papers which the pressman had been accustomed to preserve for sale.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of esteem and good will, your friend

Wm. McCulloch.

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA FOR THE HISTORY OF PRINTING

BY

ISAIAH THOMAS

COMMUNICATED BY WM. McCULLOCH

Philadelphia.

MR. THOMAS,

SIR,

Your letter of the 8th of December 1812, acknowledging the receipt of my communication of the 1st of September preceding, was duly received. I then thought it not improbable but that I would peruse your work again, with the intent of sending you the result of any remarks that might occur, as well as such additional facts as should come within my observation.

All the following information was collected by piecemeal. Hence, you may well suppose, situated as I am amidst a business, which, of all other avocations, requires the undeviating bend of the mind and memory, that I cannot be very methodical in my arrangements. This will be a useful communication for you, but you will have some trouble to gather and digest, under their respective heads, the statements furnished.

Indeed, were it not that the perusal of your History, along with other books, was necessary in the compilation of some works for which I am preparing the materials, I suppose you would not have heard from me; and from this fact may be inferred the reason, in part, why you have not succeeded in obtaining expected information which you requested of others. But independent of the editorial advantage I derive from such like historical works, I receive a personal and intrinsic pleasure from their perusal. That study, that reading, is my element.

One of the works I am compiling is "an American Chronology, or summary of events relative to the new world, from its discovery to the present time." I have been culling a number of dates and events from your volume without your permission, but with the intention of repaying by giving you from my collection such dates and events as you have not, and will bear upon the nature of your design. I do not know when the Chronology will be printed, but intend its publication at some future day.

Another work that I have had in hand for some time past is "the American Anecdotist." This also will be arranged according to the times of transaction, and will contain anecdotes, bon mots, and their tribe, as well as the brilliant feats of our warriors and the eminent laconisms of our statesmen. The whole book will be solely American. This is ready, but the publication will be deferred to a distant day.

I mention these books in embryo to explain the reason why I may appear to be attentive to dates and other trivial circumstances.

In one particular of my last I was wrong. In mentioning Sower of Germantown, I told you a printer had sent to him for some types, about the year 1789, in a great hurry, but that Sower was never the whit the quicker for all the hurrying. Now this story relates to Fox and not Sower. The latter was not at that time a type founder: Fox was. Sower did not then reside at Germantown: Fox did. Sower was then dead. How I incorporated this characteristic in the description of Sower I know not. I have related it, and heard it related, as a bye-word of Fox, for many and many a time, and committed a great mistake in putting it in the place I did. It was Justus Fox who was never in a hurry.

The "Caution" as formerly (about 1760) exhibited in some printing offices in Scotland, had these lines:

> With Argus' eyes behold this art most rare;
> But with Briareus' hands to touch beware.

which were probably in lieu of

> Lo! this advice we give to every stranger,
> Look on, and welcome, but to touch there's danger.

When I told you that the press in Pittsburg was established by Brackenridge, I meant it was through his influence and encouragement, both pecuniary and literary. John Scull was the printer. It was commenced in the spring of 1783 or 84, and called the Pittsburg Gazette[5]. The size was demy folio. It is still continued by him.

True. You do not mention *John* Young. The copy I had then been examining was a borrowed one, and it was returned before that letter was written. I have since purchased one. James was a speculator: he was everything by starts, and nothing long. James did not continue his store (p. 449, vol. 2) more than 6 or 9 months. He was too fond of company. But James inherited that store by marriage only. Miss Ann Smith, a girl whom James had been sparking for some time before, but whom his parents had prohibited him from marrying, had that year returned to Philadelphia from a voyage to London, with a handsome assortment of books, and set up a bookstore. James soon found her out and married her. The store then went to the dogs. Hence Ann Smith, and not James Young, should properly be reckoned the proprietor of that book store. If this bookstore adjoined the London coffee house on the Front Street side, it might have been the same place or next door to which Woodhouse removed in 1782.

I mentioned in my other communication that the Tickler[6] was a filthy vehicle of abuse. You have perhaps been apprised, since that, by the public papers, that the vending of it has been prohibited in the City of New York. I believe it is now defunct. Twice or thrice did the editor fail, and wrong his creditors. The name of the editor should be Helmbold, and not Hembold. The size was a demy folio.

Richard Folwell, the Spirit of the Press[7] editor, died in the Pennsylvania hospital on the 15th of May 1814. A subscription was opened at the Merchant's Coffee House to give him a decent funeral, and about 80 dollars subscribed. His body

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[5] "The Pittsburgh Gazette" was established July 29, 1786 (see R. G. Thwaites in A.A.S. Proceedings, April 1909).

[6] "The Tickler" was a small weekly newspaper published at Philadelphia from 1807 to 1813.

