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An apparatus of opinion: English and North American printing in the eighteenth century

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AN APPARATUS OF OPINION:
ENGLISH AND NORTH AMERICAN PRINTING
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

Geraint N. D. Evans

A THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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This thesis is accepted and approved in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts.

January 10, 1961
(Date)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	PRINTING OUTSIDE AMERICA UNTIL 1750-----	1
II	THE ENGLISH PRESS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY-----	21
III	PRINTING IN NORTH AMERICA TO 1775-----	40
	TABLE A - Newspapers Printed in the British North American Colonies before 1783-----	148
	TABLE B - Examples of Changes in Title of Colonial Newspapers as Demonstrated by those of New Hampshire, New Jersey, and North Carolina, 1751- 1783-----	160
	TABLE C - Period of Existence of News- papers in the Thirteen British North American Colonies (to September 1783)-----	164
	BIBLIOGRAPHY-----	165

P R E F A C E

This work is a survey of the history of printing in England and North America during the eighteenth century. The antecedents of the craft both in the Orient and in Europe are briefly traced as a background, but major emphasis is placed upon printing in the thirteen English colonies in North America. It is hoped that a composite picture is presented and that some further comparisons between colonies with additional conclusions may be possible on the basis of the evidence presented here.

Throughout the thesis the English spelling of words (in conformity with the Oxford Dictionary) has been followed. In this styling I follow the example of Professor Lawrence H. Gipson in his multi-volume, The British Empire before the American Revolution. Naturally I have found it easier to follow that spelling to which I am more accustomed.

Chapter I

PRINTING OUTSIDE AMERICA UNTIL 1750

Communication of ideas and feelings may be either by written or by oral means. Whilst the former may sway at the moment, it is in the latter form that ideas are lastingly transferred. From the dawn of history men have used signs to convey facts, feelings, and ideas. In the story of this process, the invention of printing with movable types possesses extraordinary importance. To it one may attribute the impact of mass communication and consequent mass action. One may study the inter-relationship of the printed expression of emotions and concepts and the actions consequent upon them in a large number of cases, but in the history of the United States the first example is that which brought them into being. Our attention is here limited to the newspaper press and we consider pamphleteering, which was of equal if not greater importance, only by way of comparison.

The origins of printing lie in the Orient and it is therefore natural that it was in the Kansu province of China that in 1900 there was discovered what is the oldest known printed book. The reason for its printing may seem strange to Occidental ears for it bears the statement: "Printed on May 11, 868 by Wang Chieh, for free general distribution, in order in deep reverence to perpetuate the memory of his parents."¹ Wang Chieh was therefore "the first printer of whom the world has record."² The period of the Sung Dynasty was an era of progress

1 Thomas F. Carter, The Invention of Printing and its Spread Westwards (New York, 1925) p. 41, passim, and footnote 3.

2 Carter, op.cit., p. 41.

in which more than a trace of a modern atmosphere may be discerned. In 953, seven years before the beginning of the dynasty, the Confucian Classics were finally published, an event which marked the inauguration of large scale official and secular printing. An increased demand led, as one would expect, to technological advances, of which by far the most important was the experimentation with movable type. This invention, of the utmost significance in the history of printing, was contemporaneously chronicled by Shên Kua. The invention of Pi Shêng, "a man in cotton cloth" (that is, a person of humble origins) is dated by our chronicler as occurring in the period 1041-1049.³

The European invention of printing by movable type was quite independent of the Sinological discovery and occurred much later. In China, Japan, and the other Oriental countries where printing was known, conditions were not suitable for its growth, and for its impact upon society at large we must turn to its appearance in Europe. This event occurred about the middle of the fifteenth century and by the end of the century its use was widespread and its importance in society well recognized, at least in general terms. Yet the clear and definite origins of printing are by no means completely known, despite the ironical fact that the printer had literally in his hands the means of publicity. To the question 'Who invented printing in Europe?' there can be no certain answer despite the mass of historical research on the matter, which has unearthed much indirect and circumstantial evidence but little that is direct and conclusive.⁴

3 Carter, op.cit., p. 160.

4 See the relevant articles in R. A. Peddie (Ed.) Printing: A Short History of the Art (London, 1927).

The concensus of opinion attributes to Johann Gansfleisch or Gensefleisch (who took his mother's maiden name of Gutenberg) the honour of being the European inventor of printing. Gutenberg may be regarded as being in some mystical sense the heir of a long line extending back to the brick makers and seal cutters of Egypt and Babylon on one side, and on the other of Ts'ai Lung (the inventor of paper) Wang Chieh, Fêng Tao (the printer of the Confucian Classics) and Pi Shêng.⁵ More historically, however, one must admit that there are no apparent links between the history of the art in the Orient and its discovery by Gutenberg.⁶

Fourteenth century Europe marks the beginning of the florescence of a culture which was to culminate in the golden movement we term the Renaissance. Chaucer and Dante marked the new heights in 'native cultures,' the cathedral builders moved to new and ever more delicate triumphs in their arts, in Florence and Flanders the pictorial arts acquired new beauties and new strength. In printing the century is notable for the obscure birth of block printing, conceived from the twin parenthood of the playing card and the image print. The Crusades and increased contact with the East had stimulated and refreshed Europe and new life swept through Christendom. Contact with the Far East brought

5 See Carter, op.cit., pp. 180-83 and Ch. XXIV, passim.

6 For the detailed consideration of the Gutenberg-Coster controversy, see Theodore L. Devinne, The Invention of Printing (New York, 1876), pp. 326-403 and esp. pp. 360-375. An earlier and well argued assessment of the various claims, citing the earliest authorities, may be found in Henry Lemoine, History, Origins, and Progress of the Art of Printing (London, 1797), pp. 5-17.

gunpowder but also a dramatic advance in the use of paper.⁷ At the opening of the century a fairly rare material imported from Damascus and Spain, by the end of the century it was being manufactured in Italy, Southern Germany, and France. Cheap material was essential to the spread of printing methods and 'Gutenberg's Bible' is an exception in that it is one of the few early books printed on parchment. Each copy is said to have taken the skins of three hundred sheep.⁸

The revival of learning, together with the increased rate and diversity of living, which commenced in the fourteenth continued in the next century. The problem as it affected the dissemination of learning may be put in Lemoine's words: "Learning revived, and a dawn of light spread its rays throughout all Europe; researches were then made by the learned to find those valuable books, which had been until then in obscurity. Manuscripts were procured; but the price of them was such, that none but the most opulent could possess themselves of these literary treasures."⁹ The response of the fifteenth century to this situation may be traced through the work of Gutenberg.

Not a single piece of work is extant which bears the name of Johann Gutenberg as printer or mentions him as being involved in the

7 For the cultural situation in the 14th century see Charles G. Crump and E. F. Jacob (Eds.), The Legacy of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1926), passim; the provocative theory of J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924) esp. pp. 46-56, 182-201, 297-309; Henry O. Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1938), II, pp. 555-591; Lynn Thorndike, The History of Mediaeval Europe (3rd. ed., Boston, 1949), pp. 651-677. The position of the caligrapher and his art is well dealt with in Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Peter Schaeffer (New York, 1950); pp. 9-14.

8 "Typography," Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed.), XXVII, p. 541.

9 Lemoine, op. cit., p. 5.

trade. The honour accorded him by his biographers is based upon statements in public records. These would seem to be weighty evidence but one should take into account the mischievous activities of two Mainz librarians, Bodmann and Fischer, who entertained themselves by 'providing' records for friends who were searching for Gutenberg documents! It seems to be authentic that Gutenberg was involved in a lawsuit in Strasburg in 1439 and it is generally accepted that the vague evidence there presented refers to his engagement in printing activities.¹⁰

The evidence which we have consists of a lawsuit in Strasburg (1439), a record of him as a surety for a borrower (1441), as a borrower himself (1442), as payer of a tax (1444) and again as a borrower (1448). In 1455 he appeared as a defendant in a lawsuit concerning the sum of two thousand gulden--a very large amount for the times--which John Fust had lent him in two instalments, in 1450 and 1452.

10 Consideration of this evidence may be found in John C. Oswald, History of Printing (New York, 1928), pp. 7-11. Douglas C. McMurtrie, Some Facts Concerning the Invention of Printing (Chicago, 1939), pp. 7-21, 34-41. A Van der Linde, The Harlem Legend (London, 1871), which was a pioneer piece of research in the subject, came to the conclusion that "The genuine documents of the fifteenth century, the imprints of the earliest incunabula, all (even the Netherland) chronicles, prove that typography was invented at Metz before 1450 by Johann Gensefleisch Gutenberg." Van der Linde, op. cit., p. 167. The conclusion of Van der Linde as given in his Gutenberg was criticised by his translator, J. H. Hessels, in a work which arrived at the conclusion that no definite conclusion could be reached. See J. H. Hessels, Gutenberg, Was He the Inventor of Printing? (London, 1882). Van der Linde's conclusion is now accepted but Hessel's work continues to be of value for its readily available presentation of the relevant documents. McMurtrie summarises his position thus: "On the basis of the present knowledge, we must conclude that printing with movable types of metal cast in matrices (which constitutes the invention of printing) was invented, as far as its epoch-making appearance in Europe is concerned, at Strasbourg or Mainz at some time between 1440 and 1450; and, on the basis of the evidence now before us, we must assign credit for that invention to Johann Gutenberg." McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 41.

In the records of this case it is quite clear that the enterprise involved was printing, and indeed "The whole case gives the impression of being concerned with a loan of a large sum of money advanced to finance a printing project of considerable importance."¹¹

The first dated piece of printing now in our possession carries the date 1454. In that year four different issues of a papal indulgence appeared in printed form. They were printed in Mainz at the request of Paulinus Chappe, representative of the King of Cyprus, who had solicited Pope Nicholas V to grant indulgences to Christians who would give aid in the fight against the Turks, recent captors of Constantinople.¹² What is commonly regarded as Europe's first printed book is the "Gutenberg Bible" which may certainly be dated as being printed in 1456 and may possibly be even earlier. Much research has been done on the question of its printer and the now prevalent view is that it was either produced in its entirety or carried through to conclusion by Fust or Schoeffer. "The plan for the book was certainly Gutenberg's, the technique of its manufacture was unquestionably his, and it is not unlikely that work on it began while Gutenberg and Fust were still in partnership. But we certainly cannot believe that it was printed in its entirety by Gutenberg personally."¹³

When printing emerged from experimental obscurity, Johann Fust and his son-in-law Peter Schoeffer appeared as the outstanding

11 McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 9.

12 An analysis of the four indulgences may be found in McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

13 McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 23.

printers at Mainz.¹⁴ A major factor in their rise was the bankruptcy of Gutenberg, in large part caused by the breach with Fust and the suit for the recovery of the capital lent to Gutenberg. Fust and Schoeffer produced in 1457 the first edition of their Psalter, a work of such advanced technique and perennial beauty as to command the admiration of all students of the subject who hardly remember that it is the first dated and signed printed book. Printing had lost its anonymity; there was no longer any doubt as to printer or the place of issue. The Fust and Schoeffer firm achieved a prosperity which not even the sack of Mainz in 1462 during the 'Bishops' War' could seriously impair and indeed it continued to develop extensive European connections. In 1466 Fust died on a business visit to Paris and three years later Schoeffer published the first printed 'publisher's list.'¹⁵ This was also the first known printed type specimen, for the last line, set in a type twice as large as the other lines reads: "hec is litteris psalterii" - this is the type of the Psalter.

The period from 1460 to 1500 is that of initial developments in the history of printing and its spread across the sub-continent of Europe. The sacking of Mainz in 1462 led to the dispersal of craftsmen. Eltsville was the next place at which a press was established,

14 The most modern and accurate biography of Schoeffer is Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz (New York, 1950) which publishes a list of Schoeffer's imprints discovered in ruined Berlin in 1947. Schoeffer's relationships with Gutenberg are of course an integral part of the volume but the author avoids dealing in any detail with Schoeffer's part in the printing of the 'Gutenberg Bible.'

15 A reproduction of the list is contained in McMurtrie, op. cit., facing p. 32.

followed by Basle in 1467. Progress in Germany (and in other countries) has often to be determined by the earliest dates which have been found in extant volumes and clearly this is a case where the historical evidence is incomplete and therefore possibly incorrect.¹⁶

Printing was spread by itinerant craftsmen who were of two types--the first established a permanent business in a large community whilst the second produced only one or two books in a relatively unimportant location. The only need of the printer was his hand mould for casting the type; neither the type nor the matrices for it was taken along, for a new type-face was used each time a new press was organized in accord with local scribal peculiarities. The year 1480 is important, for it may be taken as the marking post for the introduction of specialization and the first steps towards differentiation into organized industries. It marked also the beginning of the end for the printer who did everything for himself. A leader in the first process was Adolph Rusch of Strasburg. Another was Anton Koberger of Nuremberg who may be regarded as "the first wholesale printer or publisher on a large scale."¹⁷ The Nuremberg Chronicle was Koberger's most famous enterprise and it is quite clear that the number of copies printed was very large. At least

16 From this information we may compile the following list: Augsburg 1468, Nuremberg and Beromünster 1470, Speier 1471, Esslingen 1474, Ulm, Lauingen, Buda Pesth, Merseburg 1473, Marienthal, Cracow, Lubeck 1474, Breslau, Blauberen, Burgdorf, Trent 1475, Rostock, Pilsen 1476, Reichenstein 1477, Prague, Urach, Rentlingen, Geneva, Schussenried 1478, Würzburg, Erfurt 1479, Magdeburg, Zurich, Memingen 1480. This list is derived from George Winship, Gutenberg to Plantin (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), p. 16. Compare the list in Devinne, op. cit., p. 493 which differs in some instances but is based upon admittedly 'imperfect evidences.'

17 Winship, op. cit., p. 19.

five hundred copies went to Italy, and even in twentieth century America two hundred copies are extant. Relative to the possible market, the author, Dr. Hartmann Schedel, might well have claimed to have been the most popular historian who has ever written! The increased sales were an indirect result of the increased prosperity which was coming to later mediaeval Europe generally and to certain areas in particular. Of these, the Rhine Valley was prominent. The scribes, whose numbers were in any case being diminished by the greater attractiveness of industrial jobs, had to meet increased demands for books consequent upon the improved standards of living. It was to these circumstances that typography was a response.

"The secret of printing becoming known, spread far over divers nations, patronized by popes and kings, and esteemed a divine blessing to mankind; and in a short time, reached to the other quarters of the globe In 1490 it reached Constantinople."¹⁸ Printing arrived in Italy in 1464, in Switzerland about 1468, in France about 1470, in Spain in 1474, and in England in 1476. That the first advance should be towards Italy was natural for there the revival of learning had become a social as well as an intellectual factor.¹⁹ Many of the Rhenish printers mistook the market to include deeper social strata than was in fact the case and consequently either went bankrupt or altered the subject matter of their books to such matters as treatises on the art of war,

18 Henry Lemoine, Origin and History of the Art of Printing (London, 1813), pp. xxvi-xxvii.

19 On the revival of learning in Italy see: Encyclopaedia Britannica (1956), XII, pp. 741-744. John A. Symmonds, Renaissance in Italy (7 vols., London, 1886), Jacob C. Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (New York, 1937).

mathematics, and astrology. Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz established the first press in Italy at the famous Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, under the patronage of the author-abbot Cardinal Turrecremata (Torquemada). In 1467 Ulrich Han set up his press in Rome where later in that year he was joined by Sweynheym and Pannartz. John of Spier was responsible for introducing printing to Venice and was rewarded with a five year monopoly by the city senate. At the close of the monopoly Nicolaus Jenson, a Frenchman, began printing there. His type was of remarkable quality and this was in large measure the cause of the growth of the city to a position where, by 1580, she was the largest book-making centre in Europe.²⁰ Two factors help to explain Venice's pre-dominance: a location near the paper-making centres of Northern Italy; its position as one of the mediaeval and early modern world's most important centres of commerce, assuring low rates of transportation and good credit facilities. The importance of general commerce in the history of printing is again shown in the case of Switzerland. Some of the printers who set out from Mainz (after 1462) moved up the Rhine to Basle. Its university already possessed an European reputation and the cosmopolitan character of its population led to publications which found ready sale along various trade routes, but especially via Lyons, whose position as a great trading centre was fully exploited. A most interesting dual trade arose in that city: of serving as distributing point for the learned books from Basle or Italy, and of producing books locally which

20 Winship, op. cit., p. 29.

21

were of a popular character.

At Bruges, Colard Mansion was the first printer, but he was in practice a little before the time was ripe, having to add to his printing income the fruits of work as an illuminator. In 1484 he left Bruges altogether. Printing did not come quickly to favour for Mansion's successor, John Brito, remained for some time the only printer in the city. Louvain afforded better treatment to John of Westphalia who arrived there in 1472 and John Veldener who came a year later, for they both found business with the university from which they received the honorary title of Master of Printing. The first book printed in France was the Epistulae of Gaparinus Barzizius, produced by Kranz, Gering, and Freiburger in July or August, 1470. The importance of this Sorbonne press, however, lies in the fact that it was a private establishment and not a normal commercial venture. The initiative came from Johann Heynlim, prior of the Sorbonne and Guillaume Fichet, the librarian, who attracted the three Basle tradesmen.

For a study of matters involving printing in America, the history of printing in England is of particular interest. Two facts immediately distinguish the spread of printing to England, namely that the inspiration to produce beautiful books supplied by the elaborately illuminated manuscripts of the Continent was far less potent, and secondly, in contrast with Continental countries whose first printing presses were established by itinerant Germans, the art was first practised

21 - Winship, op. cit., pp. 35-37. E. Miriam-Lone, Some Noteworthy Firsts in Europe during the Fifteenth Century (New York, 1937), pp. 6-7 gives the two possible definitions of Switzerland and the possible claims to 'the first printed book' in the territory.

by a native Englishman, William Caxton.²² Further, English printing differed from its Continental predecessors in that the first book printed in the country was in the vernacular, not in Latin. Caxton was born in the Weald of Kent but had spent thirty years in the Low Countries, rising in prosperity and esteem until he had become nothing less than Governor of the organization established by the Mercers and Merchant Adventurers and popularly termed 'The English Nation.' Caxton certainly loved books and read them in Latin, French, and English, probably in Flemish, possibly in German. His introduction to printing came through his desire to translate The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye into English. It was a success, and the labour of constant re-copying of which Caxton speaks so vividly, turned his head in the direction of printing. "And forasmuch as in the writing of the same my pen is worn, my hand weary and not steadfast, mine eyne dimmed with overmuch looking on the white paper, and my courage not so prone and ready to labour as it hath been, and that age creepeth on me daily and feebleth all my body," and having promised copies to several gentlemen and friends, "therefore I have learned at my great charge and dispenche to ordain this said book in print . . . to the end that every man might have them at once."²³

22 Eighteenth century historians of printing suggested a number of persons other than Caxton as the pioneer of English printing. These suggestions are summarised in P. Luckombe, The History and Art of Printing (London, 1771), pp. 5-6. The arguments are considered with incisiveness at pp. 7-22, providing the basis for the modern acceptance of Caxton's pioneer position.

23 The Epilogue to the Third Version of The Recuyell, quoted in Sean Jennett, Pioneers in Printing (London, 1958), pp. 29-30 and in Henry R. Plomer, A Short History of English Printing (New York, 1916), pp. 2-3.

Caxton learned the art at Cologne, possibly under the tutelage of Ulrich Zell.²⁴ He was not the most outstanding printer of his era by any means and one suspects that the dominance of the English language has accorded him a place of greater honour than his printing exploits deserve. The Recuyell and the books which were his first efforts were printed at Bruges and it was from there that Caxton returned to England some time before Michaelmas, 1476. He settled at the sign of the Red Pale within the precincts of Westminster Abbey and in three years had printed thirty books. He flourished in the simultaneous playing of three roles - translator, publisher, and printer, and did so in a country where illiteracy was high and printed books (until then imported) were rare. As to his staff, Caxton had little choice, and had to bring experienced men with him from the Continent to train Englishmen. Of these the most famous is Wynken de Worde who hailed from Alsace and who later became Caxton's foreman. In 1477 the first book printed on English soil appeared. This was The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers and it was followed in the next year by an edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, which was not particularly accurate, despite Caxton's efforts.

The quality of Caxton's work as a typographer was not in keeping with the unique position he occupies in History - the first

24 Caxton's nineteenth century biographer William Blades maintained in his Life of Caxton (2 vols., London, 1861), I, pp. 45-61, that Caxton's first book was printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion and that it was there that he learned the art. But see Plomer, op. cit., pp. 3-4, Luckombe, op. cit., pp. 23-24, Oswald, op. cit., p. 192, Margaret Stuart, "William Caxton" in History Today (April, 1960), X.

25

printer in the English speaking world. For example, in the first Caxton books the lines are of unequal length whilst all his books lack title pages. Yet the life and personality of the man and his clear devotion to his art make him an impressive figure. He was not merely printer but also editor and publisher, editor indeed of every book he printed. In this number no Bible was included, a shrewd businessman's response to the discouragement of lay familiarity with Holy Writ. On Caxton's death his business came into the hands of his foreman, Wynken de Worde, but Caxton had not been alone in his trade. Only a year after he had settled at Westminster a book was printed anonymously at Oxford. We still possess eight books which were printed at St. Albans in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. A fairly accurate estimate would be that somewhat under a dozen printers were at work in England before 1500, all of them, as one would expect, plying their trade in the vicinity of

26

London.

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- 25 An analysis of Caxton's methods and mouldings may be found in Luckombe, op. cit., pp. 30-31, more scientifically presented in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 3, 5, 6-12, who deals with six different types while Oswald, op. cit., pp. 196-200 finds eight.
- 26 This calculation is based upon information in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 14-26, Oswald, op. cit., pp. 202-206, Lemoine, Origin and History of the Art of Printing (London, 1813), pp. 1-11, although the account of the origins of the English printing at Oxford is not acceptable. The first press established in Scotland was at Edinburgh in 1507. See Plomer, op. cit., pp. 114-124, Lemoine, History, Origins, and Progress of the Art of Printing (London, 1797) p. 94 seq. Ireland's first book, characteristically a catechism, appeared in 1577. See Plomer, op. cit., pp. 124-25, Lemoine, History, Origins, etc. (1797), p. 98-seq. On early Scottish printing consult Robert Dickson, Introduction of the Art of Printing into Scotland (Aberdeen, 1885). The claim of Oxford to have produced the first English printing is stated in full in S. W. Singer, Some Account of the Book Printed at Oxford in MCCCCLXVIII (London, 1812).

Sixteenth century printing was not at par with the century's cultural growth in England. Indeed it is a period which is characterised by a general decline in standards to an extent that Pollard could say that in the first half of the seventeenth century printing "was certainly worse than in any other country."²⁷ The only printer of major importance was John Day, although a number of others such as Wynken de Worde, Julian Notary, Richard Pynson, and William Fazues preceded him as leaders in the sixteenth century English printing trade.²⁸

A most interesting use of printing for political purposes, of importance as a predecessor of the pamphlet and newspaper propaganda preceding the American War for Independence, may be found in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. It may be taken as a sample of what was common in the religious wars of sixteenth century Europe and of the type of writing which was to attain an equal importance in England under the Commonwealth and Protectorate.²⁹ Even before this period of republicanism, actually in 1622, the Roman Catholic Church had finally established the 'Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,' which was aimed not only against the 'heathen' but also 'heretics' and 'heretical' countries, of which England was clearly one. The seventeenth century is marked by a long and decisive

27 Quoted in Oswald, op. cit., p. 208.

28 Details on the printers of London in the sixteenth century will be found in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 27-98, Luckombe, op. cit., pp. 45-124. For provincial printing see Plomer, op. cit., pp. 99-126, Luckombe, op. cit., pp. 125-132. For an account of Day's work, see Plomer, op. cit., pp. 63-80. A title page of Day's is reproduced in Oswald, op. cit., p. 203.

29 Henry Thomas, Anti-English Propaganda in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1946) deals with attempted Spanish propaganda on the occasion of the Second Armada against England in 1597.

decline in printing standards in England and one of the most potent reasons for this was the country's involvement in the incessant religious controversy of the time. "The printing press was not then the tool of an art, but an instrument of propaganda. Privilege to print depended upon considerations other than the ability to print well."³⁰

The single most important step in the direction of control of the press had been taken in the Charter of May 4, 1557, when the ancient brotherhood of stationers was incorporated by Royal Charter as the Worshipful Company of Stationers. The charter gave the Company the royal authority to regulate the practices of the trade. It seems quite clear that the main reason for the charter was the desire for closer control over the organ of public information. John Day, who in 1557 had become a Freeman of the Company, was arrested soon after Mary came to the throne and imprisoned "for prynting of noythy books." Day, however, re-emerged in the reign of Elizabeth as a printer of ability and as the trade's leader in his generation. Indeed so great did his prestige and wealth become that he aroused the envy of his fellows and it was only by the intervention of Archbishop Mathew Parker that they were prevented from stopping his expansion plans.³¹ Whilst Parker protected on the one hand, he persecuted on the other. Thus, at his behest, the Wardens of the Stationers' Company made a long search in 1572 for the secret printers of Cartwright's A Second Admonition to Parliament. Six years previously a Star Chamber decree had ordered that every printer enter into substantial recognisances for his good behaviour. In addition, the

30 Oswald, op. cit., p. 208.

31 Oswald, op. cit., p. 73.

Crown wielded further control by the device of granting special patents for the sole printing of certain classes of books to individual master printers. The best paying work was thus monopolized by a dozen or so printers who could be held in subservience. Of necessity many a printer found himself a flexible conscience; for example, John Cawood printed Protestant books under Edward VI, Catholic books under Mary, and Protestant books again under Elizabeth. The Newe Decrees of the Starre Chambre for Orders in Printing, issued on the 23rd June, 1586, coalesced previous legislation, epitomised sixteenth century attitudes, and formed a model for subsequent acts. One of the major provisions was that printing should be restricted to London and the two universities.³² The number of presses in London was to be reduced to a number to be decided upon by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.³³ No book could be printed without previous licence and Wardens of the Stationers' Company were empowered to search all premises upon suspicion.

During the reign of Charles I (1625-1649) censorship of the press increased significantly in its intensity, affecting almost every one of the printers, publishers, and booksellers of London. The literature of the age was mainly religious in character and Puritan in

32 E. P. Goldsmicht, The First Cambridge Press in its European Setting (Cambridge, England, 1955) - Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, Cambridge, 1953, S. C. Roberts, A History of the Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, England, 1921), pp. 1-62, Talbot B. Reed, A History of the Old English Letter Foundries (Rev. ed. by A. F. Johnson, London, 1952), pp. 126-153.

33 That constant vigilance was necessary to keep down the numbers in the trade can be shewn in an order dated May 9, 1615, made by the Court of the Stationers' Company. Following complaints from master printers regarding the number of presses at work, the order limited the number of printers who should engage in the craft in London. See Plomer, op. cit., p. 132.

opinion, whilst philosophical, scientific, and dramatic subjects were neglected. The cases of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick are outstanding landmarks not only in the history of religious freedom but also in the fight for a free press. They were not alone, however, and the majority of those engaged in the publishing business in any important capacity were involved at one time or another in brushes with the authorities.³⁴

An important Act of 11, June, 1637, reiterated former regulations, harped upon the number of "libelous, seditious, and mutinous" books then being published, re-declared that every book should be licensed. It set up appropriate machinery on the basis of a book's subject-matter, and commanded that two copies of the book should be left with the licensee. No imports of books could be opened without representatives of the Archbishop of London or the Bishop of London and the Stationers' Company being present. Stern regulations as to the setting up and the carrying on of a printing business were also included. Indeed the whole trade was regulated, even down to minutiae.³⁵ In practice, however, the Act was not enforced during the next five years because the government was fully occupied in other, more directly political, directions.

The Civil War in England brought new pressures which accentuated the difficulties which the printing trade had already suffered and placed further emphasis upon speed rather than craftsmanship. Litera-

34 Accounts of proceedings against those in the publishing business will be found in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 138-150. An interesting charge was brought against Nathaniel Butter on April 2, 1629, who was accused of having published a newspaper, The Reconciler. The triviality of the causes of some actions is well shown in the attack on Prynne. See Plomer, op. cit., p. 142.

35 Details of the Act will be found in Charles G. Robertson, Select Statutes, Cases, & Documents (8th ed., London, 1947), pp. 60-66.

ture was almost totally neglected; propagandist works were almost the only ones which could command a market. Although there were three times the number of printers in London allowed by the 1637 decree, they were hardly able to keep pace with the demand for their services. News was published through clearly prejudiced organs: on the Royalist side, Mercurius Aulicus and The Perfect Occurrences; on the parliament side, The Kingdom's Weekly, Intelligencer, and Mercurius Britannicus. The sheets dealt with military news, Parliament's proceedings or alternatively those of the King's Council, and appeared twice or even three times a week. They, together with political pamphlets which were, almost without exception, scurrilous in character, formed over fifty per cent of the printed literature of the period. The rest was mainly religious writing with strong political overtones. In general, this greatly increased quantity of work was rushed forth with little care as to artistic standards or accurate typography.

In 1649 the Council of State returned to the traditional position of press restriction. It ordered certain printers to enter into recognizances in two sureties of three hundred pounds.³⁶ During the Commonwealth the amount of printing declined with a complementary improvement in standards and in the Protectorate there occurred what was undoubtedly the greatest typographical achievement of the century, namely the printing of the Polyglot Bible (1657). This work included no less than nine languages, and reflected a sample of the benevolence of Cromwell's 'benevolent despotism.' The first editions of the bible acknowl-

36 Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1649-1650, pp. 522-23, gives a list of 60 printers thus involved. Whilst not a full list of printers, it demonstrates that between 1637 and 1649 there had been at least a three-fold increase in the number of printers.

edged his assistance in allowing the free importation of paper.

