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The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty

One of the earliest appraisals of the printer Christopher Sauer of eighteenth-century Germantown appeared in William McCulloch's emendations to the pioneer *History of Printing in America*, written and published in 1810 by Isaiah Thomas. Much of McCulloch's additional material, which he wrote between 1812 and 1815, was incorporated in the second edition of Thomas' work (1874). Following a passage in which McCulloch sketched the remarkable ingenuity of Sauer—a master of more than a score of crafts and trades—he concluded with Sauer's achievements as a printer:

To the last [trade] he was particularly attached; as an evidence of which he desired on his death bed, that the printing business might never go out of the family of his descendants, but that one or other of the lineage should acquire and practice the art.¹

Sauer was fortunate in his dying request. His descendants did follow in his printing footsteps, even well into this century. They hardly matched his achievements in printing, with the possible exception of his like-named son, but all the same they made stalwart contributions of their own. This article will briefly trace the course of the lives and works of the Sauer family of printers. It is unfortunate that a complete story of the family has not yet been written, although 1988 marks the two-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the inception of the Sauer press in Germantown.

It is not the case that the achievements of the Sauers as printers have been ignored. A century ago the scholar Oswald Seidensticker could appropriately complain that insufficient attention had been given to the Sauers, father and son. But now matters stand differently. A recently compiled bibliography, which includes primary sources and secondary treatments of the Sauers, lists more than 560 items. A popular biography of the first two Sauers was published in 1981, but still lacking is an analytical treatment that considers the content of Sauer imprints,

provides meticulous bibliographical detail, and places the extended family in the context of their times.²

Christopher Sauer I

The founder of the press and progenitor of the dynasty, Christopher Sauer (originally Johann Christoph Sauer, 1695–1758), arrived with his wife and son in Philadelphia in 1724. First settling in Germantown, Sauer later tried farming in present-day Lancaster County but returned to Germantown in 1731. A tailor in Germany, he practiced other trades in America. By 1739 he was considered a "wise and much esteemed man" in the land, carrying on at least six trades as a surgeon-apothecary, clockmaker, woodturner, glazier, lampblack manufacturer, and printer in the large, two-storied stone house he erected on the Germantown Road.³

From the beginning, he was concerned with the welfare of his fellow immigrants. One means to this end was providing them with edifying reading material; he early sought such from fellow Radical Pietists in Germany, such as Andreas Gross in Frankfurt/Main. It was through these contacts that Sauer received the type fonts which enabled him to begin his printshop in 1738, though he used his own ingenuity to construct the actual printing press. His explicitly stated purpose was to use the medium of printing to provide helpful reading matter for the isolated German settlers following the motto: "For the glory of God and my neighbor's good."

Sauer considered that an almanac would be an ideal first publication, because the useful compilation could contain "various needful and edifying theological things, and also household remedies for all kinds of sicknesses." The Sauer-initiated almanac became very popular among the German-speaking element in the colonies; it was published far into the nineteenth century, long after the dissolution of the Germantown printing establishment. Its contents included the typical calendars and important dates, but went beyond that to feature recipes for home remedies, instruction in writing, and popular histories.⁴

Despite Sauer's clearly stated reluctance, he was persuaded to begin publishing a newspaper, announced at its start in 1739 as a quarterly. Successively, it appeared on a monthly, biweekly, and eventually weekly basis, with changing titles, finally known after 1762 as *Die Germantowner Zeitung*. Astonishingly, the price remained the same during the increase in frequency of publication, as Sauer (and later his son) explained that growing income from ads met the increased costs.⁵ Although the Sauers prospered through their printing enterprise, their motivation was never solely commercial; both men were primarily dedicated to the welfare of their fellows and to their religious ideals.

It was, of course, in 1743 with Sauer's issuance of the first Bible published in the American colonies in a European language that he earned his place in history. First announced in 1742, it took fifteen months of exhausting labor on the hand-press to print the twelve hundred quarto-sized copies of the German Bible, which basically

followed Martin Luther's translation. Only four pages could be impressed at one time, after which the type had to be redistributed and the next pages set up. Sauer asked for contributions to help defray the substantial costs involved, so that the price could be kept low. The truly poor were to be charged nothing at all. Thus it was that the "largest work that had [yet] issued from any press" in Pennsylvania (according to Isaiah Thomas) was undertaken and completed. It was to be surpassed in that honor during the colonial period of American history only by the *Martyrs Mirror* of the Ephrata society, released five years later.⁶