[7] "The Spirit of the Press" was published at Philadelphia from 1805 to 1808.

was removed to the house of his sisters, in Dock Street, and thence enterred. His Spirit of the Press appeared but seldom for some time before his spirit of existence departed from his body, and that was accelerated by spirits ardent. He at last hawked his paper about the streets himself, and gathered a scanty pittance. How the gold became dim! how was the fine gold become changed! Richard Folwell was a man of sense, of some ability, and at one time, for fortune and for fame, bid fairer than his compeers. (p. 514, vol 2.) The solicitor of money among the booksellers for Folwell's funeral was Robert Rawle, an excentric character, and a quondam bookseller of Philadelphia.

P. 86 and 348, vol. 2. Francis Bailey was bred a carpenter (I duplicate some of my former statements, for the sake of connection with additional information) and obtained some smattering of instruction in the art of printing at Ephrata, in Lancaster County. I do not positively deny, for I have not correct information, but I very much doubt whether he ever published a newspaper at Lancaster.[8] I never heard of it till I saw your book, and cannot trace any traditions respecting it. He possessed an office at Lancaster two or three years, with which he removed to Philadelphia in the fall of 1778, and the following year, 1779, commenced the Freeman's Journal, and not, as you have it, after the peace. The types of his office at this period were mostly of the German casting, and considerably higher than the standard. He procured these types, it is supposed, at Ephrata, or perhaps at Lancaster, perhaps of Bey. It was a difficult and nice job to adjust lines in titles and jobs with these types, commixed with others of the standard height. But the type he commenced his newspaper with was cast, I am told, by Jacob Bey, at Germantown. After the war, Bailey imported a new and handsome set of types. The United States Magazine, which Bailey published in 1779, was continued to the 9th number only. It was edited by H. H. Brackenridge. In religion, Bailey attached himself to the Swedenburg sect. Bailey continued in Philadelphia till the

[8]Bailey published "Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat" at Lancaster from Feb. 4 to June 24, 1778. He began printing in Philadelphia in 1779, and established "The Freeman's Journal," April 25, 1781.

legislature removed their sittings to Lancaster, in 1799, when, as he had a share of the public work, he removed with part of his office to that place, and left his son Robert in the city with the residue. Robert did not continue long in the office at Philadelphia. The public work, after some time, passing into other hands, Bailey quitted Lancaster, and retired to his farm in Octorara township, 14 miles east from Lancaster, where he continued some little printing with the Testament and other things. From thence he returned to Philadelphia with his family about the year 1810. Part of the moulds and material of his type foundry are of his own construction. The Bourgeois testament, of which he cast the types, is now the property of Mathew Carey. Bailey has been a first rate mechanical genius. It is mentioning the least of his feats to say he can dispart clocks and watches, and detect the cause of their aberration with the acuteness of a person regularly held at the horologe. No. 10 of the accompanying bagatelle[9] is the mutilated remains of one of his specimens procured when I was a small boy.

Among others to whom you are indebted for the traditional histories I furnish is my father, John McCulloch. He arrived in America from Scotland in the spring of 1774. He served his apprenticeship in Glasgow, to John Bryce, and being a thoroughbred printer, was gladly employed at different times, by Aitken, Bell and Bailey. Aitken and Bailey, and especially the latter, were particularly pleased to have such a correct foreman for their office.

P. 77, vol. 2. Since I wrote you before, Jane Aitken failed. Her types, and everything else were seized, or clandestinely conveyanced; but either through the assistance of friends, or by evasion in assignment, her implements of trade were restored, & she still continued the business. Since which she failed again, and sponged her debts in Norristown jail, 20 miles from Philadelphia. But she now prosecutes her business once more. I mention these things to show you how much you are mistaken in your account of Aitken. His daughter had

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[9]McCulloch sent Thomas a collection of 27 specimens of early Pennsylvania printing. No. 10, however, has not been identified as being in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

assumed his debts. The true statement was furnished you in my other letter.

Bradford (p. 49, vol. 2) is mentioned as a bookseller, but you should also have enrolled him among others mentioned in p. 448.

Robert Aitken (p. 448, vol. 2) continued his bookstore and printing office in Front Street till 1779 or 80, when he removed to Market Street (now No. 22) near Front, where he remained till his death. Aitken kept the largest and most valuable bookstore at that time in Philadelphia. The first book he printed was Buchan's Domestic Medicine: the second, Alexanders' (or some such name) History of Women in 1 vol. 12 mo.[10] Aitken was a binder by trade, and a most excellent workman. There was no better finished binding ever done than some of the books executed in his shop.

P. 448, vol. 2. Among others who kept books in Philadelphia was ——— Taggert. In 1768, before the arrival of Aitken, Taggert was the most extensive bookseller in the city. After Aitken's large assortment arrived, Taggert discontinued the importation of books, and attended solely to the dry-goods part of his business.

P. 448, vol. 2. John Sparhawk had chalked out a new line of bookselling for himself, when a competition of venders sprung up. He kept old and scarce books only, such as were not elsewhere in the market, and sold them at high prices. He first lived in Second Street, between Market Street and Trotter's Lane. He then purchased a house at the corner of Second Street and Elfrith's Alley, and removed there. He afterwards removed to another purchase, in Second Street No. 67, below Chestnut, where he died May 11, 1803, contrary to his own calculations of his sickness. He was rich and his collection of books very valuable. The business is still continued by the widow, but the collection is no longer famous.