The Restoration brought no significant changes in English printing, although early in the reign a number of leading London printers petitioned the government to incorporate printers in an organization separate from the Company of Stationers, which, they claimed, had become a Company of Booksellers. Their demands amounted to a restriction of the trade whose expansion they blamed for the quantity of 'scandalous and seditious' books available. Sir Roger L'Estrange laid proposals before Parliament which led to the 1662 Act and notably to the creation in the following year of the office of Surveyor of the Press.³⁷ The Proposals are interesting for the knowledge they give us of London printing in the 1660's.³⁸ The trade was sadly hit by the Great Plague of 1665 and the subsequent Fire of London and a contemporary estimate was that eighty printers had perished.³⁹ The 1662 Act had specifically mentioned York as a place where printing could take place and before the end of the century printing had also begun in Bristol, Plymouth, and Shrewsbury.

37 The proposals were published in 1663 under the title, Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press (London, 1663).

38 L'Estrange's views should be balanced by reference to the Records of the Stationers' Company which in turn have their own monopolistic bias. These are well described (to 1650) in W. W. Greg, Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing (Oxford, 1956) - Lyell Lectures, Oxford, 1955.

39 L'Estrange to Lord Arlington, 16 October, 1665, Domestic State Papers, Charles II, Vol. 243 (1665-66), p. 20.

Two other outstanding records are "List of several printing houses taken ye 24th July, 1668" in Domestic State Papers, Charles II, Vol. 243, No. 126 and "A Survey of the Printing Presses with the names and numbers of Apprentices, Officers, and Workmen belonging to every particular press. Taken 29th July, 1668" in Domestic State Papers, Charles II, Vol. 243, p. 181.

Chapter II

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Four conditions govern the establishment of a free and efficient Press within a country. Printing must have been invented; the Press must not be hampered either by penal legislation or crippling taxation; transportation must be efficient enough to ensure fairly rapid distribution; the level of education should be sufficiently advanced to provide a reading public.

Printing had made its European appearance in the fifteenth century, but the products of the presses were undergoing restriction two centuries later. In the seventeenth century the dominating philosophy recognised the right of governments to regulate the organs of public opinion, and it was almost an accident that in 1695 the House of Commons did not renew the Licensing Act, included in a battery of expiring Acts presented to it for renewal. This happy circumstance provided journalism with space to expand, and only seven years later the first daily paper appeared in Britain. Yet restrictions, for example the law of libel, remained. This indirect restriction was in some ways of equal power since its general character allowed broad interpretation. John Almon, who suffered many convictions for libel, commented in the late eighteenth century: "The law of libel is unwritten, uncertain, and indefinable. It is one thing today and another tomorrow. No man can tell what it is. It is sometimes what the King or Queen pleases; it is sometimes what the Minister pleases; sometimes what the Attorney-General pleases." ¹ Through

¹ Quoted in Wilson Harris, The Daily Press (Cambridge, England, 1943), pp. 25-26. No source given.

the efforts of Charles James Fox changes were made in the law, in particular establishing the principle that a jury rather than a judge should determine whether the words in question, if published, constituted a libel. Even with this law in a more favourable form, other restrictive factors were at work to hinder the development of a free and cheap Press. Stamp duty, paper duty, and advertisement tax, all contributed to the raising of the newspaper's price to such a level as seriously to curtail the number of buyers. Thus, the stamp duty was an important factor in the demise of Addison and Steele's Spectator. Originally the duty had been a halfpenny a half-sheet, was raised to a penny in 1757, and three-halfpence in 1776. By 1815 it had become fourpence and constituted over fifty per cent of the selling price of most daily newspapers. Not until 1836 was there a reduction.²

The advertisement tax was first imposed in 1712, the same year as the inauguration of the stamp tax, and applied to any paper published weekly or more frequently. At first the level was one shilling tax on each advertisement, but in 1757 this figure was doubled, and by 1804 had become three shillings and sixpence. In 1833 it was reduced to one shilling and sixpence and twenty years later was abolished through the efforts of two Liberal giants, Bright and Cobden, and one Conservative giant to be, Disraeli.— Paper had been taxed by the pound according to quality, such tax ranging from three halfpence to threepence. Abolished by the House of Commons in 1860, the measure failed to pass through the House of Lords and Gladstone had to resort to the expedient of 'tacking'

² Details of the stamp duties (to 1816) may be found in Stephen Dowell, A History of Taxation and Taxes in England, (3 vols., London, 1884), III, pp. 321-346. See also Stephen Dowell, A History and Explanation of the Stamp Duties (London, 1873).

to achieve the desired end. These 'taxes on knowledge' had a most dampening effect upon circulation although an additional factor of importance was the low number of literate folk. In 1803 The Morning Post sold just over 4500 copies daily and was easily the most popular paper. By the middle of the nineteenth century The Times was selling 55,000 copies daily, but this figure was more than eight times larger than that of its nearest rival. Small circulations therefore were the rule and reflect the aristocratic nature of eighteenth century England. In contrast Pennsylvania had, according to Edward Lytton Bulwer speaking in the House of Commons in 1832, one newspaper copy to every four inhabitants, whilst Britain's ratio was one to thirty-six. This difference he ascribed to the absence of a stamp duty in Pennsylvania, a point to which he naturally gave some over-emphasis in a speech supporting abolition of the duty. On the other two grounds, however, those of transportation and a large reading public, there was no great difference between the colony of Pennsylvania and the Mother Country during the eighteenth century. If there was any advantage, it lay upon Britain's side. In terms of future developments, whilst the American states lagged somewhat in the development of railways, in general they advanced more quickly in the matter of popular education.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the British situation as regards printing was one of a greatly increased quantity of generally poor quality. It was no longer confined to London and the university towns, and indeed almost every major town in the country had a press.³ Over-regulation had however destroyed originality to the point

3 Details of the various provincial presses are contained in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 205-224.

where the country's printers, with the exception of Oxford University, had to obtain their type from Holland. (Oxford, due to generous bequests was well supplied with founts.)⁴ As English government became more bureaucratic in nature and increased importance was given to the Cabinet and Houses of Parliament, the need for a printer to have powerful support from some great minister became even more desirable than previously. For example, John Barber, the only printer ever to become Lord Mayor of London, was heavily indebted to Henry St. John (Lord Bolingbroke). The eighteenth century in general saw a recovery from the low printing standards of the seventeenth and this revival was headed by William Caslon, John Baskerville, and Foulis brothers, Andrew and Robert. Caslon was initially an engraver upon metals, then became, and remained for nearly fifty years, the leading and almost the sole designer and founder of type used by English printers. Baskerville is of importance in the history of printing because he first 'hot-pressed' paper and was also the inventor of wove paper.⁵ The work of William Bowyer the Younger, John Nichols, William Strahan, and William Bulmer assured the printing trade of an improvement in quality during the course of the century.

A new field was opening up which engaged the interest of the most famous literary men of the day. The parts played by Addison and Steele with regard to The Spectator are well known, but of even more interest in the history of English printing is the career of Samuel

~~Richardson.~~ The author of Clarissa Harlowe and Pamela was by trade a

4 The difficulties encountered by one printer in purchasing Dutch types are considered in Plomer, op. cit., pp. 189-191.

5 The contributions of Caslon and Baskerville as printers are considered in Jennett, op. cit., pp. 47-90.

printer and indeed printed these works himself. Apprenticed at the age of ten, he took up his freedom seven years later (1706) and through the influence of Arthur Onslow obtained the printing of the Journal of the House of Commons. Between 1736 and 1737 he printed The Daily Journal and in the following year The Daily Gazetteer.⁶

Most famous among this group of magazine newspapers was the Gentleman's Magazine of Edward Cave, founded in 1731 and modelled upon Motteux's Gentleman's Journal of 1692. The importance of the magazine has been summarised most cogently by Lennart Carlson: "More than any other kind of publication at the time, the magazine responded to the demands which a growing consciousness of national importance and a development of foreign business interests placed on news publications. Where the journals were controversial, opinionated, unreliable, the magazine was impartial, detached, and as complete and objective in its accounts of contemporary events as it was possible for the editor to make it. As a consequence, it is in the pages of the Gentleman's (and in those of the London Magazine) that one can read the real character of British culture two centuries ago."⁷ The Gentleman's Magazine clearly reflects the growth of commercial enterprise, the workings of the British colonial system, the political developments of the times, but on the whole its tone is rather aloof. Yet in this it echoes the classical restraint which was the mark of the dominant creators of eighteenth century European culture, and in a similar way the Magazine avoided the many opportunities for social criticism. Nevertheless its standards of

6 For Richardson as a printer see William M. Sale, Samuel Richardson: Master Printer (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950).

7 C. Lennart Carlson, The First Magazine (Providence, R.I.), p. 239.

accuracy provided its readers with the means for evaluation of the news and established a mark for its rivals. Of these the Annual Register occupied a place nearer to the political changes of the century. Established to give 'a view of the history, politics, and literature of the year 1758,' it translated its historical section into a summary of Parliamentary debates. This anticipation of Hansard is a fair reflection of the generally non-partisan, objective, tone of the Register's comments. Although these were the outstanding magazines of the later eighteenth century they were by no means without competition from the Scot's Magazine (1739), the North Briton (1762), the European Magazine (1782) and the Monthly Magazine (1796).⁸

Such was the importance of this newspaper trade that when Henry Cosgrove opened up a second press in Norwich in 1706, he began also to issue a paper, the Norwich Gazette. In 1727 William Chase established the Norwich Mercury. At Bristol, the Bristol Post-Boy continued in operation from 1702 to 1712. Thomas Hinton began the history of printing in Cirencester with the publication of the Cirencester Post

8 On the Gentleman's Magazine in addition to Carlson the following should be consulted. The magazine itself: Lehigh University Library possesses volumes 1-239 (Jan. 1731 to July 1875) and an index for the period 1731-1818. G. F. Barwick, "Some Magazines of the 18th Century," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society (1908-09), X, pp. 109-140. George S. Marr, The Periodical Essayists of the 18th Century (New York, 1924). William Roberts, "The Gentleman's Magazine and its Rivals," Athenaeum, No. 3235 (1889), p. 560. Charles D. Yost, The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine (Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Pa., 1936).

Lehigh University Library holds copies of the Annual Register from its beginnings to 1960 and an index for 1758-1819. For a discussion of Burke's editorship see Thomas W. Copeland, "Burke and Dodesley's Annual Register," Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America (1939), LIV, pp. 223-245. See also James Crossley, "Edmund Burke and the Annual Register," Notes and Queries, 1st Ser. (1851) III, (1855) XII, and 2nd Ser. (1859) VII. On a comparative basis see James T. Hillhouse, The Grub Street Journal (Durham, N.C., 1928).

(1718) and three and a half years later Robert Raikes the Elder began to print his Gloucester Journal, until he was succeeded by his son, the founder of Sunday Schools. Between 1714 and 1718 Exeter saw three newspapers printed in the town, whilst Worcester witnessed the origins in 1709 of a paper which survived into the twentieth century, Berrow's Worcester Journal.⁹ York had only one printer, John White, and after his death in 1715 his wife continued the business. Thus she became printer of York's first newspaper, The York Mercury, whilst her son John the Younger supplied the same service for Newcastle with the Newcastle Courant (1711). By the close of the first quarter of the century almost every major town in England had a newspaper.

The primary problem facing English newspapers was the obtaining and then the maintenance of freedom to print what material in what manner they saw fit. The century witnessed the gradual and grudging recognition of the Fourth Estate and the acceptance, to a degree, of its liberties and rights, in conjunction with those of Crown and Parliament. The toleration of the free existence and the granting of important freedoms to the relatively new institution of the Press both paved the way for a democratic society in the later nineteenth century and, at the same time, remained incomplete until that type of society had been brought into being. In the last decade of the seventeenth century a 'News-writer' named Dyer came into conflict with Parliament several times and on one occasion called forth the rebuke from the House of Commons "that no News-letter writers do, in their letters or other papers that they disperse, presume to intermeddle with the debates, or any other proceedings

9 See Thomas N. Brushfield, The Life and Bibliography of Andrew Brice (privately printed, 1888).

of this House."¹⁰ In 1699 The Flying Post reported the introduction of legislation to supply the lack of currency by exchequer bills and added hardly a comment, but the House of Commons regarded it as a malicious insinuation and the occasion was taken to introduce a licensing bill which was, however, defeated.

Although the reign of Queen Anne witnessed a law giving copyright to authors and the establishment of the first daily newspaper, it also saw a stamp tax and advertisement duty introduced and a continuous censorship by the government of the day. For example, early in 1704 Tutchin, the editor of The Observator, made some remarks upon Occasional Conformity which led to his being brought before the House of Commons. Towards the end of the year a jury gave him a partial acquittal, but his political enemies resorted to force and one night Tutchin was set upon and so severely injured that he died of his wounds. In 1702 Defoe was put in the pillory for publishing a pamphlet, A Short Way with Dissenters. Defoe developed his first newspaper, the Review of the Affairs of State, whilst he was in Newgate and it continued as a weekly paper for two years. At the end of this time its name was changed to A Review of the State of the English Nation and shortly afterwards it appeared three times a week, continuing in this manner until 1713 when it was driven out of existence by the tax established in the previous

10 Quoted in F. Knight Hunt, The Fourth Estate (London, 1850), I, p. 164. The quotation is from Parliamentary History, V, p. 363, whose author is not given.

year.¹¹

The early part of the eighteenth century was characterised by the first appearance of a large number of newspapers and these were published at increasingly frequent intervals. It was in 1709 that the first daily newspaper The Daily Courant appeared. The exploits of Marlborough and Rooke, the political contests of Godolphin and Bolingbroke, and the literary efflorescence of Addison, Pope, Prior, Congreve, Steele, and Swift, created an atmosphere impatient for news. It was in such a situation that The Daily Courant was conceived, at a time when no less than eighteen newspapers were published in London. The best newspapers of the reign of Anne improved in outward appearance and adopted a higher political tone; comment rather than news increased in amount and quality. What Hallam describes as "regular newspapers" became of importance in the constitutional system of England: "The publication of regular Newspapers partly designed for the communication of intelligence, partly for the discussion of political topics, may be referred upon the whole to the reign of Queen Anne, when they obtained great circulation and became the accredited organs of different factions."¹²

Swift used his acerbic pen for the Tory Examiner and was well aided there by Bolingbroke. Addison and Steele, both extremely

11 For Defoe as a journalist see his own An Essay on the Regulation of the Press (Oxford, 1948), William L. Payne, Mr. Review, Daniel Defoe as Author of the REVIEW (New York, 1947). A sideline upon early eighteenth century printing is furnished in Henry C. Hutchins, Robinson Crusoe and its Printing, 1719-1731 (New York, 1925).

12 Henry Hallam, Constitutional History of England (London, n.d.), p. 802. For accounts of The Daily Courant, The Evening Post, and The St. James's Evening Post with facsimiles of various editions, see Stanley Morison, The English Newspaper (Cambridge, England, 1932), pp. 71-79.

versatile, utilized their genius in the service of The Tatler, The Spectator, and The Guardian, whilst Addison produced alone The Freeholder, founded and carried on with the aim of supporting the Whig government and counteracting the propaganda of Swift's Examiner. With such brilliant literary giants in the arena, how could the wordy battle fail to be interesting? Nor did these gentlemen spare themselves in the vigour of their criticism of each other, and such was the impact of their views that one edition of The Freeholder declared "There is scarce any man in England, of what denomination whatsoever, that is not a free-thinker in politics . . . Our nation, which was formerly called a nation of saints, may now be called a nation of statesmen . . . Our children are initiated into factions before they know their right hand from their left . . . Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the people of Great Britain, I cannot single out any as prevalent and universal as the late constant application of the press to the publishing of state matters."¹³

The halfpenny stamp tax of 1712 was a direct recognition by the government of the power of the quill and press, as was the appointment of Steele to be a Commissioner of the Stamp Office, and later resolution to expel him from the House.¹⁴ It was three years after the Stamp Act before any journal appeared which was of any note. This journal, the London Post, clearly demonstrates by its place as the first publisher of Robinson Crusoe the 'essay-paper' character of much of the era's journalism. Indeed The Spectator was little else but a series of essays

¹³ Quoted from an undated edition of The Freeholder in Knight Hunt, op. cit., II, p. 184.

¹⁴ The connections between Steele's journalism and his political fortunes are well traced in Willard Connely, Sir Richard Steele (New York, 1934), esp. pp. 143-217.

published daily, and it, with its fellows was, as we have seen, of very limited circulation. The first daily paper which continued to exist as a political force was The Morning Chronicle (1769). Throughout the eighteenth century the Woodfall family--father, son, and two grandsons--occupied an unique place in the literary world, first as printers and booksellers, then as journalists. William, the younger grandson, became the first editor of the Chronicle, whilst his elder brother Henry was editor of The Public Advertiser.¹⁵ The Morning Chronicle, Whig in partisanship, early distinguished itself for its Parliamentary reports, although in doing so it had to fight a continuous battle against a Parliament ever sensitive to its privilege.¹⁶ However, Woodfall's successor, James Perry, not merely continued but increased the efficiency

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- 15 The Public Advertiser began its life as The Daily Post with Defoe as one of its founders, then became The London Daily Post and General Advertiser, then The General Advertiser and in 1752 The Public Advertiser, achieving its greatest fame through the publication of the Letters of Junius from 1767 onwards.
- 16 The Gentleman's Magazine had been a pioneer in Parliamentary reporting, utilising Dr. Samuel Johnson's wonderful ability to 'manufacture' Parliamentary speeches and evoke the Parliamentary scene in the period during which he wrote for the journal (1740-1743). On this writing, see James Grant, The Newspaper Press (3 vols., London, 1871), I, pp. 142-144. See also William Cyples, "Johnson without Boswell," Contemporary Review (1878), XXXII, pp. 707-727. Grant's less favourable assessment of these reports is, in our opinion, the more balanced one.

Although Johnson's own definition, given in The Idler, No. 30 (November 11th, 1758) should be taken with a large pinch of snuff, it may be indicative of the something less than total accuracy with which he was satisfied. "A newspaper writer is a man without virtue, who writes lies at home for his own profit. For these compositions is required neither genius nor knowledge, neither industry nor sprightliness, but contempt of shame and indifference to truth are absolutely necessary."

of the operation. After he became owner and editor of the Chronicle in 1789, he organized a corps of Parliamentary reporters and raised his paper to the place of eminence in the London Press. Indeed Perry's work with the Chronicle directly inspired the character of the paper which was to take its prestige from it, The Times (which evolved in 1788 from The Daily Universal Register).¹⁷ The position of both papers in relation to their times has been summarised thus: "It was during Perry's connection with the Chronicle that the daily press became a sort of constituted authority in the country."¹⁸

The first ten years of the eighteenth century had brought the daily newspaper to birth. In the next quarter of a century the weekly journals flourished alongside their daily counterparts. Evening papers, such as The Evening Post, filled their own smaller market and in the same manner as the daily and weekly papers fluctuated in owner, title, and circulation, with disturbing rapidity. Such was the general situation at mid century. The '45 Rebellion brought Henry Fielding rushing back into the newspaper world (he had previously been connected with the short-lived, The Champion), becoming the most important person in the founding of The True Patriot. In his first edition he attacked the low state into which newspapers and news-writers had fallen. He had much of which to complain, for during the years of Walpole's power the Press had suffered a corruption no different in principle from that which had previously been undertaken, but more effective and more permanent

17. F. Knight Hunt, op. cit., II, p. 110.

18 Stanley Morison, op. cit., pp. 81-118 deals with the major weekly journals. For the main daily and evening papers (to 1758) see pp. 119-140. See Knight Hunt, op. cit., II, pp. 221-223.

than anything in the eighteenth century which had preceded it. Tittle-tattle had now come to occupy a large proportion of the available space, and this reflected not only governmental pressures but also the lower calibre of intelligence which was now employed. On the other hand, the number of unstamped papers openly on sale had increased greatly. In 1743 it had been found necessary to include a clause in an Act of Parliament which declared that since a large number of newspapers and other communications were not being stamped and yet were being "daily sold, hawked, carried about, uttered and exposed for sale by divers obscure persons, who have no known or settled habitation, it is enacted that all hawkers of unstamped newspapers may be seized by any person, and taken before a justice of the peace, who may commit them to gaol for three months."¹⁹ A reward of twenty shillings was offered to any informer obtaining a conviction, and there were many such.

Fielding's The True Patriot, however, was strongly pro-Hanoverian and his services were rewarded by the grant of a Bow Street magistracy. For loyal English citizens the paper provided comfort and confidence, for Jacobites its tone of ridicule became more and more discomforting, and its satire at their final defeat was as merciless as Cumberland's sword, whose terror the work of The True Patriot helped to hide from public eyes. Entering into journalism again for the Jacobite Journal (December, 1747) Fielding presented a further diatribe against the prevailing low standards of journalism: "If ever there was a time when a weekly writer might venture to appear, it is the present; for

19 16th Geo. II, c. 26 #5. Statutes at Large (10 Vols., London, 1786), VI, p. 219.

few readers will imagine it presumption to enter the lists against those works of his contemporaries which are now known by the name of newspapers, since his talents must be very indifferent if he is not capable of shining among a set of such dark planets."²⁰ Too much attention should not, however, be given to such statements as valuable contemporary evidence; for Fielding was arguing his cause and made similar statements each time he returned into news-print.²¹

"No species of literary men has lately been so much multiplied as the writers of news. Not many years ago the nation was content with one Gazette, but now we have not only in the metropolis papers for every morning and every evening, but almost every large town has its weekly historian, who regularly circulates his periodical intelligence, and fills the villages of his district with conjectures on the events of the war, and with debates on the true interest of Europe."²² So did Dr. Johnson declare in 1758 and it seems to have been an accurate statement of the contemporary position. The 1750's witnessed the coming and going of a medley of newspapers, none of which was of any great importance.

On May 29th, 1762, the author Tobias Smollett began The Briton. There was no secret of the fact that it had been founded on funds provided by Lord Bute, chief minister and favourite of the Crown. The paper was not a success but it gains historical importance because

20 Quoted from the first number of the Jacobite Journal in Alexander Andrews, History of British Journalism (2 vols., London, 1859), I, p. 154.

21 Fielding as a journalist is well described in Wilbur L. Cross, History of Henry Fielding (3 vols., New Haven, 1918), I, pp. 114-142, 238-252; II, pp. 1-99.

22 Idler, No. 30 (November, 11th, 1758).

of the fact that the strong partisanship it displayed in the first issue for Toryism in general and the Bute Ministry in particular led, within a week, to the appearance of The North Briton, edited by John Wilkes, with support from Lord Temple and John Churchill, poet and satirist. The Briton had been established to silence the opposition Monitor but unhappily the two Scotsmen stirred into being a far more powerful hornet's nest. On the 12th, February, 1763, The Briton was ended and the victory of its rival was complete. On April 23rd, 1763, was published the famous No. 45 of The North Briton. From the party politics of a man, poor in character and strong in pretence, sprang a judicial case which has become a landmark in the history of English liberty.²³ From our point of view, the matter has importance because it guided the attention of the public more than ever towards the political journalism of the day.

Of the papers which existed between 1760 and 1770, The Middlesex Journal holds a particularly interesting place. Middlesex was notable for its political liberalism, demonstrating this, for example, by its re-election of Wilkes, and the Journal was similarly liberal in tone. It advocated such advanced causes as universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, and included among its writers John Wilkes,

23 For details of the arrest and trial of those involved see Alexander Andrews, op. cit., pp. 167-168. Sound assessment of the constitutional importance of this case may be found in the following: O. A. Sherard, A Life of John Wilkes (London, 1930), pp. 72-106, Peter Quennell, The Profane Virtues (New York, 1945), pp. 173-218. A general work on the subject is George Nobbe, The North Briton, A Study in Political Propaganda (New York, 1939).

Junius, and Horne Tooke.²⁴ The great issue of the time was the reporting of Parliamentary debates, a matter which at one time or another involved most of the editors and printers of the liberal newspapers. The defence of Parliamentary privilege was of course led by the House of Commons, but in 1764 the House of Lords, at the instigation of the Earl of Marchmont, took proceedings against Meres, the printer of The London Evening Post. On May 10th, 1768, William Bingley brought out No. 47 of The North Briton and promptly found himself in Newgate and eventually served a term of two years in prison. The North Briton case was therefore only the most celebrated among many attempts to restrain the Press.

Far more mystifying and more genuinely a trial of liberty were the letters of Junius, of which the first appeared in The Public Advertiser on April 28, 1767, and sixty-nine more followed, the last²⁵ being printed on November 2, 1771. There is no need to recount at length the events subsequent to the publication of these letters, in particular those which occurred after the Letter to the King, February 7, 1770. What is of importance is that this famous incident emphasises, as does the case of No. 45 The North Briton, the impact which newspapers had upon the politically awake and important segment of the general public.

24 See Morison, op. cit., p. 155 for a facsimile of an edition of the Journal.

25 On the letters of Junius see: A. Andrews, op. cit., I, pp. 182-201. T. H. Bowyer, A Bibliographical Examination of the Earliest Editions of the Letters of Junius (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1957) is a necessary guide to the use of any edition of the letters. The letters are found in a convenient form, edited by C. W. Everett, The Letters of Junius (London, 1927), although the editor's claim that they were written by the Earl of Shelburne cannot be accepted as more than an interesting hypothesis.

The furore was long and intense and the Letters led to a number of trials, which, when juries were used, produced in general verdicts unsatisfactory to the government. The newspapers conducted their reporting in a bold fashion, mentioning names openly or with the thinnest possible disguises. The people had come to regard the reporting of Parliamentary affairs as one of the few checks upon Parliament. Although the readers of the newspapers and those qualified to vote were much the same people, it would seem that some in the first category could not be included in the second. Thus a non-represented public opinion was created by the dissemination of news and this gap between people and Parliament was in part a result of the newspaper press, in part was held in place by it. The last half of the eighteenth century beheld a battle between Parliament and Press whose results were a somewhat typical British compromise, although the long term gainer seems to have been the Press.

The importance of the battle and the winning of access to Parliament by the newspaper can hardly be over-estimated when one may, with the generous gift of hindsight, look back across the development of

British democracy.²⁶ In 1753 the number of stamps issued to newspapers was 7,411,757 (England's population at the time was 6,186,336) whilst a century later the number of copies was 128,178,900 (after a population increase of 27,724, 849). A fourfold increase in population was met with a seventeenfold increase in newspaper circulation. The same period was one not merely of taxes on newspapers but also one of continually increasing stamp dues. Yet in 1836, before the lowering of the tax, the circulation of newspapers was over five times that of 1753. However, the reduction of the tax was a most potent factor as the further fourfold

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- 26 The detailed history of later eighteenth century journalism which provides the evidence for these statements is revealed in the following: Individual newspapers are dealt with in S. Morison, op. cit., pp. 159-201. A. Andrews, op. cit., I, pp. 180-237, speaks of developments in more general terms as does J. Grant, op. cit., I, pp. 202-208. Certain specific aspects are dealt with thus: G. W. Niven, "On Some Eighteenth Century Periodicals" in Bibliographer, I, pp. 36-40. Edward Porritt, "The Government and the Newspaper Press in England," in Political Science Quarterly, XII (1897), pp. 666-683. Maurice J. Quinlan, "Anti-Jacobin Propaganda in England, 1792-1794" in Journalism Quarterly, XVI (1939), pp. 9-15. Bertha M. Stearns, "Early English Periodicals for Ladies (1700-1760)" in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XLVIII (1933), pp. 38-60. A. S. Collins, "The Growth of the Reading Public during the Eighteenth Century" in Review of English Studies, II (1926), pp. 284-294, 428-38. A. S. Collins, Authorship in the Days of Johnson (London, 1927) covers the period 1726-1780 and deals with the relationships within the printing and publishing trades and between these trades and the public. James Routledge, Chapters in the History of Popular Progress (London, 1876) deals with the place of the jury in cases involving freedom of the Press. Charles H. Gray, Theatrical criticism in London to 1795 (New York, 1931). Edward N. Hooker, "The reviewers and the new criticism" in Philological Quarterly, XIII (1934), pp. 189-202.

increase by 1853 clearly demonstrates. The stamp duty was remitted in 1857 but no less than one hundred and seven newspapers were founded across Great Britain in anticipation of the reduction (bringing the total number in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the year to 711). Who can deny, in the face of such evidence, the popularity and the power of the Press? Cowper in The Task, speaking of 'the folio of four pages' declared:

. . .at his heels,
Close at his heels, a demagogue ascends,
And with a dexterous twist, soon twists
him down.

while Crabbe in his poem The Newspaper announced:

I sing of news, and all those vapid sheets
The rattling hawker vends through gaping streets;
What'er his name, what'er the time they fly,
Damp from the press, to charm the reader's eye'
For, as soon as morning dawns with roseate hue,
The herald of the morn arises too;
Post after Post succeeds, and all day long
Gazettes and Ledgers swarm, a noisy throng.

