

SOME NEW JERSEY PRINTERS AND
PRINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM NELSON.

The story of the development of printing and of newspapers in New Jersey is much the same as in other parts of the country, and hence, while the theme here discussed is nominally local, it actually represents the experience of nearly every other Province and State in our Union.

The ruling powers in England had always a jealous dread of the influence of the press, which in times of political excitement was wont to pour forth a torrent of virulent pamphlets, loading with obloquy the persons attacked. And so it was the rule to embody in the instructions given to the royal Governors of the several Provinces in America, strict injunctions for the restriction of the liberty of printing. Thus Queen Anne, in her instructions to Lord Cornbury, prescribing his powers and duties as Governor of New Jersey, November 16, 1702, among other things provided:

99. Forasmuch as great inconveniences may arise by the liberty of printing in our said province, you are to provide by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained.

Inasmuch as the Bradfords, William and Andrew, already had presses established at Philadelphia and at New York, there seemed to be no occasion for any printing office in New Jersey, and Cornbury had no oppor-

tunity to exercise his restrictive powers in that respect, in that Province.

The Bradfords, indeed, had a monopoly of the printing for New Jersey, for more than half a century, with one or two exceptions. The earliest laws and other official publications of New Jersey bear the imprint of one or the other of the Bradfords, the printing being actually done in Philadelphia or New York.

THE FIRST NEW JERSEY IMPRINT.

In the year 1723 there was published by Bradford, a book with the following title:

Anno Regni / Georgii / Regis / Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ / Decimo, / At a Session of the General Assembly of the / Colony of New-Jersey, begun the twenty fourth Day of / September, Anno Domini 1723. and continued by Ad- / journals to the 30th Day of November following, at / which time the following Acts were Published. / [Royal Arms.] / Printed by William Bradford in the City of Perth-Amboy, / 1723. / Folio. Title, 1 leaf; pp. 3-33, (1 blank), (4).

This is the first book with a New Jersey imprint.

There is a curious fact connected with this edition of the laws. At the same time there was issued another edition, with precisely the same title, but with the imprint: "Printed by William Bradford, in the City of New-York, 1723." This had but thirty-two pages. A careful examination shows that these two editions were both printed in twos; the first twenty-four pages of each edition were printed from the same type and the same forms. Apparently to save one leaf the last eight pages for the New York edition were set in slightly wider measure, thus bringing the book within thirty-two pages. Evidently the Assembly, or its clerk, or some other official, objected to the removal of the original manuscripts to a foreign jurisdiction, and insisted that the printing of the laws should be done within the Province, thereby forcing Bradford to bring his type and press from New York down to Perth Amboy. After he had finished the printing of his Perth Amboy

edition, he discovered that he lacked paper sufficient to complete the number of laws he had planned for the New York edition, and thereupon he reset the last nine pages of the Perth Amboy issue, compressing them within eight pages, through the expedient of using a wider measure. It seems to us surprising that a printer should find it pay to reset eight folio pages in order to save one leaf in a book.

THE SECOND NEW JERSEY IMPRINT.

The various laws and ordinances of the Province for the next four years were printed by William Bradford in New York. In 1728, however, the laws were again printed in New Jersey, this time at Burlington by Samuel Keimer, who evidently brought up a press from Philadelphia for the purpose. He printed some currency for New Jersey at Burlington, at the same time, and there is reason to believe that Benjamin Franklin had a hand in the work. The title of this first Burlington and second New Jersey imprint is as follows:

Acts / and / Laws / of His Majesty's Province of Nova Cæsarea, or / New-Jersey: / As they were Enacted by the Governor, / Council, and General Assembly at a Ses- / sion held at Perth-Amboy, beginning / the 9th of December, 1727. in the / First Year of the Reign of his Majesty / King George the Second. / [Royal Arms.] / Burlington: Printed and Sold by Samuel Keimer, / Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for / the Province of New Jersey. MDCCXXVIII. / Folio. Title, 1 leaf; advertisement, 1 leaf; pp. [3]-51; Table, 1 leaf.

Only two copies are known, one being in the State Library at Trenton, and the other in my own collection.

THE FIRST PERMANENT PRINTING OFFICE IN NEW JERSEY.

James Parker was born at Woodbridge, New Jersey, in 1714. He was a son of Samuel Parker, and a grandson of Elisha Parker, who probably came from Barnstable in Massachusetts, settling first at Woodbridge,

whence he removed to Staten Island. By indenture dated January 1, 1726 (1727, N. S.), we learn that, Parker's father being deceased, the boy put himself apprentice to William Bradford, of the city of New York, Printer, "with him to live and (after the manner of an apprentice) to serve from the first day of January—Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and twenty-six—till the full Term of Eight years be completed and Ended," with the usual pledges to serve as an apprentice; his master binding himself that during the said term he should "by the best means or Method that he can Teach or Cause the said Apprentice to be Taught, the Art or Mystery of a Printer and Book-Binder," he to furnish him during the said term "with sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging and washing fitting for an apprentice and at the Expiration of said Term of Eight years shall give to said Apprentice two suits of Apparel one of them to be new." The boy seems to have found his service a hard one, for in the "New York Gazette" of May 21, 1733, Bradford advertised him as having run away. It is not unlikely that he wandered to Philadelphia and found employment in the office of Benjamin Franklin. That shrewd judge of boys and men afterwards proved himself to be a substantial backer and life-long friend of the Jersey printer. On February 26, 1741-2, Franklin formed a copartnership with him "for the Carrying on the Business of Printing in the City of New-York," for the term of "Six Years from the Day on which he, the said James Parker, shall be in possession of a Printing-Press, Types and Materials in the City of New-York aforesaid, provided by the said Benjamin Franklin," who was to furnish a printing press, with its appurtenances, and four hundred weight of letter, delivered at New York to Parker. The business and working part of the printing was to be under the management and control of Parker. The supplies, rent, etc., were to be divided into three equal parts, two-thirds to be defrayed by Franklin, and the other third by Parker. The profits were to be divided on the like

basis. Parker seems to have maintained the closest and most confidential business relations with Franklin during the rest of his life, receiving from him marks of the greatest confidence; and the closest intimacy subsisted between the families of the two men. Bradford's "New York Gazette," established in 1725, when the printer was sixty-five years of age, steadily grew worse in appearance and contents, as the printer advanced in years. Toward the end of 1742, it was evidently in a moribund condition, and there was clearly a demand for a better and more up-to-date paper in New York. Accordingly, on January 4, 1742-3, Parker issued a new paper, the third in New York, "The New-York Weekly Post-Boy." The "Gazette" lingered along until November 19, 1744, when it finally expired. Parker thereupon changed the name of his paper to "The New-York Gazette, revived in The Weekly Post-Boy." Beginning December 1, 1743, he secured from the New York Assembly the appointment of public printer for that Province. After various experiences in the conduct of his newspaper in New York, he established, in 1751, a printing office in his native town of Woodbridge, and from 1753 on he gave his personal and almost exclusive attention to his Woodbridge plant. Thus Parker was the first native Jersey printer, and set up the first permanent printing office in that State. The "Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey," for the session held July 22-27, 1756, constituted his first official printing at Woodbridge; the first Laws from his press were the Acts passed March 23-August 12, 1758. On September 26, 1758, he was appointed by the Assembly "Government Printer"; and on September 9, 1762, "King's Printer" for New Jersey, which office he retained until his death in 1770, printing all the laws and ordinances of the Province during that time at Woodbridge, the last issue of his press there being the Votes of the session held at Burlington, March 14-27, 1770. He was likewise honored with the appointment of Judge of the

Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County, June 2, 1764, and it is stated in his obituary notice that he was likewise "Captain of a Troop of Horse." The most important production of his printing office was a compilation of the laws of the Province from 1753 to 1761, the work of Samuel Nevill, who had caused the first volume of his compilation to be printed by William Bradford, second, at Philadelphia, 1752. The second volume bears the imprint: "Woodbridge, in New Jersey: Printed by James Parker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for the Province." It is a well printed folio, pp. x., (2), 401, 56, 64, (2). In 1764 he was the author, printer and publisher of a bulky, small octavo volume (pp. xxi, 592), entitled "Conductor Generalis," setting forth the powers and duties of a Justice of the Peace, an office which he held himself. The book was in great vogue for twenty years or more, being reprinted in 1788 by Hugh Gaine at New York. Aside from the books mentioned, and the Votes and Acts, his work was, for the most part, of trifling importance.