P. 448, vol. 2. Sparhawk and Anderton, at the London bookstore in Market Street is the style of an advertisement of 1769, in an old file of Goddard's newspapers, and I suppose they were for some time in partnership.

[10] "Essay on the Character of Women," by Antoine Thomas, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1774, is undoubtedly the work referred to.

P. 448, vol. 2. In the year 1765 Woodhouse and Dean commenced as bookbinders and booksellers. But you take no notice of this firm. The partnership was dissolved the same year. Dean was a binder, and not sober. He died soon after, probably about 1784.

P. 448, vol. 2. It was in 1765 (and not 66) that Wm. Woodhouse commenced. He never lived in Second Street. He was a bookbinder and bookseller, and began in Front Street, on the water side near Chestnut Street, at the Sign of the Bible and Crown. The latter ornament, emblematic of royalty, was removed at the commencement of the revolution. The Bible is still above the door, a huge folio. In 1775 Woodhouse printed, with Robert Bell, Burgh's Political Disquisitions, 2 vols. February 26, 1782, Woodhouse removed to the opposite side of Front Street, now No. 6, near Market, next door to the London coffee house, where he resided till his death. He then established a slate and slate pencil manufactory, the only one at that time in the United States. The stone was obtained from York County, Penn., and is probably the same quarry that is at present worked on the Susquehannah, and which supplies a number of the slates now selling in Baltimore and Philadelphia. But peace soon after took place with Britain, and large quantities, at a moderate price, being then imported, the manufacture was discontinued. In 1791 Woodhouse commenced printing. Among the books from his press were New Robinson Crusoe, Baron Trench, Young's Night Thoughts, Gil Blas and Milton's Works. He died December 28, 1795. He had relinquished the printing and sold out his office about a year before his death. His son William succeeded him, in the same house, in bookselling, (not as a printer). But his son is now advertising his stock for sale, and is about declining the business. The son, as well as the father, were worthy citizens, and honourable tradesmen. William, the son, declined the business November 21, 1814, with no debt, and some property. The Bible sign now taken down.

P. 448, vol. 2. Samuel Taylor commenced bookselling in 1764, and not 1765, as you say. Woodhouse worked journey-work with Taylor at binding before he set up for himself.

Taylor died about the year 1781. Taylor was a bookbinder as well as bookseller.

P. 449, vol. 2. Another bookseller omitted in your roster was Caleb Buglass. He was from Berwick, upon Tweed, where he served his apprenticeship as a printer and bookbinder. He commenced the bookbinding and bookselling at Philadelphia in 1774. He died about the year 1797. His widow still continues bookbinding, and supports herself genteelly. She may also be said to continue the bookselling if her little shop would justify the title.

P. 449, vol. 2. Samuel Dellap's situation was at the corner of Third and Chestnut Streets, and not in Front, as you have stated. At least so I am told by Wm. Woodhouse; but when I see you have reiterated the same residence from p. 79, I conclude you have *printed* testimony of his designated location, and that Dellap must have resided in both places.

P. 449, vol. 2. George Reinhold lived in Market Street, the first house west of Fifth Street. He was also a bookbinder. Reinhold was from Germany, and there served an apprenticeship to bookbinding.

P. 67, vol. 2. John Dunlap died of an apoplexy, November 27, 1812, at Philadelphia, aged about 65. "He never enserted a paragraph" &c.[11] It may pass. I do not know to the contrary; but the amiableness of disposition which might be implied from that sentence was not, perhaps, his talent. However, *de mortuis nil.* Indeed I have nothing at all against him. I respected him. Dunlap possessed, till his death, a handsome fortune. The lots in Market Street and its vicinity which he had received from government, in pay for printing, were little worth at the time; but during his lengthened period of years, the city had extended out to his property, and greatly encreased their value. One square (which you perhaps know) extending from Market to Chestnut Street, and from Eleventh to Twelfth, and which he obtained for printing at a few hundred pounds, he sold in 1809 to Stephen Girard, for 100,000 or 120,000 dollars. Dunlap retained the captaincy of that

[11]Thomas says of Dunlap: "It is said, that whilst he conducted a newspaper, he never inserted a paragraph which wounded the feelings of an individual."

troop (the first of the Pennsylvania militia cavalry) till some political commotions, of 1808 or 9, obliged him to resign. He was a federalist. "For several years."[12] It is presumed this period ended with his printing career; and from 1778 to 1783 is expressly five years. But he quitted the printing in 1795.