It was through Sauer's publishing activity that his substantial influence in society was exercised; at times it was held to be pivotal for the course of Pennsylvania politics. The downfall of the touted Charity School scheme in the mid-1750s was hastened by his voiced suspicions of the concealed political intent beneath the ostensibly philanthropic undertaking. It was also Sauer whose publicity on the problems within struggling colonial Lutheran and Reformed congregations made him unpopular with their clergy. Sauer's vocal critique of the scandals surrounding mass transportation across the Atlantic of immigrants and redemptioners played a substantial role in the eventual reform of that enterprise. As an outspoken pacifist, he was considered pernicious by military officers and by political activists. Important as these themes are, they must be passed over here without further elaboration. Fortunately, the topics are still drawing careful scholarly attention.

These activities were motivated by his religious stance as a Radical Pietist, concerned for the welfare of the community. Radical Pietism shared the zeal for reform of church life of the broader Pietist movement, but went beyond the latter to condemn all organized religious activities. True religion, for the Radical Pietist, was an individual matter, and was to be judged by the character of each person and by each person's activities. Thus Radical Pietists like Sauer were intensely religious and keenly moral but at the same time fiercely critical of the lapses of institutional life in church and state.⁷

Sauer's son wrote an obituary of his father in 1758 which clearly spelled out his intent to carry on the Germantown printshop in the same spirit as the father:

On September 25 the old and well-known printer Christopher Sauer departed this temporal life in the sixty-fourth year of this life, after living in this country for thirty-four years. He was always kind and friendly to friend and foe. He boasted neither of his skilfulness nor of his mind, but rather remained humble. He at all times was concerned for the good and the freedom of this country. . . . I would rather, as heretofore, earn my humble bread by my bookbinding trade and be freed of the burden of the printshop, which would be much easier. Yet, as long as there is no one to whom I could entrust the printshop, I find myself obligated for the sake of God and my neighbor to continue. . . . For it is to the honor of God and the well-being of this country that this printshop has been dedicated. And I will seek always to maintain this aim.⁸

Christopher Sauer II

Some poorly informed authors have collapsed the two Christopher Sauers, father and son, into one person. Although this has made for unfortunate confusion, the mistake is understandable; not only are the names identical, the approach and styles were alike. The son undertook the unbroken continuation of the publishing program of his parent. Though perhaps not quite as universally gifted as the father, Christopher Sauer II mastered all aspects of the printing trade. McCulloch, writing as a craftsman, described the culmination of Sauer's mastery as occurring shortly before he turned over the press to his sons in 1777:

At this period he manufactured books entire and throughout: the type, the paper, the lampblack, the ink, the binding were all executed within himself, or by his own immediate workmen. Indeed, he could perform each of these branches himself, and some of them to great perfection. He appeared to possess the genius, in this respect, of his progenitor.⁹

The particular aspect of printing in which Sauer II surpassed his father was in typesetting. Although the father occasionally cast type to replace broken characters as needed in the course of printing, it was only under the son's direction that a large-scale type foundry was developed. This won commendation in 1775 from a Pennsylvania provincial conference responding to the appeals of the Continental Congress to encourage domestic industry. Sauer II proceeded by enlisting two European-born associates in the enterprise, Justus Fuchs (Fox) (1736-1805) and Jacob Bay (ca. 1735-?); both of these men were ingenious workmen and went on to run their own foundries. They stayed, however, in close association with their original employer.

Sauer II printed two more editions of the Germantown Bible, the second in 1763 and the third in 1776. For the latter he only used type cast in America. In fact, he sought to have enough type cast to maintain a standing font for the quarto Bible. Sauer invested the substantial amount of £3,000 in the project, which demanded, for example, seventy-two thousand alone of the lowercase letter *e*. Unfortunately, this ambitious enterprise, along with much else, fell victim to the confiscation of the press by the revolutionary American government in 1778.¹⁰