Chapter III

PRINTING IN NORTH AMERICA TO 1775

Printers moved westwards from Europe on the heels of the conquistadores, and it was at the behest of Spain's leading printer, Johann Cromberger of Seville, that Juan Pablos established the first permanent American press at Mexico City in 1539. The initiative for this most important event had come as much from the colony as from within Spain itself and, not unexpectedly, through a representative of the Church, Bishop Zumárraga. The Bishop in his great missionary zeal became aware very quickly after his arrival in 1528 that conversion of the hostile and 'heathen' Indians required books printed under clerical direction in their languages.¹ From a letter written by him to Charles V in 1538 we learn that a press already existed in Mexico, but the first printer of whom we have any record is Juan Pablos. Cromberger was rewarded with a ten year monopoly, and in the same year that he signed the contract, Pablos began work. His first book, of which no copies have survived, was the Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina christina, written in Mexican and Castilian. We know also that in the course of the next three years Pablos published the first news broadside to be printed in America, but the first complete book which we have is the

1 The attitudes of the reformers towards the Indians are reflected in two contemporary documents:
(a) Speech of Las Casas to Charles V on the Treatment of the Indians in America. (Las Casas was the official Protector of the Indians.)
(b) Pronouncements of the Ecclesiastical Council of Mexico City (made in 1546). They are reproduced in N. Andrew N. Clevelen, Readings in Hispanic American History (Boston, 1927), pp. 222-25, 233-35.

The contrary views of civil leaders are contained in Memorial of the Procuradores of New Spain to the King concerning Permanent Encomiendas. See Clevelen, op. cit., pp. 235-238.

Doctrina Breve muy provechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a la fe católica y a nuestra cristinadad. This was an effort by Bishop Zumárraga to describe the Christian ethic. The title page carries the date 1543.² Pablos was forced to use imported paper which was hand-made and of poor quality, but he achieved a high standard of printing, obviously in part conditioned by his contract with Cromberger which included a statement that he was to be paid only for each perfect sheet he printed.³

By the end of the sixteenth century nine presses were in use in Mexico City. The printers were almost exclusively from the Spanish territories in Europe, particularly Spain itself and Italy. However, included in the pioneers of American printing was a Frenchman, Pedro Ocharte, who came to Mexico from Rouen to seek his fortune as a merchant. Marrying the daughter of Pablos he became a printer and two 'firsts' are credited to him. In 1563 he printed the first Spanish-American lawbook and in 1587 the first work on seamanship in the New World. The dominance of Mexico City in cultural things is demonstrated by the fact that in the whole of the sixteenth century only one printer published his books outside the city.⁴ Melchor Ocarte set up his press in the suburban Franciscan convent of Santiago Tlatilulco.

2 A facsimile of this title page will be found in U.S. Government Printing Office, Colonial Printing in Mexico (Washington, 1939) facing p. 5. Winship, op. cit., p. 38 declares that the news item published by Pablos was to record the earthquake which destroyed Guatemala City in 1540.

3 See Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America (2 Vols., Worcester, Mass., 1810), I, pp. 211-12 for a description of the paper-making by the Indians before the Spanish conquest.

4 The University of Mexico had been founded in 1553, thus capping the stature of Mexico City as the cultural capital.

Sixteenth century printing was used mainly for the missionary work of the Catholic Church with various matter such as notices, proclamations, and laws of the civil government (especially under the great Viceroy Mendoza) making up almost the whole of the remainder. The purposes, thus, were purely utilitarian and the printers were working under adverse conditions. Therefore the quality of their work is somewhat surprising until we remember that they were the heirs, and--in the case of some of the pioneers--part-creators, of the tradition of fine Spanish book-making. Such men were not content to churn out work. They felt the spirit of creation flowing through them, saw their trade as an art, and accordingly seized every chance for embellishment, recognizing in it an opportunity to express their own skill and their own personality.

By the end of the century roman and italic types had come to replace the gothic forms in which Pablos had done his first work; but, just as it had stood out in the sixteenth century as the only suburban centre of printing, so in the early seventeenth, Santiago Tlatilulco produced some of the last examples of gothic type, under the direction of Diego López Dávalos and his Dutch assistant Cornelio Adriano César. New printers naturally took over as the years progressed, but in Mexico City Bernardo Calderón founded an outstanding dynasty. After his death his widow enlarged operations and received a monopoly for the publishing of the edicts of five viceroys. Technologically, the dynasty also showed itself in the forefront, importing the finest possible equipment from Europe, especially in the last twenty years of the century. As a result this publishing house was responsible for printing most of the gazettes

and annual publications in Mexico City during this period.⁵ A rather different development was the rise of a new publishing centre at Puebla de los Angeles. Its origins are misty but we do know that in 1642 Francisco Robledo was established there and we may strongly suspect that the book-collecting Bishop Palafox y Mendoza had been very influential in bringing him to the community. Robledo was joined by other printers, but everyone of them was outshone by Diego Fernáñdex de León, whose quality and quantity of work were most impressive. He, like the Calderons, obtained the finest available presses from Europe.

Expansion of business was complemented by a greater diversity of subject matter. Grammars and dictionaries of the Indian languages were still prominent but histories and travel accounts, nearly always from the pens of religious (and perambulating) men, also took up much of the printers' time. Sporadically, works on such things as Latin verse or travels in the Philippines stimulated the intellectual appetites of the tiny cultural élite.⁶ Seventeenth century typography made a corresponding improvement. It became more uniform in character and the idiosyncracies of printers in the less technically advanced sixteenth century now disappeared.⁷

5 See Isaiah Thomas, op. cit., II, pp. 191-192. Thomas quotes from Robertson's history of America in which he declared after examining the Gazeta de Mexico for 1728-1730 that "The Gazette of Mexico is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications, festivals, autos de fe, etc. Civil, or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner of this monthly magazine of intelligence." See William Robertson, History of America (7th Ed., London, 1796), p. 40.

6 See U.S. Printing Office, op. cit., p. 24, Item 19; pp. 25-26, Item 22.

7 A picture of seventeenth century intellectual life is provided by Irving A. Leonard, Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora: A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century (Berkeley, California, 1929). For comments on literature, see esp. pp. 182-83.

In eighteenth century Mexico the production of books became even more intensive to meet the demands of a society having greater leisure than ever before.⁸ Whilst the range of books became wider, specialization also increased. The subjects of which they treated included mining, current events--for example, the policies of the South Sea Company were investigated by Gerardo Moro in a book published at la Calle de Tacuba in 1724--biographies, and text books of Indian dialects. Thus the publishing world was still concerned with the needs of the missionary priests, but there was in addition a new category of religious literature, the occasional prayers, provided for the convenience of Mexican society. Further, the format of these productions demonstrated a very real attempt to be attractive. Works of a scholarly nature also increased. Religious chronicles, sponsored by the monastic orders, still held the first place and to these we may add the histories, gazettes, dictionaries, and grammars. Outstanding in this group was the very large (four volumes) and very complete description of the viceroyalty of New Spain written for King Philip V by José Antonio Villa-Señor y Sánchez, an eminent scientist, which provides the historian with encyclopaedic information on

8 A brief but stimulating analytical account of colonial society is given by Charles E. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America (New York City, 1933), pp. 108-125. See also Henry B. Parkes, A History of Mexico (Rev. Ed., Boston, 1950), pp. 116-124. The best general accounts of Mexican history (in English) are Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Mexico (6 Vols., San Francisco, 1883-88) and Roger B. Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire (4 Vols., New York City, 1918-34) of which Vol. III, Chs. 23, 27, 30 and Vol. IV, Ch. 33, pp. 200-225 are relevant to the present discussion.

The only English-language survey of Mexican journalistic history is Henry Lepidus, The History of Mexican Journalism (Univ. of Missouri Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 4, Columbia, Mo., 1928). This, unfortunately, is too brief and elementary to be definitive. It devotes 14 pages (pp. 12-25) to the colonial period.

the history and geography of the colony. The Bibliotheca Mexicana contains biographies of a large number of Mexican authors and lists their works. How very revealing of the élite nature of the expected readers is the fact that this important work was written in Latin when it appeared in 1755 from the press of the author, Juan José de Equiara y Equren, who had arrived from Madrid eleven years earlier.

The religious orientation of Mexican culture and the continued European nature of the ruling society is revealed clearly by the books published in Mexico during the eighteenth century. In Puebla, for example, Don Pedro de la Rosa ran the most important publishing house. He obtained a monopoly of the printing of catechisms and books of prayer for the entire viceroyalty of New Spain. In his career is epitomised the twin source of employment for the printer; from the favour of Church and State came prosperity.⁹ At the close of the colonial period three new publishing centres arose in Mexico: Guadalajara, Veracruz, and Oaxaca. These presses, coming into existence just before the American Revolution, were eventually to be responsible for many of the broadsides and pamphlets connected with the Mexican War of Independence, but these works inciting revolution belong in the nineteenth century.¹⁰

9 See the authoritative discussion of Church-State relations in John L. Meecham, Church and State in Latin America: A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934).

10 An interesting example of 'incitement to revolution by example' is the publishing at Mexico City in 1806 of a translation of the life of J. J. Dessalines, leader of the Haiti revolutionaries. The dominance of the European minority is well described in Ernest Gruening, Mexico and its Heritage (New York City, 1928). With regard to the press he concludes: "The majority of books dealt with doctrinal matters, to retailing miracles, or expounding the virtue and apostolic zeal of some defunct cleric. After the American and French revolutions the Inquisition's embargo tightened, thousands of additional authors falling under its ban." Gruening, op. cit., p. 26. This clearly prejudiced account--there were not 'thousands of authors' in Mexico circa 1800, for example--nevertheless accurately reveals the general line of developments.

Whereas that area which borders the present United States on its southern side developed printing a century before the thirteen colonies, that part which we now know as Canada was a latecomer in the field. In the same way as New Spain it was originally non-English speaking and Catholic, but these were almost the sole similarities between the two colonies. In Mexico the Europeans maintained their own culture and lived in relative luxury as a ruling minority but colonists of New France had to adopt the hardiness of the frontiersman and devote their lives to resisting the harsh climate and the attacks of Indians, whilst obtaining a meagre existence at a heavy cost in time and effort. Such would be an accurate comparison of eighteenth century Mexico and Canada, but if we compare Mexico in the sixteenth century with the Canada of two centuries later, we find a somewhat similar response to the needs of a frontier society. The major difference which remains is the far less powerful influence exercised by the Church in the more northerly colony.

Early printing in Canada was as utilitarian as it had been in Mexico during its conquest by Europeans. Neither the printers nor the society which they served had time to spare for the cultivation of literary skills. Legal, religious, and educational works were urgently required and only when there was time or events were sufficiently important could one perhaps print local and European news, political treatises, almanacs, and directories. For the very few who had the necessary combination of inclination, leisure, and wealth, the 'cultural' works were obtainable from Europe.

The Green family had been prominent in Massachusetts printing for over a century before Bartholomew Green, Jr. brought the first press

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to Canada when he moved to Halifax in 1751. However he died a few weeks later and it was left to his Boston partner John Bushell to establish the Halifax Gazette. His first issue of March 23, 1752 marked the appearance of the first newspaper in Canada.¹² The basis for the first ventures into journalism was government patronage, and this was the case with the Halifax Gazette, the Quebec Gazette (1764), the Royal American Gazette of Charlottetown (1787), and the Upper Canada Gazette (1793). Brought into existence through the direction and favour of the government, they served faithfully as government organs in which government proclamations and official news took up a major part of the space. Editors, who were

- 11 The definition of 'Canada' affects the claims which may be made. Isaiah Thomas regarded Nova Scotia as separate from Canada and thus in speaking of Canada he says: "The art was introduced into this province soon after its conquest by the British," and he declares that Brown and Gilmore "were the first to introduce the art into Canada." Thomas, op. cit., II, p. 180. However, Thomas is in error in stating that the first issue of the Quebec Gazette was in January, 1765. The first number appeared on 21st, June, 1764. See Margaret B. Stillwell, Incunabula and Americana (New York City, 1931). See also Louis B. Duff, "The Journey of the Printing Press Across Canada," Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 1937, pp. 228-238.
- 12 The early history of the Halifax Gazette is recorded in Thomas. op. cit., II, pp. 376-378. See also pp. 175-179. The history of the Gazette is retold in Aegidius Fauteux, The Introduction of Printing into Canada (Montreal, 1930), pp. 42-29. This includes the story of the October, 1765, edition which appeared without the required stamp. Anthony Henry, the printer, attributes this offence to his young American apprentice, Isaiah Thomas, but this did not prevent the authorities from taking his paper away from him. Thereupon he began the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser. Henry beat out his rival and was reappointed King's Printer in 1770. Fauteux, op. cit., pp. 47-48. On early printing in Nova Scotia generally see D. C. McMurtrie, The First Printing in Nova Scotia (Chicago, 1925) - a reprint, enlarged by reproductions, of the original article in Printing Review of Canada, Vo. V (July, 1929). A glance at the Loyalist printers in Shelburne, N.S., in the period after the American War for Independence is afforded by McMurtrie's pamphlet, The Loyalist Printers at Shelburne, Nova Scotia (Chicago, 1933) originally published in The American Book Collector, Dec., 1932 and Jan., 1933.

often printers as well, were naturally very loath to risk losing patronage or suffer public rebuke by criticising the authorities or publishing any controversial material. They were happy to augment their incomes by printing statutes and other official documents.¹³

After the British victory in Canada the French-speaking citizens were faced with the challenge of representing their views in a persuasive manner.¹⁴ The challenge was hardly met in a decisive and successful fashion. By the end of the century four newspapers had been founded: La Gazette de Québec, La Gazette du commerce et littéraire (the first newspaper founded in Montreal but which only lasted one year, 1778-1779) La Gazette de Montreal (1785), and Le Magasin de Québec, which continued only two years, 1792-1794. These newspapers demonstrated a low level of professional competence but were inspired either by high-minded or

13 An account of the subjection to censorship of the printers of the Upper Canada Gazette is given in W. S. Wallace, "The Journalist in Canadian Politics," Canadian Historical Review, XXII, pp. 16-17. The way in which Louis Roy, founder of the paper and Fleury Mesplet, founder of the Montreal Gazette were treated justifies Wallace's statement that: "As long as a newspaper was published under government auspices, its editor was liable to instant dismissal." On Mesplet see R. W. McLachlan's extensive survey in Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, XII, Section 2, May, 1906, pp. 197-309. A description of Mesplet's first book will be found in C.H.R., XV, Sept. 1934, p. 349. For Mesplet's apprenticeship in Philadelphia (which city also 'gave' Brown and Gilmore to Canada) see Fauteux, op. cit., pp. 90-94. The dependence of Halifax printers on government patronage is described in Fauteux, op. cit., pp. 52-54.

14 The first French book published in Canada was the Catechisme du Diocese de Sens (Quebec, 1765). McMurtrie believes that broadsides were printed in Quebec as early as 1759. See D. C. McMurtrie, The First Printing in the Province of Quebec (Chicago, 1928), in which he describes two broadsides printed by Bishop Pontbriand, one at Quebec and one at Montreal. This supports the suggestion made by Phileas Gagnon, Essai de Bibliographies Canadienne (2 Vols., Quebec and Montreal, 1895-1913). See listing under Pontbriand. A summary of early printing in Quebec may be found in Fauteux, op. cit., pp. 63-83. The McMurtrie thesis is considered and rejected a trifle cavalierly by Fauteux. See op. cit., pp. 67-71.

publicity-seeking laymen. The crux of the whole situation lay in the nature and scope of the market. The readers of the newspapers were mainly country folk, not possessed of the time or the interest to read literary and political discussions, and often only barely literate.

The newspaper is an organ only appreciated fully in a society which has developed beyond the 'frontier' stage, and this most of Canada was not to do until the nineteenth century. Circulation was extremely limited and the early journalists were forced to resort to almost desperate measure to keep body and press together. Bushell employed his own daughter as a typesetter, while the general opinion was that his successor, Anthony Henry, had to marry first a negress with money, then an heiress of ninety-six years of age in order to achieve financial stability.¹⁵ Only two newspapers existed in Upper Canada before 1800 and indeed the first press had only been established there in 1793.¹⁶

Lying geographically between the area which was earliest into the printing field and that which was most backward in this respect, the thirteen colonies suitably filled a median position historically. Extremely interesting and significant is the fact that printing had reached Massachusetts before the Bay settlements were ten years old. The speed of Massachusetts Bay in establishing a press outstripped even that of Mexico.

15 The conclusion of Wallace was that "the journalist in British North America had very little influence of any sort." See Canadian Historical Review, XXII, pp. 14-24.

16 A full discussion may be found in W. S. Wallace, "The Periodical Literature of Upper Canada" in Canadian Historical Review, XII, No. 1 (March, 1931), pp. 4-23. The article ~~also contains a checklist of~~ newspapers established in the region before 1840 and traces the various changes in their titles. See also discussion of the origins of Upper Canada printing in Fauteux, op. cit., pp. 115-127, which admirably analyses the evidence available.

However, the press in both colonies was religiously motivated and Puritanism imposed as many rigidities and restrictions as did Roman Catholicism in the Spanish colony. By the end of the seventeenth century printing had spread to Philadelphia and New York which, together with Boston, began to establish their position as leaders in the American printing trade.* Libraries existed in Massachusetts even before the first press arrived and the fact that Harvard College's first printed catalogue (issued in 1723, some eighty-seven years after its foundation) contains few books printed in New England is reflective of a most important dichotomy between the printing press and the private library. The output of the colonial press was merely a part--in its early days only a small part--of the reading matter available to the colonists. Almost from the first days a firm trade in books was established between London booksellers and their colonial correspondents, both storekeepers in the few cities and individuals in each of the colonies, and this reciprocal delight in books and familiar knowledge of the tastes of individual customers three thousand ocean miles away present a charming picture. "The colonial press at no time made any attempt to compete seriously for the trade of the public that bought and read books regularly," for the books the intelligentsia desired were the English editions which could be sold in the colonial ports at prices lower than the cost of local manufacture.¹⁷ This

*For purposes of simplicity 'American printing' in the text, as from this page, may be taken to mean printing in the thirteen British colonies which were later to form the United States of America. Printing in other parts of North America will be referred to as 'Canadian' or 'Mexican' appropriately.

17 George P. Winship in his Introduction to One Hundred and Fifty Years of Printing in English America (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 4.

situation, as Winship points out, allowed the colonial press to provide an outlet for local and temporary animosities as well as supplying utilitarian aids such as almanacs, business forms, and that news from other parts which could affect local affairs. However, as American colonial society grew in size and became more accustomed to the settled life, there arose a market for American editions of the books about which the intellectuals both in Britain and its American colonies were talking. These readers did not frequent the book-stores of Boston or Philadelphia and would have been out of place in the circle which Franklin so delightfully dominated. Yet these village parsons, country lawyers, and humble farmers or mechanics appreciated Pope, Goldsmith, Defoe, Sheridan, Burns and their like to the point where the peddler's pack was incomplete without its book or two.

Thus, within colonial America there was a reading public at once more broadly informed and more widespread in nature than in either Mexico or Canada. We must visualize a society not only offering greater economic opportunities to every man's talents than its English counterpart, but also possessed of a strong vein of informal discussion percolating through to every segment of society, impinging upon every man who cared to concern himself with political and cultural affairs. The right to an opinion has ever been regarded as a birthright of the American citizen and when we recognize that the sources for the formation of opinions in eighteenth century America were not limited to an élite, we may understand the truth that whereas illiterate serfs can revolt against authority, only an opinion-holding and opinion-forming citizenry can project a revolution (such as that of 1775) which ultimately may create a

full democracy.

The story of European printing, traced in the preceding chapters, has been that of the rise of a new technology possessed of immense cultural and political possibilities within countries and cities already having an established and ingrained culture. The printing press in colonial America became one of the most important means for the transplanting of this heritage and, by its blending with elements arising out of the peculiarly American development, for the formation of a new and different culture which was uniquely American. The first press in Massachusetts demonstrated the truth of this assertion in convincing fashion.

The printing press came as the property of the Reverend Jose Glover. How prophetic is the fact that he was an English clergyman who was suspended from his pastorate for nonconformity and, having visited Boston in 1634-35, had decided that the New World offered him a chance to pursue his goals without interference. During his visit he had become involved in the discussion then taking place for establishing a college, only one of the outgrowths of the profound concern regarding education which existed in the colony. Glover returned to England to raise funds for its foundation, and it would seem that it was for this projected institution that he purchased a printing press and the necessary supplies to accompany it. Glover contracted with Stephen Day (or Daye), a locksmith at Cambridge, England, to accompany him to the colony, but very probably he was more directly interested in bringing back with him Day's two sons who seem to have been apprentices in a Cambridge printing house. However, the enterprising clergyman died of smallpox in the course of the voyage and it was his widow who put the press into operation in Cambridge, Massa-

chusetts, late in 1638 or early in 1639 with Stephen Day as the business manager and his son Mathew as the actual printer.¹⁸ In this way was printing first established in English-speaking America.

The output of this press bears a similarity to that which we have already noticed in the early days of printing in Mexico and Canada. In each case the works produced fall, almost without exception, into two categories: those which were utilitarian--often connected with the government of the colony--and those of a religious character. The first work issuing from the press was The Oath of a Freeman, a form used by the colonists in affirming allegiance to the government, and the next work was an almanac for 1639.¹⁹ In 1640 was printed the first publication of which copies are extant, The Whole Booke of Psalmes (generally known now as the "Bay Psalm Book"). Although the book clearly falls into our second category, we should also recognize its literary aspirations. The editor was Richard Mather who had composed the new metrical translation from Hebrew into English and added an introduction on the use of the

18 Stephen Day as a printer is described in Thomas, op. cit., I, pp. 227-231. A list of the books printed by Day may be found at pp. 231-234.

19 See Hugh A. Morrison, Preliminary Check-list of American Almanacs, 1639-1800 (Washington, 1907).

20

Psalms in public worship.

In the next fifty years the Cambridge press turned out a variety of works. A book of colonial laws, a list of theses at Harvard College, annual almanacs, catechisms, books on Indian affairs (of which the highlight was the wonderful translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue made by John Eliot and printed in 1663); such were the typical products. The Cambridge press, although responding to the needs of the colony as of course it had to, nevertheless retained a position of unique aloofness. Far more than any other colonial press in the seventeenth century it played a role as heir of the learned presses of Europe, endeavouring successfully to maintain the fine traditions of the craft. Conscious that it had been founded to advance the work of church and commonwealth, it tended to veer away from the material concerns of the colony's inhabitants, its products showing no major interest in their occupations or pastimes.

21

20. Isaiah Thomas accepts the statement of the Rev. Thomas Prince, who edited a revised edition at Boston in 1758, that the translators were Weld and Eliot. See Thomas, op. cit., I, pp. 231-232. Modern scholarship however accords to them a place secondary to that of Mather. See Lawrence C. Wroth, The Colonial Printer (Portland, Maine, 1938), p. 251. See also John T. Winterich, Early American Books and Printing (Boston, 1935), p. 28. The history of the sales of the extant copies and a description of them may be found in Winterich, op. cit., pp. 27-32. A facsimile of the book with an introduction by Wilberforce Eames was published in New York, 1903. Previously (in 1895) he had issued a list of editions of the book.

21. The history of the Cambridge press is told by George E. Littlefield in The Early Massachusetts Press 1638-1711 (2 vols., Boston, 1907). Robert F. Roden, The Cambridge Press, 1639-1693 (New York, 1905), deals with the subject without benefit of comparative material. In the realm of strict technological history, Sidney A. Kimber, The Story of an Old Press (Cambridge, Mass., 1937) deals with the Stephen Day Press.

Colonial literature from 1640 to 1700 was dominated by a curious admixture of religion and fighting fervour which one may perhaps associate with what has been termed 'the Protestant ethic.' Much of it dealt with the wars which were the main concern of the colonists, both those against the Indians and those between the various religious sects in the colony. Most absorbing to them seem to have been religious dogma, boundary disputes, and the legal questions involved in charters and patents. Their purpose of finding a new home where they might be free to worship in the manner decreed by themselves, in a place offering the opportunity to better their economic lot, is fully reflected in this literature.

Religious toleration in Britain came not through the efforts of the nonconformists, but through the action of the state in regulating internal religious strife to prevent serious weakening of the nation's efficiency. In somewhat similar fashion toleration did not spring forth triumphantly from the wisdom and efforts of the early colonists of New England (with the possible exception of Rhode Island). Rather it emerged over the years as the only 'doctrine' upon which all must agree if the society was to prosper. In the seventeenth century the only genuinely altruistic writing was the translating of sermons, service books, and primers into the Indian languages, and in this work John Eliot and Roger Williams were quite outstanding.

22

22 See the essay on the "Eliot Indian Tracts" by George P. Winship in Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce K. Eames, ed. George P. Winship and Lawrence C. Wroth (Cambridge, Mass., 1924). James C. Pilling, Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages (Washington, 1891), pp. 127-184.

Neither Cambridge nor Massachusetts long maintained a monopoly of American printing and in less than a hundred and twenty-five years the art spread to each of the colonies. The history of this expansion and development may most effectively be dealt with on a combined chronological and sectional basis and our starting point is therefore the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Between 1638 and 1692 over two hundred books, pamphlets, and broadsides were produced at the Cambridge press.²³ When Mathew Day died in May, 1649, Samuel Green took over his place, and one may see the character of the early history of the colony highlighted in his career. What opportunity there lay in these first years, what enthusiasm and enterprise were summoned up! Here we see a man, without training as a printer, establishing himself and laying the foundations of a printing family whose members scattered themselves across colonial America, found their way into Canada, and had a massive though often unseen effect upon the history of their times.

In 1649 the English Parliament provided for the creation of "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It was this organization which provided the backbone of money and materials to support Eliot's vigour and ability in the production of Indian translations. Samuel Green was the printer for these worthy works, and so important had the task become that the press was moved to the Indian College. Eliot, however, was unhappy concerning the printing facilities available and wrote to the Corporation which responded in 1660 by sending Marmaduke Johnson, a skilled master printer, to the Bay Colony. Johnson and Green worked together on this difficult assignment and to their

23 John T. Winterich, op. cit., p. 32.

credit produced first the New Testament and then the complete Bible. Johnson, a married man, had fallen in love with Green's daughter and although ordered to leave the country, so valuable to the colony had he become that--Conscience or no--the order was not enforced. Befriended by Eliot, he returned to England and then re-journeyed to Massachusetts with a new press. The General Court (or legislature) issued an order on May 27, 1665 that no printing should take place outside the town of Cambridge--a decision clearly influenced by the 'lobby' of the college and of Green and his friends. Johnson, however, fought the ordinance and nine years later secured permission to establish a press in Boston. Although he died very shortly afterwards, the opportunity was taken up by John Foster. The final victory lay with the great seaport, for after Samuel Green's retirement in 1692 no further printing was carried on at Cambridge for over a century, with the exception of a brief period in the War for Independence when the town was occupied by British troops.²⁴

24 The activities of the Green family as printers are recounted in George B. Littlefield, op. cit., I, pp. 197-209, II, pp. 25-39, 57-61, 69-77. A more extensive, although less detailed, account is to be found in John C. Oswald, Printing in the Americas (New York, 1937), Chapter V. See also Lawrence C. Wroth, The Colonial Printer (Portland, Maine, 1938), pp. 17-21, 188, and entries under the important members of the family, viz., Bartholomew, James, Samuel the Elder, Samuel the Second, Timothy. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The Green Family of Printers," Americana (1932), XXVI, pp. 364-375. Isaiah Thomas discusses the achievements of the members of the family, I, pp. 235-264, 280-282, 283-285, 289-290, 321-323, 347-348, 406-410, 413-414. Of especially noteworthy is his catalogue of books printed by Samuel Green, pp. 252-263.

A reproduction of the title page of the first book printed by Johnson is in Oswald, op. cit., p. 70. On Marmaduke Johnson see Littlefield, op. cit., I, pp. 209-269. This is composed of a large number of extracts, both contemporary and otherwise, which together give us a history of Johnson's printing activities. As the first person in Massachusetts to set up a press owned by the printer himself and the first to open an independent printing office, he is worthy of more attention than he has hitherto received.

Foster, a Harvard graduate, was not only a successful printer but also a versatile craftsman who claims a pioneer place in the history both of American wood engraving and book illustration. Indeed his abilities in these crafts exceeded those he possessed as a printer. In addition he was a bookseller and compiler of an annual almanac.²⁵ Foster was succeeded as Boston's printer by Samuel Sewall, a magistrate so ignorant of the craft that he had to employ Samuel Green, Jr. to print for him. This is a striking illustration of the political linkages attached to the early colonial press. Sewall, however, retired in 1684, and Green died in 1690. The fifth Boston printer was Richard Pierce who in 1690 printed for Benjamin Harris, until lately a London bookseller, the first newspaper in the New World. It was immediately suppressed by the government.²⁶

Until the eighteenth century the press of Boston was able to cater to the needs of the colonies neighbouring Massachusetts Bay, but the growth in population and the consequent increase in the number of settlements revealed the inadequacies of this situation.²⁷ Nor were printers

25 Not very much is known concerning Foster. Isaiah Thomas has little to say. See Littlefield, op. cit., II, pp. 3-17. The most authoritative work upon Foster has been done by Samuel A. Green in somewhat diversified segments. See his "Ten Facsimile Reproductions relating to Boston and Neighbourhood" in Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings (1905, Second Series, XVIII), and also his John Foster, the Earliest American and the First Boston Printer (Boston, 1909).

26 The authority upon restrictions on printing in the Bay Colony is Clyde A. Duniway, The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts (Harvard Historical Studies, XII). See pp. 68-69 for the suppression of Pierce and Harris's Publick Occurrences, both Forreign and Domestick.