P. 333, vol. 2. I have examined the files of the Pennsylvania Packet, as far as they are preserved in the Philadelphia Library. The first three volumes are not there deposited. The first in the Library commences with vol. 4, and the year 1775, printed on a royal paper, in four columns, and published weekly on Monday, and called Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser. Vol. 5 commences Oct. 23, 1775,and the imprint, towards the end of the volume, is "printed by John Dunlap at the newest printing office in Market Street." April 15, 1776, begins a demy sized paper, which is continued through 1777, 78 and 79, and the paper now in 3 columns. On August 13, 1776, it changes its day of publication to Tuesday, and at the close of 1776, and beginning of 77, appears, often on a half sheet, owing, probably, to a scarcity of paper. Nov. 29, 1777, it was printed at Lancaster, the British being then in Philadelphia. There seems to be a month here in which no paper was issued, but perhaps that part of the file is not preserved, as a portion is mentioned in writing as being presented from a gentleman in Lancaster. While published in Lancaster the price was "15 pence, single, or one shilling by the quantity." July 4, 1778, it recommenced at Philadelphia, and was published, during that and the succeeding year, three times a week, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It again changed its size to a royal in 1780. In 1784 it still continues three times a week, on the same days, without a cut, as formerly, in the heading; and is priced 6 pence; but is now "printed and sold by David C. Claypoole, on the south side of Market Street, third door east of Second Street." (But this is the same house, under various designations, in which Dunlap commenced, and the paper was continued all the time it was printed in Market Street). Septem-

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[12]Refers to Thomas's statement that Dunlap "for several years" was the printer for Congress.

ber 21, 1784 it changed to a daily paper, price 4 pence, and "printed and sold by John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole" and called in 2 lines "the Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser." But no notice is taken in the paper of its change to a diurnal emission, and the number is continued on, viz: 1755; and the price of the annual subscription is not mentioned for years together. Cook's Voyages were published in this series, in numbers. That it was a morning paper is adduced from an addendum to the imprint of Feb. 22, 1785, "Subscribers to this paper (in the city) served with it at their houses every morning, and those at a distance by the quickest conveyances." During the years 1786, 87, 88, 89 and 90 there is no alteration: it continued from 1780 on a royal size, in 4 columns; but the head, from the wearing and battering, is almost illegible for the last year. At the commencement of 1791 it was enlarged to a super-royal size, (the first perhaps of that size on the continent) in 5 columns, and called "Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser," with entire new type,and "printed by John Dunlap, No. 48 (the houses in Philadelphia were about this time first numbered) Market Street, opposite the Jersey market." The year 1792 no variation. The price commences at 6 cents with 1793; and on December 9, of the same year, it is called "Dunlap and Calypoole's American Daily Advertiser," and is "printed and sold by John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole," &c. The year 1794 and 95 the same. The year 1796 commences with "Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser," and is "printed by David C. and Septimus (a brother) Claypoole, 48 Market Street." And so it continues through the year 1797 and 98. In 1799 it is by David C. Claypoole only, as proprietor, and so continues till Oct. 1, 1800, when it becomes "Poulson's American Daily Advertiser" and "printed by Zachariah Poulson, jun. No. 106 Chestnut Street" and the number 7428 is continued on by him. Poulson still possesses it, and has published it with an uniform taste and execution (and the compliment is enhanced by coming from an opponent in politics) that may vie with any of his brother editors on the continent.

These dates may be very useful to you. They are correct, and differ considerably from your statements regarding this

paper. You will perceive that Dunlap, as well as Claypoole, relinquished and recommenced. What the operating courses were, I know not. David C. Claypoole served his apprenticeship with Dunlap. He is still living in Philadelphia. Dunlap was purblind from his youth; and was compelled to use glasses to assist his sight. In person he was stout and athletic. (See Cheetham's Life of Paine, p. 72, for Dunlap's part of crimination with respects to the secrets of Congress published in Common Sense).

The Philadelphia Library Catalogue will give you the names of such newspapers as are deposited there; and in this respect it may be of use to you.

I perceive from some collections of their papers deposited in the Library, that both Rivington's and Gaine's Gazettes (either when whigs or tories) are printed on paper of every size and every quality. This was, no doubt, owing to the scarcity of that article for the time. Dunlap's file, for one period, exhibits a similar medley

The father of the present editor Poulson deserves a niche in the History of Printing. He was not indeed a master printer, but he was such a capital workman, and lived so long an operator by hire, that he is sufficiently entitled to notice. Zachariah (and not Zechariah as you uniformly spell it) the elder, was a native of Copenhagen, and arrived at Philadelphia, when only 12 years of age, in 1749, with his father. He was very soon after put as apprentice to Sower 1st, of Germantown, and with him learned printing. He afterward worked with Bradford, Crukshank, Humphreys, and others, until, partly from age and partly from the request of his friends, he ceased his daily toils at the composing stand. He was a very active, as well as a steady, regular man; a slow workman, but very accurate, and at rule and figure work he perhaps excelled all his cotemporaries. He was probably the cleanliest man that ever worked in a printing office. His commencement on Monday morning would be with clean and snug apparel, which would appear nearly as neat and clean on Saturday evening. When he retired from printing he opened a small stationery shop, in Second Street, above Arch. His cleanly disposition again showed itself in the shop, which

always appeared tidily garnished, and nicely arranged. He did not acquire property. He died January 14, 1804, aged 67, and was buried in the Moravian cemetery of Philadelphia.