On or about April 12, 1755, he began the publication of the first newspaper in Connecticut, "The Connecticut Gazette," the first number of which bears this imprint: "New Haven, in Connecticut: Printed by James Parker, at the Post-Office, near the Sign of the White Horse." This was a little sheet of four pages, the printed page measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, afterwards enlarged to $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 14 inches, two columns to the page. It is said that Benjamin Franklin sent the printing plant on to New Haven in the fall of 1754, with the intention of establishing his nephew, Benjamin Mecom. That young man declined the opportunity, and Parker assumed the task, buying the material of Franklin. From November 29, 1755, he associated with him John Holt, under the firm name of James Parker and Company. Holt thought to better himself by going to New York in 1760, whereupon Thomas Green was employed to conduct the "Gazette," which was continued till April 17, 1764, when it was suspended. Benjamin

Mecom revived the paper July 5, 1765. It finally ceased with Number 596, February 19, 1768.

THE FIRST NEW JERSEY MAGAZINE.

In 1758, Parker, with the assistance of some literary gentlemen of the Province, issued "The New American Magazine," edited by "Sylvanus Americanus," a pseudonym assumed by Samuel Nevill, Second Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province, 1749-1764, who lived in the neighboring town of Perth Amboy. The new Magazine promptly superseded "The American Magazine," which had been published for a short time at Philadelphia. The contents of a single number (the first) are thus paged: Title, 1 leaf; History of North America, pp. 1-16; The Traveller, pp. 1-8; The Monthly Miscellany, pp. 1-24 (including Poetical Essays, pp. 13-16, The Chronological Diary, pp. 17-20, and The Historical Chronicle, pp. 21-24), and Naval Engagements, (2), or 48 in all, exclusive of the first leaf and the last, which were regarded as the wrapper. Beginning with the third number, March, 1758, there was given in The Historical Chronicle, a leaf of "Meteorological Observations at Philadelphia" for the month. The collation of such a Magazine is the despair of the bibliographer. This periodical appeared regularly from January, 1758, until March, 1760—twenty-seven numbers, when it was reluctantly discontinued for the surely adequate reason that there was "a Deficiency in the Number of Subscribers to defray the Expence of Printing." It was well edited (according to the ideas of that day), contained considerable original matter and news, and was a neatly printed octavo.

A CURIOUS PAPER, WITH A CURIOUS HISTORY.

The first newspaper, if it may be so called, printed in New Jersey, was quite certainly printed by Parker at Woodbridge. This was a protest against the passage of the Stamp Act. Thomas, in his "History of Print-

ing," says it was entitled "The *Constitutional Gazette*, containing Matters interesting to Liberty—but no wise Repugnant to Loyalty. In the center of the title was the device of a snake, cut into parts, to represent colonies. Motto—'Join or Die' This paper was without date, but was printed in September, 1765. It contained several well written and spirited essays against the obnoxious Stamp Act, which were so highly colored, that the editors of newspapers in New York, declined to publish them. . . . It had a rapid sale and was, I believe, reprinted in New York and at Boston." In the reprint of the History, issued by the Antiquarian Society in 1874, there is a correction, changing the name "Gazette," to "Courant." The History was originally printed forty-five years after the issue of the paper in question. I have often wondered if the correction were correct. In other words, may there not have been an edition of this paper styled "The Constitutional Gazette"? Governor Colden, of New York, writing to the Hon. H. S. Conway, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, for the Southern Department, under date of New York, 12th October, 1765, says that the Postmaster of that city had informed him that "one or more bundles" of the paper "were delivered at Woodbridge in New Jersey, to the Postrider, by James Parker, Secretary of the General Post Office in America. Parker was formerly a Printer in this Place & has now a Printing Press & continues to print occasionally. It is believed that this Paper was printed by him." From a careful comparison made about ten years ago of one of the issues of this paper with a contemporary copy of Parker's "New-York Post-Boy," I was satisfied that both papers were printed from the same type; and, moreover, that the wood-cut in the heading of the "Courant" was the identical wood-cut used by Parker in his "Post-Boy" at the time of the Albany Congress, in 1754, when the plan of uniting the Colonies was so strongly urged. A closer examination shows that there were at least two issues of the paper with this device

in the heading, the symbol being printed from different cuts, one of them enclosed within rules. The type also has been reset. Another edition has no such device in the heading. All three of these issues have the same title, "The Constitutional Courant," and are dated above the heading, "Saturday, September 21, 1765, Numb. or Num. 1." A copy with the device in the heading, in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company, has a note under the colophon, in the handwriting of Du Simitiere: "This is the Original, Published in New York." Most of the copies extant consist of two pages, of three columns each. In the Library just named there is a copy having but one page, with three columns, and lacking the device. At the end Du Simitiere has printed: "This was published in Philadelphia." Still another edition has two pages, with two wide columns and one narrow column. Some years ago I located two copies, of different issues, in the Harvard Library; one in the Boston Athenæum, and one in the Massachusetts Historical Society—making four in all in this intellectual center; one at Yale; one in the Lenox Library, New York; two, of different issues, in the Philadelphia Library, Ridgway Branch; one in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and one in my own collection, the last since consumed in the Paterson fire of 1902. This leaves nine in America; perhaps there are more. I found six copies in the House of Commons papers in London, probably sent over by Governor Colden, and I think one in the Public Record Office.

THE WORK OF THE WOODBRIDGE PRESS.

I have listed seventy-nine issues of the Woodbridge Press, from 1754 to 1770, inclusive. Of these, two were issued in 1776, with the imprint of Samuel F. Parker, James Parker's son. Twenty-five of them were occasional orations, sermons, discourses, and the like. The rest were the acts and votes of the Legislature. The two works mentioned above were the most compre-

hensive. The last book was the Acts of the Legislature, passed March 24-27, 1770.

THE FIRST PERMANENT PRINTING OFFICE AT BURLINGTON;
AND THE SPOILING OF A PRETTY STORY.

In Thomas's History of Printing, the importance and value of which I appreciate more fully as I dive more deeply into the history of American printing and American newspapers, there is told this pretty story:

To accommodate the printing of Smith's History of New-jersey, in 1765, Parker removed his press to Burlington, and there began and completed the work, consisting of 570 pages, demy octavo, and then returned with his press to Woodbridge.

It is a pretty story, is it not? It would be so much easier for the author of the history to send his manuscript up to Woodbridge, than it would be for a printer to move his printing office, which had been established for fourteen years, down to Burlington, a distance of forty or fifty miles. Parker was a native of Woodbridge, and would be loth to leave his native town for Burlington. Moreover, he had close business relations with New York. He was comptroller of the post offices in America, and had his offices at Woodbridge. He issued at least five bits of printing from Woodbridge in 1765, which would seem to militate against the supposition that he had moved his office to Burlington. At Burlington, also, he printed the votes of the Assembly, held November 26-30, 1765. Altogether, there seemed much reason to doubt the accuracy of this story. But Thomas is so very reliable; he was a practical printer, and would see and weigh the improbability of this tradition, which would be only a tradition as it came to him. So if he accepted it as a fact, anyone doubting it would hesitate before giving voice to his doubts. However, here is Parker's own account of this venture, in some letters to Benjamin Franklin, in the spring of 1765, and later:

Woodbridge March 28, 1765 . . . Samuel Smith, Esq^r of Burlington, has some years since been composing a History

of New Jersey:—I had told him seven years ago, if he had it printed by me, I would go to Burlington to do it:—A few Weeks ago, he claim'd my Promise, and as I have not much Work here, and I was otherwise strongly invited thither, upon deliberating of it,—I apprehended, that the Printing Materials of Ben: Mecom's which were in my Store Room in New York, if you wanted them for any Cause, they would be handier for you at Burlington, than at NYork, but that, if not, I would take them myself and pay you for them:—They are indeed valued in B. Mecom's Book, as they cost new, whereas they are not quite so: However, I apprehended, we should not differ about them; and if you did not chuse to let me have them, I could but allow you for the little Use I might make of them till called for: I went to New York, and this Day Week shipp'd them on board of a sloop to go round by Water to Philadelphia, in order that they might not be bruised by Land Carriage:—I hope they will get there safe tho' this Month is a precarious Season, but as its but a little Way, I flatter myself they will be safe:— . . . I shall take two or three of my Boys with me, and leave my Wife here, as also my Son with this Printing-Office if happily he may get or do as much Work as will maintain him. it is probable I shall finish in 5 or 6 Months, or perhaps sooner, unless more Work than I expect should offer; and if any such Encouragement should offer, it is not improbable but I may remove thither entirely.