Another publishing breakthrough was the initiation of what has been called the first religious magazine in America. This was the *Geistliches Magazien*, issued irregularly in two volumes from 1764 to 1772. (Issue number twelve of the second volume contains a note: "Printed with the first type ever cast in America.") Sauer's motive for beginning this venture was characteristic of the man. He noticed that the income from the sale of the 1763 edition of the Bible was greater than anticipated. Not wishing to take profit from printing the Bible, and eager to provide nurturing material, he announced that he would distribute free copies of the new periodical as supplements to the Germantown newspaper. Translations of religious essays, sermons, and original poetry made up the bulk of the content. Of particular interest are the compositions by the famous schoolmaster Christopher Dock, including

his two hundred rules of conduct for children and two long hymns.¹¹ It was Sauer II who printed Dock's masterly guidelines for schooling, but they were written originally at the behest of the father. This initiative demonstrates that the older Sauer was not opposed to all forms of education, although he was scathingly critical of higher education for its inducement, in his eyes, to pride and vanity. His son, Sauer II, was noted as a founder and supporter of the Germantown academy, serving for many years on its board and donating largely to it. He also continued the philanthropic bent of his father with regard to immigrants, and was widely respected as a public-spirited citizen of irreproachable reputation. It was said about him: "No medicine, not even a dose of jalap, was [considered] effectual unless purchased at Sower's apothecary shop. No almanac was correct in time and weather, and no newspaper spoke the truth, unless published by Sower."¹²

It thus came as a shock for many when Sauer II was plunged into misery akin to that of Job of the Old Testament in the course of the American Revolution. As Seidensticker expressed it,

Branded as a traitor, he was driven from house and home, and robbed of his fortune, even to the last penny. How true it is that in the maddening whirl of destruction, under the rough rule of war, the best and most innocent and inoffensive are crushed, and trodden under foot.¹³

The reference is to the condemnation of Sauer as a Tory by the Revolutionary authorities and the total confiscation of his extensive real estate and possessions.

This is not the place to trace in detail the misfortunes experienced by Sauer II in the Revolution or to attempt to assess motivation and blame. As an elder among the Brethren (Dunkers), Sauer attempted a neutral position in the conflict; like them, he was not persuaded that rebellion against the monarchy that had granted them religious toleration and economic independence was legitimate. It is also probable that a political stance which had often put him into opposition to the Presbyterian bloc that came to lead the Revolution had left some scores to settle. Sauer also took a fateful step in 1777 when he left Germantown, the scene of bitter fighting, to find refuge for a time with three of his children in Philadelphia during the occupation of the city by the British army. Shortly before this, he had turned over his printshop to his sons Christopher Sower III and Peter Sower. Both threw in their lot with the British; as known Loyalists they had sought shelter behind the British lines. Another son, Daniel, had been given the papermaking mill, but this also was lost, despite his best efforts, in the thorough process of confiscation of Sauer's property. These events mark the end of the Germantown printshop of the Sauers, but not the end of printing by the Sauer family.¹⁴

Christopher Sower III and Peter Sower

The two sons of Sauer II re-established themselves as printers in Philadelphia under British control and soon became notorious because

of the partisan editorial content of their newspaper, *Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder einlaufende Woechentliche Nachrichten* (1777-78). There was thus no other option for them than to leave Philadelphia with the withdrawal of the army in June 1778 and take up residence in New York. In that city Peter (1759-85) dropped out of publishing activity to study medicine; he later died as a victim of yellow fever while a physician on Cat Island in the West Indies.¹⁵

Christopher Sower III (1754-99), when not in attendance at army headquarters in New York or engaged in intelligence activities, continued with his printing. Along with two others, he issued another Loyalist-leaning newspaper, *The New-York Evening Post* (1782-83). His appeal to Germans in Pennsylvania and neighboring provinces (*Zuschrift*), written there, was one of the hardest-hitting polemics of the bitter war.

At war's end, he took his family to London to press his appeal for compensation from the Commission for American Claims. Success in this led to his resettlement in 1785 in St. John, New Brunswick, where he was appointed the king's printer and deputy postmaster-general for the province, holding the status of a brevet colonel. There he published *The Royal Gazette*, engaged in acrimonious political disputes, pursued petty professional vendettas, and sought to increase his personal fortune. At last wearying of this, he visited his brother Samuel in Maryland; while in the process of arranging for his family to join him there he died suddenly in 1799.¹⁶

Samuel Sower

The youngest son of Christopher Sauer II, Samuel Sower (1767-1820) was a persistent and ultimately successful participant in the publishing industry. In 1790 he set up a printshop in Chestnut Hill, north of Germantown. He had published a newspaper, *Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift*, and some eleven books by 1794 when he shifted his place of operation briefly to Philadelphia (where he also produced a newspaper), before moving permanently to Baltimore in 1795. His paper there was encumbered with the title *Der Neue Unpartheyische Baltimore Bote und Marylander Staats-Register*, possibly indicating that it incorporated earlier publications.