27 The peculiar characteristics resulting from the historical developments in each colony are explained in Lawrence H. Gipson, The British Empire Before the Revolution: Vol. III, The British Isles and the American Colonies: The Northern Plantations 1748-1754 (rev. edn., N.Y., 1960), Chapters I-IV. Henceforward this is referred to as Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations, 1748-1754 (N.Y., 1960).

allowed the freedom which many believed to be their right. For many years the official printing of the colony of Connecticut was in the hands of the Green family at Cambridge. Quite naturally, therefore, Governor Saltonstall and his Council asked Timothy Green to become Connecticut's first printer. When he refused, the offer was accepted by Thomas Short of Boston, who in 1709 produced the first Connecticut imprint, an Act of the Assembly of June 8, 1709. The progress of the press was hindered by the colony's proximity to thriving Boston and the rich colony it served, but by 1712 Short had achieved enough to convince Timothy Green who, on Short's death, took over as the colony's printer. For over a century his descendants printed in the major Connecticut towns. Whilst the establishment of Harvard College had been a major factor in the founding of the first press in America, it was not until forty-six years after Short had begun work in Connecticut that New Haven became the home of the colony's first newspaper, The Connecticut Gazette. This fact is made even more striking when we remember that at this time New Haven was the joint capital (with Hartford) of the colony. There can be little doubt that the old yet enterprising printing establishments of Boston were a forbidding hindrance to the expansion of printing in neighbouring colonies. Only five printing houses existed in Connecticut prior to the War for Independence, and these

were located at New London, New Haven, Hartford, and Norwich.²⁸

Printing also came to Rhode Island as an offshoot of Massachusetts enterprise. In 1727 James Franklin, Benjamin's older brother, rebelled against the censorship of the Massachusetts authorities and moved his press to Newport just ninety-one years after the founder of Rhode Island (Roger Williams) had been driven from the Bay Colony for a similar defiance of established authority. Courageously Franklin began the Rhode Island Gazette five years after his arrival. Although it did not flourish, it did inspire the beginnings of permanent and effective journalism in the colony.²⁹ Fittingly it was his widow and his son, James Jr., who brought out in 1758 (twenty-three years after his death) the first lasting newspaper in Rhode Island, the Newport Mercury. On her son's death in 1762 Ann Franklin formed a partnership with Samuel Hall, a Medford, Massachusetts man. However she died one year after her son, and Hall returned to his home colony in 1768, resigning the Newport

28 For the history of colonial printing in Connecticut see William deLoss Love, Thomas Short, the First Printer of Connecticut (Hartford, 1901), James H. Trumbull, List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800 (Hartford, 1904), V. H. Paltsits, "John Holt, Printer and Postmaster. Some Facts and Documents relating to His Career," New York Public Library Bulletin (Sept., 1920), XXIV, pp. 483-499, Albert C. Bates, "The Work of Hartford's First Printer" in Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 345-361. See also his Connecticut Statute Laws (Hartford, 1900) which by listing the editions of the colony's laws up to 1836 accents the importance of legal work to the colonial printer. Compare this with his "Check List of Connecticut Almanacs, 1709-1850" in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (April, 1914), XXIV, pp. 93-215. A convenient summary of the progress of printing in Connecticut is given in John C. Oswald, Printing in the Americas (New York, 1937), Chapter 19. See also Isaiah Thomas, op. cit., I, pp. 405-417.

29 Strictly speaking the first Rhode Island printing was done by Samuel Vernon, a silversmith and metal engraver, who from 1715 to 1737 printed paper money for the colony. Typographical printing, however, was introduced to Rhode Island by James Franklin, as stated in the text. See Oswald, op. cit., p. 239.

printing house to Solomon Southwick.³⁰

Providence in the course of the eighteenth century became the chief city of Rhode Island, and it was fitting that it should have as its first printer someone as able as William Goddard who set up his press in 1762. Later he was to become a distinguished member of American society.³¹ As printer, newspaper publisher of outstanding effectiveness, and as the lone founder of a system of post offices and riders which the Continental Congress in 1775 declared to be the official system of the new republic, he occupies an unique place. Although no rival to the Greenes, the Goddard family did give to America more than the achievements of William. For example, his sister Mary Katherine won herself a place of renown as printer and editor of The Maryland Journal.

Goddard may also claim the honour that it was for him, just five years before the outbreak of the War for Independence, that the first American-made press was constructed by the delightfully named Isaac Doolittle. His Rhode Island ventures were not a success however--in the same way as Connecticut, the colony had difficulty in supporting its printers--and Goddard moved on to the greater opportunities presented by Philadelphia. His mother, with whom he had been in partnership, remained

30 See Howard M. Chapin, "Ann Franklin of Newport, Printer, 1736-1763," Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 337-344. See also his "James Franklin, Jnr., Newport Printer," The American Collector (June, 1926), II, pp. 325-329. George P. Winship, "Newport newspapers in the Eighteenth Century," Bulletin, Newport Historical Society (October, 1914) XIV, deals with other printers as well as the Franklins.

31 On the first days of Providence printing see the revisionary article by Bradford F. Swan, "The First Printing in Providence" in Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth (Portland, Maine, 1951), pp. 365-371. The best account of Goddard is Lawrence C. Wroth's "William Goddard and Some of His Friends," Rhode Island Historical Society Collections (April, 1924), XVII, pp. 33-46. See also his A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1688-1776 (Typhothetae of Baltimore, 1924).

and operated the concern on her own. Then she took as partners first Samuel Islee of New York and then John Carter. Carter, the orphan son of an Irish naval officer, served an apprenticeship under Benjamin Franklin. His connection with the Goddards was the beginning of a career of forty-six years as printer in Providence. In 1799 his son established the Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser, which appeared on Wednesdays to complement his father's newspaper, issued on Saturdays. They were both fortunate to be a part of the prosperity which came to Providence in the latter part of the century but they had also been notable contributors to the formation of the climate of opinion which fostered this advance. Isaiah Thomas described John Carter as "a staunch supporter of the cause of our country," a description applicable to a very large number of colonial printers.³²

Solomon Southwick, the first native born printer of the colony, deserves particular recognition. The son of an illiterate fisherman, he benefitted from the noblesse oblige of one of Newport's most wealthy merchant princes, Henry Collins, who paid for his education in Philadelphia and then established him in business. Southwick and his partner did not succeed but the future printer recouped his losses by marrying Governor John Gardner's daughter. In 1768 he bought the printing works of Samuel Hall who wished to move back to his home colony. Southwick continued the publication of the Newport Mercury, and endeavoured to launch himself into the field of pamphlet publishing. On this latter venture Thomas comments succinctly, "the turbulence of the times checked

32. Isaiah Thomas, op. cit., I, p. 431.

his progress in this branch of printing."³³ Southwick, however, was firmly cast in the revolutionary mold. When the British occupied Newport in 1776, he barely escaped to Rehoboth and then Attleborough, both in Massachusetts. At each place he continued his printing but in November, 1778, moved back to Providence. There, in the following year, he established the American Journal and General Advertiser (which lasted just over two years). As soon as the British evacuated Newport Southwick returned and continued to print there until his retirement in 1787. Ten years later he died, the scarcely-known owner of a noted newspaper which survived into the twentieth century.

Although not occurring within the period being considered, the press established at Newport in 1780 possesses such interest as to demand a brief note. In that year the French fleet under Rochambeau anchored in Newport Roads and was hemmed in there by the British. From the press of the "Neptune" came the first French newspaper to be published in America when the machine was moved on shore during the winter months. The Gazette Françoise (often incorrectly called the Gazette Française) has the imprint "De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, rue de la Pointe, No. 641."³⁴

33 Isaiah Thomas, op. cit., I, p. 423.

34 The Gazette is reproduced in beautiful fashion in Gazette Françoise (New York, 1926) with an introduction by Howard M. Chapin. Allen J. Barthold, "French Journalists in the United States, 1780-1800," Franco-American Review (1936-37), I, pp. 215-230 is of great value and contains a bibliography of French-American newspapers with their present location. He deals in greater detail with the newspaper here discussed in "Gazette Françoise," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America (1934), XXVIII. I am most grateful to Professor Barthold for a reprint of this article and a stimulating conversation on the whole subject.

Yet another colony to benefit from a printer's anger with the Massachusetts authorities was New Hampshire. Although the province had been first settled in 1623, not one printer practised his craft there until 1756 when Daniel Fowle, having been arrested and imprisoned in Boston on a charge of publishing a libel against the government of Massachusetts, yielded to the requests of some Portsmouth gentlemen and set up his press in their town.³⁵ Fowle did little printing of books but, having become government printer, he became responsible for publishing the colony's laws and similar official matters.³⁶ However, he gave the colony its first newspaper, the New-Hampshire Gazette, and thus weakened its dependence upon Boston for the dissemination of news.³⁷ Fowle took his nephew Robert L. Fowle into partnership in 1764, and this situation continued for ten years until Robert moved to Exeter, New Hampshire. In 1775 he became that town's first printer. Thomas describes Daniel Fowle as "agreeable in his manners, liberal in his sentiments, and attached to the cause of his country."³⁸

Robert did not share his political views and it was this which caused their separation. However, his own were not strong enough to

35 The élite which controlled New Hampshire's political affairs was headed by the Wentworth family and had its centre in Portsmouth. See Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations (New York, 1960), pp. 51-53.

36 The order of the first New Hampshire imprints as stated in Fowle's almanac of 1757 is discussed by Charles L. Nichols in Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society (Oct., 1915), XXV, pp. 327-330.

37 A facsimile of the first page of the first number of the newspaper is reproduced in John C. Oswald, op. cit., p. 263. The breakdown under Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire's dependence upon Massachusetts Bay in political and economic matters is vividly described by Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations (N.Y., 1960), pp. 48-51.

38 Thomas, op. cit., I, p. 433.

prevent him from printing for the old government in 1774 and the new one in 1775.³⁹ Suspected of counterfeiting the New Hampshire currency, he fled to the British lines in New York. With other refugees he became a pensioner of the British government. At the close of the war he returned to the colony and found that his brother, Zechariah, who had succeeded him at Exeter, had died.⁴⁰ Promptly he married his sister-in-law and resumed business in the newly founded state.

The other printer who was in business in the colony prior to 1775 was Thomas Furber. The establishment of his press had strong political overtones. After having served an apprenticeship under Daniel Fowle he was responsible for erecting New Hampshire's second printing press under conditions which Thomas described thus: "Some zealous Whigs, who thought the Fowles were too timid in the cause of liberty, or their press too much under the influence of the officers of the crown, encouraged Furber to set up a second press in the province; he, in consequence opened a printing house in Portsmouth, toward the end of 1764, and soon after published a newspaper."⁴¹ In 1765 he took Ezekiel Russell into partnership but it was not a successful enterprise which Russell was joining. The firm

39 The attitudes of Robert Fowle in the crucial years 1774-1775 seem to have been truly equivocal. His publication of the Exeter, New-Hampshire Gazette was in effect a continuation of his uncle's Portsmouth newspaper after Daniel had created trouble for himself by the publication of a letter opposing Independence. Yet the first number of Robert's newspaper advertised that Thomas Paine's Common Sense was on sale at the printer's office. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence (New York, 1958), pp. 258-259.

40 Zechariah, on the escape of Robert, had established a decidedly Revolutionary newspaper, the Exeter Journal or New-Hampshire Gazette.

41 Thomas, op. cit., I, p. 434.

was quickly broken up and the partnership dissolved. Although the indolence and lack of technical skill of Furber were hardly helpful, the crucial factor in the firm's downfall was a far more important and significant element. Except for the newspaper the Portsmouth Mercury and Weekly Advertiser, it printed "only a few hand bills and blanks."⁴² The partners lacked the essential revenue-producing patronage of the government with its constant demand for the printing of official documents. Nevertheless, the setting up of a press with the avowed aim of defending "the People, whose liberties are dearer to them than their lives" in defiance of the government-sponsored printer, demonstrates two facts of major importance.⁴³ When the Mercury was founded the Stamp Act was something apprehended rather than arrived, yet the New Hampshire Whigs felt sufficient distrust of the existing organ to form a new one. Secondly, in a colony as scantily populated as New Hampshire there was not enough support for their views to carry the paper against the forces of pressure possessed by the Establishment.⁴⁴

From this account of New England printing in the years before the War for Independence it is clear that Massachusetts in general, and Boston in particular, formed the hub of cultural life and dominated the literary activities of the region. Simultaneously it provided the lead

42 Thomas, op. cit., I, p. 434.

43 Quoted in Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 75.

44 The population of the province in 1737 according to Governor Belcher was 11,000 whites and 200 blacks. (This is probably an under-estimate, conditioned by his desire to unite the province with Massachusetts Bay under his governorship.) In 1755 it was estimated to be 30,000. See Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations (N.Y., 1960), p. 51, n., and the references there cited which demonstrate the weakness of all estimates of colonial population.

in political affairs and heavily influenced the formation of political attitudes in the neighbouring colonies. In the middle colonies a role no less influential was played by the city which by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most important centre in the American colonies. In the years between 1750 and 1775 Philadelphia held an outstanding position as the largest, most wealthy, and culturally the most important city on the North American sub-continent.⁴⁵ With regard to printing, the relationship of Philadelphia to the middle colonies was similar to that of Boston to New England. Philadelphia, whilst possessing a cultural influence possibly broader than its New England rival, could also claim--almost solely through the enterprise of Benjamin Franklin--to have fathered printing in the neighbouring colonies. However, these adjacent territories (with the exception of New York) did not derive their typographical origins from Philadelphia printers in the way that Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire owed the establishment of printing directly to Massachusetts craftsmen. Nevertheless, the dominant position of the city in the life of the middle colonies, particularly in cultural affairs was an established fact.⁴⁶

Although from its beginning the press of Philadelphia was the chief one of the middle colonies, it was not until the middle of the

45 The population and wealth of Philadelphia are discussed in Lawrence H. Gipson, op. cit., pp. 168-170. See also Carl H. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt (New York, 1955), pp. 216-217.

46 The cultural life of Philadelphia is treated by Lawrence H. Gipson, op. cit., pp. 170-173. Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin (New York, 1942).

eighteenth century that it usurped the place of leadership from Boston.⁴⁷

Philadelphia printing began in 1685. The young printer who was responsible for this important event was William Bradford who had arrived with William Penn three years previously. He returned to England to marry his former master's daughter and came back to the colony with a printing press, a letter from George Fox (founder of the Society of Friends), and

a wife.⁴⁸ Pennsylvania proudly and correctly claimed that it was a colony which practised toleration in all spheres, and it is therefore significant

47 For the development of printing in Pennsylvania see Douglas C. McMurtrie, Middle and Atlantic States, Vol. II in a projected 4 volume History of Printing in the United States of which only this volume was completed (New York, 1936), pp. 1-99. Charles R. Hildeburn, A Century of Printing: The Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania, 1685-1784 (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1885).

48 The order of importance attached to these acquisitions is that of a historian, not that of Bradford! There is no adequate biography of William Bradford, Sr., and accounts of his work as a printer and that of his family are not quantitatively or qualitatively comparable to those on the other great printing family, the Greens. John W. Wallace, An Address delivered at the Celebration by the New York Historical Society of the Two Hundredth Birthday of Mr. William Bradford (Albany, N.Y., 1863), although eulogistic and rambling, may still be recommended. Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, "William Bradford, the First Printer in the Middle Colonies," an address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Nov. 11, 1935. This manuscript has not been published but the original is at the Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia, Pa.

His son Andrew receives comprehensive treatment in Anna J. Dearmond's Ph.D. thesis, "Andrew Bradford" presented at the Univ. of Pennsylvania, and there available for examination. All too briefly Henry L. Bullen grouped together the achievements of the family in "The Bradford Family of Printers," American Collector (1926), I, pp. 148-156, 164-170. See also John W. Wallace, "Early Printing in Philadelphia: The Friends Press - Interregnum of the Bradfords," Pennsylvania Magazine of History (1880), IV, pp. 432-444. However, the Mss. Room of the Pennsylvania Historical Society possesses materials concerning the Bradford family which have not been fully utilised. Of particular interest, since they help to fill in areas where our knowledge is scanty, are the list of subscribers to the Pennsylvania Journal for the crucial years, 1764-1775, and a list of subscribers to the American Magazine for 1757. The manuscript volume entitled "The Thomas Bradford Library Register, 1771-1772" is an invaluable piece of specific evidence to aid us in the difficult task, by no means yet accomplished, of tracing the readers of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines, in the last years of the colonial period.

to recall that Bradford was summoned before the governor, four years after he had set up his press, for printing without authority an edition of the Penn Charter. He was put under bond of five hundred pounds but was in part compensated because the disapproval by the Society of Friends of this action was so strong that they voted him a salary of forty pounds a year, and guaranteed to buy two hundred copies of every book he should publish with their advice. It is difficult to see that the printer had achieved very much more than receive religious censorship of a milder sort rather than the political censorship to which he was still subject. In 1692 Bradford was again in trouble with the authorities for printing an address written by George Keith, who had been appointed by the Society of Friends to superintend the schools. All those involved, with the exception of Bradford, were convicted and fined. His case remained unsettled until it was dismissed upon the intervention of Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York.⁴⁹ Bradford then took up residence in his benefactor's colony and became Royal Printer.

Before leaving Pennsylvania Bradford had established the first paper mill in the American colonies. He erected it in 1690 near Germantown--the site is in the present Fairmount Park in Philadelphia--with Samuel Carpenter and William Rittenhouse as his partners. After being destroyed by floods in 1701 the mill was rebuilt, and for many years held a monopoly in colonial paper-making. Indeed the enterprise provided the basis for the position of pre-eminence which Pennsylvania maintained

49 The history of the Keith address and the subsequent trial is recounted at length by Thomas, op. cit., II, pp. 10-24.

in paper making throughout the colonial period.⁵⁰

The most famous name in American printing of any era is that of Benjamin Franklin. His father, Josiah, came to America from England in 1685, and of his ten sons and seven daughters James, Benjamin, and Ann entered the printing trade. Although cutting across colonial boundaries it is most fitting that we speak of Benjamin Franklin as a printer against a background of his family work, for the importance of familial relationships, which Professor Laslett has emphasised for the seventeenth century, remained undimmed in the eighteenth.

James, whilst still a youth, returned to his father's village of Ecton, near Banbury, and secured employment as a printer's apprentice. Later he moved to London and returned to Boston in 1717 with a printing press and types. There he set up his business in competition with the two existing printing offices, confident not only of his own abilities but also of the possibilities for the expansion of the printing industry in the colony. His first important opportunity came two years later when he secured an order to print a weekly newspaper, the Gazette, published by William Brooker, the postmaster. Seven months elapsed and then Brooker was replaced by Philip Musgrave who transferred the printing to Samuel Kneeland. James Franklin, with a determination typical of his family, remained undaunted. With verve and energy he decided to start a newspaper of his own, capitalising upon his superior abilities and training. To his technical and personal advantages he could add the encouragement, advice, and support of a number of young friends, who shared his own pronounced

50 On this subject see Dard Hunter, Paper Making in Pioneer America (Philadelphia, 1952).

views upon religion, government, and public affairs. He and his young companions possessed ideas of radical complexion and it was little wonder that staid Bostonians dubbed them "Free Thinkers" or, less respectably, the "Hell Fire Club." The newspaper, which James called the New England Courant, was a fiery sheet fully living up to its editorial advertisement which declared that "to expose the Vices and Follies of Persons of all Ranks and Degrees, under feign'd Names, is what no honest man will object against; and this the Publisher, by the Assistance of his Correspondents is resolv'd to pursue, without Fear of, or Affection to Any Man."⁵¹

Benjamin Franklin did not merely stand by while this brilliant star burned over the printing horizon. In addition to serving as his brother's apprentice he wrote numerous articles under the whimsical pen-name of "Silence Dogood."

Certainly the Courant, by the importance it gave to editorial conferences and the liveliness and lightness of its tone, breathed a gust of fresh air into colonial journalism. Such boldness, if directed into political areas, could not be tolerated long and in 1722 James Franklin had his first brush with the authorities. When he repeated his offence he was forbidden to print anything at all without prior approval of the Secretary of the Province. Unabashed, James simply substituted Benjamin's name for his own as the newspaper's printer, but his younger brother re-

51 Benjamin Franklin incorrectly called the newspaper the second to be published in the colonies. Rather it was the fourth, being preceded by the Boston News-Letter (1704), the Boston Gazette (1719) and the American Weekly Mercury (Philadelphia, 1719). See the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Max Farrand (Berkeley, California, 1948), p. 21. This edition has numerous advantages because it embodies Farrand's extensive and intensive knowledge of the extant manuscripts and also for its stimulating introduction. The work is henceforward referred to as Franklin, Autobiography (ed. Farrand).

fused to be used in this manner.⁵² He declared that their business relations were severed and his hot-headed brother thereupon persuaded the other printers in the locality to refuse Benjamin employment. Thus, driven from Boston and having found no suitable employment in New York City, it is not at all surprising that Benjamin Franklin found his way to the second most important printing centre in the colonies. James, for his part, became Rhode Island's first printer in 1727.⁵³

Benjamin secured a job in the printshop of Samuel Keimer, but only a year and a half later he was sailing to London. He there gained further experience when he was forced to work for Samuel Palmer and John Watts.⁵⁴

The need for enterprising craftsmen to utilize the latest British machines and technical skill is stressed for us by the importance these advantages, gained from their respective sojourns in England, had in the careers of James and Benjamin Franklin. On his return Benjamin again joined Keimer, but his ambition was such that he could not long serve another. In 1728 he formed a partnership with Hugh Meredith and set up business, using equipment obtained from England. The first complete work printed by the new firm was Franklin's own, but unsigned, pamphlet, A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency. As a

52 The Courant carried Benjamin's name as publisher for all the remaining numbers which are extant, and probably until the paper's demise in 1726.

53 For details of James and his sister Ann the reader is referred to p.60+1 of this thesis and the writings there cited.

54 Benjamin's training in England came about accidentally, and resulted from his leaning too heavily upon the shallow promises of financial aid which he had received from Governor Keith. Stranded in London, he turned his hand to the only trade he knew.

result of this work the House of Representatives gave the firm the task of printing the money which, as Franklin himself said, was a "very profitable job and a great help to me." Financial difficulties faced the firm when Meredith's father did not honour his promise to provide financial aid. At this juncture Meredith desired to leave and Franklin, borrowing heavily from friends, bought him out by the simple process of assuming his debts in Philadelphia and giving him a saddle and thirty pounds so that he might journey to North Carolina and there set himself up as a farmer. The pamphlet he had written had already revealed that the young man was ahead of his times in his swift analysis of the key questions facing the society in which he found himself. With this important ability as only one of a vast number of admirable qualities he

commanded, he commenced business upon his own. ⁵⁵

55 Every historian is inundated by the volume of material upon Franklin available to him. For the purposes of this thesis only the outstanding general works and those especially related to Franklin as a printer were utilised. The libraries of Philadelphia, especially those of the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, abound in Franklin manuscript materials. For the average reader, however, the great project of Leonard W. Labaree and Whitefield J. Bell, Jr. of editing the writings of Franklin with the title The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven, Conn., in progress) will put in his hands new materials, hitherto in the archives, embodied in an edition which promises to replace all its predecessors.

The two outstanding biographies are those of James Parton, The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (2 vols., Boston, 1867) and Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1938).

The most important writings on Franklin as a printer are John C. Oswald, Benjamin Franklin, Printer (New York, 1917), William B. Clary, B. Franklin, Printer and Publisher (Los Angeles, 1935) and the following articles: William E. Lingelbach, "B. Franklin, Printer; New Source Materials," Proceedings, American Philosophical Society (1948), XLIV, pp. 79-100; Henry Bullen presents an interesting approach in "Benjamin Franklin and What Printing Did for Him," American Collector (1926), II, pp. 284-291; Edwin Wolf, 2nd, "Franklin's Way to Wealth as a Printer," Philadelphia Forum (1949), XXVII, pp. 7-8, 23, 28, throws new light upon this aspect.

Closely related topics are George S. Eddy, "Dr. Benjamin's Franklin's Library," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society (1924), XXIV, pp. 206-226, Thomas Coulson, "Benjamin Franklin and the Post Office," Journal of the Franklin Institute (1950), CCL, pp. 191-212, and Asa D. Dickinson, "Benjamin Franklin: Bookman," Bookman (1921) LIII, pp. 197-205.

The catholicity of Franklin's interests and achievements are well outlined in Paul L. Ford, The Many-Sided Franklin (New York, 1899) and Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, The All-Embracing Doctor Franklin (Philadelphia, 1932).

Two further works are included for the sidelight they throw upon a theme in this thesis--the dependence of colonial culture, and printing in particular, upon the British literary heritage and technical accomplishments: Verner W. Crane, Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American (Baltimore, 1936) and Conyers Read, "The English Elements in Benjamin Franklin," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (1940), LXIV, pp. 314-330. Esmond Wright, "Dr. Franklin: A Tradesman in the Age of Reason" presents a scintillating miniature of the man. (This footnote is continued on the following page.)

To meet one of the colony's most vital needs he decided to issue a newspaper. After Franklin's own indiscretion had allowed Keimer to enter the field first, he was able to buy his rival out when the Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences; and Pennsylvania Gazette was forced to an undignified close. Franklin shortened the title to the Pennsylvania Gazette and by the application of his business genius drove the paper into its position as one of the leaders of colonial journalism. Only twenty-three years of age, he already commanded eleven years experience as printer, publisher, editor, and writer in the two major cities of the northern and middle colonies. He had at least as much vigour and energy as his brother, James, but in addition was possessed of the indispensable quality of being able to get along well with others. In 1732 he began the Philadelphische Zeitung and also Poor Richard's Almanack. Nine years later he established the General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, but discontinued it after six editions. In the same year he published one of the earliest American medical treatises and three years later the first American reprint of a novel (Samuel Richardson's Pamela).

"Franklin cast type sorts, made printing ink, improved the printing press, drew pen-and-ink sketches, engraved wood blocks, and printed money for the colonies. In practically all these operations he

55 (Continued from preceding page.)

A legion of other works exist; ~~not~~ cited here because ~~not~~ used by this writer, and the reader is urged to proceed to the standard bibliographies in his own endeavour to analyse the unique genius of Franklin. It may be useful to note that in recent years the Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America have usually contained an annual list of writings on Franklin.

was a pioneer."⁵⁶ The genius of Franklin is incredible, his brilliance inexplicable, and the range of his achievements incomparable. The partnership of Franklin and Meredith introduced a new and higher standard of printing to Pennsylvania and the neighbouring colonies. Franklin was an exacting and careful craftsman and his diligence was a main attraction for new business. Indeed the firm became printers to the House of Representatives by the simple device of reprinting an address, commissioned from Andrew Bradford, in a far better quality. The Pennsylvania Gazette must be regarded as one of Franklin's finest efforts. It was as lively as his brother's Courant but benefited both from Benjamin's greater tact and sense of responsibility and the more tolerant outlook of the Pennsylvania authorities. The Gazette was a financial success in the main because the vastly improved quality of its format and content (compared to Keimer's issues) attracted a large number of advertisements. Franklin was personally responsible for much of the writing which appeared in the newspaper. Letters written by Franklin under pseudonyms, his answers as editor, advice to the lovelorn, witty comments on the foibles of the times, caustic comments upon individuals (especially his competitors), supported by fine techniques and a rare attention to detail--these were the devices and qualities which gave his newspaper its dominant position. Yet he was careful to refrain from anything which could be regarded as a definite attack on an individual.⁵⁷

56 — John C. Oswald, Printing in the Americas (New York, 1937), p. 124. See Franklin, Autobiography (ed. Farrand) pp. 77-78 for the changes effected by, ~~and the growth in circulation of,~~ the Gazette.

57 McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 30. See also Verner W. Crane (ed.) Benjamin Franklin: Letters to the Press, 1758-1775 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1950).

Franklin produced the Gazette on his own until 1748 when he formed a partnership with David Hall with whom he published the paper until his retirement as an active partner in 1765. The Gazette continued to be published until 1815 and during the remainder of Franklin's lifetime provided him with a handsome income. Although we have no conclusive proof of his involvement, we do know that Franklin was in partnership with Johann Böhm during the period from 1749 to 1751 when the Philadelphier Teutsche Fama appeared. Böhm died in July, 1751, and in August of that year Franklin established the first bilingual newspaper in the colonies. Given the title Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung: The High-Dutch and English Gazette, it lasted only five months until its withdrawal by Franklin who pointed out that "one of the same kind being now done in Lancaster" there was no need for his.⁵⁸ In 1755 he became involved with yet another German language newspaper which used the same title as his first one, the Philadelphische Zeitung. To aid in the founding of the paper Franklin sold his fine stock of German printing equipment for less than its value, an action the more understandable in view of the fact that he was a trustee of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge Among the Germans in Pennsylvania, which was responsible for the publication.

Franklin, the major American thinker on political, economic and scientific matters in the colonial period, recognized very clearly that printing was more than a trade.⁵⁹ He realized the limitless possi-

58. In January, 1752 Müller and Holland established the bilingual Lancastersche Zeitung which continued for two years.

59. See, for example, his Autobiography (ed. Farrand), p. 118.

bilities of the printed word by direct acquaintance with it, both as writer and printer. As early as 1740 he had seen the need to bring the American colonies together into some sort of union and this overwhelming desire is the key to the last group of activities which we shall mention.