P. S. April 2, 1765 . . . The printing Material which I shipped round, are arrived safe at Burlington, and I am going to set off for that place as soon as y^e Roads will let me;

Burlington. April 25, 1765 . . . In my last to you, I acquainted you of my intention to remove the Press and printing Materials, late B. Mecom's to this Place, and of my having shipped them accordingly:—By a small Pamphlet, you will receive from the Gov^r you will perceive it done:—I am just now finishing it:—I then told you, I apprehended, that if you were desirous of doing any Thing else with them, they would be handy here; but if you inclined to part with them if such Prospect appeared that I could purchase them, I would:—We had some Design of doing a News paper here, but the News of the Killing Stamp, has struck a deadly Blow to all my Hopes on that Head.— . . . I should not have come to Burlington, where my Family of Boys only are with me, but for the Governor's Desire, and a Book I am going to print for Sam: Smith, Esq^r called *The History of New Jersey*, which I had promised him to come and do seven years ago, if he proceeded on with it.—I might probably have removed for good, as the printing Business is so very frivolous and trifling at Woodbridge, but

the Cruel Stamp-Duty has filled me with fresh Apprehensions, that I conceive, I shall soon drop all the Business entire.¹

Philadelphia, June 14, 1765 . . . I have inform'd you, I had sent B. Mecom's Printing Materials round to Burlington, where I am doing a Book for Samuel Smith, called *the History of New Jersey*:—He does but 600 of them, and its thought will consist of between 25 and 30 sheets 8^{vo} I had Thought of purchasing them: But being distressed on every Quarter, and the fatal *Black-Act* lately passed, must render printing of very little Consequence: so that I think I cannot afford to purchase them, unless they should come much cheaper than the Charge of them to Mecom;—and indeed they are in many Things the worse for wear.—I had rather pay for the Use of them, in printing this Book, but as to any Thing of this Matter, I hope we shall not differ:—for they will be handier to dispose of at your Pleasure, here than at New York:—

Burlington, Sept. 22, 1765 . . . Mr. Smith's History has yet 5 or 6 more sheets at least . . .

Woodbridge, Oct. 10, 1765 . . . Being called to different Businesses on account of y^e present Situation of Affairs, I have neither had Time to proceed with the Accounts nor finish Samuel Smith's History:—

Burlington, Decemb. 20, 1765 . . . I wrote to you to beg to know, what I shall do with the Press and Materials I have here late Benj. Mecom's. as I will deliver them to your Order at Philadelphia. I have finished the Book of S. Smiths, and my Hands are all gone to New-York and Woodbridge, where I should have followed, but for my illness.— . . .

Burlington, Jan. 4, 1766. My Illness has detain'd me here upon Cost, or I had been with all my Family at Woodbridge by this Time,—I have not but a Wench and three young People with me:—all the rest are at Woodbridge, tho' little or nothing going on, but sickness.—I wish I may know where to put these Materials for your Pleasure, as I would leave them:—If I can get to New York before the first of May, I will:

Philadelphia, February 3, 1766 . . . I have nobody at work at Burlington, nor no work. I wish I may hear where to dispose of those Printing Materials of B. Mecom's, as I can't leave them at Burlington.²

¹The "Governor" referred to was William Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's son, the last Royal Governor of New Jersey.

²The original of the above letters are in the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. Most of them were published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 2, Vol. 16, pp. 197-203.

Thus we see that Parker *did not* remove his printing plant from Woodbridge to Burlington, but that he set up an independent establishment there for the purpose not only of printing Smith's History, but of doing other printing as well.

As I have said, it is a pretty story.

Non é vero, é ben trovato.

Parker continued his outfit at Burlington until his death, July 2, 1770, in his fifty-sixth year. He had been a great sufferer for several years from the gout. He was buried the day after his death, with much pomp, at Woodbridge. Besides the press and types at Burlington, he left one press at New Haven, two at New York and one at Woodbridge, all of which he bequeathed to his son. "The New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy," in giving a brief account of his death and burial, added this scanty characterization: "Mr. Parker has carried on the Printing Business, chiefly in New-York, and some Time in New Jersey, for about 30 Years, and was eminent in his Profession. He possessed a sound Judgment, & extensive Knowledge: He was industrious in Business, upright in his Dealings, charitable to the Distressed, and has left a fair Character, on which we have neither Time nor Room to enlarge." Thomas says: "Parker was a correct and eminent printer . . . he possessed a sound judgment, and a good heart; was industrious in business, and upright in his dealings."

Immediately on the death of Parker, a petition was presented to the Assembly of New Jersey, dated September 28, 1770, by Samuel F. Parker, his son, stating that the printing office at Woodbridge had devolved on him, and praying the house to appoint him their printer. The next day, Isaac Collins memorialized the Assembly that having been informed of the death of the late James Parker, he had removed his printing office from Philadelphia to Burlington, and asked to be appointed their printer. Three days later a vote was taken on the question, eight members voting for young Parker,

and ten for Collins, who was therefore appointed the printer to the Assembly. Only about a year before, or in 1769, he had formed a partnership with Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia, in the carrying on of a printing office there, and a book and stationery store. Collins did much excellent work at Burlington, and of great variety in character. A splendid production of his press was Sewel's History of the Quakers, printed in 1774; a sumptuous quarto of 840 pages. It is printed on good paper, in large clear type, the register is perfect, and altogether it is a model specimen of typography.

THE FIRST PERMANENT NEWSPAPER IN NEW JERSEY.

As the Revolution progressed, the want of a newspaper in New Jersey, that should reflect the sentiment of the struggling patriots, was keenly felt. At a meeting of the Legislature, October 11, 1777, this message was received from Governor William Livingston:

Gentlemen: It would be an unnecessary Consumption of Time to enumerate all the Advantages that would redound to the State from having a Weekly News-Paper printed and circulated in it.—To facilitate such an Undertaking, it is proposed that the first Paper be circulated as soon as seven hundred subscribers, whose Punctuality in paying may be relied upon, shall be procured: Or if Government will insure seven hundred subscribers who shall pay, the Work will be immediately begun; and if at the End of six Months there shall be seven hundred or more subscribers who will pay punctually, the Claim upon the Government to cease. But if the subscribers fall short of that Number, Government to become a subscriber so as to make up that Number. The Price in these fluctuating Times can hardly be ascertained, but it is supposed it cannot at present be less than Twenty-six shillings per Year, which will be but six Pence a Paper.

The matter was referred to a Committee, of whom William Churchill Houston was chairman, who after a conference with Collins, made a report wherein they recommended that his proposal be accepted, to wit: 1. A paper to be printed weekly, in four folio pages, and entitled, "New-Jersey Gazette"; 2. Price to be

twenty-six shillings per year; 3. The Legislature to guarantee seven hundred subscribers within six months; 4. A Cross-Post to be established from the Printing Office, to the nearest Continental post office at the expense of the State; 5. The printer and four workmen to be exempted from service in the militia. These recommendations were adopted, and the first number of this subsidized newspaper was issued to the world, December 5, 1777. It was a neatly-printed four-page sheet, four columns to the page. Collins removed his printing plant to Trenton with the issue for March 4, 1778. He received such feeble support that in July, 1783, he discontinued the publication. He resumed, however, in a number for Tuesday, December 9, 1783, and continued until Monday, November 27, 1786, when with Number 446 he suspended publication for the second and last time. He continued, nevertheless, to print at Trenton, so late as 1796, holding the office of public printer during most of that time. Among the issues of his Trenton press were a compilation of the laws, 1776-1783, printed in 1784 in a large folio; Ramsey's History of the Revolution of South Carolina, in two very creditable octavo volumes; a well printed octavo New Testament in 1788; another edition of the New Testament in the same year in 16mo., of which I am fortunate enough to be the owner of the only copy extant. His edition of the Bible in quarto, published in 1791, was a most formidable undertaking, and was a highly creditable specimen of typography, enjoying a deserved popularity for thirty or forty years. He issued an octavo edition of the Bible in 1793. Altogether, the issues of his press at Burlington were fifty in number; while those at Trenton foot up more than one hundred and thirty.

Isaac Collins was born 2d mo. 16, 1746, in New Castle County, Delaware. He was apprenticed to James Adams, printer, in Wilmington, Delaware, and at his request, in his twentieth year entered the office of William Rind, at Williamsburg, Virginia. He removed to

Philadelphia in 1766, where he was employed about eighteen months in the printing office of William Goddard and others, and soon became acquainted with Joseph Crukshank, with whom he formed a partnership, as already stated, which subsisted for a very short time, owing to a lack of capital on the part of Collins. A certificate of his appointment as printer for New Jersey is in the possession of his descendants. It bears date, October 30, 1770. He removed to New York in 1796, where three years later he opened a printing office, taking one of his sons into partnership in 1802 in his printing office and the book-selling business. This enterprise was carried on by various descendants so late as 1884. In 1808, Isaac Collins returned to Burlington, where he died 3d mo. 21, 1817. He was an excellent printer, and was always regarded as a thoroughly upright, honest citizen.