In an old English Dictionary, by C. Coles, "Schoolmaster and teacher of the tongue to foreigners," which I lately inspected, are the following explanations: (literatim)

"*Impression of books*, usually 1500, but in *France* 1250 is the usual *journée*, (or days work)."

"*Imprimery* (French) a print or impression; also a printing house, or the Art of Printing."

"*Prelal*, belonging to the Printer's press."

"*Squabbled*, when (between setting and imposing) some lines (in a form) fall out of order."

"*Stationers Company*, takes in booksellers, binders, and stationers (properly so cal'd) sells paper, ink, wax, &c."

"Topographer (a), a printer."

"Topography, printing."

This dictionary is 12 mo. size, with 3 Brevier columns in a page. It was printed at London, in 1692. The word printing is not explained in this dictionary.

In a "typographer's" dictionary, or glossary of printer's phrases, which I think would be a useful addenda to your volumes, might be explained, and their derivations given, of the terms friar, monk, briar, frisket, tympan, chase, winter, summer, gallows, bank, quoin, galley, &c, and the meaning of the names of the different sized types. Smith, in his Printer's Grammar, interprets some of these; and I do not think I have the solution of any of the rest of which you are not also in possession.

I was totally wrong with respect to what I before sent you respecting the first paper mills erected in Pennsylvania. I believe that information was obtained from the young people. I have since been at the spots and conversed with the elders, some of whom have arrived at a very advanced age. Before I proceed I must make a sort of an apology. The first notes of this communication (for this is a copied statement) were gathered at various times; and the following, respecting the paper mill, in particular, from many persons. Therefore your patience is forewarned that the history is not in chronological order, but that you will have to follow me in proceeding and

receding, alternately, several times. This is the apology; and, forewarned, as they say, the narrative proceeds.

The first paper mill in Pennsylvania was erected on Paper Mill run, a small stream of the Wishahicon creek, 6 miles north of Philadelphia, by Nicholas (or Claus, as it was then spelled) Rittenhouse. The first building was of logs, which covered a water wheel set over the run, and there was no dam or race. This was soon washed off by a fresh of rain. Another of stone was then erected, a little on the rise of the bank. The stone building is still standing, and bears every mark of a centennial edifice. It has not been used for a vat cover for an indefinite length of time, as a larger stone mill was long since erected close along side and continuous to it. The uniform tradition of the old people is that the mill that was washed away was the first in Pennsylvania; that Bradford assisted Claus Rittenhouse in its erection; that Bradford imported the moulds; and that Bradford obtained the paper manufactured at the mill; that the first house that Nicholas (or Claus, indiscriminately) Rittenhouse constructed for a residence was a log tenement not far distant from the mill, and that the present stone mansion was posterior to the log one many years; and that the old log mill was washed away, and the old stone one erected for some time before the present ancient stone mansion was built. Now, with respect to the time of the erection of this stone mansion, there is ample evidence. On the gable end of the house are these cyphers: $\frac{W}{C\ R}$ $\frac{}{1707}$ which are the initials for Claus and Wilhelmina Rittenhouse. Hence, the concurrent opinion is, that the first paper mill must have been erected long before 1700. Indeed they all calculate its erection to be nearer 1690; and on a reference to your dates respecting Bradford and Jansen, there seems much presumptive proof of the earlier date being nearest the truth. At any rate, it was erected and in operation long before Bradford's second permanent visit to Philadelphia in 1712, and he had left it in 1693, that is, taking your dates to be correct, and I believe they are. The mill, if erected under the patronage of Bradford, and if he obtained the paper, must therefore be dated as early as 1690.

Claus is the same name in the Low Dutch as Nicholas in English. In familiar style, in that language, Claus is used; in more serious, Niclaus. The same occurs in the French language: Nicholas is the full name, Colas the familiar abbreviation: Hence Molière calls one of his comedies, Colas and the name Nicolas is not used by him in that piece. Many of the male Rittenhouses still retain the name Nicholas. There are few families in America that have become so numerous as the Rittenhouses, from so slender a stock. They are now above 300 in number in Pennsylvania, and all from the loins of this Nicholas.[13]

The Rittenhouses, one or other of them, have continued paper makers to this day. The first stone mill is still attached to the present mill, (and is not converted into a grist mill as I told you before) and covers a large press with a screw (made of wild cherry) of about 18 inches diameter in the eye. This press verily appears to be an ancient affair. The mill is not at present employed by a Rittenhouse. It is rented as a paper mill; and the present paper maker Rittenhouse (Nicholas) employs another mill in the vicinity.

I am thus particular in noticing these trifles, to show you that if before I was wrong, I have now taken some pains to correct my mistakes. I have personally investigated the premises.

