *Collection of tracts* was found in the library of the French Jean Baptiste Pâris de Meyzieu (d.1778), *ancient conseiller au parlement, & ancien intendant de l’école royale militaire*. There was a copy of *The moral philosopher* in the Milanese *Bibliotheca Firmiana* in 1783.

In 1787 there was a copy of *The moral philosopher* in the circulating library by the bookseller John Boosey at nr.39, King Street, Cheapside, London. The booksellers John Shepperson and Thomas Reynolds in Oxford Street had a copy of *The moral philosopher* for sale in 1788. Harvard College Library possessed in 1790 nearly all the early pamphlets of Morgan. The German Protestant theologian Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem (1709-1789) had a copy of *The moral philosopher* according to

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52 (E. Ballard), *Bibliotheca theologica, a catalogue of a very large collection of scarce and valuable books*, s.l., 1761, 37.
53 (W. Ross), *A catalogue of books, being the entire library of the right reverend father in God, Robert Downes, lord bishop of Rophoe, deces’d*, Dublin, (1764), 20 nr.783.
54 (W. Bristow), *A catalogue of the large and curious library of Mr. John Hutton*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1764), 86.
55 (J. Whiston), *A catalogue of several libraries of books*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1764), 141 nrs.4510, 4512; 142 nr.4528.
57 N.N., *Catalogi librorum typis editorum qui in bibliotheca Bernensi exstant supplementum*, Bern, 1767, 92-3.
58 Schetelig, *Auktionskatalog*, nrs. l. 927-929.
59 (C. Kribber), *Catalogue ... d’une bibliothèque de littérature*, Volume 1, s.l., 1776, 11.
60 (Moutard), *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. Pâris de Meyzieu*, Paris, 1779, 8-9.
62 (J. Boosey), *A new catalogue of the circulating library at No.39, King Street, Cheapside*, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1787), 132, 183 nrs.6316-8.
63 (J. Shepperson), *A catalogue of a valuable and extensive collection of books*, s.l.(=London), 1788, 123.
the sales catalogue of his library. The Reverend John Pitts (d.1793), Rector of Great Bicknell, had a copy of *The moral philosopher*. The book collector Ralph Willett (1719-1795) in Merly in Dorset had *The moral philosopher*. A copy was found in the library of the Hamburg pastor Barthold Nicolaus Krohn (1722-1795). Many London booksellers had a copy for sale during the last part of the 18th century. The booksellers Benjamin and John White at Horace’s Head in Fleet Street had a copy of *The moral philosopher* for sale in 1794. The bookseller Thomas Egerton in Whitehall had a copy for sale in 1796. The library of the man of letters, Horace Walpole (1717-1797), contained various tracts by Morgan. The bookseller Thomas Payne had a copy for sale in 1798. So we see that various editions of Morgan’s works were abundantly available during the 18th century. From London to Aberdeen, from Edinburgh to Birmingham, from Dublin to Derby, from Harvard to Wethersfield in Connecticut in New England, everywhere his books were found. In many of the above-mentioned catalogues we also see copies of the books and pamphlets of his antagonists.

* §3: Morgan’s theological publications in nineteenth-century Libraries and Catalogues *

*The moral philosopher* is found in various libraries of the 19th century. For example, the booksellers George Lackington (1777-1844), Robert Allen and Company, sold many titles by Morgan in 1815 in their shop ‘The temple of the Muses’ on Finsbury Square in London. A copy was found in the library of the second President of the United States, John Adams, when it was donated to the town of Quincy in the County of Norfolk, in 1823. The library of the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, William Magee had a copy. A copy was sold out of the library of the book collector, Richard Heber (1774-1833) in 1836. The Dean of Winchester

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67 (R. Willett), *A catalogue of the books in the library of Ralph Willett, esq, At Merly, in the county of Dorset*, London, 1790, 8.

68 B.N. Krohn, *Catalogus bibliothecae ... Bartholdus Nicolaus Krohn*, Hamburg, 1793, 69, nr.673.


74 N.N., *Deeds and other documents relating to the several pieces of land, and to the library presented to the town of Quincy, by president Adams, together with a catalogue of the books*, Cambridge, 1823, 37.

75 N.N., *Catalogue of books, the property of the late most reverend William Magee*, 108.

cathedral, Thomas Rennell (1754-1840), had a copy. He also had many other works by Morgan and his adversaries. The antiquary Francis Douce (1757-1834) left a copy to the Bodleian Library. Thomas Jolley had a copy of the Collection of tracts. The journalist John Black (1783-1855), the editor of the Morning Chronicle, had a copy of The moral philosopher in 1844. There was also a copy in the Bibliotheca Sussexiana, the library of Prince Augustus Frederick (1773-1843), the sixth son of King George III, and created Duke of Sussex in 1801. In France, Isaac Haffner (1751-1831), Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Strasburg, had a copy. In the Netherlands a copy was found in the library of the bibliophile, Johan Meerman (1753-1815), and in the library of the village pastor Bernard Everwijn Christiaan van Niel (1782-1836). In Denmark the Lutheran Bishop of Zealand, Friedrich Münter (1761-1830), had a copy. In America it was present in the library of Salem Athenaeum in 1811. Harvard had a copy in 1830. A copy was found in the library of Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward in Virginia in 1833. It belonged, as we saw before, to the Loganian library, originally formed by James Logan, and donated by the Logan family, in Philadelphia. The Collection of tracts was in the library of the American antiquarian Society in Worcester. A copy of The moral philosopher was in the San Francisco mercantile library in 1848. A copy was found in the American Institute Library of

77 (J. Leslie), Catalogue of the library of Thomas Rennell, s.l., 1840, 12, nr.6316.