ANOTHER SUBSIDIZED WAR NEWSPAPER—THE NEW
JERSEY JOURNAL.

You remember that remarkably precocious composition of Alexander Hamilton, a lad of but fourteen years, when he wrote his vivid description of the hurricane at St. Croix, in the West Indies, in 1772? Now, about that time there was in St. Christopher's a young printer from Delaware, Shepard Kollock, who had repaired thither on account of his health, two years before. What more natural than to suppose that he set up this letter of Hamilton's, and that from this circumstance there arose a friendship between the two young men? Seven years later Hamilton was on the staff of General Washington, and engaged in the Revolutionary War, while Kollock was a Lieutenant in Col. John Lamb's Artillery Regiment, enlisted in the same struggle. Both were in northern New Jersey. The New York newspapers were then in the control of the British. The Trenton newspaper was published by a Quaker. Evidently there was occasion for a newspaper ardently devoted to the American cause. Shepard Kollock was

induced to start such a newspaper, with the title "The New-Jersey Journal," February 16, 1779, at Chatham, New Jersey, four or five miles from Morristown, where Washington frequently had his headquarters. It has been said that General Knox suggested it. Is it unreasonable to suppose that Hamilton induced his friend of St. Kitt's, and his fellow artillery officer, to become the founder of this newspaper? That it was started as a "war measure," with official backing, further appears from sundry receipts (the originals are in my collection) of the Army Commissary at Morristown during 1780, showing that on February 2, he furnished Kollock with "Nine Hundred W^t of old Tent Unfitt for service"; also the same day "one Ream letter Paper three Ream Common Paper." A week later "one Ream of Common Paper" was furnished for the use of "Shepard Kollock Printer at Chatham"; and three days later "Fourteen quire common & four quire large Post Paper," receipted for by Shelly Arnett, who was an apprentice and a few years later a partner of Kollock. On March 29 "One ream Common paper" was furnished to Kollock "for printing returns." On May 21, he was given "Eight Hundred Three Quarters & Twelve pound old Tent Cloath," presumably to be manufactured into paper. On June 4, the Commissary delivered for his use, "Two Bundles Old Tent Rags w^t Two Hundred One Quarter Also Six Ream Paper for Printing returns for Ad^lt Gen^l Also One Other Bagg w^t Two Hundred One Quarter old tent Rags." The furnishing of a newspaper printer with supplies from the very scanty army stores is, I think, rather a unique incident of the Revolution.

"THE POLITICAL INTELLIGENCER AND NEW JERSEY
ADVERTISER"—THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING
AT NEW BRUNSWICK.

The close of the War found Kollock located in a little country village, remote from any considerable center of population. He aspired to a broader and more active

field of service. Accordingly he removed to New Brunswick, the seat of Queen's College (now Rutgers), and there formed a partnership with his sometime apprentice, Shelly Arnett, the firm name being Kollock and Arnett, by whom was issued "The Political Intelligencer and New Jersey Advertiser," on Tuesday, October 14, 1783, the printing office being "at the Barracks," a building which had been erected by the Province about 1758 for the quartering of the British troops stationed in New Jersey from time to time. The new paper was a neatly-printed sheet, of four pages, three columns to the page, with a flowery cut for a heading. Later, the printing office was removed to the College. The partnership was discontinued July 6, 1784, after which the newspaper was carried on by Kollock alone. He wielded a trenchant pen, prided himself upon his army service, and was fierce in his denunciation of the tories or refugees. He declined to publish a poem with a Latin introduction, "for fear of wounding the delicacy of some of his female readers," and, moreover, recommended Dilworth's Spelling Book to the writer. Again, he gave notice that a communication entitled "The Pleasures of Celebacy; or the Miseries of Matrimony, are inadmissable—we profess ourselves advocates for the connubial state." Number 79, Wednesday, April 20, 1785, was issued from Elizabethtown. With the issue for Wednesday, May 10, 1786, Numb. 134, the title was changed to "New-Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer." It is still published as the "Elizabeth Daily Journal." Kollock was an excellent craftsman. At Elizabeth he printed several works of considerable size, including Bishop Thomas Newton's "Dissertations on the Prophecies," two volumes; Klopstock's "Messiah"; an octavo edition of the New Testament; the "American Preacher," three volumes; two or three collections of poems and hymns, etc.; nor should it be forgotten that he first gave to the world Jedidiah Morse's famous "American Geography," in 1789; nor that one of the earliest editions of that delightful classic, Weems's "Life of Washing-

ton," was printed by Kollock in 1800. He issued also the third New Jersey Magazine, Number 1, Vol. 1, for April and May, 1789, being issued in the latter month, under the formidable title, "The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine; calculated, in an eminent degree, to promote Religion; to disseminate useful Knowledge; to afford literary Pleasure; and Amusement; and to advance the interests of Agriculture. By a number of Gentlemen."

The evacuation of New York City by the British, inspired Kollock to start a paper there, and on Monday, December 7, 1783, he issued "The New York Gazeteer, and Country Journal," a weekly paper, which in the following March became a tri-weekly, issued every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. This was continued until Friday, December 3, 1784, Number 130. With the issue for December 7, 1784, the name was shortened and corrected to "The New York Gazetteer," published every Tuesday and Friday, and beginning a new system of numeration, Vol. 1, Number 1. The amenities of journalism, as observed in olden times, are shown by this paragraph in the "New York Gazetteer," of January 31, 1786:

The printer having yesterday made a *discovery* of the grossest *perfidy* in the conduct of SAMUEL LOUDON will give the details of the whole affair in Friday's Paper.—his character is well formed in the following lines:

*To Good and EVIL equal bent,
He's both a DEVIL and a SAINT.*

He withdrew from this paper with the issue for December 11, 1786. The next number, 72, December 14, 1786, appeared as the "New York Gazetteer & Daily Evening Post."

Shepard Kollock was born at Lewes, Delaware, 1751, and probably learned his trade with James Adams at Wilmington. He did some excellent work as a printer, especially considering the conditions in which he was placed. Fifteen issues of his press at Chatham are known, and one at New Brunswick, while his Eliza-

bethtown press turned out at least fifty different works. Mr. Kollock retired from the printing business September 1, 1818, enjoying a pleasant *otium cum dignitate* for nearly twenty-one years longer. He was Postmaster at Elizabethtown, 1820-1829, and Judge of the Common Pleas of Essex County for thirty-five years, "closing a long and useful life in Christian hope, July 22, 1839, aged eighty-eight years."

LATER NEW BRUNSWICK NEWSPAPERS.

The removal of Kollock to Elizabethtown left the field open at New Brunswick, an opportunity speedily availed of by Shelly Arnett, who launched "The Brunswick Gazette, and Weekly Monitor," October 5, 1786. It had four pages, three wide columns to the page. The issue for Tuesday, July 26, 1787, has below the imprint the motto: "The Liberty of the Press is essential to the security of Freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth, —Massachusetts Bill of Rights." Numb. 188, Tuesday, May 4, 1790, has the name of Abraham Blauvelt as publisher, who remained as such until October 30, 1792, No. 318, when the "Gazette" was discontinued, being succeeded by "The Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser," the issue for Wednesday, November 7, 1792, Vol. I, No. I, bearing the imprint of Arnett & Blauvelt. But the partnership was of brief duration, Blauvelt resuming the entire control, in the fall of 1793, which he retained for twenty years or more.

Arnett, probably in a huff at the dissolution of the partnership, at once started a new paper, which he called "Arnett's New-Jersey Federalist," the first number of which appeared directly after he broke with Blauvelt, or about November 5, 1793. Numb. 71, Vol. II, Thursday, March 12, 1795, appears with the altered name, "The New-Jersey Federalist," printed by George F. Hopkins. It was a neat-appearing paper of four pages, with four columns to the page. After the manner of printers in those days, Hopkins again changed the

title, and Number 86, Monday, June 22, 1795, is pretentiously styled "Genius of Liberty, & New-Brunswick Advertiser." But alas! the "Genius of Liberty" did not long preside over the fortunes of Mr. Hopkins in New Brunswick, which town he soon abandoned for the broader field offered by the City of New York, becoming associated with Noah Webster and others in the management of "The American Minerva," etc., started December 9, 1793, but which now appeared, May 2, 1796, as "The Minerva and Mercantile Evening Advertiser," by Hopkins, Webb & Co., who were succeeded by Hopkins & Co., May 15, 1797. On October 1, 1797, George F. Hopkins became sole publisher, and the paper appeared as the "Commercial Advertiser," and was continued by Mr. Hopkins until July 29, 1799, when he was succeeded by E. Belden & Co., publishers. In New York he printed many controversial pamphlets, called forth by the bitter political contests of the day. The edition of "The Federalist," published by him in 1802, in two volumes, is understood to have had the advantage of Hamilton's revision of those matchless essays. Early in the nineteenth century he engaged also in the paper manufacture, having a paper mill in northern New Jersey, a few miles from New York.