To meet this need he proposed to publish a political and historical magazine with the hope of giving his readers some sense of the British Empire and using the most successful English magazines as his model. The plan lost its main hope of success when Franklin's proposed editor betrayed it to his arch-rival, Andrew Bradford. It was the last great battle which the two printers were to wage. As Franklin rose in prestige as a printer, rivalry, even enmity, took the place of the friendship which originally existed between the two men. Franklin used the columns of the Gazette to attack Bradford's paper the Mercury.⁶⁰ Untouched in his pride Bradford began to take notice when his pocket was affected, as Franklin steadily won from him contracts for printing the official documents of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and lastly of Virginia.⁶¹ On the other hand, Franklin in his turn lost ground as a result of the anti-Masonic feeling.⁶² Neither Bradford nor Franklin's magazine was successful, the first lasting only three issues, the General Magazine appearing for six months (6 issues). From 1730 to 1765 Franklin annually printed the laws of Pennsylvania and, in addition, did the greater proportion of the other public printing required by the authorities. Despite

60 . An example of the sly attacks made by Franklin upon Bradford's Mercury may be found in McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 30.

61 Bernard Fay, Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times (Boston, 1929), p. 175.

62 See Fay, op. cit., pp. 174, 202 for comparative figures of publications by Bradford and Franklin for the period 1731-1739.

his undoubted business acumen and his successful exploration of new printing fields his prestige and wealth were ultimately based--as they had to be--upon official approval and custom. This, in his case, was won as much by the clear superiority of his typography as by personal diplomacy and sound "investment" of money in key individuals.

The second aspect of Franklin's broad-based view of printing is represented in the changes made by him when in 1758 he became deputy postmaster for the colonies. Postmasters had previously possessed discretion in the sending of newspapers through the mails and since they were, almost without exception, printers also, it was an office coveted for the opportunities it gave to harrass one's rivals by severely limiting their market. Indeed these competitors could only obtain a circulation outside their immediate locality by bribing the postriders or establishing their own means for distribution.⁶³ Franklin, who had suffered from this disadvantage at the hands of Andrew Bradford, withdrew the privilege of free distribution, established a charge of ninepence per annum for each fifty miles of carriage, and prohibited discrimination against any newspaper.

The partnerships which Franklin formed were not merely more numerous than those of any other colonial printer but again serve as an indication of the lack of provincialism in the man. We have already mentioned his first partnership with William Meredith. Shortly after this ended Franklin began the first of his "silent" partnerships--the supplying of materials and financial aid for a printer working out-

63 The experience of Goddard in Rhode Island is a good example. The honourable advantages of a postmaster's position were described by Franklin himself. See Autobiography (ed. Farrand), p. 125-26.

side Philadelphia--when he sent Thomas Whitmarsh to South Carolina. There can be no doubt that the shrewd Franklin hoped to receive at least part of the thousand pounds which the South Carolina Assembly had offered to any printer who would settle in the colony and do the official printing. In any event, Whitmarsh, who had worked for Franklin in Philadelphia after becoming acquainted with him in London, did not receive the appointment. On Whitmarsh's death, Franklin sent another of his assistants, Louis Timothée, to South Carolina to succeed Whitmarsh and continue the South Carolina Gazette.⁶⁴ Timothée had served as editor and translator for Franklin's short-lived Philadelphische Zeitung, later worked as librarian of the Philadelphia Library Society, and in 1733 returned to Franklin to work as a journeyman. The success of his partnership with Timothée encouraged Franklin to engage in others and this was part of the intricate network of linkages which he formed across the colonies. He and his brother James resumed amicable relationships and Benjamin Franklin took James Jr. as his apprentice.⁶⁵ At the end of his period of service Franklin provided him with a fresh supply of types and equipment which James took with him to Newport, Rhode Island, where in 1758 he realized his long-cherished dream of establishing a newspaper, The Newport Mercury, or, The Weekly Advertiser. By this time he had been in business on his own for ten years and for two years had printed the colony's money.

A striking partnership was formed with Benjamin Mecom, another of Franklin's nephews. Mecom had learned to print at Franklin's

64 See Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (1906), XXX, p. 104 for a copy of the agreement between Franklin and Timothée.

65 Franklin, Autobiography (ed. Farrand), p. 123.

New York printing shop which was managed for him by James Parker. At the end of his apprenticeship Mecom went to Antigua to manage a printing business which was owned by his uncle. Franklin wrote to William Strahan of London in May, 1753: "I have settled a nephew of mine in Antigua in the place of Mr. Smith, deceased. I take him to be a very honest, industrious lad, and hope he will do well there, and in time be of some use to you as a correspondent. Please to send him a little cargo of books and stationery agreeable to the invoice below. I will send you a bill on this account perhaps on the next ship." ⁶⁶ Mecom stayed at Antigua from 1752 to 1756 and his main activity seems to have been the printing of the Antigua Gazette. Returning to Philadelphia in December, 1756, Mecom went on to Boston, where he opened a shop in July, 1757, thus reversing his uncle's sequence of locations. In 1763 he moved to New York where very briefly he printed the New-York Pacquet but soon he was again in debt, this time to his old master, James Parker. His uncle came to his rescue on this occasion also, securing for him the post of deputy-postmaster at New Haven, Connecticut, where Parker was the official postmaster. He also became manager of Parker's New Haven press and from 1765 to 1768 revived the Connecticut Gazette. Moving to Philadelphia in 1768 Mecom, the insatiable, began the very short-lived Penny-Post. When this failed he became a liquor merchant, but returned to printing when he joined William Goddard who was then producing the Pennsylvania Chronicle. When Goddard moved to Boston in 1774, Mecom worked for Isaac Collins at Burlington, New Jersey. Two years later he was pronounced insane.

66. Wilberforce Eames, "The Antigua Press and Benjamin Mecom," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (1928), XXXVIII, p. 309.

Although the official partnership with Franklin ended at the close of Mecom's stay in Antigua, the evidence presented above clearly demonstrates that the brilliant, likeable, but quite unbusinesslike young man was dependent upon Franklin for his whole career. Yet to him belongs the credit for being the first in America to try stereotype printing, although, as one would expect, it was not a commercial success.⁶⁷ The other partnerships of Franklin must be mentioned only briefly here for they are important to us only insofar as they serve to show the wide contacts of this remarkable man and demonstrate the importance of his printing contacts in giving Franklin both information and a broadened base for his political and economic thoughts. Franklin was connected with the firm of Müller and Holland which established the Lancastersche Zeitung and he started William Daniell on his career.⁶⁸ Daniell was one of the first printers in Jamaica and the first public printer there.⁶⁹ Franklin's interest in the German language press led him to commence publication of a series of German almanacs, Neu-Eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calendar and this introduced a long association with

67 This information is given by Thomas, op. cit., II, p. 68.

68 See Frank Diffenderfer, "Early German Printers of Lancaster and the Issues of their Press," Proceedings of the Lancaster Historical Society (1904), III.

69 See Frank Cundall, "The Press and Printers of Jamaica to 1820," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (1916), XXVI, pp. 290-412, which contains a very full bibliography of Jamaican imprints.

the Armbrüster brothers, Gotthard and Anton, and with Johann Böhm.⁷⁰

Franklin's most important partner outside Philadelphia was James Parker who will be discussed in the next chapter.

The importance of familial relationships is re-emphasized by the position occupied by the Sower (or Saur) family in the history of Pennsylvania printing and their work may also serve to underline the presence in that colony of a most important non-English press.⁷¹

Christopher Sower entered the printing trade in response to his realization that the German community in Pennsylvania was large enough and sufficiently aware of its separate identity to warrant a German press.⁷²

From his foundation of the first German press in Germantown (also the first press in Pennsylvania, located outside Philadelphia), which took place in 1738, there grew up an independent-minded, highly provincial press which nourished the German religious sects and greatly aided them in the maintenance of a distinctive way of life.

70 Franklin's relations with the Armbrüsters are by no means clear. McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 47-49 has endeavoured to start the work of establishing precisely what they were. Many of his most important conclusions are given in the footnotes at the end of the volume.

71 On the Sower family the following may be consulted: Felix Reichmann, Christopher Sower Snr. 1694-1758, Printer in Germantown (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation pamphlet, 1943); Otto W. Fuhrmann, "Christopher Sauer, Colonial Printer," American-German Review (1935), I, pp. 39-44; Edward W. Hocker, "The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times," Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society (1948), LIII; W. M. Hornor, "Notes Concerning the Publication of the Saur Bible," American Collector (1927), V, pp. 60-68; James Knauss, "Christopher Saur the Third," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (1931), XLI, pp. 235-253.

72 We reject Oswald's suggestion that Sower's entry into printing was accidental in view of the documentary evidence provided by McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

Only one year later Sower issued a newspaper Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber.⁷³ In 1766 he began another paper Wahre und Wahrscheinliche Begebenheiten (True and Probable Happenings). Sower's greatest work was the bible he printed in 1743 which constituted the second bible to be printed in the American colonies. The supply of paper which he expected from England did not arrive and the existing Pennsylvania paper mills would not cooperate; thus Sower found himself launched into the paper-making business. In addition, Sower did excellent bookbinding and type-casting and the range of his known accomplishments makes acceptable his own statement that he was competent in twenty-six crafts. A man of outstanding piety, philanthropy, and determination, Christopher Sower demonstrates clearly that the printer's trade in the eighteenth century attracted on occasion men of the very highest stature.

Christopher Sower Jr. continued his father's business and maintained the Pensylvanische Berichte. In this enterprise he was joined from 1776 to 1777--when he retired--by his two sons, Christopher and Peter. The third Christopher also published Ein Geistliches Magazien from 1764 to 1771 but found, as Franklin had done before him, that the colonial population was not yet ready for this type of publication.⁷⁴ The Magazien appeared at very sporadic intervals. The Sowers were

73 On October 16, 1745, the name was changed to Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Berichte and on June 16, 1746, to Pensylvanische Berichte. In 1762 it was renamed Germantowner Zeitung and in 1777 Der Pensylvanische Staats-Courier.

74 Still a classic work on this subject is Albert H. Smyth, The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741-1850 (Philadelphia, 1892).

drastically affected by the War for Independence. Christopher Sower, Jr. was a bishop in the Church of the German Baptist Brethren at Germantown. Dedicated to pacificism and committed not to take an oath, he quarrelled with the Pennsylvania legislature and as a result lost all his property, including his printing works. His son Christopher, however, was clearly a Loyalist and joined the British forces in Philadelphia after the battle of Germantown (October, 1777).⁷⁵ During the British occupation of the city Christopher and his brother resumed the printing of the German-towner Zeitung under the name of Pennsylvanische Staats Courier. When Philadelphia was evacuated the brothers fled to New York, and after the war Christopher went first to England, then to New Brunswick where he became Royal Printer. Daniel Sower, son of the third Christopher Sower, took over the paper mill of his father, but this was confiscated by the revolutionary forces. He then opened one of his own but shortly afterwards abandoned this also and turned to farming. In 1799 David Sower became the first printer in Norristown, Pennsylvania. There his family continued to print the local paper for many years. The tradition of pacificism was by no means dead for his son Charles occasioned a mob attack on the printing office by his staunch opposition to the War of 1812. Samuel Sower, the youngest son of Christopher Sower III, established a type foundry at Baltimore and also operated a printing press there. Of Christopher Sower, Jr. it has been said that "He developed the German

75 On the subject of German language printing during the war years see John L. Stoudt, "The German Press in Pennsylvania and the American Revolution," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (1935) pp. 74-90.

printing trade to proportions unequalled in Colonial America,"⁷⁶ The achievements of the family as a whole form a remarkable chapter in the history of American printing and this not least because of their stubborn adherence to religious and political beliefs.

When William Bradford quitted Philadelphia in 1693 he left the city (and therefore the colony), without a printer, and when he arrived in New York City and set up his business as Royal Printer he was the only printer in that colony. Thomas records almost three score names of printers who practised their craft in Pennsylvania before the end of the eighteenth century and just over a score of names for New York. The

76 Martin G. Brumbaugh, "Life and Work of Bishop Christopher Sower" in Bishop Christopher Sower of Germantown, Memorial Services (Germantown, 1899), p. 12. Quoted in McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 74.

In addition to the Sower enterprises German language printing in Pennsylvania prior to 1775 was being executed at Ephrata, Lancaster, Chestnut Hill (nr. Philadelphia), Friedensthal (nr. Bethlehem) and before the end of the century at Reading and Easton. See McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 70-83.

For the German press in colonial Pennsylvania the reader is referred to Alfred L. Shoemaker, Check List of Imprints of the German Press of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1766-1905 (Easton, Pa., 1943). Carl Wittke, The German Language Press in America (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957) devotes only twenty pages to the colonial period but is valuable for the general historical background he presents and his sound generalizations. Oswald Seidensticker, The First German Printing in America, 1728-1830 (Philadelphia, 1893) is a standard work but should be compared with Hildeburn's Century of Printing and discrepancies resolved by reference to McMurtrie, History of Printing. James O. Knauss, Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America (Lancaster, Pa., 1922) is an invaluable study and a pioneer work for the student utilizing newspapers for the writing of 'social history.' The publications of the local historical societies in counties heavily colonised by the Germans should also be consulted and for guidance Emil Meynen, Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America (Leipzig, 1937) and Pennsylvania Bibliography: Articles Published by Societies belonging to the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies (Harrisburg, 1933) should be used.

growth in population, wealth, and culture in both colonies is well reflected in these figures.

As in the case of Pennsylvania no attempt will be made to provide a complete picture of the early history of printing in New York, but on a similarly selective basis the important developments will be shown. The careers of five outstanding printers, William Bradford, John Zenger, James Parker, H. John Holt, and Hugh Gainé will form the basis of our story. We have already noticed that Bradford came to New York as a result of the intervention of Governor Fletcher who saw an opportunity to meet the colony's need for a printer, and this need is further emphasised by the fact that in 1695 Bradford was appointed Printer to the Municipality and his stipend increased from forty to sixty pounds per annum. In 1702 it was further increased to seventy-five pounds and in the following year he became Printer to New Jersey. Bradford as early as 1686 had seen the possibilities of Manhattan as a market for books and had formed an arrangement with John Brown of Flushing for selling books in the New York area.⁷⁷ Furthermore, he ingeniously used Fletcher's temporary appointment as Governor of Pennsylvania (in addition to his New York post) to free himself from those authorities in Pennsylvania whom he had consistently offended by his refusal to be subjected to their regulations concerning printing. Having a month in New York when no official printing could come his way Bradford employed himself in the printing of two pamphlets

77 The little known subject of book-selling in colonial America is illuminated by the contribution of Gerald D. McDonald, "William Bradford's Book Trade and John Bowne, Long Island Quaker as his Book Agent, 1686-1691" in Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth (Portland, Maine, 1951), pp. 209-223. Bowne is the same person as the Brown referred to by McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

attacking the groups in Pennsylvania at whose hands he had so recently suffered. "These are believed to represent the first printing done in New York."⁷⁸

We have already remarked that the historian knows less concerning William Bradford than he would desire but for our present purposes his career is important for two things. Firstly, that he was the pioneer of printing in New York and that he served as printer to the colony from 1693 to 1742, with the exception of 1737 and 1738 when his rival Peter Zenger obtained the contracts. Secondly, he established for himself a fine reputation as a citizen and personifies the station which the American master printer could obtain in colonial society. He became a freeman of New York in 1695, left the Quakers for the more socially acceptable Anglican church, and became a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1703 to 1710. Indeed, the church sponsored his printing of the first American edition of the Book of Common Prayer, but both lost money on the enterprise.⁷⁹ In 1725 Bradford commenced the printing of the New-York Gazette, the first newspaper to be published in the province. Although he continued it for nineteen years it was by no means an impressive piece of work, being poorly printed and lacking any sort of editorial distinction. However, it was at least consistent in its policy, steadily supporting the interests of the government whom Bradford also served as Royal Printer. When Bradford brought the Gazette to a close, this step also marked the

78 McMurry, op. cit., p. 137. See also Wilberforce Eames, "The First Year of Printing in New York," Bulletin, New York Public Library, (January, 1928).

79 See Horatio G. Jones, The Bradford Prayer Book, 1710 (Philadelphia, 1870), which suffers from his usual pompousness.

end of his career as a printer.⁸⁰

The next printer in New York with whom we shall deal had a career quite different from that of mild, respectable William Bradford. No less an authority than Douglas McMurtrie claimed that the trial of John Peter Zenger "established the principle of the freedom of the press in British North America."⁸¹ This trial, together with "the establishment of the first regular newspaper a third of a century earlier, marked the high spots of the first hundred years of American journalism."⁸²

Zenger, newly arrived from Germany, became an apprentice to Bradford in 1710 and on completion of this went to Maryland, where he became public printer with permission to print the "Laws of the Severall Countys." He was not successful financially which is not altogether too surprising in view of the fact that he had set up his business in Kent County, a sparsely settled region at a distance from Annapolis, the capital, and therefore the principal source of income for a printer. On his return to New York he set up in business after a temporary partnership

80 The early history of New York printing may be explored in the following: Charles R. Hildeburn, "A List of Issues of the Press in New York, 1693-1720," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (1889), XII, pp. 475-482; A List of Issues of the Press in New York, 1693-1752 (Philadelphia, 1899); Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York (New York, 1895); Douglas C. McMurtrie and Wilberforce Eames, New York Printing, 1693 . . . (Chicago, 1928); Adelaide R. Hasse, "Some Materials for a Bibliography of the Official Publications of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, 1693-1775," Bulletin, New York Public Library (Feb.-Apr., 1903), VII; Charlotte M. Martin and Benjamin Ellis, The New York Press and its Makers in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1898) has information on the printers qua printers rather than journalists.

81 Douglas C. McMurtrie, The Book (New York, 1937), p. 438.

82 McMurtrie, History of Printing, Vol. II: Middle and Atlantic States (New York, 1937), p. 141.

with Bradford. Zenger himself is of little importance, a rather colourless personality and a poor printer, but he was used as an instrument in a most important political debate. Bradford, as we have already seen, epitomised respectability, and he and his paper were loyal adherents of the system of government existing in New York and, in particular, were bound to support the policies of Governor William Cosby. Cosby seems to have been at best a tactless man, at worst, one of the most obnoxious governors who ever ruled an English colony in America. His high-handedness almost immediately aroused the antagonism of Rip Van Dam, the president of the council, who had served as acting governor until Cosby's arrival. This enmity became more widespread as Cosby interfered with the franchise system for his own interest. Zenger's part was that of serving as a printer of a propaganda organ for the opposition interests. On November 5, 1733, he printed the first edition of the New-York Weekly Journal. James Alexander, a leader in this opposition, expressed the purposes of the new paper well in a letter to Governor Robert Hunter: "Inclosed is the first of a newspaper designed to be continued Weekly and chiefly to expose him and those ridiculous flatteries with which Mr. Harison loads our other Newspaper which our Governor claims and has the privilege of suffering nothing to be in but what he and Mr. Harison approve of."⁸³ Lewis Morris, Lewis Morris, Jr., James Alexander, William Smith, and Cadwallader Colden were the principal contributors to the newspaper. Even more than this, they wrote everything it contained, with the exception of the briefest news reports. Alexander appears to have been the managing editor and it

83 Quoted in McMurtrie, History of Printing (New York, 1937), p. 143.

is quite clear that Zenger was no more than the printer of the paper in the strictly technical sense.

It is most unhistorical to see in this challenge a democratic movement in opposition to aristocratic rule. Several factors preclude such a verdict. Colonial New York was not even the most democratic of the English colonies; that honour belongs to Connecticut. Even in this latter colony the practise of democracy, as understood in the twentieth century, was severely ringed about with qualifications.⁸⁴ New York, in fact, was characterised by its great landed estates--"the region of the old patroonships"--and the supremacy of its landed aristocracy in all political affairs was abundantly clear. "The great landholders occupied a position of decisive influence in the political and social life of the Province of New York and were adept in the guarding of their own interests. This was aided by a system of plural voting which permitted freeholders with estates in several counties to participate in the elections in each. Lords of manors were also aided by the control they exercised over their tenants. The leading aristocratic families of this period, many of whom were intermarried, were the Schuylers, the De Lanceys, the Livingstons, the Philippses, the van Cortlandts, the Bayards, the Heathcotes, the Crugers, the Wattses, the Waltons, the van Rensselaers, the Beekmans, the Morrises, the Alexanders, and the Smiths."⁸⁵ Although the situation in New York City was less controlled, it was hardly at a point where

84 Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations (New York, 1960), pp. 74-75 makes the statement concerning the democratic nature of Connecticut's government and shows the precise workings of this government.

85 Ibid., pp. 109-110.

democracy could be said to exist. Indeed the career of Martin Van Buren as a political organizer in New York State, almost a century after the Zenger incident, demonstrates clearly that political control rested only in part upon catering to the whimsies of the city mob, and more upon the intelligent grouping of vested, often of 'aristocratic' interests.⁸⁶ Even after the War for Independence had been won the élite continued to dominate politics. Although the Beard thesis cannot be accepted completely or in some of its details, its major suggestion that the American Revolution-- in the same way as any of the other great revolutions in history--was engineered and carried through by a small 'oligarchy' of leaders, remains basically sound. Indeed the American 'people' themselves did not feel, despite the efforts of Thomas Jefferson, that they had attained control of the national government until the dramatic arrival of Andrew Jackson in the presidential mansion. If we cannot correctly speak of a 'democratic people's party' as McMurtire does, what then is the true context of the Zenger trial?

It would seem to us to have been an episode in a long fight within the élite which governed the Province of New York. Put crudely, the 'outs' were attacking the 'ins.' The very names of those involved in the writing and editing of the newspaper belong in the roll-call of the aristocratic families of the colony. If we look beyond family to policy, we may see a consistent effort on the part of the province's governors to have as much control over the purse-strings as possible. Governor

86 This point is well brought out in Robert V. Remini, Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party (New York, 1959) and in a less scholarly but more provocative work, Holmes Alexander, The American Talleyrand (New York, 1935), especially pp. 64-177.

Clinton's surrender of this control into the hands of the Assembly has aptly been termed "the initial fatal mistake."⁸⁷ The Zenger trial, therefore, is an incident in a factional struggle within a governing élite and, when one side represented itself as being "the People," we must not accept this as anything other than what it was--an attempt to win popular support for a group that was not essentially more democratic than the constituted authority which it was opposing. The trial, in the same way as Magna Carta and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 could, in hindsight, be regarded as a landmark in the struggle for popular liberties, and while the potency of this assumption and attitude is a valid consideration for the historian of later periods, the historian of the thirteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, respectively, must deny that any of them was a consciously democratic movement.

Nevertheless, however narrow the objects of those who used Zenger as a pawn, the events of his trial did involve the voice of public opinion and, through the courage of an elderly lawyer, the proclamation of a bold line of defence which invoked the name of Justice above and, if need be, in defiance of the Law. Governor Cosby found that, in his attempt to make a public spectacle of the publication and its printer, he could not rely upon the support of the House of Representatives or the authorities of the city. It was a reflection of the unpopularity which he had brought upon himself and of the 'politicking' done by his enemies. Finally, in the name of the Governor's Council, Cosby issued a warrant for the arrest of Zenger "for printing and publishing several

87 Gipson, op. cit., p. 120.

Seditious Libels dispersed throughout his Journals or News Papers, entitled, The New-York Weekly Journal, containing the freshest Advices, foreign and domestick; as having in them many Things, tending to raise Factions and Tumults, among the People of this Province, inflaming their Minds with Contempt of His Majesty's Government, and greatly disturbing the Peace thereof."

Whilst Zenger was in jail an issue of the Journal appeared which protested the summary nature of the treatment he had received. On April 15, 1733, James Alexander and William Smith appeared as attorneys for Zenger in his trial before the Supreme Court. Immediately they denied the legality of its appointment and thus attacked those who were sitting, De Lancey and Philipse. De Lancey then ruled that this objection constituted contempt of court and disbarred Alexander and Smith. Since Judge Lewis Morris had carefully been kept away, Zenger had lost his most powerful legal allies in the province. An attorney was appointed to defend him but secretly the services of Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, one of the most eminent lawyers in the colonies, were added to the defence. Against the prior ruling of the court that proof of printing the papers judged to be seditious and libelous was sufficient for conviction, Hamilton boldly admitted that Zenger had been responsible for publication but denied the charge of libel on the grounds that what had been printed was true. The jury was directed in the way already indicated by the judges, i.e., that "whether the Words as set forth in the Information make a Lybel" was "a Matter of Law, no Doubt, and which you may leave to the Court." However, the governor and his representatives were again defied, for the jury returned a verdict of 'not guilty,'

to the delight of the crowd. Hamilton was voted the freedom of the corporation of the City of New York and received a gold box weighing five and a half ounces from the "Members of this Corporation and Gentlemen of this City." Truly a 'democratic' gift from a clearly 'popular' body!

Matters did not die with the verdict. The news of the trial was spread abroad and received prominent reporting in the papers of the two other major cities, Boston and Philadelphia. In 1736 Zenger published a pamphlet A Brief Narrative of the Case and Tryal of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York weekly Journal which, according to Hildeburn, became "the most famous publication issued in America before the 'Farmer's Letters'." Zenger displaced Bradford as public printer in New York in 1737 and in the following year filled the same office for New Jersey, but in each case he was removed at the end of his year of office because of his incompetency. The Zenger Trial had established the precedent of the jury passing upon both the law and the fact in cases of libel, and had therefore broken the authority of government-appointed judges to decide both matters.⁸⁸ It was a situation which was not to come about in Britain until 1791 with the passing of Fox' Libel Act.⁸⁹ When a climate of opinion favourable to rebellion had been formed in the American colonies in the late sixties and early seventies, the importance of the fact that juries held the crucial decision in libel cases became

88 For the significance of the Zenger trial see Livingston Rutherford, John Peter Zenger, His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger imprints (New York, 1904). Charles F. Heartman, John Peter Zenger and his Fight for the Freedom of the American Press (Highland Park, N.J., 1934) should be used with caution because of its weak understanding of the society of Colonial New York.

89 See pp. 21-22, 35 of this thesis for Fox's Act and the important trial decision in the trial of John Wilkes.

fully apparent. It meant, in effect, the creation of a press which was more free from the control of the authorities than any other in the Atlantic civilizations and thus a situation was provided whereby the newspaper could not only inform the public, but inflame its temper.

The third of the New York printers more directly advanced the cause of printing, although less dramatically and with fewer political overtones than John Peter Zenger. James Parker was not only to occupy a central place in the history of printing in New York but was also responsible for the first of Connecticut's newspapers and for establishing the first permanent press in New Jersey. Having once been apprenticed to him, Parker succeeded William Bradford as New York's public printer in 1742 and held the office for nineteen years. Although Parker's first independent work was the printing of the somewhat esoteric Enchiridium Polychrestum of Robert Elliston, he soon displayed the normal concern of the printer with current events, for in 1744 he published A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy Formed by Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and other Slaves, for Burning the City of New York in America, and Murdering the Inhabitants. In the same year he reprinted Richardson's Pamela, the first real literary work to be printed in the province and in the following year he was responsible for the first printing of a scientific work, Cadwallader Colden's Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter. Parker maintained a position as the printer of important contributions to the cultural life of New York for the rest of his career, but possibly he is better known for his printing of newspapers.

In January, 1743, he began his newspaper career by establishing the New-York Weekly Post-Boy which took over most of the trade of Bradford's New-York Gazette when it came to an end in 1744. In 1747 Parker changed the name of the paper to the New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy and six years later he took William Weyman into partnership. This second move allowed Parker to concentrate his energies upon his pioneer work in New Jersey. There, about 1754, he established the colony's first printing press and from 1758 to 1760 he published the first New Jersey periodical, the New American Magazine, demonstrating once again the attraction of this medium for printers who had been in business for some time and had no great financial worries.⁹⁰ The first newspaper in the colony came from his Woodbridge press.⁹¹ He was also responsible for Connecticut's first newspaper when he began printing at New Haven in 1755, the Connecticut Gazette. An illustration of Parker's importance is given us by the personnel involved in his New Haven enterprise. Parker was appointed postmaster for New Haven by Benjamin Franklin and William Hunter, joint deputy postmasters-general for the American colonies. Parker hired John Holt of Williamsburg, Virginia, brother-in-law of Hunter and soon to attain fame in his own right as a printer in New York, to manage his New Haven office. When the partnership with Weyman came to an

90 The New American Magazine was but the last of a number of ventures into the magazine field. In 1753 the Occasional Reverberator, in 1755 the Instructor and John Englishman had preceded it, but none of them was very successful.

91 This newspaper was the famous Constitutional Courant "Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe refused, on Constitution Hill, America." William Goddard printed it at Woodbridge in 1765 as a protest against the Stamp Act. McMurtrie, History of Printing, p. 150 n.

end in 1759 Parker summoned Holt to New York and replaced him at New Haven with Thomas Green. In 1762 Parker gave up the Gazette, turning it over to John Holt, but four years later he re-entered the field and used the old title, the New-York Gazette, or, the Weekly Post-Boy, and Holt changed his paper's title to the New-York Journal, or General Advertiser.⁹² On James Parker's death in 1770 the newspaper was inherited by his son, Samuel, who for the previous five years had been manager of the Woodbridge printing office. The progress of the firm had not, however, been without some brushes with authority, which heralded the far more bitter conflicts of Holt and Gaine. In 1756 Parker and Weyman escaped severe penalty by appearing before the Assembly, acknowledging that they were at fault, begging the government's pardon, revealing the name of the author of the article objected to, and paying the legal fees. In 1760 Parker used the same means to escape punishment for printing a pamphlet addressed "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of New York."⁹³

A host of minor printers occupied themselves in New York in the period between 1750 and the outbreak of the War for Independence

92 Attention is called to the need for a very careful perusal of newspaper titles in the second half of the eighteenth century. They differed little, sometimes merely in the matter of punctuation. For example, after his separation from Parker, Weyman established a New-York Gazette which he continued until 1767.