Since writing the foregoing respecting the Rittenhouses and their mills, and which had exhausted all my materials respecting them, I have seen others of the connection, and with one of these (William) I came across an old folio Bible, in the language of the Netherlands, which contains a record of the ages and some dates respecting the earlier Rittenhouses. This Bible was printed in 1632, is exceedingly well executed, with handsome well proportioned type and bright black ink. It has the apocrypha at the end of the volume. By this Bible it appears that Nicholas (the first of the paper making Rittenhouses in America) was born June 15, 1666. He arrived at New York, November 2, 1687, when 21 years of age. (There

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[13]For an account of the Rittenhouse family and their paper-mills, see "Penn. Magazine of History," vol. 20, p. 315, and D.K. Cassel's Genealogy of the Rittenhouse Family, 1893

follows another date, which I could not readily decypher into English, but it somewhat pertains to his wife, Wilhelmina.) Nicholas's name is there spelt Claus Rittinghüissen. The name of a son called after the father is written Niclaus Ryttynghüyssen. These were various modes of writing the same name. The first German and Dutch settlers were no critics in language, and they frequently and undesignedly varied the orthography of their names. Nicholas, it is supposed, from New York, went immediately on to Philadelphia. He was bred a paper maker in Holland. Bradford, according to tradition, interested himself to procure a proper situation for Nicholas, on which to erect a mill, and pitched upon a scite on Paper Mill or (as some call it) Sandy Run. Nicholas went out from Philadelphia, and commenced the building. There is no tradition, nor is there any probability, that Nicholas followed any thing in America prior to paper making, and hence the mill must have been erected and in operation in the spring of 1688. And hence, the mill and first mansion of Rittenhouse must have been constructed four years anterior to 1692, the date of the settlement of Germantown. It is probable that some other families settled in the same vicinity about the same time. It occurred to me that the first houses in Germantown must have been, for society and safety sake, erected in the neighbourhood of the mill settlement, and on inquiry, I found it was the case. Germantown is one continued street, and the first houses built in it were at the nearest point of the town from the mill, distant something less than a mile. These trifles are mentioned only as a corroboration of the dates already given.

Nicholas continued paper making, (by the tradition of his progeny) for the Bradfords only, till his death. He died May 24, 1734, aged 68. Nicholas was a man of small stature, but his son and successor in trade, was a large man, and his numerous offspring are mostly all above the middle size, and some of them very large.

William, the successor to Nicholas, was born November 28, 1691. The son also worked solely for the Bradfords, and is said to have made all their printing paper. William made both writing and printing paper, and the writing paper was the best

and most saleable of any for a long time manufactured in America. William married the sister of a John Johnston, and John Johnston married William's sister.

William made his writing paper in the spring of the year, when the water was most free of leaves and trash, and as much was prepared as was supposed would supply that year's demand. The residue of the year was employed in making fuller's boards, of which there was a great consumption. Wilcox, who had established the second mill and whose history I will presently furnish you, also made fuller's boards. Wilcox supplied Franklin, and Rittenhouse sold to Bradford. But Wilcox's boards were glazed and well finished, and Rittenhouse did not possess the art of glazing. Hence, the boards from Wilcox's mill commanded the market. Rittenhouse was very desirous of ascertaining Wilcox's process of glazing; but Wilcox kept the mode a secret, and would not suffer any stranger to enter the apartment where the operation was performed. Rittenhouse at length came in possession of the plan. A person by the name of Matthias Jacobs, a neighbour to Rittenhouse, a gunner and sportman of the day, found an opportunity, when in the neighbourhood of Wilcox's mill, on a sporting tour, to creep in at the window, and unperceived himself, observed the machinery and method of operation. The secret was speedily communicated to Rittenhouse, and Wilcox had now a successful rival. This was a grand discovery, at that time, for Rittenhouse; but the process was tedious and laborious. It was by hand, with a beam hung to the ceiling, by which, with very hard work, not more than 6 dozen boards would be glazed in a day. Jacob Rittenhouse, a millwright (one of the grandsons of Nicholas) continued a method of glazing by the assistance of the water wheel. Wilcox used the water wheel also, but Jacobs, the informant and spy, did not observe that connection; hence Jacob's contrivance was tantamount to an invention. By this contrivance, 24 dozen could now be glazed with ease in one day. The millwright Rittenhouse had considerable difficulty to persuade his uncle William to permit the experiment. But after much solicitation, and a promise, on the part of Jacob, not to make another for any other person if it

succeeded, and not to charge for his labour if it did not succeed, it was attempted and executed, and proved an immense labour saving advantage. The prejudices of old people for the habits and usages of their youth was never more strikingly exemplified than the effect this improvement had on the mind of William. Recollecting the hard labour he himself had been obliged to endure, with the coarsest primitive materials of operations, and perceiving the expedition and ease with which the boys performed by the assistance of the new machine, he became angry, and was at times almost ready to wish the improvement rejected.