The second effort in New Jersey in the way of a periodical was published for a few months at New Brunswick in 1786, entitled "The New-Jersey Magazine, and Monthly Advertiser," by Frederick Quequelle and James Prange. It was quite well-printed, and was a creditable attempt of the kind.

There are thirty-one issues known of the various New-Brunswick presses in the eighteenth century. Shelly Arnett did very little work alone, but his Psalms of David, printed in 1789, is a very dainty book and delightful to look upon. Arnett, by the way, probably left home soon after selling out to Hopkins. His father, Isaac Arnett, of Westfield township, Essex County, in his will, dated August 8, 1797, bequeathed a share of

his estate to his son, Shelly, "if he returns within ten years after my decease."

Abraham Blauvelt was a very industrious printer, doing much and good work. His principal book was an edition of the "Laws of the State of New Jersey, revised and published under the authority of the State Legislature, by William Paterson," printed in 1800, in a huge folio—title, one leaf, pp. xxii, 455, (32)—the type-page being $7\frac{5}{8}$ by 13 inches. Blauvelt was an educated man, graduating at Queen's (now Rutgers) College in 1789. He died at Quibbletown, near New Market, N. J., March 23, 1838, after a long and distressing illness. He "always maintained an honorable distinction with his contemporaries," says a Newark newspaper in announcing his death.

SOME LATER NEWSPAPERS OF TRENTON.

The discontinuance of the "New-Jersey Gazette" was sorely felt by many of its former clientele. To satisfy this want, and probably to enhance their chances of getting some of the public printing, a new paper was started, probably May 15, 1787, with the title "The Trenton Mercury, and the Weekly Advertiser," by Frederick C. Quequelle and George M. Wilson. The name was subsequently altered to "The Federal Post, or, the Trenton Weekly Mercury," which is the title of Numb. 13, Vol. II, Total Numb. 65, Tuesday, August 5, 1788. Its pages were at first 10 by 16 inches, but on October 3, 1788, the editors informed their subscribers that on account of the scarcity of paper, it was necessary to reduce the newspaper in size (to 9 by 15 inches), but to make up for this it would be printed twice a week, being the first semi-weekly in New Jersey. The name was now abbreviated to "The Federal Post." On October 21, the weekly publication was resumed, in larger size. The latest number known is January 27, 1788 (1789), Total Numb. 85. There are nineteen separate issues in the New Jersey State Library, and three in the Antiquarian Society.

In March, 1791, appeared the "New-Jersey State Gazette," published by George Sherman and John Mershon, who about three years later sold out to Matthias Day, the issue for Wednesday, September 17, 1794, Vol. III, No. 106, appearing under his name. The title was changed between May 31, 1796, No. 195, and July 19, 1796, No. 202, to "The State Gazette and New-Jersey Advertiser." On July 9, 1798, it was bought by Gershom Craft and William Black, who changed the name to "The Federalist: New-Jersey Gazette," starting a new series of numeration, the first issue, Vol. I, No. 1, being dated Monday evening, July 9, 1798. The next number contains the advertisement, dated July 14, 1798, that William Black had sold out to Craft, "after the first side of the paper was struck off." In the issue of Monday evening, October 8, 1798, it is announced with much satisfaction, "One thousand and eighty copies of the *Federalist*, are this week struck off, for the supply of subscribers," and we are assured by the printer that "interest did not prompt him to the present undertaking, but a desire of being useful to his fellow citizens." The "Federalist" was continued until June 23, 1800, the last issue under that title being No. 103.

In the meantime, George Sherman, John Mershon and I. Thomas started a new paper entitled "New-Jersey State Gazette," the earliest known issue being No. 6, Vol. I, Tuesday, April 9, 1799, from which it is to be inferred that the first number appeared March 5, 1799. It was announced in the prospectus that the paper was printed at the former office of Matthias Day, who before this had removed to Newark. Thomas was a nephew and namesake of the famous Worcester printer.

The publishers of these two rival papers very sensibly concluded that there would be more money in the business by uniting the two offices, and accordingly on June 30, 1800, there appeared "The Federalist, and New Jersey State Gazette," the titles of the two papers being thus

cleverly merged. The prospectus informing the public of the change was signed G. Craft, G. Sherman, J. Mershon and I. Thomas, and the firm name was given in the imprint as Sherman, Mershon, Thomas and Craft. The first issue was Vol. II, No. 71. Craft withdrew from the new firm the following September, the remaining partners continuing the publication. The paper is still published, as the "Trenton Daily Gazette."

SOME LATER BURLINGTON PRINTERS.

It was twelve years after Collins left Burlington, before another printer ventured into that field, the proximity of Philadelphia discouraging such attempts. Isaac Neale and Daniel Lawrence, two enterprising young men from Philadelphia, began the publication of "The Burlington Advertiser, or Agricultural and Political Intelligencer," Vol. I, Numb. 1, Tuesday, April 13, 1790. This was a really handsome newspaper of four pages, three wide columns to the page, well-printed, on good paper, with new type. Lawrence withdrew from the firm July 7, 1791, and the paper was continued thereafter by Neale alone. He held bravely on five months longer, but in his issue of December 6, while returning "his sincere thanks to those gentlemen who have contributed to the support of the paper since its commencement," he announces that he "is sorry to inform them, that on account of the small number of subscribers, he finds himself under the necessity of declining the publication thereof at least for a few months, when, if he should meet with sufficient encouragement, it will be re-commenced on an improved plan." Accordingly, he "declined the publication" with Vol. II, Numb. LXXXVIII, Tuesday, Dec. 13, 1791. Of course, he did not "meet with sufficient encouragement" to resume the publication. Neale remained in Burlington four years longer, doing a variety of printing, and doing it very neatly. In 1794 and 1795, H. Kammerer, jun., was associated with him in the business. Altogether, he has thirty-three items cred-

ited to his press. He was succeeded in 1796 by Elderkin & Miller.

Stephen C. Ustick was printing at Philadelphia in 1796 or earlier. In 1799 we find him at Mount Holly, near Burlington. He was a Baptist, and seems to have made a specialty of publishing sermons, and the like, of prominent Baptists of the day. Later he printed at Burlington.

THE FIRST PRINTING AT NEWARK.

Although Newark was quite an important town in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and on the direct route of travel between Philadelphia and New York, it was not until 1791 that a newspaper was established there. This was "Woods's Newark Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser," printed by John Woods, a pronounced Federalist. No. 5 is dated June 16, 1791, implying that the paper first appeared May 19, 1791. In October, 1793, the importance of the newly established town of Paterson was recognized by a change of title in the paper to "Woods's Newark Gazette, and Paterson Advertiser." In November, 1797, Woods sold out, and the title was again altered to "Newark Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser," a new numeration beginning with the issue for November 8 of that year. He continued to publish the paper for two or three weeks, when John H. Williams succeeded him and printed the "Gazette" for the "proprietors." Woods removed to New York, and did a little printing up the Hudson River. He returned to New Jersey about 1800, and in that year had a printing office at Elizabethtown, where he appears to have published another newspaper for a time; but he advertises in the "New Jersey Journal," of Elizabethtown, under date of March 5, 1804, that "being about to remove out of this State," he again requests "that all those who are in arrears for subscriptions to the *Federal Republican*, Advertising, Handbills, &c., would call and discharge the same previous to the 20th inst.," since he has been at much expense "since

the discontinuance of his paper." "The Newark Gazette" was sold out about 1800 to John Wallis, who continued the publication until the last Tuesday in December, 1804, when it ceased to exist.

The "Gazette" remained without a rival for more than five years, for it was not until October 5, 1796, that the "Centinel of Freedom" was started by Daniel Dodge & Co. What was quite unusual in those days, was the fact that Daniel Dodge was announced as printer, and Aaron Pennington as the editor. On October 4, 1797, the names of Aaron Pennington and Daniel Dodge appeared under the title as "publishers." Two years later Jabez Parkhurst and Samuel Pennington (brother of one of the former proprietors) became the owners; Parkhurst in turn sold out, January 1, 1800, to Stephen Gould, who withdrew from the firm in May, 1803, and Pennington retired in November of the same year, the paper then passing into the hands of William Tuttle and John Pike. The paper is still published, and is warmly welcomed in thousands of firesides in northern New Jersey.