93 Further details upon Parker's work as a printer may be found in William Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society (1911), n.s., XXVI, L. N. Richardson, A History of Early American Magazines (New York, 1931).

but two printers were outstanding both before and during the war.⁹⁴

These were John Holt and Hugh Gaine. Prior to becoming a printer Holt had been a successful merchant in his native Virginia but, like so many colonial merchants, his success was balanced and when in 1754 he ran into financial difficulties he journeyed north and into a partnership with Parker. As we have seen, in 1762 he took over the publishing of the Gazette and changed its name in 1766. The British occupation of New York in 1776 forced the discontinuance of his Journal, but it was revived a year later at Kingston. As Thomas describes him, Holt "was a man of ardent feelings, and a high churchman, but a firm whig; a good writer and a warm advocate for the cause of his country." Indeed, it was at the request of the Assembly that Holt revived the paper, using the printing materials abandoned by Hugh Gaine when he left Newark and returned to New York to the British lines. From July to October, 1777, the Journal was published at Kingston but was moved hurriedly just before the British burned the town. It was published at irregular intervals at Poughkeepsie from May, 1778 to November, 1780. From then until July, 1781 it could not be issued for lack of paper, but then was resumed and

94 Of these printers the names of Samuel Inslee, Anthony Car, Frederick Shober, Robert Hodge, John Anderson, Henry DeForeest, Benjamin Mecom, Samuel Farley, Samuel Loudon deserve mention. Printing began at Albany in 1770 when the two Robertson brothers, James and Alexander, set up their press there. Associated with them in the printing of the Loyalist Royal American Gazette were Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks. Details of these printers may be found in Thomas, op. cit., McMurtrie, History of Printing (which is especially good on the Robertsons and the Albany printing), Oswald, Printing in the Americas. The bibliography contained in McMurtrie should be supplemented by reference to the notes in Schlesinger, op. cit. with regard to the printing of newspapers and the latest edition of the Dictionary of American Biography for more general details. The first consistent daily paper was produced by Francis Childs in New York in 1785.

continued until the next year. Suspended again early in 1782 to allow Holt to devote his time to printing the statutes of the state, it was revived late in 1783 as the Independent New-York Gazette. Holt also suffered in his Virginia interest. In 1775 he had bought the Norfolk Virginia Gazette and put his son there to manage it. When Norfolk was attacked by the British in September, 1775, the press was captured and used for Loyalist propaganda. Holt died in New York early in 1784 and his printing work was carried on first by his widow and then his son-in-law, Eleazer Oswald.⁹⁵

Hugh Gainé was of the opposite political persuasion. Born in Ireland, he came to New York in 1745 and started working for James Parker with whom he stayed seven years. In 1752 he not only started a bookshop in partnership with Weyman but also established the New-York Mercury, which he continued until 1770 when it became the New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury and this title it retained until the end of the War for Independence. In 1753 Gainé appeared before the Assembly for publishing some of its Proceedings without permission. He was fortunate enough to escape with a reprimand and continued to build up what was to become the most prosperous printing business in New York. At the time of the Stamp Act Gainé followed most other printers in discontinuing the publication of his paper, but when most of the stamped paper was destroyed by a mob, he revived the paper under the heading "No Stamped Paper to be had." Up to the War for Independence Gainé continued his business, steadily gaining in prosperity and prestige, having been appointed printer

95 The life and career of Holt has been dealt with by Victor H. Paltsits in "John Holt - Printer and Postmaster," Bulletin, New York Public Library (September, 1920), XXIV, pp. 483-499.

to the city at about the same time. Probably his most important work, certainly to the historian, was the printing of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York, 1691-1765, which appeared in 1766. The break with England came and struck decisively at the prosperity of Hugh Gaine. At first he endeavoured to maintain an impartial newspaper but this was hardly feasible and when the Continental troops evacuated New York in 1776, Gaine moved to Newark and tried to publish the Mercury from there. In British-occupied New York that part of the Mercury equipment which had not been removed was used to publish a Loyalist edition of the Mercury. Gaine switched positions, declared himself a Loyalist and returned to the city whilst his Newark press was turned over to John Holt, who had been appointed state printer by the provincial assembly. Holt, however, had placed himself in a position where neither side could trust him and on the return of James Rivington to New York, it was his paper which became the official organ of the British troops. Gaine continued to print the Mercury, however, until the end of the war. At the close of the war Gaine continued in the book-publishing business in the city and had an interest in a bookselling shop. Thomas sums him up well: "Gaine's political creed, it seems, was to join the strongest party . . . Gaine was punctual in his dealings, of correct moral habits, and respectable as a citizen. He began the world a poor man, but by close application to successful business, through a long period of

time, he acquired a large property."⁹⁶ Certainly his career and that of Holt provide an interesting contrast in the political parts played by printers.

New Jersey, located between Philadelphia and New York City, did not feel the need for a press of its own until well into the eighteenth century. William Bradford seems to have printed at Perth Amboy in 1723 and it is quite definite that in 1728 the same cause -- the issue of a paper currency--brought a press to New Jersey. We should remember that this was still eight years before the executive government of the colony was separated from that of New York. Bradford had printed the laws of New Jersey at a press outside the colony although the collection he printed in 1723 seems to have come from the press he established at Perth Amboy.⁹⁷ Between 1723 and 1727 Bradford printed the New Jersey laws in New York but early in 1728 or late in 1727 Samuel Keimer came to Burlington from Philadelphia to print the colony's money and incidentally to print the colony's laws. After printing the laws Keimer returned to Philadelphia and no more printing was done in New Jersey until 1754.

96 Thomas, op. cit., II, pp. 103-104. The most satisfactory account is that of Paul L. Ford (ed.) The Journals of Hugh Gaine (2 vols. New York, 1902). The first volume contains a biography and bibliography while the second reprints the journals of 1757-1758, 1777-1783, and 1797-1798. Hildeburn, Sketches of Printers and Printing, pp. 72-88 cannot be relied upon. I.N.P. Stokes, op. cit., II, pp. 434-40 has a useful listing.

97 The question of the 1723 Perth Amboy printing is still somewhat open. McMurtrie, op. cit., pp. 222-226 has considered the very technical factors which allow us to draw conclusions and the theories previous to his own. His major conclusion is that at least part of the total number of copies of the laws printed in 1723 were produced at the Perth Amboy press set up for the printing of the paper money, and that the other part was produced at Bradford's New York press and distributed through the normal book trade channels.

As we have seen the first permanent press in New Jersey was established by the New York printer, James Parker. This he did at Woodbridge, his birthplace, and to this enterprise he devoted himself, leaving his New York work to partners or trusted subordinates.⁹⁸ In 1765 he established a press at Burlington with the immediate purposes of printing Samuel Smith's History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey. Unfortunately the Burlington enterprise was not the success Parker had hoped for, and it seems that he did not print there after 1766. At his death in 1770 Isaac Collins of Philadelphia became the colony's public printer. Collins represents the bringing together of the two colonies bordering Philadelphia for he had been trained under James Adams at Wilmington, Delaware, as well as with William Rind in Williamsburg, Virginia. After Parker had paved the way, Collins realised that New Jersey offered opportunities to an efficient printer and indeed his appointment as public printer was the first enterprise he undertook on his own. The War for Independence brought a demand for the dissemination of news rapidly, that is for a newspaper. After the need had been incompletely served by a manuscript weekly, the Plain Dealer, posted in an inn at Bridgeton, Isaac Collins at the suggestion of Governor William Livingston and with the approval of the Assembly printed the New-Jersey Gazette, the first regular newspaper in New Jersey. Its success was guaranteed by the state. Nevertheless, he had so few subscribers that

98 — A delightful and very complete record of Parker's activities is contained in a series of letters which he wrote to Benjamin Franklin. The originals are in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Some of them were used by William Nelson for his article "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society (1911) n.s. XXI, pp. 15-56, esp. pp. 25-26.

he had to suspend publication between June and December, 1783, and ended the paper finally in 1786. He continued to print at Trenton to which he had moved in March, 1778, until 1796 when he went to New York. In brief, although the third quarter of the eighteenth century saw the beginnings of New Jersey printing, this was hardly very important or very soundly established until after the War for Independence, and even in the last quarter of the century a number of enterprises were set up across the state which had only a limited and temporary success.⁹⁹

The other colony which was dependent upon Philadelphia for its printing work, but far less so upon New York, was Delaware.¹⁰⁰ The first printer in Delaware did not practise his craft until 1761. James Adams came from Ireland and served an apprenticeship with Franklin and Hall, the firm which did the bulk of Delaware's printing. Adams first set up his press in Philadelphia in 1760 but saw the opportunities in the adjacent colony and also the lack there of the pressing competition which he was meeting in Philadelphia. As a Franklin apprentice he had an important advantage. He was kept busy at Wilmington, printing four

99 On New Jersey printing in the eighteenth century the starting point should be the article by William Nelson referred to in note 98. See also Nelson's Check List of the Issues of the Press of New Jersey (Paterson, 1899). McMurtrie, History of Printing, Ch. XXIX is the best recent summary and sustains the vast majority of Nelson's conclusions. See also McMurtrie, "The Earliest New Jersey Imprint," Proceedings, New Jersey Historical Society (1932), I, pp. 191-202. For comparative purposes see Constance H. Humphrey, "Check-list of New Jersey Imprints to the End of the Revolution," Papers, Bibliographical Society of America (1930), XXIV, pp. 43-149.

100 The ~~most~~ recent and masterly summary of the history of Delaware in the first half of the eighteenth century is Lawrence H. Gipson, The Northern Plantations (New York, 1960), Ch. VIII.

items in the last months of 1761.¹⁰¹ In 1762 he published proposals for a newspaper, the Wilmington Courant and Thomas declares that this appeared for about six months.¹⁰² In the following year he became

government printer and printed the second volume of the Laws of Delaware (the first having been printed by Franklin and Hall in 1752).

Adams continued in business until 1791 or 1792 when he died, and although he did not have an extensive business, his monopoly position and his efficiency provided him with more than a substantial income. During the period 1777-1778 he had his printshop at Doylestown in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, since he feared that Wilmington was too near British-occupied Philadelphia. The next printing enterprise in Delaware did not start until Jacob Killen began work at Wilmington in 1785, but this and its immediate successors were not based upon the soundest financial foundations.¹⁰³

Of the five southern colonies not only did printing first occur in Virginia but that colony had acquired such a position of cultural and political dominance by the third quarter of the eighteenth century that the products of its printing presses exercised an influence superior to those of any other colony south of Philadelphia. The work of William Nuthead, although begun in Virginia, took place mainly in

101 See the Pennsylvania Gazette, October 8, 1761, for an advertisement of the intention of Adams to print at Wilmington. See also his advertisement in the same newspaper, November 5, 1761, which announced the first four items printed by Adams.

102 Thomas, op. cit., II, p. 126. McMurtrie, op. cit., p. 246 doubts the validity of this statement but cannot produce positive proof that the Thomas statement is incorrect.

103 For the period covered in this thesis the article by Dorothy L. Hawkins, "James Adams, the First Printer of Delaware," Papers, Bibliographical Society of America (1934) XXVIII, pp. 280-63, is easily the most valuable work. See also Hildeburn, Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania, 1685-1784.

Maryland, and for this reason we shall deal firstly with the history of printing in this latter colony.

In 1682 John Buckner established the first printing house in the southern colonies at Jamestown, Virginia, and for this William Nuthead was the printer. However, Lord Francis Howard of Effingham issued under Crown instructions in the following year an absolute decree against printing in much the same terms as the famous attack of his predecessor, Sir William Berkeley, against free schools and free printing presses. As a result of the Howard proclamation, William Nuthead found himself out of work.¹⁰⁴ For two years he wandered about in a series of movements of which we have little knowledge, but we do know that he was printing in Maryland in 1685. In almost the same way as the story of Gutenberg, our knowledge of Nuthead's printing work is based upon circumstantial evidence. Maryland's records have a number of references to "William Nuthead of St. Marys Citty Printer" of which the most famous is the Act of the Assembly of October 26, 1686 which provided for the "Payment and Assessmt. of the Publique Charge of this Province" to Nuthead in the sum of "Five Thousand five Hundred and fifty pounds of Tobaccoe."¹⁰⁵ We know a little more directly of Nuthead's work through two political works. The first was an opportune tract entitled The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for the Present Appearance in Arms of their Majesties Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland. This was a justification for the coup d'état

104 Full details of the affair which led to Nuthead's removal may be found in McMurtrie, op.cit., pp. 276-277.

105 Archives of Maryland, Assembly Proceedings, XIII, p. 131.

of Colonel John Coode in support of the Glorious Revolution which had lately occurred in the mother country. We do not even have a copy of the reprint of this work which allows us to attribute it to Nuthead but we can be certain that it was printed in Maryland by the colophon of a London edition printed in the same year (1689). Furthermore we know that a copy was sent officially to London.¹⁰⁶

Our second political work followed a month after the first. Its title was The Address of the Representatives of their Majestyes Protestant Subjects, in the Province of Mary-Land Assembled. To the Kings most Excellenct Majesty.

At the bottom of the title page it had the following notice: "Maryland printed by order of the Assembly at the City of St. Maryes August: 26th, 1689." A London reprint, however, definitely attributed the

original printing to Nuthead.¹⁰⁷ On Nuthead's death in 1695 his widow, sorely stricken for money, took over the press and became the colony's second printer. She established herself at Annapolis which had succeeded

106 The authority on this intricate matter is Lawrence C. Wroth, "The St. Mary's City Press, A New Chronology of American Printing," The Colophon (1936), n.s., I, pp. 333-357. The definitive work on Maryland printing is Wroth's A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776 (Baltimore, 1922) which contains a bibliography of Maryland imprints. This work is indispensable to the student of Maryland's colonial history. Two important general histories are Maurice P. Andrews History of Maryland: Province and State (Garden City, New York, 1929) and Charles A. Barker, The Background of the Revolution in Maryland (Yale Historical Publications, XXXVIII, 1940)..

107 A reprint of the tract is reproduced in part in Oswald, Printing in the Americas, p. 91. The important title page is reproduced in McMurtrie, History of Printing, II, p. 102. The further contemporary evidence relating to Maryland printing is summarized in this latter work, p. 103, and the evidence which shows that Nuthead was by no means free to print as he thought fit is summarized in McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 104. See also the very interesting license to print granted to Dinah Nuthead. This is presented in part by Oswald, op.cit., p. 92 and given more fully in Archives of Council Proceedings, XX, p. 449.

St. Mary's as the capital. Despite the fact that she was illiterate, Dinah Nuthead was by no means unsuccessful and eventually acquired an important place in the colony. However she printed for less than a year and ceased to do so on her re-marriage.

The third printer was the young and energetic clerk to the House of Burgesses, William Bladen, who sent away for his materials and employed another young man, Thomas Reading, to do the actual printing.¹⁰⁸ No product of this press is known to us which carries a date earlier than 1700. The first work which we have from the Bladen-Reading press is The Necessity of an Early Religion, a printing of a sermon delivered before the provincial assembly by the Rev. Thomas Bray. Bladen clearly felt that the field of printing offered important opportunities for advancing his own prestige as well as serving the colony and it is of interest that a person of no mean stature should involve himself in the trade. In 1700 the first edition of the Maryland laws came from his press after Bladen had suggested in the lower house that the printer of the laws should be subsidized by the various counties that would be committed to taking one copy and paying the printer two thousand pounds of tobacco for it.¹⁰⁹ Bladen retired from printing in 1700 and Reading continued sporadic business from that time to 1713 when he died. On his death Evan Jones, a Welsh-American bookseller, arranged for the printing of the colony's laws to be done at

108 The petition of Bladen and the reply of the Council are most easily read in Oswald, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

109 One copy of these laws remains extant and is housed in the Library of Congress. The sole copy of the Bray sermon is held by the Maryland Historical Society. Photostats exist, however; for example, in the possession of the New York Public Library.

Philadelphia by Andrew Bradford. We know that John Peter Zenger petitioned the assembly to print the colony's laws and it would seem that he set up business in Kent County, but we have no record of any of his productions. In 1721 or 1722 Zenger left the colony and once again it was without a printer. The assembly endeavoured to attract one but with no great success until Thomas Bordley, who had arranged in the interim for the renewal of publication of the Debates and Proceedings of the legislature by Andrew Bradford, brought to the colony directly from England an experienced printer, William Parks.¹¹⁰

The inability of the Maryland assembly itself to attract an official printer, added to the experience of Parks, produced a much more satisfactory arrangement. For the first time the duties and salary of the public printer were fixed by law. However, even with Parks earnestly working towards some concrete agreement it took many months before a settlement was reached. The crucial element in the delay was the desire of the lower house of the assembly to have its journals printed and the opposition of the upper house to such a scheme. Something of a compromise resulted with the fulfillment by Parks in 1727 of his proposal made two years earlier to publish the laws of the province. In that year he produced A Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland. Parks represents a direct linkage between the provincial press of England and that of her American colonies, for when in England he had produced newspapers in both Ludlow and Reading and in 1727 he began

¹¹⁰ The summary of the life of Parks presented in Oswald, op.cit., pp. 94-98 is useful but the best account of this most important figure is Lawrence C. Wroth, William Parks, Printer and Journalist of England and Colonial America (Richmond, 1926).

publishing the Maryland Gazette, the first newspaper in the colonies south of Pennsylvania. The paper was produced with gaps, notably from March, 1731 to December, 1732, until November, 1734. The character of the Maryland Gazette differed markedly from the great majority not only of its contemporaries but also of those newspapers which succeeded it. It was by no means content to publish mainly material obtained from other papers. It is suspected that Parks had a scheme for regular correspondence from abroad and there is no doubt at all that he persuaded a number of the most prominent men in the colony to write for the newspaper. Thus, usually in the form of letters, his readers were provided with informed discussion of local affairs, especially colonial politics, economics, and trade. Furthermore Parks won a place for himself among the literary men of the colony by his readiness to print their ideas. This group was led by Ebenezer Cook and Richard Lewis. In 1728 he printed the translation by Lewis, titled The Mouse-Trap, or the Battle of the Cambrians and Mice, of the mock-heroic poem Muscipula, sive Kambpomyomaxia written by Edward Holdsworth. This satire on the Welsh must certainly have seemed quite an outlandish publication! Cooke's satiric productions were more local in character and added a tang to this remarkable flowering of culture in the relatively young colony. The part played by Parks was of major importance and was by no means narrow. In addition to being a printer he was also a bookbinder and bookseller, and, by the vigour of his activities and the strength of his character, he obtained quite an important position in the colony's society. In 1730 he opened a branch office in Williamsburg, Virginia, but this gradually took the major portion of his interest and time. This followed three years of haggling with the Virginia Assembly to whom

Parks had offered his services as early as 1727 for the printing of the colony's laws.¹¹¹

So dominant had his Virginia activities become to him that in 1737 Parks was reprimanded by the Maryland Assembly for vacillation in the printing of the laws passed at the previous session, and the assembly also declared that the counties should not pay him unless they received their copies of the laws within four months of the ending of the session. Parks published the laws and very soon after left for Williamsburg, moving his equipment from Annapolis with him. Maryland was once again without a printer.

Proclamations were put out declaring this last fact and within a year Maryland found a substitute in the person of Jonas Green, a member of the illustrious New England family of printers. Jonas was a grandson of the Samuel Green who had pioneered New England printing. Jonas was born in Boston but learned the trade both at his father's shop in New London and for some time with his brother, Timothy, at the business of Kneeland and Green of Boston. By 1736 he was in Philadelphia probably in the employ of Benjamin Franklin who seems to have encouraged him to see what he could do in Maryland. In May, 1738 he became public printer to the colony but the earliest work we have from his press dates from the following year: A Collection of the Governor's several Speeches, and the Addresses of each House and the Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House. Such works were typical of his press which tended to confine itself to its original purpose of printing for the colony's

111 See the American Weekly Mercury (Philadelphia) for July 15, 1731 for an advertisement by Parks that he was living in Williamsburg, Virginia.

government, a service for which Green received five hundred pounds a year as well as the cost of the paper.¹¹² In April, 1745 Green established the second Maryland Gazette, a paper which he and members of his family continued to print until 1839. In 1755 he printed a revised edition of the colony's laws but this was overshadowed by the massive labour entailed in the printing of Bacon's Laws of Maryland. Bacon toiled for thirteen years in its compilation and Green took four years over the printing, and, although this was in part caused by delays in the obtaining of materials, there can be no doubt that the achievement rightly ranks as one of the greatest in American colonial book-making. Green indeed was an exceptionally fine printer and a man of importance both in the town of Annapolis and in the colony of Maryland. The tradition and standards of Jonas Green did not, however, die with him, and his widow and sons continued in the printing trade until the nineteenth century. From 1758 to 1766 Green had William Rind as a partner. Rind confined his printing interests to the newspaper and in addition maintained an important book-shop which served as the centre of a circulating library established by him. The partnership came to an end when Rind responded to requests from a number of prominent Virginians, including Thomas Jefferson, to move to that province and establish a rival press to the existing government-controlled one.

In much the same way as the centre of economic importance shifted in Rhode Island from Newport to Providence, so in Maryland Annapolis gave way to Baltimore. This change was accompanied by a similar one in printing, and the death of the older Jonas Green may be

112 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 128-129.

taken to mark this transition. After somewhat slow progress following its survey in 1729 Baltimore grew rapidly in the decade following the Indian wars but was still expanding when Nicholas Hasselbach established the first printing press in the town in 1765. Hasselbach was born in Germany and came to Pennsylvania in 1749. He served as an apprentice to Sower in Germantown and also learned the art of papermaking. In 1762 he entered into partnership with Anton Armbrüster in Philadelphia, then moved in the following year to Chestnut Hill. In 1765 he went to Maryland where he was to stay for four or five years until his death at sea. Only one specimen of his Maryland printing has survived namely, A Detection of the Conduct and Proceedings of Messrs. Annan and Henderson. . .at the Oxford Meeting-House April the 18th, Anno Domini 1764 which dealt with a dispute within the Presbyterian Church at Marshes Creek, near Gettysburg.¹¹³

After the death of Hasselbach Maryland was without a printer until the arrival of William Goddard in 1773 who in fact bought from Hasselbach's widow the equipment left by her husband and thus solved one of the perennial problems of colonial printers, the obtaining of equipment and its transfer to the place where the printing was to be done.¹¹⁴ Two young men, Robert Hodge and Frederick Shober had sung loud their intention to print at Baltimore in 1772 but they do not seem to have done any work and they quickly moved to New York. Another who tried was Enoch Story Jr. but he did not begin work until 1774 and was unable to

113 See George W. McCreary, The First book printed in Baltimore-town. Nicholas Hasselbach printer (Baltimore, 1903).

114 A very interesting inventory of Green's equipment is reproduced in McMurtrie, op.cit., Ch. XXVI, note 21, pp. 425-426.

stand up against the resources, craftsmanship, and competition of Goddard.

Goddard was an outstanding personality in colonial America. We have already noticed his pioneering ventures in Providence, Rhode Island. He was responsible for the famous Constitutional Courant printed at Woodbridge, New Jersey. From there he moved to Philadelphia where he became deeply involved with the anti-proprietary party for whom he organized the Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser. Quite clearly and with no hesitation it proclaimed itself a political newspaper supported by the Junta, the leading members of which provided it with many of its articles. Franklin, in England, did his share of such writing. Openly opposed to the existing proprietary form of government the paper represented to Goddard personally a means for an attack upon the Crown in its administration of the American colonies. Thus he was one of the earliest to form a decidedly anti-Crown philosophy for himself and to achieve a means for expressing his views. When Goddard refused to print anti-proprietary "Letters" but openly attacked England, his partners found his conduct unbearable and as a result the financial state of the paper became very acute. In February, 1774, Goddard suspended its publication about six months after he established the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, the first newspaper in Baltimore's history.

115

Goddard was fortunate to have the skillful assistance of his sister, Mary Katherine, to whom he turned over the operation of the newspaper quite shortly after its commencement. This left him free to

115 There is no finer picture of Goddard than that presented in Wroth, op.cit., pp. 119-127.

devote himself to the great interest of his life, the postal system. ¹¹⁶

Goddard highlights the very close associations which existed between colonial printing and the postal system, a fact which is reflected in the large number of colonial printers who were also postmasters.

Goddard's father had been postmaster at New London and his two masters, James Parker and John Holt, had both been postmasters at New Haven.

Goddard in Providence and Philadelphia had been connected with the service, and indeed had suffered injustice at its hands for his political

views. The British system was very inefficient and Goddard's desire for an independent postal system had firm grounds, if one allowed that

competition between colony and mother country was acceptable. No such

allowance was possible, however, under the mercantilist theory of empire.

Goddard's ideas were yet another aspect of the growing tension between the colonies and the mother country. He did more than have ideas; travelling

through the colonies, working vigorously at laying out routes and hiring

postmasters and riders, his enterprise was supported by public subscrip-

tion at the important population centres. In short, it was part of the

general revulsion from British rule. It became patriotic to help in

"rescuing the Channel of public and private Intelligence from the horrid

Fangs of Ministerial Dependents: a Measure indispensably necessary in

116 The colonial postal system is a subject which has not received sufficient recent attention. It is briefly summarised by McMurtrie, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-122. Other works which may be consulted are J. C. Hemmeon, The History of the British Post Office (Cambridge, Mass., 1912) and Howard Robinson, The British Post Office: A History (Princeton, 1948) which has largely replaced the work of Hemmeon. The British post office naturally served as the model for the system established in the American colonies upon which the standard work is still Wesley E. Rich, The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924). Pages 3-48 relate to the colonial period.

the present alarming Crisis of American Affairs."¹¹⁷ The dismissal of Benjamin Franklin from his post of Deputy Postmaster General for political reasons added another argument to Goddard's stock of opinions. Certainly he did not lack support, for by May, 1775, "Goddard's Post offices," as they were called, were in use from Massachusetts to Virginia. However, both for reasons of finance and politics no such private system could be allowed to exist long and in July, 1775, the second Continental Congress, short as it was of funds, adopted the system as the official postal system of the newly proclaimed republic. By the end of the year the British system was defunct and the man who had brought about its downfall was rightly disgusted at the unimportant assignment he had received. Sometime in 1776 Goddard returned to his printing business in Baltimore.

The history of printing in Maryland after 1775 is not our present concern but the brushes which Goddard had with the authorities are important and illuminating enough to warrant brief mention. In February, 1777, Goddard published in the Maryland Journal two articles advocating the continuation of hostilities against the British. They stirred up considerable feeling and the Whig Club of Baltimore gave Goddard twenty-four hours in which to leave town. The printer turned for protection to the Council of Safety at Annapolis, which referred his case to the Maryland Assembly, then in session. The assembly condemned

117 Goddard in the Maryland Journal, July 2nd, 1774, described the success of his "Proposal for Establishing an American Post Office, on constitutional Principles," which he declared "hath been warmly and generously patronized by the Friends of Freedom in all the great Commercial Towns in the Eastern Colonies, where ample funds are already secured, Postmasters and Riders engaged, and, indeed, every necessary Arrangement made for the Reception of the Southern mails, which, it is expected, will soon be extended thither." Quoted in Wroth, op.cit., p. 132.

the Whig Club which, not unnaturally, was ready to drop the matter, but Goddard would not let it escape so lightly. He published a mocking pamphlet The Prowess of the Whig Club, and the battle was renewed. Once again the legislature supported the printer in the name of the sovereign people and thus the freedom of the press was vindicated. In a second incident involving support of General Charles Lee when he was court-martialed, Goddard and his partner Eleazer Oswald, son-in-law of John Holt and a soldier who had served with valour, again established the right of freedom to print.¹¹⁸ Whilst Bradford and Zenger had opposed constituted authority, Goddard undertook the more difficult task of refusing to bow down to popular prejudices, and was victorious. Goddard continued his activities in Maryland until 1793 when he returned to Rhode Island where he lived until his death in 1817. His sister Mary Katherine Goddard not only produced the newspaper during her brother's absence but raised it to a position where it was the equal of any colonial newspaper. In addition she ran a book and stationery store and also accepted the position of Baltimore's postmaster under her brother's continental system.

The second Baltimore newspaper was William Dunlap's Maryland Gazette, which he produced at the same time that he brought out the Pennsylvania Packet at Philadelphia. In 1778 his manager, James Hayes Jnr., bought his plant and produced the newspaper from Annapolis, but quite soon returned to Baltimore. In the closing years of the eighteenth century Baltimore became the centre of a most flourishing printing trade. Printers were attracted from other colonies, particularly

¹¹⁸ The conflict between Goddard and the Whig Club is well summarized in Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 135-138.

Pennsylvania, and a large number of printing enterprises were begun. Baltimore's first successful daily newspaper appeared in 1791 and after a German printer, Mathias Bartgis, had set up a press at Frederick, about forty-five miles from the Bay, other printers began to establish business in locations away from the western shore of Chesapeake Bay which the industry had hugged up to this time.

Isaiah Thomas makes an important point concerning the history of printing in Virginia in a most succinct manner: "This colony was the first British settlement in America; but it is not the oldest in printing. . . . Printing was not courted, and it would seem not desired, till many years after the establishment of the province."¹¹⁹ After the

119 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 141. Of course the statement that William Parks was the colony's first printer has been proven incorrect by more modern research.