78 N.N., Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, esq. to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1840, 190.

79 S. Leigh Sotheby, Catalogue of the theological portion of the very extensive singularly curious and valuable library of Thomas Jolley, London, 1843, 147 nr.1884.

80 (S. Leigh Sotheby), Catalogue of the extensive library of John Black, esq., late editor of the “Morning Chronicle”, s.l.s.a. (=London, 1844), 110.

81 (Evans), Bibliotheca Sussexiana, volume 1, s.l. (=London), 1844, 218, nr.4770.

82 N.N., Catalogue systématique de la bibliothèque du feu M.Isaac Haffner, Volume 1, Strasbourg, 1832, 61.

83 N.N., Bibliotheca Meermanniana; sive Catalogus librorum impressorum, Lugduni Batavorum e.a., (1824), 80, nr.327; Catalogus der aanzienlijke verzameling boeken ..., nagelaten door B.E.C. van Niel, ... predikant te Vaassen, Zwolle, 1837, 54, nr.1271.

84 N.N., Bibliotheca Münteriana, Hafniae, (1830), 346, nr.4842.

85 N.N., Catalogue of the books belonging to the Salem Athenæum, Salem, 1811, 49.


87 N.N., Catalogue of the library belonging to the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, 1833, 70.


90 N.N., Catalogue of the San Francisco Mercantile library, San Francisco, 1848, 81.
the City of New York in 1852.\textsuperscript{91} It was part of the collection of Bowdoin College in Brunswick in 1863.\textsuperscript{92}

So we see that Morgan’s principal works were widely distributed in the 19th century. In many of the above-mentioned catalogues we also find copies of the books and pamphlets of his antagonists.

* §4: The lending-library of Manchester College in York*

Among the Unitarian dissenters Morgan was not forgotten in the 19th century. The dissenting academy Manchester College in York noted various loans of works by Thomas Morgan by students during the years 1814-41. Among them we find as readers the students William Johnston Bakewell (1794-1861), Unitarian minister from 1828 at Norwich; John Howard Ryland (1803-1872); George Heaviside (1810?-1840); Unitarian minister at Rochdale in Lancashire from 1832 till his death; Henry Higginson (c.1812-1873). Unitarian minister in Melbourne in Australia from 1852 till 1871; John Lampray, minister at Lincoln from 1837 till 1846; John Wellbeloved (d.1819); John Ebenezer Williams (d.1890); Charles William Robberds (d.1898); Mark Rowntree; and Edward Worthington.\textsuperscript{93}

* §5: Quotations made by Morgan in the three volumes of The moral philosopher*

Aesop, 1/251; 
Atlas historique, 3/295; 
Bacon, 2/219; 
Bayle, 2/214; 
Bennett, 2B/50; 
Bible, passim; 
Calvin, 2B/7; 
Chandler, 2B/74; 
Chapman, 2B; 
Charles II, 2/59; 
Chillingworth, 2B/46; 
Cicero, De divinatione 3/108; 3/151; 
Clarke, 1/85-86; 2B/28; 2B/50; Natural and reveal’d religion 3/137; 
Confucius, 1/145; 1/167; 1/411; 2/270; 
Euclid, 3/135; 
Grotius, 1/127; 1/158; 2/150; 
Hammond, 1/158; 
Herodotus, 3/320; 
Homer, 1/251; 
Hyde, De religione veterum Persarum, 1/349, 2/130, 2/144; 2/211; 2/214; 2B/23; 2B/53; 3/105; 3/320; 
Irenaeus, 3/109; 
Jerome 3/262; 
Josephus, 2/68; 2/168-9; 3/73; 3/247; 3/292;

\textsuperscript{91} N.N., Alphabetical and analytical catalogue of the American Institute Library, New York, 1852, 97. 

\textsuperscript{92} (W.P. Tucker), Catalogue of the library of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, 1863, 438. 

\textsuperscript{93} Dissenting Academies Online, retrieved 13.12.2017.
Leland, 2A; 3;
Locke, 2B/30; *Reasonableness of Christianity*, 2B/57; 3/141;
Lowman 3;
Luther, 2B/7;
Mahomet, 1/167; 1/411; 2/195; 3/5; 3/70; 3/111; 3/337-8;
Manetho, 3/73; 3/79-80;
Marsham, 3/307;
Milton, 1/251;
Mohammed, 2/245; 2/270; 2B/40-2; 2B/44; 2B/58; 2B/61-2;
Newton, 1/364; 2/245; 2/248; 3/126; 3/228;
Ovid, 1/251;
Plato, 1/145; 3/151;
Plutarch, 3/151;
Shakespear, 1/251;
Shuckford, *Sacred and profane history of the world connected*, 3/76-8; 3/314; 3/318;
Socrates, 1/145;
Sophronius, alias Leland, 2B11;
Spencer, 3/340;
Stillingfleet, 1/158;
Tertullian, 1/390;
Twiss, 1/158;
Warburton, 2/xxvii; 2B/45; *Divine legation of Moses*, 2B/54;
Waterland, 2B/49;
Whiston, 1/371; 1/382; 3/346;
Zoroaster, 1/145; 1/167; 1/348-9; 1/411; 2/195; 2/212; 2/214; 2/270; 2B/43-4; 2B/52-3; 3/5;
3/70.

With the exception of the Bible and his opponents Leland, Chapman, and Lowman, only nine books are cited by Morgan by title in *The moral philosopher.*