The competition of the "Centinel of Freedom" was keenly felt and bitterly resented by Woods of the "Newark Gazette." In his issue of Wednesday, May 24, 1797, he genially refers to the publishers, Dodge and Pennington, as "paltroons," whom he held in "sovereign contempt—should they continue their unprovoked attacks against me, I shall take the liberty of teaching them decency in a more summary way—the sense of Feeling as well as of seeing and hearing may be effected." In his paper of August 2, 1797, "he disdains to reply" to a communication published the previous week "in that far famed Vehicle of Slander 'the Centinel of Freedom.'" Curiously enough, in the "Gazette" of August 9, 1797, he inserts a communication from Aaron Pennington, of the "Centinel," who seems to have had no sense of humor, taking exception to the characterization of that paper as a "far famed vehicle of scandal," (*sic*) and concluding with this bold challenge: "I there-

fore require you to appoint the time and place, when and where you will meet me personally, and support your assertion, or afford me that satisfaction which your conduct entitles me to."

Woods's retirement from the "Gazette" three months later, was doubtless hastened by this altercation.

Newark was also the scene of two unsuccessful ventures in the way of periodicals.

One was entitled "United States Magazine, or, General Repository of Useful Instruction and Rational Amusement," Volume I, Number 1, being issued April, 1794, with the imprint "Newark, New-Jersey: printed by John Woods for the editor." Each number contained sixty-four pages. The August number had but twenty-four pages, when the Magazine was discontinued.

The "Rural Magazine" made its appearance Saturday, February 17, 1798, being "printed by John H. Williams for the proprietors." It was a fair sized quarto of four pages, three columns to the page, quite varied in its contents. Upon the completion of the volume, number 52, Saturday, February 9, 1799, this publication was discontinued, the proprietors say, for "the want of sufficient subscription, and literary assistance, two essentials to the support of all similar publications."

FRENEAU'S "JERSEY CHRONICLE."

Philip Freneau, "the poet of the Revolution," and a political writer of much force, was a native of New Jersey, and in 1795 resided on his ancestral farm of two hundred acres, near Freehold, Monmouth County, where he had a small press. Here he issued "The Jersey Chronicle," the first number of which made its bow to the world on Saturday, May 2, 1795. It was, as might be expected from the editor, strongly literary in its inclinations. It was paged consecutively, like a magazine. It was poorly printed, being quite amateurish in its appearance. Notwithstanding the evident feebleness of its existence, it managed to continue until number fifty-two, Vol. I, April 30, 1796, page 428. The first

two numbers were but $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, which was afterwards increased to 8 by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

SOME MORRIS COUNTY PRINTERS.

Caleb Russell was a lawyer and school master. He was one of the founders of the Morris Academy in 1791, was elected President of the Board of Directors, contracted to erect the building, and was the principal instructor for nearly five years. On retiring from its management, he evidently thought he had more time on his hands than he knew what to do with, and that he could most successfully withstand the importuning of his Satanic Majesty, by starting a newspaper. He accordingly bought a printing office, and employed Elisha Cooper, a practical printer, to attend to its details. On Wednesday, May 24, 1793, the "Morris County Gazette" was issued by E. Cooper & Co. It bore for its motto Franklin's words, "Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." "Woods's Newark Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser" for May 31, 1797, gave the new venture this freezing send-off:

We felicitate the citizens of Morris county on the advantages that may result to them from the establishment of a Printing Press in their metropolis—the first number of the *Morris County Gazette*, printed by E. Cooper & Co., made its appearance last Wednesday—the Editors appear much *flattered & animated by the liberal patronage they have received*—we wish them success, but trust that the "second part" will not appear quite so *animating*.

Those who subscribe for the sake of "patronizing" a publication of this kind will be gratified—but those who subscribe for the purpose of receiving the *earliest news*, will be, probably, disappointed, as it can be calculated much earlier through that county from this situation, than it can from one more interior.

Cooper withdrew from the enterprise in November, and Mr. Russell continued sole editor and manager of the paper. Early in the following year, he invited Jacob Mann to come to Morristown and take charge of the office, which he did. Mann had learned the

printing business with Shepard Kollock in Elizabethtown. "The Gazette" was continued until May 15, 1798, thus completing one year of publication. It was a fairly well-printed paper, of four pages, with four columns to the page.

Mann changed the name to "The Genius of Liberty," beginning a new numeration, Vol. I, No. 1, May 24, 1798. The imprint directly under the heading reads: "Morristown: printed and published by Jacob Mann, nearly opposite the Academy." The appearance of the paper was improved under his management. He continued the paper for three years, or until May 14, 1801, when he retired and went to Trenton, where he established the "Trenton True American," in company with James J. Wilson. Mr. Russell then turned over the printing office at Morristown to his son, Henry P. Russell, who continued the press and newspaper for several years on his own account. The most notable issue of the Morristown press, in the eighteenth century, was an edition of Vicesimus Knox's "Spirit of Despotism," in a neat 12 mo. volume. Jacob Mann (who had returned to Morristown) and ———— Douglass published, in 1805, a very creditable octavo edition of the Bible, which has been sometimes called the "Arminian Testament" because of the reading of Hebrews vi, 4-6: "For it is possible," etc.

SOME LOST AND FORGOTTEN NEWSPAPERS.

I have sketched for you the outline history of some of the best known early printers and newspapers of New Jersey. From the experience of your Society in gathering its incomparable mass of newspaper files, you can guess some of the difficulties encountered in acquiring the information presented to you in this paper.

Of all the newspapers mentioned, complete files have rarely been preserved. There are several sets of the first, "The New-Jersey Gazette," issued by Collins in 1777-86. His office file, bound in three volumes, he presented to the New York Historical Society in 1815.

The New Jersey Historical Society, the Princeton University Library, and the New York Public Library (Lenox Collection) also have complete files, there thus being four in all.

An approximately complete file could be made up from the scattered numbers of the "New-Jersey Journal," published by Shepard Kollock at Chatham, and afterwards at Elizabethtown. The best file extant is in the hands of a private collector in New York. The Antiquarian Society has a long series of numbers.

A former resident of Newark, on removing to Connecticut, carried with him a nearly perfect file of the early volumes of the "Centinel of Freedom," published at Newark, from 1796. This file he kept, and with praiseworthy industry continued the series until 1852, when he presented the whole collection to the New Jersey Historical Society.

There is nothing like an approximately complete collection of the early New Brunswick newspapers known.

Nor is there a full file of the "Newark Gazette," although a few years ago I acquired from a stranger in North Carolina, a bound volume which had formerly contained fifty or sixty numbers, but from which about twenty-five had been torn out as needed for domestic purposes.

There is a perfect file of Freneau's "Jersey Chronicle," lacking No. 27, but including several supplements, in the New York Historical Society, and the Morristown Library has very appropriately acquired a complete file of the "Morris County Gazette."

But what has become of the remaining issues of these several papers?

And what shall we say of the other newspapers, whose existence in some cases is merely a matter of tradition, and in other instances but little more?

The first "newspaper" in New Jersey was not printed at all, but was, like the early English News-Letters, actually written, the original being "left at Matthew Potter's bar," at Bridgeton, where it might be copied

in whole or in part by those interested in it. It was written on a sheet of letter paper, about six and a half by eight and a half inches in size. Eight numbers of this unique paper have been preserved, extending from December 25, 1775, to February 12, 1776, the topics treated of ranging over such extremes as Bundling and Patriotism. I had the pleasure of reproducing in print this first New Jersey newspaper, in an edition of one hundred copies (privately printed, 1894), one of which is now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

Do you recollect that peculiar attempt of Hugh Gainé to ride two horses in opposite directions during the Revolution? At a time when Providence seemed to be smiling upon the patriot cause, the politic printer issued a copy of "The New York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury," Saturday, September 21, 1776, No. 1301, with the imprint: "Printed by Hugh Gainé, at Newark, in East New-Jersey." It is practically a broadside, being a folio of only one page. This paper was continued until November 2, 1776, the respective numbers being 1302, Saturday, September 28; 1303, Saturday, Oct. 5; 1304, Saturday, Oct. 12; 1305, Saturday, Oct. 19; 1306, Saturday, Oct. 26; 1307, Saturday, November 2, all the issues after 1301 being printed on a quarto leaf, two pages. At the same time, the paper continued to be issued at New York with the same series of numeration, but on different days and dates, Number 1301, Monday, Sept. 30, 1776, a folio of one page; numbers 1302, 1303, 1304 and 1305 were respectively dated Monday, Oct. 7, 14, 21 and 28, and consisted of a folio sheet of two pages. All the numbers for October, printed at New York, omitted the name of Hugh Gainé as printer. The Newark paper used expressions favorable to the American cause, and referring to the British ships, for instance, as "the piratical fleet." As Providence began smiling on the British cause, toward the end of October, Gainé appears to have thought it was no longer worth while to cater to the patriotic taste, and he resumed the publication of the "Mercury" at

his old office in New York. There is some mystery about this transaction. Did he actually, as stated by Ford, "remove part of his presses and types to Newark early in September?" Of course it is quite possible. Did he have two sets of the engraved heading, one for Newark and one for New York, or did he merely print this Newark edition in New York for circulation in New Jersey? A file of the Newark issue is preserved in the New York Public Library (Lenox Collection). Proceedings were taken in 1778 by the commissioners of forfeited estates for Essex County and for Morris County, New Jersey, against Hugh Gaine for the confiscation of his property in those counties on the ground that he had violated the law by becoming a "fugitive and offender with the enemy, against his country."