On the history of printing in Virginia the massive work of Earl G. Sweym is important. Entitled "A Bibliography of Virginia" it was published in the Bulletin of the Virginia State Library, (1915) VIII, pp. 35-767; (1917) X, pp. 1-1404; (1919) XII, pp. 1-71. Part II deals completely with books printed after the colonial period, Part I covers the period from the first printing to the first decade of the twentieth century. Part III is confined to government documents printed in the colonial era. The work is particularly valuable for the correspondence of colonial printers included in it. Lawrence C. Wroth's biography of William Parks and his history of Maryland printing throw great light upon the earlier days of Virginia printing. A convenient summary is Douglas C. McMurtrie, The Beginnings of Printing in Virginia (Lexington, Virginia, 1935).

The connection between printing activities and the cultural dominance exercised by Virginia has not been fully explored, nor has the complementary fact of the lead taken by the colony in the development of revolutionary attitudes. The standard works on the history of colonial printing should be used in close conjunction with such studies of colonial culture as Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763 (New York, 1957) esp. pp. 165-172. Louis B. Wright, The Atlantic Frontier (New York, 1951), Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Founding of American Civilization: The Old South (New York, 1942). (This footnote is continued on the following page.)

disastrous start made by William Nuthead there was no printing in the colony again until William Parks set up his press at Williamsburg in 1730. It is indicative of the fact that Maryland was the printing centre of all colonies south of Pennsylvania, that Parks had been successful there before he became Virginia's first permanent printer. The point is further emphasized when it is recalled that as early as 1690 the absolute prohibition on printing in Virginia had been modified. Lord Howard had been instructed that "No printer's press is to be used without the Governor's leave first obtained." Before arriving in America in 1726 Parks had printed at Ludlow, Hereford, and Reading, England.

We have already dealt with his early activities in Maryland and found reason to agree that he "brought a new dignity to the public press of Maryland and did much to establish the prestige of the printing trade in the colonies."¹²⁰ As McMurtrie points out, Maryland and Virginia returned services: when Nuthead left Virginia to become Maryland's first printer the Old Dominion was without a printer, and when Parks left Maryland for Virginia Maryland was without a press. For a time, as we have already seen, Parks served both colonies as public printer, receiving a salary from each--"accommodations of this sort were not unusual in provinces south of Connecticut, during the infancy of printing."¹²¹ Parks returned to England in 1730, almost certainly to

119 (Continued from the preceding page.)

Wertenbaker's The Planters of Colonial Virginia (Princeton, 1922) and Wright's The First Gentlemen of Virginia (San Marino, California, 1940) give interesting pictures of those who supported and used the services of the colony's printers to the greatest extent.

120 McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 279.

121 Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 142-143. The salary paid to Parks is discussed by McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 282.

obtain equipment for his Virginia office and in the following year he moved his home to Williamsburg. His first three Virginia printings were the laws of the colony, The "New Virginia Tobacco-Law" and The Dealers Pocket Companion. Among the other works which Parks issued in 1730 was the first work on the art of printing to be published in the British North American colonies, Typographia: An Ode, on Printing. Inscrib'd to the Honourable William Gooch, Esq; The most important product of the Parks press was his collection of the laws of Virginia which appeared in 1733, five years after a committee of revision had been set up and probably three years after printing had begun on the project. It bore the title A Collection of all the Acts of Assembly, Now in Force, in the Colony of Virginia. The amount of work which Parks published from his Virginia office in the first seven years of the 1730's demonstrates clearly the need of a printer in the colony, his own great industry, and the justice of the claim of the Maryland Assembly that he was neglecting his work in its colony. In August, 1736, Parks founded the first newspaper in Virginia, the Williamsburg Virginia Gazette which he printed until his death in 1750. ¹²² His assistant, William Hunter, continued to print the paper for some months and then re-established it under the same title in January, 1751. Hunter carried through the rest of the work left outstanding by Parks and in his turn was appointed public printer for Virginia. In addition he became deputy postmaster-general with Benjamin Franklin, for all the American colonies, a post he

~~122~~ A detailed account of a libel action against Parks is given in Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 143-145, concluding with the statement derived from a newspaper report that "Thus it is obvious that a free press is, of all things, the best check and restraint on wicked men and arbitrary magistrates."

received through the influence of a relative who was paymaster to the British forces in North America. Little is known of Hunter except that he served the printing needs of Virginia until his death in 1761 and that he has acquired posthumous fame as the publisher of George Washington's first printed works.

Hunter's foreman, Joseph Royle, took over on his death, managing the newspaper, doing the public printing, and continuing the series of Virginia Almanacks which had been begun by Parks and continued by his successor. In 1765 Hunter turned over the management of the Virginia Gazette to Alexander Purdie and in the following year he died, even before the younger Hunter, whose interest he had committed himself to maintain, had reached his majority.¹²³

Alexander Purdie was one of the first Scottish printers to come to America. He continued the Williamsburg business for the benefit of Joseph Royle's widow, Hunter's son, and himself. When Mrs. Royle married John Dixon, Purdie took him into partnership. Although this took place in June, 1766 the earliest imprint we possess which holds both their names dates from 1769 and was in fact the Virginia Almanack for that year. It would seem however, that Purdie (and probably his partner) had continued to print the almanacs between 1766 and 1769. The partnership of Purdie and Dixon continued in effect until 1774 when Purdie broke away and founded his own Virginia Gazette. From 1776 to 1778 Purdie served as public printer at the not inconsiderable salary of six hundred pounds a year. In 1777 his budget for printing the laws

123 William Hunter, Jnr., came of age about the time of the beginning of the War for Independence but being of Loyalist persuasion he joined the British and eventually left the colonies as a pensioner of the British government.

came to about two thousand pounds and in the following year it reached the figure of two thousand and eight hundred pounds. He died in 1779.

When Purdie went off to form his own Virginia Gazette the older paper was continued by John Dixon who took William Hunter Jnr. into partnership. They produced the newspaper from 1775 until the close of 1778 when Hunter joined the British army. Dixon revived the paper in 1779 and 1780 and in this second year he moved the press to Richmond, thus bringing the first printing establishment to that town. Indeed Virginia, rather like Maryland, had suffered some constriction in its printing activities. Until 1766 the office which Parks had established at Williamsburg was the only one of its type in the colony. Government control of this press angered some of the opposition gentry to the point where they decided to look for a rival. Thomas Jefferson wrote to Isaiah Thomas in July, 1809 thus "I do not know that the publication of newspapers was ever prohibited in Virginia. Until the beginning of our revolutionary disputes, we had but one press, and that having the whole business of the government, and no competitor for public favor, nothing disagreeable to the governor could be got into it. We procured Rind to come from Maryland to publish a free paper."¹²⁴

Rind was born at Annapolis in 1733 and was Maryland's first native born printer. Apprenticed to Jonas Green, he became Green's partner in the publication of the Maryland Gazette and thus gained valuable experience for his Virginia venture. In May, 1766 he established a rival Virginia Gazette at Williamsburg. He continued ~~in~~ business until

124 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 148. Jefferson meant of course by a "free" newspaper one just as dedicated to revolutionary views as the Parks-founded publication was to the government. Yet no one can deny that Parks had been a pioneer in the establishment of the principle that the printer was free to print what he thought fit, regardless of whom he favoured.

his death in August, 1773, establishing in this period a rival set of Virginia almanacks. The only other press which was set up in Virginia prior to the outbreak of war was that of William Duncan at Norfolk. Duncan founded the Virginia Gazette or, Norfolk Intelligencer in this the largest town in Virginia, but left the firm after about six months. John Hunter Holt took over as publisher with Robert Gilmour as his printer but within four months he was to see the town invaded by the British and his press taken away to be used on board the flagship "Dunmore." Failing to capture Holt, the British imprisoned on board ship Cumming, the local bookbinder. The history of printing in Virginia during the last part of the century resembles that of Maryland in that its most marked feature is a much increased activity which breaks down the geographical concentration of printing. Thus in Virginia presses were established at Charlottesville, Winchester, Lynchburg, Staunton, Leesburg and Fincastle (in the Blue Ridge Mountains) before the close of the century in addition to those established before the outbreak of war with Britain.

The scanty population of North Carolina and its scattering across the terrain produced a situation unfavourable to large scale developments in printing, and indeed the first press in the colony came into use only one year before the middle of the eighteenth century. 125

In 1709, almost sixty years after the first settlement in North Carolina

125 The situation in North Carolina is given with citations of all the recent literature in Chapter IV of Lawrence H. Gipson, The Southern Plantations (New York, 1960) which is volume II in the multi-volume series The British Empire before the American Revolution. Pages 103-110 are particularly important for the point made here.

the most important town was described as consisting of "about twelve houses."¹²⁶ The most important problem in terms of printing was, of course, the furnishing of public copies of the colony's laws. This matter had been under periodic consideration from about the first decade of the century but no positive action was taken until 1740 when a group of legislators arranged for William Parks in Williamsburg to print A True and Faithful Narrative of the Proceedings of the House of Burgesses of North-Carolina. A committee was appointed in 1746 to inquire into the possibility of printing the acts of the assembly and in the same year the urgency of a perennial colonial problem led to another printing at Williamsburg. Wallace Borden arranged for the publication of An Address To the Inhabitants of North Carolina: occasioned By the difficult Circumstances the Government seems to labour under, for Want of a Medium, or something in lieu of Money.¹²⁷

The revision of the laws was completed in 1749 and this gave an opportunity for the first printing on North Carolina soil. In April, 1749 the assembly passed an act which decided the terms under which James Davis was to set up a press at New Bern, his salary to be paid by a levy of fourpence on all taxpayers. We know little of his background but it is very probable that he came from Virginia and that he had served an apprenticeship with William Parks. Certainly it would be in keeping with the influential position of Parks that one of his apprentices should be called upon to establish printing in a neighboring

126 McMurtree, op.cit., p. 337.

127 This is reprinted in William K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C., 1927).

colony in much the same way as that other great printer Benjamin Franklin sent his apprentices, sometimes on request sometimes not, to bring printing to places outside Philadelphia. Davis officially began work for the colony in June, 1749 and, like so many other of the pioneer printers in the southern colonies, there was sufficient official work to keep him very busy. His first job may well have been the printing of currency for the province.¹²⁸ The first North Carolina imprint was the Journal of the House of Burgesses for the session held between September and October, 1749.¹²⁹ The original purpose for which Davis had been brought to North Carolina was fulfilled when he printed in 1751 the revision of the colony's laws which had been made, at the request of the assembly, under the direction of Samuel Swann. Davis established a newspaper, the North-Carolina Gazette, in July, 1751 and thus further aided in the important task of disseminating news and official information.¹³⁰ The paper was continued until 1759 when it was suspended. Davis produced a sequel, the North Carolina Magazine, which appeared for about four years when the printer returned to his original title and used this until the closing of the paper by the war in 1778.

For the most part, colonial printers were, as we have seen, men of exceptionally independent minds, and, in situations where

128 This suggestion is made by McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 340.

129 Very important research was done on this journal and other contemporary work and revealed in McMurtrie: The First Twelve Years of Printing in North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C., 1933), reprinted from the North Carolina Historical Review (1933), X, pp. 214-234.

130 Thomas claimed that Davis set up his press in 1754 or 1755 and dated the first edition of the paper from the latter date. See Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 150-1. McMurtrie, Brigham, and other modern authorities have disproved this statement.

they were not only public printers but also hardly faced with rivals, it was not an easy matter to maintain harmony with legislatures and councils which were themselves travelling through increasingly disturbed political waters. Although Davis served as public printer in North Carolina from the time of his appointment to the time of his retirement (about 1782) his relations with his 'employers' were by no means uniformly cordial. He had only been in the colony three years when he was fined by the assembly for neglecting his official printing and although his contract was renewed in 1754 and at three yearly intervals until 1760, in 1762 an attempt was made to attract Alexander Purdie from Virginia to serve as official printer. Two years later there was a more serious attempt to depose him. The post had become a matter of politics, a subject of dispute between governor and council on the one hand and the lower house of the assembly on the other. In the course of this controversy the latter declared that "We the Assembly of this Province therefore to guard the Liberties of the Subject and our indubitable Rights Do Resolve that we know no such Office as his Majesty's Printer of this Province and of no Duties, Fees, or Emoluments annexed or incident to such Office and that the said appointment is of a new and unusual nature unknown to our laws, and is a violent stretch of Power."¹³¹ As usual when their pockets were touched the members of a colonial legislature were quick to regard it as an infringement of their liberties. When the governor officially appointed Andrew Steuart of Philadelphia, the house reappointed Davis and declared that Steuart should collect no fees from governor or council without concurrence of the assembly. Steuart, however, did not

131 Quoted in McMurtrie, History of Printing, II, p. 344.

withdraw and established the colony's second press at Wilmington. A further attempt to replace Davis in 1777 was also unsuccessful and when he eventually retired in 1781 he was succeeded by his son, Thomas. James Davis, after his removal to North Carolina, lived continuously in New Bern and held many public appointments, including that of representative in the colonial House of Burgesses, firstly for his town and then for the county. Thomas Davis moved his father's printing equipment from New Bern to Halifax in 1782, thus founding the third place of printing in the province.

Andrew Steuart was an Irishman who had settled in Philadelphia and there ran a bookshop as well as working as a printer. In 1761 he moved to Lancaster but got into a dispute and was very ready to accept Governor Dobbs's invitation to come to North Carolina. In October, 1764 he commenced publication of the Wilmington North-Carolina Gazette but had to discontinue it in 1766 for lack of readers, this despite the fact that his arrival in Wilmington had coincided with its becoming the seat of government. Steuart seems to have stopped printing at least by 1767 and after his avariciousness had prevented a sale of his equipment to Isaiah Thomas, the town was left without a printer. Adam Boyd, son of a Presbyterian minister and possessing no practical knowledge of printing, bought Steuart's equipment after his death and with the help of one assistant began the Cape-Fear Mercury in October, 1769. It appeared intermittently and usually contained many inaccuracies. As Thomas commented: "It has been said, that he possessed some classical knowledge, which is not improbable; but, his printing was certainly, that of an unskilful workman."¹³² These were all the printing presses

132 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 152.

founded in the colony prior to 1775 but, just as Maryland and Virginia did, North Carolina experienced a comparative spate of printing activity in the last part of the eighteenth century.¹³³ Robert Keith established a new North-Carolina Gazette at New Bern in 1783 and in 1787 this was taken over by his French apprentice, Francis Xavier Martin. In 1785 Abraham Hodge and his partner Blanchard began the State Gazette of North-Carolina at New Bern. Printing also took place at Fayetteville, Edenton, Halifax, Wilmington, Hillsboro, Salisbury, Raleigh--which became the capital of the state--and Lincolnton, before the century came to a close.

South Carolina in early colonial times was, as is well known, a region of great estates with none of that urban and business concentration which would attract a printer and provide him with a living. The arrival of printing in 1731 was a result of government need which in time was buttressed by the prosperity of the province.¹³⁴ In

133 See McMurtrie, History of Printing, II, pp. 351-365. Stephen B. Weeks, The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1891). Charles C. Crittenden, North Carolina Newspapers before 1790 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1928).

134 See Lawrence H. Gipson, The Southern Plantations, Ch. V. for a comprehensive survey of conditions in colonial South Carolina. Contemporary descriptions by Governor James Glen and Dr. George Milligen-Johnston are readily available in Colonial South Carolina, Ed. Chapman J. Millin (Columbia, South Carolina, 1951). Robert L. Meriwether, The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765 (Kingsport, Tenn., 1940) is also very important for the point made here. Charleston as a cultural centre receives treatment in Frederick P. Bowes, The Culture of Early Charleston (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1942).

1719 South Carolina came under the rule of the British crown and almost immediately an attempt was made to find a printer for the colony. Further attempts were made in 1722 and 1724, and finally in 1731 not one but three printers were attracted by the thousand pounds bonus offered. McMurtrie has discovered four documents which are the earliest extant South Carolina imprints; each one deals with the same topic--the survey of the land of the colony and its grant under quit-rents.¹³⁵

The first printer in South Carolina was George Webb and this brief statement is almost exhaustive of our knowledge of him. We know little of who he was or where he came from, but we are certain that he did not print in the colony after 1732.¹³⁶ The post of public printer was now sought by two rivals, Thomas Whitmarsh and Eleazer Phillips, Jr., who quite naturally established their businesses in Charleston. Since neither had the public appointment and were therefore neither hampered by the obligation to print official documents in preference to commercial work nor able to depend upon a certain and quite lucrative source of income, it is not surprising that each started a newspaper almost immediately. Whitmarsh established the South-Carolina Gazette in January, 1732 and Phillips the South-Carolina Weekly Journal at about the same time. Yet neither felt he could do without the income which

135 These were discovered by Douglas McMurtrie and discussed by him in Four South Carolina Imprints of 1731, together with Complete Facsimilies of these Imprints (Chicago, 1933).

136 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 153 quotes from the Barbadoes Mercury and the Boston Weekly Rehearsal of October 16th, 1732 and December 25th, 1732 respectively that as a result of a great epidemic "of the three Printers that arrived there, for the sake of the 10001. Carolina Currency offered by the government; ther is but one left, and he that received the premium is one that is lately dead." For Webb's possible antecedents see McMurtrie, op.cit., pp. 310-12.

could be obtained from the position of public printer and during January, 1732 they showered their petitions upon the assembly. A suggestion that each should submit a specimen of his work for comparison was not carried out and in February, 1732 Phillips received a contract to print the Quit-Rent Roll law. Phillips died, however, in July, 1732 and Whitmarsh became not only official printer but also possessed of a printing monopoly within the colony. It is interesting to note that Whitmarsh, who had been supported by no less a person than Benjamin Franklin, had to wait until the death of his rival to acquire the position which had originally attracted him to the colony. He had been favoured by the governor and council but the desire of the lower house to have Phillips appointed had prevailed. Whitmarsh himself was to die in September, 1733, but prior to that date he had printed five or six items in addition to his newspaper and had even ambitiously proposed a printing of the colony's laws, but found an insufficient number of subscribers.

The death of Whitmarsh meant that the Charleston enterprise reverted to Franklin who sent another of his apprentices, Louis Timothée, to take up the task. Timothée re-established the South-Carolina Gazette in February, 1734 and as early as April was proposing a printing of the colony's laws. Subscriptions were slow in arriving and Timothy (as he now called himself) demanded and obtained from the assembly a guarantee of the sale of three hundred copies. His original proposal was to print four hundred copies for which the paper would cost two thousand pounds, making clear why he asked the assembly to subsidize him to the extent of half this sum. The first volume of the laws appeared

for sale in 1736, the second in the following year.¹³⁷ After he had been kept busy in the performance of this major work in addition to his newspaper and the printing of separate acts of the assembly periodically, Timothy found himself in the middle of a controversy brought about by the small pox epidemic which hit Charleston in 1738. The columns of his newspaper were filled for a time with the disputes between advocates of inoculation and its opponents; but when Timothy ruled out the discussion on the grounds that his readers were tired of reading about it, the contending doctors were forced to utilize pamphlets for the expression of their views. This extremely interesting use of pamphleteering could not lose Timothy much profit, for he remained Charleston's only printer until his death in December, 1738.

With almost no loss of time Timothy's business was continued by his widow, who, to Franklin's relief, turned out to be a far more efficient and careful business partner than her husband. She printed in her son's name and then he, reaching his majority a year or two later, printed for himself. Quite soon he found himself in difficulties for he was arrested for publishing a letter by Hugh Bryan which attacked the South Carolina clergy for their laxity. Bryan and George Whitefield were arrested at the same time but none of the three was

137 A facsimile of the title page is reproduced in McMurtrie, History of Printing, p. 139.

held long.¹³⁸ In March, 1746 Timothy again found trouble for himself by publishing a letter opposing Governor James Glen's Sunday blue laws but on this occasion also no serious result occurred.¹³⁹ Generally the Gazette and its printer led an uneventful career down to 1772. Timothy corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and from this as well as other sources we know of the tribulations which he had to encounter in the continuation of his work. First among these was lack of labour, for Timothy found difficulty in obtaining apprentices and even more difficulty in keeping them.¹⁴⁰ At no time was a ready supply of paper easily obtainable but during the years of the French and Indian wars this problem became even more serious. During 1757, for example, the Gazette was published fortnightly because of a shortage of paper. In May, 1772, Timothy took into partnership Thomas Powell and Edward Hughes. However, Hughes died in July of the same year and Powell only worked with Timothy until November. Powell was imprisoned for publishing a report of proceedings in the upper house of the assembly (the council) in the Gazette of August 26, 1773 and his case became the subject of a

138 The impact made by Whitefield is vividly described by Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 156-157: "This celebrated itinerant preacher, when he visited America, like a comet, drew the attention of all classes of people. The blaze of his ministration was extended through the continent, and he became the common topic of conversation from Georgia to Newhampshire. All the newspapers were filled with paragraphs of information respecting him, or with peices of animated disputations pro or con; and, the press groaned with pamphlets written in favour of, or against, his person and ministry. In short, his early visits to America excited a great and general agitation throughout the country, which did not wholly subside when he returned to Europe."

139 See William L. King, The Newspaper Press of Charleston, South Carolina (Charleston, S. Carolina, 1882), pp. 19-20.

140 See McMurtrie, "The Correspondence of Peter Timothy, Printer of Charlestown, with Benjamin Franklin," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine (1934), XXV, pp. 123-129.

fight between the upper and lower houses. So serious did this dispute become that it was carried before the king through the colony's London agent. However, two years later, at the commencement of the war, the matter had still not been settled.¹⁴¹ Timothy, although in failing health, decided that it would be wiser to print under his own name which he did from November, 1773 until the paper's demise because of war conditions in December, 1775. Timothy was a staunch supporter of the revolutionary cause and after printing in Charleston during the first years of the newly inaugurated state, he was captured by the British and imprisoned at St. Augustine. He was drowned at sea in 1782. Peter Timothy's mother had died in 1757 but his widow, Ann Donovan Timothy, took up publishing and in 1785 became state printer. The son, Benjamin Franklin Timothy, took over affairs after his mother's death in 1792 and maintained the Gazette (which underwent several modifications in its title) until 1802.

After some seeking South Carolina received, as we have seen, more than it needed in the person of printers. However, after the rush of 1731 no other printer came to the colony until 1758. In August, 1757, Robert Wells opened a bookstore in Charleston and in November of the following year commenced publication of the South-Carolina Weekly Gazette. The actual printing was done by a fellow Scot, George Bruce, and this partnership lasted until 1760, possibly a little

141 The primary source of information on this case is Thomas, op.cit., II, pp. 161-168. The importance of the case is better demonstrated by Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776 (New York, 1899), pp. 715-723 and W. R. Smith, South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776 (New York, 1903), pp. 389-393.

longer. Wells took Bruce's brother David into partnership for a year or so after which Wells published the paper on his own. In 1775 he turned the paper over to his son, John, and returned to England where he spent the rest of his life. Isaiah Thomas, having been foiled by Andrew Steuart in North Carolina, worked for Wells during 1769 and 1770.¹⁴² From 1771 to the outbreak of the revolutionary war Wells was assisted by another Scot, Alexander Aikman, who left America in 1775 or 1776 and became one of Jamaica's principal printers.¹⁴³

The political views of John Wells differed from those of his father, for on the latter's departure from the colony the newspaper assumed a distinctly revolutionary tone. It reverted to its loyalist spirit in the second half of 1781 and throughout 1782 when John's younger brother, Dr. William Charles Wells, managed the paper which he called the Royal Gazette, although continuing to print it under his brother's name. When the British evacuated Charleston late in 1782, Dr. Wells moved the equipment and a pressman to St. Augustine, East Florida, which had become a refuge for Loyalists. The newspaper was continued there as the East-Florida Gazette and was published by William Wells until his brother's return. John's visit to his father in England seems to have somewhat altered his political views for whilst William returned to England to continue in the practice of medicine, John moved the press to Nassau in the Bahamas and established there the Royal Bahama Gazette.

142 The sketch which Thomas was able to give as a result of his personal knowledge may be found in op.cit., II, pp. 158-59, 369-70.

143 McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 328 declares that Aikman assisted Bruce from 1751 and follows this statement by declaring that Aikman was born in July, 1755! Aikman was indeed born in 1735 not 1755 which would be necessary for McMurtrie's first statement to be correct.

An apprentice who gave Peter Timothy a great deal of trouble, Charles Crouch, opened his own printing establishment when Timothy temporarily suspended publication of his paper during the Stamp Act crisis. Crouch's paper was given the title of the South-Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal to avoid the over-worked title of the "South Carolina Gazette" and yet benefit from the legal provision that certain advertisements were to be "inserted in the South-Carolina Gazette."¹⁴⁴ For the eight years of its existence his paper was in itself a satisfactory source of income to Crouch. The reason for this somewhat unusual circumstance was that, having been established to uphold revolutionary attitudes, "the general opposition of the colonies to the stamp act, induced the public to patronize the Gazette. It immediately gained a list of respectable subscribers, and a full proportion of advertising customers."¹⁴⁵ Crouch was drowned on a coast-wise voyage in August, 1775, and his widow--like so many other bereaved wives of colonial printers--decided to carry on the business. When Charleston was besieged in 1780 the indomitable woman took ship with her press and types for Salem, Massachusetts, and in 1780 commenced publication of the Salem Gazette. In the autumn of that year she moved to Rhode Island, her birthplace, but again moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where she lived until her death in 1818. Until 1782 Charleston had been the only place in the colony where printing was practiced but its occupation by the British brought about printing in other

144 This point is made by Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 371. McMurtrie, op.cit., p. 331 incorrectly gives the title as South-Carolina Gazette; and County Journal.

145 Thomas, op.cit., II, p. 371.

locations.¹⁴⁶ Having traced the history of printing in South Carolina while it remained a British colony, we return to our first comment that its rural nature worked against a rapid advance in printing.

Georgia was the last of the thirteen colonies to be organized and the last to receive a printer, a fact which was, as in the case of South Carolina, reflective of its remoteness. Not surprisingly, one printer held a monopoly in the period of colonial status. Chartered in 1732, Georgia became a royal province in 1753, but there was no printing there until nine years later. In the period between 1755 when the first general assembly met and the first printing in the province, the majority of the laws were left in manuscript whilst a few were printed by Peter Timothy at Charleston. In 1762 the Commons House investigated, through a committee, the cost of "Publishing the several laws Proclamations &c necessary to inform the several officers and others whom it may concern, of the Duties required therein."¹⁴⁷ We should notice that in this case again the initiative for the first printing in a colony came from the lower house of its assembly. Resolutions concerning the bringing of a printer to the province passed through the house rapidly and these specifically appointed James Johnston "lately arrived in this province from Great-Britain, recommended as a

146 It is important to remember that Charleston rose with startling rapidity to a position where as a year-round centre it could be pre-eminent in the cultural life of the colonies south of Pennsylvania. See Lawrence H. Gipson, The Southern Plantations (New York, 1960), pp. 144-148. One of the few studies of a colonial newspaper is Hennig Cohen, The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775 (Columbia, S.C., 1953).

147 Motion of the House, February 3rd, 1762, reprinted in McMurtrie, History of Printing, p. 367.

person bred to and well skilled in the art and mystery of printing," as the official printer, to set up his business in Savannah, and to be guaranteed a salary of a hundred pounds for each of four years. Two years were allowed for him to obtain the necessary equipment, but within a year he was ready to commence business. At least as early as March, 1763, he was printing official documents and in April of the same year the first issue of his newspaper, the Georgia Gazette made its appearance. It was produced with only one interruption--from November 21, 1765 to May 21, 1766, occasioned by the stamp duty--for thirteen years.

Johnston was probably a Scotsman but we know little of where he learned the art of printing or when he came to America. He served a colony which in its earliest days was of a more heterogeneous character with respect to its population than any other, yet produced a newspaper which differed little from its counterparts in the other twelve colonies.¹⁴⁸ The Gazette carried the official news and those extracts from the laws which the authorities desired to be printed. Johnston in addition operated a sizeable bookstore, stocking the serious literature of the eighteenth century (mainly by English writers) and the Ancient Classics as well as a "stationary" store which kept supplies of writing materials and legal forms for the convenience of local business. In accord with the close ties which he had with the colonial government, Johnston suspended publication of his newspaper when his readers refused to subscribe to the new price necessary whilst the Stamp Act was in

148 See McMurtree, The First Printing in Georgia (Metuchen, N.J., 1928), McMurtree, "James Johnston, First Printer in the Royal Colony of Georgia," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society of America (1929), n.s. XVI, pp. 73-80. McMurtree, "Pioneer Printing in Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly (1932), XVI, pp. 77-113.

operation. Johnston's contract was due to expire in 1767--another reason for caution on his part--and prior to this he negotiated a new agreement with the government. Naturally this did not guarantee a salary so generous as his first contract but rather left room for yearly payments on the basis of his printing bills.

In 1774 Johnston briefly found himself in the odd position of printing for both the incipient revolutionary party and the governor and his council, but there can be no doubt whatsoever that Johnston and his family were strongly loyalist. Indeed, after the administration of affairs was taken over by the Council of Public Safety, Johnston was 'investigated' (January, 1776). For the rest of 1776 and until March, 1778, we have no knowledge of him or his printing. When the Gazette ceased to be printed in February, 1776, printing in the state ceased altogether and it seems probable that he refused to print for the revolutionary government. The next printing of which we know was the work of William Lancaster for whom the government seems to have bought the necessary types and equipment. When the British resumed control in Georgia late in 1778, printing was begun again, almost certainly by Johnston. Certainly by August, 1779 the Royal Georgia Gazette was bearing the old imprint, "Printed by James Johnston." In 1783 the quiet, unpretentious man, unpossessed of any political ambitions whatsoever yet the victim of political and military upheavals, returned to serve again as Georgia's public printer.