He was a publisher in Baltimore until 1804, at which time he focused his attention on type founding. When he secured the equipment of Justus Fuchs in 1806, he was able to bring back into the family some of the tools formerly belonging to his father. Sower was very active in his business, which was substantially funded by a silent partner. He won fame by casting the type font for the first Bible printed in diamond type, an extremely small size, previously considered impossible. His nephew, Brook Watson Sower I, the son of Christopher Sower III, worked for him as a printer. (The nephew had a son and grandson, Brook Watson Sower II and Brook Watson Sower III, who also pursued the printing trade. Other grandsons of Christopher Sower III were printers and newspaper publishers.)¹⁷

David Sower and Descendants

Although the fourth son of Christopher Sauer II did not become as well known in the printing guild as did Samuel, the achievement of David Sower (1764–1835) was not small. In 1799 he initiated the first newspaper in Norristown, Pennsylvania, *The Norristown Gazette* (later *The Norristown Herald*), which became one of the best known of local papers in Pennsylvania and still exists. It was also through David's family that the longest-lived line of the Sower printing dynasty continued.

In 1808 David Sower turned over the Norristown paper to his son Charles. This proprietorship continued until 1812. In that year, Charles Sower (1789–1820) printed an article describing the inept behavior of a militia company in Philadelphia. Members of the Irish-led militia took umbrage, traveled to Norristown, and wrecked the printshop to restore their offended military dignity. The upshot was that Charles sold the paper and moved to Maryland, where he issued *The Star of Fredericktown* for the short time before he died in 1820.

Back in Norristown, his brother David Sower, Jr. (1794–1862), re-purchased the *Herald* in 1816 and built up the enterprise most energetically. He decided to sell it in 1834, and proceeded to develop a bookstore. An aggressive publisher as well, he was noted for a popular pocket lawyer (a compilation of useful state laws) that went through many editions, a music book which innovated through seven distinct characters for the seven musical notes, and other saleable imprints.¹⁸

The fifth generation of Sauers to enter the printing trade appeared in 1842 when David Sower, Jr., turned over his bookstore to his son Charles G. Sower (1821–1902), who had worked with his father in the Norristown bookstore for six years. Seeking larger things, Charles G. Sower expanded the bookstore business to Philadelphia in 1844. He then sold his interest in the Norristown store to his brother Frank in 1850, in order to concentrate on the city business. This went well, under a series of different names to incorporate the names of the junior partners, and the prosperous business was renamed the Christopher Sower Company in 1888. Sower and his partners were not limited to selling books; instead they became quite active in educational publishing. In the American centennial celebration held in Philadelphia in 1876, the Sower firm won several awards for its schoolbooks, as it did in another international conference held in Paris the next year.

Charles G. Sower was not only a successful publisher and bookseller; he also took a keen interest in the history of his family. His published works in this regard included an ingenious genealogical chart (1877) which presented the first checklist of the printed works of the first two Sauers. The chart identifies twenty-one printers among the first Sauer's descendants, not counting several others who worked in related trades. Charles G. Sower amassed a large number of Sauer imprints in his collection of rare books, many of which he deposited in the Library Company of Philadelphia.¹⁹

Conclusion

A complete story of the Sauer printing dynasty would also include the work of that large number of apprentices taken on by the first two Sauers in their Germantown printshop, a number of whom went on to become printers in their own right. An often told anecdote involving one of them, Gotthardt Armbruster, sheds light on the unselfish qualities of the Sauers. In 1748 Sauer I printed an announcement of Armbruster's intent to begin publication of a German-language newspaper in Philadelphia. Sauer not only encouraged his readers to subscribe to his competitor's paper, he also "begged the dilatory and dishonest subscribers who did not pay him for their papers" that they not serve Armbruster as they had him. At one point Sauer II warned subscribers who had not paid for many years that they should not take it amiss if they received a note reminding them to pay up.²⁰

In 1988, two-and-one-half centuries since Johann Christoph Sauer took the brave step of issuing his first publication, we can look back with appreciation and amazement at the man who began this printing dynasty. Not all will accept his religious posture as a separatist, his militant pacifism, or his political stance. But all should agree that in this "wise and much esteemed man" we see a man of integrity, of genius, and of lasting historical importance. His achievements cut across many fields and have won him lasting fame; still, the lasting lesson he leaves us is the impact that stubborn honesty and concern for the welfare of others can make in a divided society. Many of these same qualities can be identified in his descendants, an unusual number of whom became printers themselves. The story of the entire family deserves attention.

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Notes

¹ "William McCulloch's Additions to Thomas's History of Printing," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 21 (April 1921): 89-171. This was largely incorporated in Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970); the Sauer/Sower material is found on pages 28-31, 405-22, and elsewhere.

² Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Druckerfamilie Saur," in *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1885), reprinted in Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1980), 3:167-229; Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., "Bibliography of the Sauer Family," (unpublished manuscript, 19 December 1987); Stephen L. Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981); Armin Brandt, *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde: Die Deutschen in Amerika—300 Jahre Germantown* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald, 1983), 151-55. Brief articles on members of the Sauer family are included in *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia and Oak Brook, IL: 1983-84), 1145-49; see also Anna Kathryn Oller, "Christopher Saur, Colonial Printer: A Study of the Publications of the Press, 1738-1958" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963). A model for what is needed for Sauer studies is C. William Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing, 1728-1766: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974).

³ Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times* (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1948) and "The Founding of the Sower Press," *Germantown History* 2, no. 6 (1938): 137-55.

⁴ On the almanacs see, among others, Clair G. Frantz, "The Religious Teachings of the German Almanacs Published by the Sauers in Colonial Pennsylvania" (Ed.D. diss., Temple University, 1955); Russell W. Gilbert, "The Almanac in Pennsylvania German Homes," *Susquehanna University Studies* 2 (March 1944): 360-76 and "Sower's Almanac as an Advertising Medium," *American-German Review* 15, no. 1 (1948): 9-12.

⁵ Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States*, vol. 2, *Middle & South Atlantic States* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 68-78 (originally printed in 1932); Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943), 3-4, 14; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 25-33.

⁶ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 407; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 37-44.

⁷ The most thorough discussion of these topics is in William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer, 1738-1758" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1949); a recent account is in Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers*. See also Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Alan W. Tulley, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Early America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 491-536; Marianne S. Wokeck, "A Tide of Alien Tongue: The Flow and Ebb of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1776" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1983). On Radical Pietism, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) and *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, ed. F. Ernest Stoeffler (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976).

⁸ Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), 378-80.

⁹ "McCulloch's Additions," 151.

¹⁰ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 28-31; Charles Nichols, "Justus Fox: A German Printer of the Eighteenth Century," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 25 (1915): 55-69; Sinclair Hamilton, *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

¹¹ Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 74-75; Gerald C. Studer, *Christopher Dock, Colonial Schoolmaster* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1967), 142, 159-71.

¹² Studer, *Christopher Dock*, 135-54; "McCulloch's Additions," 150.

¹³ From an address by Oswald Seidensticker to the Pionier Verein of Philadelphia, 26 May 1881, quoted in Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower, Printer, of Germantown* (Philadelphia: author, 1887).

¹⁴ The most complete recent description of these events is Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), 151-228. See also Durnbaugh, *Colonial America*, 377-405, and Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).

¹⁵ James O. Knauss, "Christopher Saur the Third," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 41, part 1 (1931); Adams, "German-language Press;" Alexander Waldenrath, "The German Language Newspapers of Pennsylvania During the American Revolution," *German-American Studies* 6 (Fall 1973): 43-56; Karl J. R. Arndt, "German-American Broadides and Imprints from the Time of the American Revolution," in *German Language Press*, eds. Arndt and Olson, 3:45-91; Timothy M. Barnes, "Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution, 1767-1783," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 83 (1973): 217-40.

¹⁶ Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); J. Russell Harper, "Christopher Sower, King's Printer and Loyalist," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 14 (1955): 67-109; W. G. McFarland, *New Brunswick Bibliography* (St. John, NB: Sun Printing Co., 1895), 73-74.

¹⁷ John J. MacFarlane, "History of Early Chestnut Hill," in *Philadelphia History* (Philadelphia: City Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1927), 3:115-17; Rachel A. Minick, ed., *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949), 99-110; Roger P. Bristol, ed., *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (Charlottesville: Univer-

sity of Virginia Press, 1953); George G. Keidel, *The Earliest German Newspapers of Baltimore* (Washington, DC: author, 1927), Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 120-23.

¹⁸ Moses Auge, "David Sower: The Sower Family," in *Lives of Eminent Dead and Biographical Notices of Prominent Living Citizens of Montgomery County, Pa.* (Norristown: author, 1879), 388-401; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 115-18.

¹⁹ Charles G. Sower, "The Sower Publications," *The Pennsylvania German* 2 (1901): 89-93; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 119-20; *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago: Marquis, 1943), 1: 1158.

²⁰ Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungspressen während des vorigen Jahrhunderts," *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* 1 (1887): 276ff., reprinted in Arndt and Olson, *German Language Press*, 3: 417.