Joseph Lewis, of Morristown, made this entry in his diary, under date of Wednesday, June 30, 1784: "Cloudy & a small shower.—This day David Cree printed the first newspaper that was ever printed in Morristown." The most diligent search has failed to bring to light a copy of this newspaper, or to reveal its title. Moreover, the name of David Cree is utterly unknown in local annals. But in the "New York Gazetteer" of March 17, 1786, appears this advertisement: "To be sold on Wednesday, the fifth of April, at Springfield, New Jersey, Sundry Printing Materials, Formerly belonging to David Cree, distressed for Rent." Springfield is scarcely ten miles from Morristown. It is quite possible that Cree had rashly started a newspaper at the latter place, on the day mentioned in Lewis's diary, but it was so ephemeral that its very name has been forgotten. When he abandoned his printing materials, to be sold for arrears of rent, he journeyed to Philadelphia, where we find him a few months later in a company of Journeymen Printers of that city combining to resist a threatened reduction of their wages to thirty-five shillings per week, and pledging themselves not to "engage to work at any Printing Office in the city or country under the sum of six dollars per week"

—a very early (and modest) forerunner of the vastly expanded demands of the typographical unions of to-day.

In 1786, James Tod had a printing office at Princeton, the production of which seems to have been extremely limited. However, in May of that year, he ventured upon the publication of a newspaper, which he continued for two years or more. There is extant a copy of "The Princeton Packet, and the General Advertiser," Thursday, June 28, 1787, Vol. II, No. 51. Very appropriately, an imposing cut of Nassau Hall appears in the title. It was a fairly well printed paper of four pages, three wide columns to the page. But four copies are known to have survived, all within the State. Where are the others?

Under date of February 15, 1791, Philip Freneau issued the prospectus of a newspaper to be called "The Monmouth Gazette," to be published weekly, at "Mount Pleasant, near Middletown Point, in East New-Jersey." I have the only known copy of this prospectus. But was "The Gazette" ever issued, and if so for how long? I do not know. I have never seen nor heard of the paper. I do not think it came to light. It was doubtless one of the unborn conceptions of the poet's brain.

In 1795 there was established at Bridgeton, in Cumberland County, a paper styled the "Argus; and New-Jersey Centinel," the imprint stating that it was "published (weekly) by M'Kenzie and Westcott, Bridge Town." The earliest number known is of the date Thursday, November 5, 1795, being No. 6, from which it is estimated that the paper was ushered into existence September 30, 1795. The publishers were Alexander M'Kenzie, a general merchant of the town, and James D. Westcott, who was an educated man, interested in public affairs, and subsequently Secretary of State of New Jersey. But this was many years after the "Argus" had ceased to keep its hundred eyes on the affairs of the big nation. Number 53 announces that the partnership had been dissolved October 1, 1796,

and that the publication would be carried on by Alexander M'Kenzie alone. It is said that a year later the paper passed into the hands of John Westcott, a brother of one of the original publishers, who gave it a new name, which, however, is unknown at this date. It is said also that he continued the publication until 1805. The most diligent and persistent investigation has failed to discover a single copy of this forgotten newspaper within New Jersey, and indeed the only issues known to me are six in the Library of Harvard University.

On January 8, 1796, there was published at Newton, in Sussex county, "The Farmer's Journal, and Newton Advertiser," by Eliot Hopkins and William Hurtin, under the firm name of Eliot Hopkins and Co. But one copy of this paper is known to exist in New Jersey, being the issue for September 15, 1797, Vol. II., Number 86. What has become of all the other numbers? Some years ago I caused to be published in a leading Sussex county paper the emphatic statement that but *one copy* of this paper was in existence, and I challenged the production of any other. I hoped for a loud chorus of indignant protests and triumphant holdings forth of numerous copies of the "Journal." But alas! not a single resident of New Jersey came forward to disprove the accuracy of that statement. I did, however, receive from a man out in Wyoming a fragment of the paper in question, which he had derived from his ancestors, and had carried out to the Rocky Mountains among his cherished lares and penates! The Library of Harvard University has something like twenty-four numbers of this forgotten newspaper, the latest bearing date October 17, 1798, Vol. III., Whole No. 140, the publishers being E. Hopkins and P. Smith.

More than forty years ago I talked with an old gentleman who had been editor and printer of a newspaper established in my town in 1825. He said he had heard that after a certain newspaper had been burned out in Paterson in 1824, there had arisen from the flames, as it were, a new paper called the "Phoenix," but he

had never seen a copy of it. I was always on the look-out for this paper, or for notices of its publication. I found a paragraph in a contemporary newspaper referring to it, but in such doubtful terms as to make it uncertain whether that was really the title, or simply a sobriquet humorously applied to another paper. About ten years since I was informed by a friend that he had come into the possession of an accumulation of something like four thousand miscellaneous newspapers which had been gathered for many years by a gentleman of Morristown, who had then recently died. I found that my friend was planning to go carefully through this vast store, with a view to sorting out and arranging the several newspapers therein. I told him the legend about the "Phoenix," and asked him laughingly that if by any chance he should come across a copy of it he would lay it aside for me. He cheerfully promised. A year or so after, to my great surprise, he triumphantly produced *one copy* of the "Phoenix," the only copy which he had found in the pile. But alas! this treasure-trove, so unexpectedly rescued from oblivion, after seventy-five years, was irretrievably lost in the Paterson fire of 1902.

What has become of all these forgotten newspapers? In the light of past experiences, which have brought forth so many supposedly forgotten treasures, we cannot but hope that some day, somewhere, perhaps in a secluded corner of some ancient garret, there will be found a whole file of one or more of these newspapers, bringing untold delight to the soul of the antiquarian and the historian.

PRINTERS' TROUBLES IN THE OLDEN DAYS.

The earlier printers had some experiences which were to them vexatious, but to us seem only amusing. In many instances, also, they recall to us, as of yesterday, incidents in historical events long past.

There was no issue of the "New York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy," for August 15, 1757. The following week the customers were asked to excuse the

omission, "seeing that the then particular Emergency called the Printers off as it did likewise Thousands of others belonging to the Province in the service of their King and Country." "The particular Emergency" referred to was the investiture of Fort William Henry by the French and Indians. The delay in issuing the "Gazette" for March 11, 1762, was because the Boston and Hartford Post-rider "was so hindered by the Snow, which in some places was prodigiously deep, especially between Springfield and Hartford, that he did not arrive till Sunday Night. However, he brought the Boston papers a week later than the other Post that came in the Night before." These post-riders from New York to Hartford were "supported by the printers of the Gazette at a great Expence." In the "Gazette" for October 17, 1759, persons indebted to the printer were "earnestly requested immediately to discharge their Accounts, as the Printer is under the greatest difficulties and Distress for Money, not only to carry on his Business, but to pay his just Debts." Another trouble was that "notwithstanding the utmost Endeavours of the Printer, his Boys frequently forgot to carry his Customers their Papers"—an experience which has probably befallen many of my hearers in their younger days in smaller towns than New York.