A CONCLUDING WORD

The American development of printing in the colonial period was both directly and indirectly of the greatest importance in bringing about the revolutionary war against Britain.

The progress in this field provided a vehicle for the expression of distinctly American views. Professor Schlesinger's emphasis upon the "newspaper war" in the '60's and early '70's is balanced by Professor Davidson's more broadly based assessment of the impact of the printed word. Each stresses that the press allowed revolutionary feelings and thoughts to become not only articulate but also widely disseminated. At the same time this development reflected the maturing of the colonial life to the point where independent government was a logical and 'natural' political demand. One may not, of course, measure accurately the maturity of a nation nor state that at point 'x' a group is ready to govern itself. Demands for this power arise out of the world environment (so far as it is known and appreciated) in the sense that such requests often find a basis in comparisons between their own and other political entities and modes of government. Yet an awareness of oneself provides the basis for an assertion of individuality, and events in our time seem to support very forcibly the notion that political groups, in much the same manner as individual personalities, become cognisant of themselves and their maturity and then demand suitable recognition.

In this maturation process the power of the printed word is an invaluable aid. The increase in printing and thereby in providing means for spreading news, for making known such local literary culture

as might develop, and for acquainting the colonists with the products of the 'father culture' of Western Europe, allowed the emerging nation to achieve a maturity of mind and spirit which bolstered their claims to independence based upon economic and political realities. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries information came only through word of mouth or the written word. The former was, in a vast majority of occasions, of hardly more than local character. It was to books and, more particularly and directly, to newspapers read in common--or to different newspapers carrying the same reports--that one must turn for that element which informed and unified men across the American colonies. The famed leaders corresponded and sometimes met each other, but the sub-leaders, those articulate, opinion-holding, opinion-forming, and support-winning persons, both radicals and bourgeoisie, could only feel bound together through the printed word.

Yet one must stress, perhaps, that this linkage of minds was one of strongly-held, deep, sub-conscious ideals and opinions as much as it was that of a joint pursuit of immediate ends. The English heritage, which blended so well with colonial conditions to produce the impetus for the destruction of English rule, was shared as much by reason of the common turning to Britain for learning and knowledge in the English tongue as it was by the similar national origins of most of the inhabitants of the colonies. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, far more than in the present day, men's concepts and practices were evolved from the serious reading done firstly by their parents and then by themselves. Thus the printing instrument--which put the Bible into nearly every colonial home, brought Swift, Defoe, and Shakespeare to the view of anyone who could read, and gave the hamlet the opportunity

to share the news of Europe, Britain and her American colonies--must take high credit for the formation of public opinion.

We claim no more than this. Recognizing that the reasons and the non-reasons for the War for Independence lie deep in the intricate complexities of an empire's history, we have tried to show only the growth of outlets for the articulation of those ideas and feelings which this interplay of two familial societies evoked.

APPENDIX

This appendix consists of two tables both of which deal with the history of colonial newspapers, a matter which has occupied our increasing attention in Chapter 3 as we have recounted and analyzed the history of printing in the American colonies of Britain during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century.

Table A lists the newspapers which came into existence in these colonies prior to the signing of the peace with Britain in September, 1783. It is based upon Brigham's great bibliography with the works of Thomas, Schlesinger, Fay, McMurtrie, Stillwell, and Evans serving as checking, clarifying, and sometimes amplifying agencies. The titles given are in all cases the original title of the paper, even though in a number of instances this was quite quickly replaced by another. Limits of space did not allow of a complete showing of title changes and it seemed therefore necessary to serve the interests of consistency by quoting the title according to this manner. The titles are listed alphabetically according to the place of publication within the colony, and the colonies are arranged geographically, extending from the North to the South. The period of existence of the newspaper has been regarded very strictly as being that period when it appeared as a distinctly independent publication. It does not therefore include periods when a specific paper was amalgamated with another and for this reason there is quite often no alignment between the definition of a newspaper's period of existence and its volume numbering. In some cases there was no change in volume numbering after the paper had been

amalgamated, a fact which could lead the unwary reader to believe that the paper was still continuing its independent existence.

Table B attempts to show the changes in title of newspapers in three colonies, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and North Carolina. If the choice of these three colonies was not made entirely at random, no claim is made, on the other hand, that the selection contains particular significance. Each was a 'small' colony in terms of the volume of its newspaper publication and thus, for the purposes of our table, presented a manageable number of changes. We have selected one colony from each of the three accepted divisions--New England, Middle Atlantic, and Southern. There can be no doubt that in larger, more prosperous colonies there was a distinctly higher turnover in newspaper publication with a consequently greater number of title changes. The delimiting dates mark the founding of the first newspaper in any of these three colonies (1751) and the end date is the close of the War for Independence. Whereas the smaller colonies had only very few printers who either soon brought their papers to a close or maintained them almost unchanged for a considerable length of time, the larger colonies felt the effects of a more intricate commercial position.

Table B, therefore, is largely self-explanatory and complete as it stands. However, some important conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of Table A which are worthy of notice here.

One hundred and forty-six (146) newspapers were brought into existence in colonial America, that is to say until the British finally relinquished their rule of the thirteen colonies. Forty-five (45) were started in the four New England colonies of New Hampshire,

Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; sixty-six (66) came to press in the four Middle Atlantic colonies: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware; thirty-five (35) saw the light of day in the five Southern colonies of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. During colonial times the greatest number of newspapers appeared in Pennsylvania which produced thirty-two, whilst New York accounted for the birth of twenty-eight and Massachusetts for twenty-seven. Of the total number of sixty-six which appeared across the Middle Atlantic colonies, Pennsylvania and New York accounted for sixty of these, leaving New Jersey to contribute five and Delaware one. Of the New Jersey newspapers, four were produced in the period 1776-1783 and thus, in the whole of the Middle Atlantic region, only two newspapers were produced outside the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania prior to the outbreak of hostilities with Britain. The concentration of this type of news medium is further emphasized when it is noted that in these two latter colonies fifty-seven of the total of sixty newspapers were produced in the two cities of Philadelphia and New York. This picture of concentration is repeated, to a lesser degree, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland--Annapolis dominating the scene up to about 1775 and Baltimore thereafter--Virginia, where Williamsburg produced all but one of the newspapers printed up to 1775, South Carolina, in which no newspaper was produced outside Charleston until 1782, and Georgia whose every newspaper emanated from Savannah during the whole of the period under consideration. In Delaware, Wilmington produced the only newspaper in the colony; in New Hampshire, Portsmouth was responsible for every newspaper prior to the outbreak of the War for

Independence; in New Jersey no newspaper appeared prior to 1775 but in the ensuing troubled years papers were released from no less than five points in the colony.

Connecticut and North Carolina were the only two colonies where any real diversification of newspaper printing can be said to have existed. In North Carolina, however, the decline of New Bern almost coincided with the rise of Wilmington and certainly the change in the seat of government was a most important factor. Here, as in all colonies, printing was closely aligned to government, which created the initial demand and provided the continuity of work essential to the colonial printer. Yet it was precisely the newspaper which, by its regular circulation, could seemingly provide the same advantage without the accompanying need to align oneself with government policy. One says 'seemingly' for in fact every printer was not only subject to censorship but also in some measure or other dependent upon governmental advertising patronage. Thus it was only in the larger cities that independent and 'revolutionary' newspapers had a chance of survival. Connecticut alone presents the picture of diffusion in newspaper production. New Haven produced two newspapers, Hartford and New London produced one each in the second half of the sixties and throughout the rest of the period up to the close of the War for Independence.

The preceding figures become much more meaningful, however, when combined with those which analyse the same body of data from a chronological rather than a geographical point of view. Of the one hundred and forty-six (146) newspapers, twenty-eight (28) were produced in the period before 1750, fifty-six (56) between 1751 and 1775, and

sixty-two (62) from 1776 to 1783 (Sept.). Prior to 1750 the New England colonies were responsible for the appearance of ten (10) newspapers, the Middle Atlantic colonies for fourteen (14), and the Southern colonies produced four (4). In Pennsylvania and in Massachusetts nine newspapers were produced in each, with five German language newspapers being included in the Pennsylvania total. From 1751 to 1775 the relative proportions of the three regional divisions were thirteen (13), twenty-six (26), and seventeen (17). In the third period, 1776-1783, New England colonies produced twenty-two (22) newspapers, Middle Atlantic colonies twenty-six (26) and the Southern colonies fourteen (14). The ratios of these figures hardly need comment. Secondly, it is important to qualify the rather absolute figures produced by our geographical survey with others which relate the length of time for which the newspapers appeared. This information may be most efficiently presented in chart form and it has therefore been brought together as Table C. Of the total number of newspapers which appeared in the colonies, over a third lasted less than two years, about twenty-five per cent existed for a period over two and less than five years, approximately seventeen per cent maintained a life of between five and ten years, about seven and a half per cent were read for a period of between ten and twenty years, and those which could celebrate twenty years or more of circulation amounted to almost exactly one-ninth of the total. We may compare these figures with those of Brigham. From 1690 to 1820 2,120 newspapers appeared in the region which comprised the United States at this latter date. The six New England states produced 447, the six Middle Atlantic states 1023, the ten Southern states 425, and the seven

Western states 225. In terms of the length of their appearance, 1,118 lasted less than two years, 1,002 from two to five years, 302 from ten to nineteen years, 106 from twenty to twenty-nine years, 34 from thirty to thirty-nine years, 15 from forty to forty-nine years, and 10 from fifty to eighty-seven years.¹

¹ Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820 (2 vols., Worcester, Mass., 1947), Intro. to Volume I.

TABLE A - Newspapers Printed in the British North
American Colonies before 1783
(Listed by colony from North to South)

COLONY & TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>New Hampshire</u>		
Exeter	<u>The Exeter Journal, or, New Hampshire Gazette</u>	1778 - 1779
Exeter	<u>New Hampshire Gazette, or, The Exeter Morning Chronicle</u>	1776 - 1777
Hanover	<u>The Dresden Mercury, and The Universal Intelligencer</u>	1779
Portsmouth	<u>The Freeman's Journal, or New-Hampshire Gazette</u>	1776 - 1778
Portsmouth	<u>The Portsmouth Mercury, and Weekly Advertiser</u>	1765 - 1767
Portsmouth	<u>The New-Hampshire Gazette</u>	1756 - 1783 seq.
<u>Massachusetts</u>		
Boston	<u>The Censor</u>	1771 - 1772
Boston	<u>The Boston Chronicle</u>	1767 - 1770
Boston	<u>The Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser</u>	1776 - 1787
Boston	<u>The Boston Evening-Post</u>	1735 - 1775
Boston	<u>The Evening Post; and the Gen- eral Advertiser</u>	1778 - 1780
Boston	<u>The Boston Evening-Post: and the General Advertiser</u>	1781 - 1784
Boston	<u>The Boston Gazette</u>	1719 - 1783 seq.
Boston	<u>The Independent Advertiser</u>	1748 - 1749
Boston	<u>The Independent Chronicle</u>	1776 - 1783 seq.

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Massachusetts (cont'd)</u>		
Boston	<u>The Independent Ledger, and American Advertiser</u>	1778 - 1783 seq.
Boston	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette</u> (published as part of <u>The Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser</u> on Mondays and <u>The Boston Weekly News-Letter</u> on Thursdays)	1768 - 1769
Boston	<u>The Massachusetts Spy</u>	1770 - 1775
Boston (after Cambridge)	<u>The New-England Chronicle</u>	1776
Boston	<u>The New-England Courant</u>	1721 - 1727
Boston	<u>The New-England Weekly Journal</u>	1727 - 1741
Boston	<u>The Boston News-Letter</u>	1704 - 1776
Boston	<u>The Boston Weekly Post-Boy</u>	1734 - 1775
Boston	<u>Publick Occurrences, both Forreign and Domestick</u>	1690
Boston	<u>The Weekly Rehearsal</u>	1731 - 1735
Cambridge	<u>The New-England Chronicle</u> (later at Boston)	1775 - 1776
Newburyport	<u>The Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet: Or, the Massachusetts and New-Hampshire General Advertiser</u>	1773 - 1777
Salem	<u>The American Gazette: or, the Constitutional Journal</u>	1776
Salem	<u>The Essex Gazette</u> (continued as <u>The New-England Chronicle</u> first at Cambridge, then at Boston)	1768 - 1775
Salem	<u>The Salem Gazette, and Newbury and Marblehead Advertiser</u>	1774 - 1775
Salem	<u>The Salem Gazette</u> (continued at Boston as <u>The Massachusetts Gazette</u>)	1781 - 1785

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Massachusetts (cont'd)</u>		
Springfield	<u>The Massachusetts Gazette,</u> <u>or the Springfield and</u> <u>Northampton Weekly Advertiser</u>	1782 - 1784
Worcester	<u>The Massachusetts Spy Or,</u> <u>American Oracle of Liberty</u>	1775 - 1783 seq.

The Present State of New-England Affairs (Boston, Samuel Green, 1689) is not included in this list, although considered by some as a newspaper.

Rhode Island

Newport	<u>The Newport Gazette</u>	1777 - 1779
Newport	<u>Gazette Françoise</u>	1780 - 1781
Newport	<u>The Newport Mercury, or,</u> <u>the Weekly Advertiser</u>	1758 - 1783 seq.
Newport	<u>The Rhode-Island Gazette</u>	1732 - 1733
Providence	<u>The American Journal and</u> <u>General Advertiser</u>	1779 - 1781
Providence	<u>The Providence Gazette;</u> <u>and Country Journal</u>	1762 - 1783 seq.

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Connecticut</u>		
Hartford	<u>The Connecticut Courant</u>	1764 - 1783 seq.
New Haven	<u>The Connecticut Gazette</u>	1755 - 1768
New Haven	<u>The Connecticut Journal;</u> <u>and New-Haven Post-Boy</u>	1767 - 1783 seq.
New London	<u>The New-London Gazette</u>	1763 - 1783 seq.
New London	<u>The New-London Summary, or,</u> <u>the Weekly Advertiser</u>	1758 - 1763
Norwich	<u>The Norwich Packet. And</u> <u>the Connecticut, Massachusetts,</u> <u>New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island</u> <u>Weekly Advertiser</u>	1773 - 1783 seq.
<u>New York</u>		
Albany	<u>The Albany Gazette</u>	1771 - 1772
Albany	<u>The New-York Gazetteer, or,</u> <u>Northern Intelligencer</u>	1782 - 1784
Fishkill	<u>The New-York Packet, and the</u> <u>American Advertiser</u> (transferred to Fishkill from New York City when British occupation imminent)	1777 - 1783
Kingston	<u>New York Journal</u> (publication of Holt's paper suspended because of British occupation of N.Y.C.)	1777
New York City	<u>The American Chronicle</u>	1762
New York City	<u>The New-York Chronicle</u>	1769 - 1770
New York City	<u>The Constitutional Gazette</u>	1775 - 1776
New York City	<u>The New-York Evening Post</u> -----	1744 - 1753
New York City	<u>The New-York Evening Post</u>	1782 - 1783
New York City	<u>The New-York Gazette</u>	1725 - 1744

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>New York (cont'd)</u>		
New York City	<u>The New-York Gazette, re- vived in the Weekly Post-Boy</u>	1747 - 1773
New York City	<u>Weyman's New-York Gazette</u>	1759 - 1767
New York City	<u>The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury (con- tinued at Newark, N.J.)</u>	1768 - 1783
New York City	<u>The Independent Reflector</u>	1752 - 1753
New York City	<u>The New-York Journal, or General Advertiser</u> (discontinued because of British occupation, revived at Kingston, N.Y.)	1766 - 1776
New York City	<u>The New-York Mercury</u>	1752 - 1768
New York City	<u>The New-York Mercury; or, General Advertiser</u>	1779 - 1783
New York City	<u>The Occasional Reverberator*</u>	1753

The essays signed "John Englishman," printed in 1755 do not seem appropri-
ately termed newspapers although classified as such by Brigham, op.cit., I,
p. 654.

*Could be regarded as a magazine but had appearance of a newspaper.

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER.	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>New York (cont'd)</u>		
New York City	<u>The New York Packet: And the American Advertiser</u> (continued at Fishkill, N.Y. and again at New York, 1783-1792)	1776
New York City	<u>The New-York Pacquet</u>	1763
New York City	<u>Rivington's New-York Gazette: or the Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser</u>	1777
New York City	<u>Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or the Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser</u>	1773 - 1775
New York City	<u>Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette</u> (continuation of <u>Rivington's New-York Gazette</u>)	1777
New York City	<u>The Royal American Gazette</u>	1777 - 1783
New York City	<u>The Royal Gazette</u> (continuation of <u>Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette</u>)	1777 - 1783

The Plebean (New York) was a series of essays rather than a newspaper. No copies extant. See Brigham, op.cit., I, p. 679.

New York City	<u>The New-York Weekly Journal</u>	1733 - 1751
New York City	<u>The New-York Weekly Post-Boy</u>	1743 - 1747
Poughkeepsie	<u>The New-York Journal, and the General Advertiser</u> (continuation after suspension at Kingston of <u>The New-York Journal</u>)	1778 - 1782

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>New Jersey</u>		
Bridgeton	<u>The Plain Dealer</u> (manuscript, not printed)	1775 - 1776
Burlington	<u>The New-Jersey Gazette</u>	1777 - 1778
Chatham	<u>The New-Jersey Journal</u>	1779 - 1783
Newark	<u>The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury</u> (continuation of the <u>New-York Gazette</u> by Hugh Gainé of New York City)	1776
Trenton	<u>The New-Jersey Gazette</u> (continuation by Isaac Collins of his Burlington publication)	1778 - 1783 seq.

The Constitutional Courant published at Woodbridge Sept. 21, 1765 was a political manifesto with the form of a newspaper.

Pennsylvania

Germantown	<u>Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber</u>	1739 - 1746
Germantown	<u>Pensylvanische Berichte</u>	1746 - 1762
Germantown	<u>Wahre und Wahrscheinliche Begebenheiten</u>	1766
Germantown	<u>Die Germantowner Zeitung</u>	1762 - 1777
Lancaster	<u>The Lancaster Mercury</u>	1778 - 1779
Lancaster	<u>The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser</u> (continuation of <u>Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet</u> on British occupation of Philadelphia)	1777 - 1778
Lancaster	<u>Das Pensylvanische Zeitungs-Blat</u>	1778
Lancaster	<u>Die Lancastersche Zeitung</u>	1752 - 1753

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Pennsylvania (cont'd)</u>		
Philadelphia	<u>The Allied Mercury: or the Independent Intelligencer</u>	1781
Philadelphia	<u>The American Weekly Mercury</u>	1719 - 1749
Philadelphia	<u>The Freeman's Journal: or, the North-American Intelligencer</u>	1781 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>Gemeinnützig Philadelphiaische Correspondenz</u>	1781 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>Das Hoch Deutsche Pennsylvanische Journal</u>	1743
Philadelphia	<u>Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung</u>	1751 - 1752
Philadelphia	<u>The Independent Gazetteer; or, the Chronicle of Freedom</u>	1782 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>The Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser</u>	1767 - 1774
Philadelphia	<u>The Pennsylvania Evening Post</u>	1775 - 1784
Philadelphia	<u>The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette (became Franklin's famous, The Pennsylvania Gazette)</u>	1728 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>The Weekly Advertiser, or Pennsylvania Journal</u>	1742 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, & New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser</u>	1775 - 1778
Philadelphia	<u>The Pennsylvania Packet; and the General Advertiser</u>	1771 - 1783 seq.
Philadelphia	<u>Die Pennsylvanische Gazette, oder der allgemeine Americanische Zeitungs-Schreiber</u>	1779
Philadelphia	<u>Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder Einlaufende Wöchentliche Nachrichten (published at Philadelphia during British occupation)</u>	1777 - 1778

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Pennsylvania (cont'd)</u>		
Philadelphia	<u>The Penny Post</u>	1769
Philadelphia	<u>The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette</u> (published during British occupation of Philadelphia)	1778
Philadelphia	<u>Philadelphisches Staatsregister</u>	1779 - 1781
Philadelphia	<u>The Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser</u>	1775
Philadelphia	<u>Philadelphier Teutsche Fama</u>	1749 - 1751
Philadelphia	<u>Der Wochentliche Philadelphiaische Staatshote</u>	1762 - 1779
Philadelphia	<u>Philadelphische Zeitung</u>	1732
Philadelphia	<u>Die Zeitung</u> (no copy known, no certainty regarding period of existence)	1748 - 1749
Philadelphia	<u>Philadelphische Zeitung, von allerhand Auswartig und einheimischen merckwürdigen Sachen</u>	1755 - 1757
<u>Delaware</u>		
	<u>The Wilmington Courant</u> *	1762

*Accurate information on this paper is very scarce. The evidence utilized by a number of historians is well summarized in Brigham, op.cit., I, p. 79.

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Maryland</u>		
Annapolis	<u>The Maryland Gazette</u>	1727 - 1734
Annapolis	<u>The Maryland Gazette</u>	1745 - 1783 seq.
Annapolis	<u>The Maryland Gazette, and Annapolis Advertiser</u>	1779
Baltimore	<u>Dunlap's Maryland Gazette; or the Baltimore General Advertiser</u>	1775 - 1778
Baltimore	<u>The Maryland Gazette, and Baltimore General Advertiser</u>	1778 - 1779 and 1783 seq.
Baltimore	<u>The Maryland Journal, and the Baltimore Advertiser</u>	1773 - 1797
Baltimore	A German newspaper - title unknown, but existence certain.	1762
<u>Virginia</u>		
Norfolk	<u>Virginia Gazette or, Norfolk Intelligencer</u>	1774 - 1775
Norfolk	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u> (printed on the British ship "Dunmore," lying off Norfolk)	1775 - 1776
Richmond	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u> (continues the Williamsburg publication)	1780 - 1781
Richmond	<u>The Virginia Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser</u>	1781 - 1783 seq.
Richmond	<u>The Virginia Gazette, or, the American Advertiser</u>	1781 - 1786
Williamsburg	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u>	1736 - 1750
Williamsburg	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u> (printers: Hunter, Royie, Purdie and Dixon, Dixon and Hunter)	1751 - 1778

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>Virginia (cont'd)</u>		
Williamsburg	<u>Rind's Virginia Gazette</u> (became <u>The Virginia Gazette</u> ; printers: Rind, Pinkney)	1766 - 1776
Williamsburg	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u> (printers: Purdie, Clarkson & Davis)	1775 - 1780
Williamsburg	<u>The Virginia Gazette</u> (printers: Dixon and Nicholson)	1779 - 1780
<u>North Carolina</u>		
New Bern	<u>The Noth Carolina Gazette</u>	1751 - 1759
New Bern	<u>The North-Carolina Gazette</u>	1768 - 1778
New Bern	<u>The North-Carolina Magazine;</u> <u>or, Universal Intelligencer</u>	1764 - 1768
Wilmington	<u>The Cape-Fear Mercury</u>	1769 - 1775
Wilmington	<u>The North-Carolina Gazette</u> <u>and Weekly Post Boy</u>	1764 - 1766
<u>South Carolina</u>		
Charleston	<u>The Charlestown Gazette</u>	1778 - 1780
Charleston	<u>The Gazette, of the State of</u> <u>South-Carolina</u>	1777 - 1780 1783 - 1785
Charleston	<u>The Royal Gazette</u>	1781 - 1782
Charleston	<u>The Royal South-Carolina</u> <u>Gazette</u>	1780 - 1782
Charleston	<u>The South-Carolina and</u> <u>American General Gazette</u>	1764 - 1781

COLONY AND TOWN	ORIGINAL TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
<u>South Carolina (cont'd)</u>		
Charleston	<u>The South-Carolina Gazette</u>	1732 - 1775
Charleston	<u>The South-Carolina Gazetteer; and Country Journal</u> (after 2 issues <u>Gazetteer</u> changed to <u>Gazette</u>)	1765 - 1775
Charleston	<u>The South-Carolina Weekly Gazette</u>	1758 - 1764
Parker's Ferry	<u>The South-Carolina Gazette</u>	1782
<u>Georgia</u>		
Savannah	<u>The Georgia Gazette</u>	1763 - 1765 (& 1766 - 1776)
Savannah	<u>The Georgia Gazette</u>	1777 - 1778
Savannah	<u>The Royal Georgia Gazette</u>	1779 - 1782

TABLE B - Examples of Changes in Title of Colonial Newspapers as Demonstrated by those of New Hampshire, New Jersey, and North Carolina, 1751-1783

COLONY	TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	CHANGES IN TITLE	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
New Hampshire	<u>Exeter Journal, or, New Hampshire Gazette</u>	<p>May 12, 1778 - <u>The Exeter Journal or, the New-Hampshire Gazette, and Tuesday's General Advertiser</u></p> <p>June 16, 1778 - <u>New-Hampshire Gazette. Or, State Journal, and General Advertiser</u> (Identical issues with different imprint - Z Fowle for Exeter issues and D Fowle for Portsmouth issues for period June 16, 1778 to Feb., 16, 1779.)</p> <p>Feb. 23, 1779 - <u>The Exeter Journal or, the New-Hampshire Gazette, and Tuesday's General Advertiser</u></p>	<p>Feb., 1778 - June, 1779</p>

COLONY	TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	CHANGES IN TITLE	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
New Hampshire (cont'd)	<u>The Freeman's Journal,</u> <u>or New-Hampshire Gazette</u> (Portsmouth)	* June 9, 1778 - <u>New-Hampshire Gazette.</u> <u>Or, State Journal</u>	May, 1776 - June, 1778
	<u>The Portsmouth Mercury,</u> <u>and Weekly Advertiser</u>	No changes.	Jan., 1765 - Sept., 1767
	<u>The New-Hampshire Gazette</u> (Portsmouth)	Mar. 11, 1763 - <u>The New-Hampshire</u> <u>Gazette, and Historical</u> <u>Chronicle</u>	Oct., 1756 - 1783 seq.
		Issues of Oct. 3 and Oct. 17, 1775 - <u>The New-Hampshire Gazette</u>	
		* May 25, 1776 - <u>The Freeman's Journal, or</u> <u>New-Hampshire Gazette</u>	
		Several changes of which we are not certain. All were variants on <u>The New-</u> <u>Hampshire Gazette and</u> <u>General Advertiser</u> **	
	<u>The Dresden Mercury,</u> <u>and the Universal</u> <u>Intelligencer (Hanover)</u>	No changes.	May - Sept., 1779

*Signifies a change in title occasioned by a change in printer.

**Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820 (2 vols., Worcester, Mass., 1947), I, pp. 472-473 gives full details of these changes.

COLONY	TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	CHANGES IN TITLE	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
New Jersey	<u>The Plain Dealer</u> (Bridgeton)	No changes. Remained in manuscript, not printed. Posted in Mathew Potter's tavern at Bridgeton.	Dec., 1775 - Feb., 1776.
	<u>The New-Jersey Gazette</u> (Burlington)	No changes.	Dec., 1777 - Feb., 1778.
	<u>The New-Jersey Journal</u> (Chatham)	Discontinued at evacuation of New York. Succeeded by <u>New-York Gazetteer and Country Journal</u>	Feb., 1779 - Nov., 1783.
	<u>The New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury</u> (Newark)	Printed by Hugh Gaine during his absence from New York caused by British occupation.	Sept., 1776 - Nov., 1776.
	<u>The New-Jersey Gazette</u> (Trenton)	Continuation of Burlington newspaper.	Mar., 1778 - Nov., 1786. (Suspended July, 1783 to Dec., 1783.)
	<u>The Constitutional Courant</u> (Woodbridge)	Political manifesto in the form of a newspaper. Consisted of essays protesting against the Stamp Act.	Issue: Sept. 21, 1765.

COLONY	TITLE OF NEWSPAPER	CHANGES IN TITLE	PERIOD OF EXISTENCE
North Carolina	<u>The Noth Carolina Gazette</u> (New Bern)	No changes.	Aug., 1751 - Oc., 1759. Erratically issued.
	<u>The North-Carolina Gazette</u> (New Bern)	No changes.	May, 1768 - Nov., 1778. Erratically issued.
	<u>The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer</u> (New Bern)	No changes.	June 1764 - Jun., 1765, possibly until 1768.*
	<u>The Cape-Fear Mercury</u> (Wilmington)	No changes.	Oct., 1769 - Sept., 1775.
	<u>North-Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy</u> (Wilmington)	No changes known.	Sept., 1764 (?) - Feb., 1766.

*François X. Martin, History of N. Carolina (2 vols., New Orleans, 1829), II, p. 186.

TABLE C - Period of Existence of Newspapers in the Thirteen British North American Colonies
(to September 1783)

<u>Colony</u>	<u>Less than 2 years</u>	<u>Less than 5 years</u>	<u>Less than 10 years</u>	<u>Less than 20 years</u>	<u>More than 20 years</u>
N. Hampshire	3	2	0	0	1
Massachusetts	8	7	6	2	4
Rhode Island	2	2	0	0	2
Connecticut	0	1	1	3	1
New York	10	7	6	4	1
New Jersey	3	1	1	0	0
Pennsylvania	15	7	3	4	3
Delaware	1	0	0	0	0
Maryland	3	1	1	0	2
Virginia	4	1	2	2	1
N. Carolina	0	2	2	1	0
S. Carolina	2	4	1	2	1
Georgia	1	1	0	1	0
				(paper issued in two sepa- rate periods prior to 1783)	
TOTAL	52	36	23	19	16

Total in all categories: 146.

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