William Rittenhouse was, for many years before his death, very infirm with the rheumatism, by which he became maim of one hand, and lost an eye. Full of years, and full of pain, and unable to carry on the business in person, he was assisted in it by his two eldest children, Nicholas and Mary, who carried on the mill, and vended the paper in the name of their father. They both worked in the mill: Nicholas clipped, and Molly couched. Nicholas soon went to a grist mill which his father had erected for him: and the paper making business was finally relinquished by William about the year 1758, and given to two of his sons, Jacob (born December 16, 1731) and Abraham (born March 28, 1728). William died March 2, 1774, aged 83. Nicholas and Mary sold each their fourths of the mill, (so left them by their father,) to Abraham and Jacob. Abraham did not continue paper making long, but went to a grist mill, and sold his part to Jacob. Jacob, now the sole proprietor, kept the factory in operation till the year 1798, since which time the mill has been rented to strangers, but still continues a paper mill. Jacob died in July 1811, aged 80, a bachelor, and bequeathed the mill to his nephews, Enoch and Samuel Rittenhouse, grist millers.

Jacob, the millwright, already mentioned, also invented, about the year 1760, for Abraham and Jacob, (for it was after the old man had retired from business,) the slanting plates for grinding rags; as straight ones only, with much delay of grinding, were in use before this discovery. It was this Jacob that made the large wooden screw, mentioned some pages back, which was about the year 1755, for his uncle William. Jacob

is still living, and is my intelligent author for many of these particulars. He is now 86 years of age, is blind, but retains an excellent memory unimpaired. Jacob tells me that Bradford would sometimes ride to New York from Philadelphia in one day; but whether with a change of horses or not, he could not tell. Jacob says that when his grandfather (Claus Rittenhouse) and neighbours first settled at the mill, there was no grist mill nearer than Chester, 15 miles southwest of Philadelphia, and that for some time there was no horse in the settlement; that an old horse was procured from New York, and that his horse was employed continually and alternately in carrying for the settlers sacks of provender backwards and forwards from and to the mill at Chester; and that at that time that was the only horse either at the mill settlement or Philadelphia; that these distant and inconvenient jaunts to Chester mill continued till Wm. Penn built the grist mill called the Globe Mill. What year this was erected, I have not been able to discover. It was called Globe Mill from a tavern erected near the mill, for the accommodation of the mill customers, with a sign of a globe. This mill was used as a grist mill till a short time before the revolution. The scite is on Third Street, and at present a thick settled part of the Northern Liberties.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to have the history of this mill (the first in the new world,) continued to the present time. Jacob, on declining business in 1798, rented the mill to Peter Wallover and David Lawn, who, (in the firm of Wallover and Lawn) kept it about 5 years. Jacob Markle then rented it, kept it about another 5 years. Then Thomas and John G. Longstreth rented it about 5 years. Since that time Charles Markle and Co. (sons to the last tenant but one) retain it on rent.

David Rittenhouse, the scientific and halo-worthy self-taught philosopher was a grandson of Nicholas, the first paper maker of America. David's father, Mathias, was born February 11, 1703, in the old plank mansion on Paper Mill run. David was also born on that farm. He is said, by his biographers, to have been born *in* Germantown. It was *near*

Germantown. It was David, I understand, that settled the orthography of the family name.

Since the whole of the foregoing, respecting this paper mill was written, I was informed that Dr. Barton, in his Memoirs of Rittenhouse, had *attempted* (that was my informant's expression) an history of the Rittenhouse mill. Glad of the hint, I obtained a sight of his book. Barton there mentions that William, the father of Claus, came to Germantown, and was there engaged in the paper making. As Barton is allied to the Rittenhouses, he ought to have had easy access to documents, and ought to have been positively correct in anything he states. But there is no tradition of the kind among the successors of the patrimony. The Bible record does not mention it; and blind Jacob, who recollects Claus very well, says the contrary. It cannot be. Barton has confounded the son and the sire. Barton also says he believed that the original parent of this family arrived in New York, in 1687, not from Holland, but from some other port of New York Colony, then belonging to the Dutch, and from New York City came to Philadelphia. But he is again mistaken; and at variance with the family Bible. Claus was a paper maker by trade: he had learned the business in Holland; and was only 21 years of age when he arrived at New York in 1687: of course, he must have been direct from Holland, and could not have resided, for any time, in the Dutch possessions of America before that time. Barton says he *believes* "that some of the posterity still follow paper making, or did lately." This is inexcuseable; but it is a common case. It is no unusual thing to overlook a spot where information might be obtained, and supposing it not to exist there, resort to unsatisfactory sources. So have I seen boys at marbles and when the distance was advantageously short, overshoot the mark through very exultation of a certain hit. The doctor sought, in Holland, what he might have obtained nearer home. The Bible record I mentioned would have been a great acquisition for him; and would have enabled him to give exact dates; for some of his dates are far from the mark. You will now see, as Barton also observes, that the commencement of paper making, both in England and America, were cotemporary—both in 1688. Barton quotes a note from