The early printers had great difficulties in securing paper. When Isaac Collins began the publication of "The New-Jersey Gazette," he found this to be an immediate and most pressing need. In his paper for Wednesday, December 24, 1777, it was announced that "A good price and ready money is given by the Printer hereof, for clean linen rags, and hogs bristle," and this advertisement was repeatedly published, while the "good women" of the State were continually urged to preserve their rags for the paper mill. In the issue for Thursday, April 23, 1778, it was stated that "No more subscriptions can be received at present for this Gazette for want of paper." A frequent embarrassment was the non-arrival of the posts from the Eastward or South,

due to the inclemency of the weather, or the ravages of the enemy in capturing the mails. The issue of June 24 is dated July 1 on the inside, which is thus explained: "The other side of this paper having been printed off last week, previous to the alarm, and thereby prevented from being completed, sufficiently accounts for the date in the title page." To eke out his scanty income, Collins engaged in trade of various kinds. "A few chests of tea, warranted the first quality for Bohea, to be sold very cheap for cash"; "A quantity of capital medicines to be sold cheap for cash at the Printing-Office in Trenton"; "To be sold, A negro Boy nine years old, slim built but very active." In the latter part of 1780, he began advertising books for sale, the lists throwing quite a light on the popular taste of the day. He continued from time to time to advertise general merchandise, books and stationery, negro wenchers, tea, butter, cheese, "chariots," saddles, and a variety of other goods and wares. One of his troubles was the need of apprentices and of printers, for whom he was continually advertising. This advertisement was renewed from time to time: "Wanted, by the Printer hereof, two Journeymen. They will be exempted from actual service in the militia, and receive handsome wages." But his greatest trouble was to collect the subscriptions for his paper. In his issue for April 7, 1779, it was announced that "advertisements of a moderate length inserted for three dollars each the first week, and one dollar for every continuation," but so rapidly did the paper currency depreciate that only two weeks later the price was raised to "four dollars the first week, and two dollars weekly thereafter." Subscriptions were payable in produce, wheat at 7s. 6d., rye at 4s. 6d., butter at 1s., etc. Even these terms did not result in the replenishing of his exchequer, and he was so completely discouraged that he issued no "Gazette" for the first three weeks in July, 1779. On July 28, 1779, the terms for the paper were stated to be "five dollars per quarter in cash at the beginning of

each quarter, the price to be raised or lowered according to the price of the necessaries of life." The following February, the price was raised to thirteen dollars per quarter, payable in produce, and in April to fifteen dollars, payable in cash, while in July it was put upon an entirely different basis, "one-third of a dollar in produce or half a dollar in gold or silver."

Shepard Kollock had like experiences at Chatham. He was constantly prodding his subscribers to pay up, offering to take in payment anything from firewood to needles, and fresh country produce of every description. He also carried on a general country store at Chatham, selling tea and negro boys and wenches, Bibles and rum, calicos and hoes, "chocolat" and turnips. He made frequent appeals for apprentices "to learn the beautiful and genteel business of printing." An unusual qualification was mentioned as desirable in the "Journal" of January 9, 1788: "A lad of about 14 years old, of good morals and of a moderate education, (but if acquainted with the dead languages, the more agreeable) is wanted by the printer hereof as an apprentice." Sometimes the paper on which the "Journal" was printed would be of a deep blue tint, and frequently it would vary in size. "Owing to a disappointment in procuring the Paper of the common size for our news this week, we are under the necessity of using a small sheet as a substitute," says the "Journal" of December 24, 1799. We are reminded of the warlike situation in which Kollock was placed, by this paragraph: "June 28, 1780. The printing office having been removed in the late alarm was the reason this paper was not published last week." There did not seem to be much eagerness to fill the demand for apprentices, and in March, 1780, the printer advertised: "Wanted, by the Printer hereof, a Journeyman that can work at case and press, to whom the greatest encouragement will be given." The "Journal" of June 6, 1781, accounted for the lack of news thus: "We have received no Eastern papers this week, the post having been taken

between Fishkill and Morristown, and carried to New-York." In his issue for November 8, 1786, in the dearth of news he proposes to publish that fascinating work, "Carver's Travels through the interior parts of this Continent," as a serial. *Per contra*, while Jay's Treaty was under discussion the "Journal" felt "obliged to omit several advertisements as well as foreign and domestic occurrences to give place to the debates in Congress"!

During the first few weeks of 1788, there began some friction between the newspapers and the post office department. "The New-Jersey Journal" of March 5, 1788, has this significant paragraph, with the accompanying dark hint: "For some weeks past, we have scarcely received a paper from our numerous correspondents in the different states. The motive for this suppression of intelligence is best known to the post-master general! It has an oblique aspect of sinister views. It is a disgrace to this enlightened age, and a harbinger of slavery, that when the press, under the most arbitrary governments, is daily growing more and more free, that the post-masters, or their jackalls, should essay to stop all communication between the states at this important crisis, by prohibiting that exchange of papers printers have enjoyed since the first establishment of a post-office in this continent." The newspapers contemplated a remedy for this difficulty by establishing "Mail Coaches, for the Carriage of Letters, on moderate terms and for maintaining a due Intercourse between the Publishers of News-papers in the United States, pro Bono Publico." In the "Journal" for February 17, 1790, it was stated that the post-master general proposed this plan for relieving the deficit in the department: "News-papers which have hitherto passed free of postage circulating extensively through the Post-Offices; one or two cents upon each, would probably amount to as much as the expense of transporting the mails." The "Journal" denounced this proposition as having "an obvious tendency to shackle the press,

check the circulation of newspapers and degrade the freemen of this country."

"The Journal" of December 24, 1799, contained this startling intelligence: "Washington, the Friend, the Protector, of his Country, is no more!!! Washington, the Great, the Good, Defunct!"

The appearance of a weekly paper with a "ghost" for the fourth page was accounted for by an "unavoidable accident which there was not time to remedy before the day of printing." A frequent complaint was: "We were hindered in getting out our paper this week because our printer left us last Monday without any explanation." Freneau slipped over one week without issuing his "Jersey Chronicle," with the simple explanation the following week, that it was "on account of sickness." You can imagine the righteous indignation of the publisher who penned this paragraph: "Last Tuesday night, some dastardly villain entered our office and so severely beat our printer that he was unable to work as usual in getting out the paper this week."

But on the whole it must be admitted that the printers of the eighteenth century, with their limited resources, displayed quite as much energy and enterprise in overcoming the obstacles of those days, as do the gigantic printing establishments of the present time, with all their mighty facilities, in meeting fires, earthquakes, dynamite explosions and the like, peculiar to our own times.

WHENCE CAME THE YOUNG PRINTERS?

The printer's art is one of the most conservative of all arts. Many of its customs and technical terms are survivals from mediæval days. You know that in Germany, until recent years, and perhaps even now in the rural districts, it was always the custom when a young man had finished his apprenticeship, for him to start off with the implements of his trade on his back and try to make a living at his vocation away from home for at least a year. This was called his "*Wanderjahr*."

This particular custom seems to have persisted most thoroughly among printers from earliest times. The "traveling jour." has been a recognized feature of the printer's craft. The average journeyman printer is a traveled man, besides being a well-read man. These young printers, having mastered the art and mysteries of their craft, and being inspired with a fond zest of novelty to be enjoyed in their "*Wanderjahr*," were, moreover, often possessed of an ambition to better their condition in life. No intelligent, self-respecting journeyman printer but fancied that he knew all the faults and mistakes of his employer, and how and where those errors could be avoided. Accordingly, we find many of these young fellows making their way to the remoter towns and Provinces of the country, canvassing for subscriptions for a newspaper, probably borrowing the money to set up a plant, perhaps buying an outfit on credit, and in time establishing themselves in a printing office of their own, there to remain until prosperity should reward their efforts, or until the irresistible *Wanderlust* coursed quickly through their veins, and induced them to abandon or sell out their enterprise and start for unconquered fields. This was the history of the origin of many an early newspaper in America. It was the experience of many in New Jersey villages and towns.

Naturally, New York and Philadelphia furnished most of these young printers of New Jersey, many of them being graduates from the offices of Franklin and Parker. Several of them were from Massachusetts, and in fact, as mentioned above, we find the name of I. Thomas as one of the publishers of a Trenton newspaper in 1799.

Who can help admiring the splendid optimism and courage of those young fellows in venturing to set up newspapers with Hope as almost their only capital! Their very immaturity and inexperience led them often to indulge in views calculated to break down the old traditions—social, economic and political—of their time.

They were profit-seeking, yes; usually their first object in life was to make a living. But with the vision of youth they saw far ahead, and advocated opinions that blazed the way for many a change in the body politic. They contributed to the unification of the country. Franklin, Parker and Thomas bred up scores of young printers to their ideas, not only of their trade, but of their political beliefs as well. Their apprentices were taught the value of the freedom of the press. This led to the idea of the freedom of the people. These young men came in contact with the ablest, the most intelligent men in the country. They learned from them. They helped spread their views. So they became a power in the land. They were the pioneers who laid the foundations, broad and deep, for that mighty structure which in England has been termed the Fourth Estate, and which in this country has aspired to be the Voice of Public Opinion. Surely, the present generation is largely indebted to these gallant young printers of the eighteenth century. It is but a small return for their efforts thus to rescue their names and their history from oblivion, which has been one of the aims of this paper, and is a special function of the American Antiquarian Society.

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