Wm. Penn respecting the overthrow of "Wm. and Claus' mill" by a flood, and desiring the colonists to assist in making good the loss. This note also warrants the date of the erection of the mill to be 1688. Having never seen this letter of Wm. Penn's in any other place, I cannot tell whether it is there called "Wm. and Claus' mill" or whether it is a mistake of Barton's, but I suppose the latter, as William, the son, was too young, at the date of that letter, to be in connection with his father; and as to William, a father to Claus, he must have been left in Holland, or else the Bible record, and Jacob's (the blind) narrative is incorrect. Barton says that Mathias (the progenitor of the philosopher) relinquished the paper making and turned farmer. If Mathias worked at the mill, it could not have been in any other capacity than as an assistant to his father, Claus. Barton says he commenced farming two years after his father's death; but it was two years before his death: and the father had procured that farm for Mathias. Barton says the race of Rittenhouse is nearly extinct in Holland: it is far from being so in America. Barton says he *believes* that Garret Rittenhouse was a brother to Claus: but it is *certain* he was. He is wrong, however, in supposing that Garret settled in New York. The dates I have furnished you are correct. It is probable I shall have an interview shortly with Dr. Barton, when I will set him to rights.

Morgan Edwards, in his History of Pennsylvania Baptists, gives a list of the members of the first Mennonist Church constituted at Germantown, May 23, 1708, in which appears the name of "William Rittenhouse" among the members. At this time William was about 17 years old. Edwards also mentions "Cleas Rittinghausen" as one of the ministers of the same church in 1724. Claus, at this time, was 58 years of age. All these facts corroborate my assertions, and contradict Dr. Barton.

Barton says that Rittenhouse signifies Knight's House. I have heard it said, with considerable more analogy, that the patronymic originated from the first who received that name rushing impetuously, on a chivalric charge, down a steep declivity, at the foot of which stood a house, and that the horse and rider unavoidably alighted on the summit of the

building and hence obtained the appellation of house rider. Another has given his opinion that it signifies rotten house, from the shabby structure of the original houses of that family. If the name were Ritter*h*ouse, then Barton's interpretation would have been correct; but Ritten*h*ouse, originally Rittinghüissen, is of so palpable, so incontrovertible a meaning, either in the language of the Hollanders or Germans, that I am surprised a person of Barton's original and extensive research should have fumbled, especially as he visited the native country of the family. The name means Riding House, an house for cavalry or horses. *Hic sonipes freno.*

Probably you tire. Mayhap rather you feel your appetite whetted, like that of Adam, as portrayed by Milton, for further narration, when listening to one whose very character and dignity gave importance to the subject. Not so with me: you are far my superior; and unless the topics increase in interest, you must necessarily become wearied. But having advanced so much respecting the Rittenhouses, you will probably not be displeased to obtain such further particulars as will link together their history. This connection of narrative assumes an importance on a consideration that the family were the cause of an early establishment of paper making in America, and that to one individual of that family, the sciences and mechanics are deeply indebted. And this importance is heightened at least to me, from the assurance that this is the first successful attempt to rescue from oblivion the history of an important family in the minuter history of America.

Three brothers arrived together at New York, from Holland, in 1687. These were Garret, Peter, and Claus. They all three arrived at Germantown together. Garret was a shoemaker by trade. He married in Holland. He chose a spot for his residence at Cressem creek, about 3 miles north of his brother Claus' mill. When Garret's son, William, married, which was about the year 1734, Garret purchased a tract of land in New Jersey, near Howell's ferry and gave it to his son William. Here the son removed; and from his loins are sprung the numerous Rittenhouses who reside in New Jersey. Garret continued at Cressem, and died there about the year

1741. Peter, the other brother, was drowned in the Wishahickon creek, by accident, while labouring the ground on its margin. Peter was not married. These were the whole of the male Rittenhouses.

Claus had 3 sons: William, Mathias and Henry. Of these none but William worked at paper making as a business. Claus had also three daughters. The tract of land which was attached to the paper mill was obtained for some little or nothing, by Bradford, for Claus. William afterwards enlarged the farm by an additional purchase from Penn, or his agents. Claus was something of a carpenter, as well as a paper maker. He had constructed a kind of batteau on the Wishahickon, and descended with it to the Schuylkill for the purpose of fishing occasionally in the stream. A person from Philadelphia, who owned a large body of land on the Schuylkill was one time examining his possessions, when he spied Claus fishing in the middle of the river, accompanied with his canoe. The owner of the ground was so much pleased with the unexpected and novel spectacle, the first boat belonging to a white man which had floated in that water, that he became extremely desirous of possessing it, and offered Claus, in exchange, a tract of land bordering on the Schuylkill, of which he described the limits, and which contained about 2000 acres. Claus refused the proffer. The land, itself, is now worth 300,000 dollars; but Claus as well as the owner, did not perceive the advantage of landed possessions at that period. Robinson Crusoe would have exchanged, weight for weight, gold for gunpowder or articles of subsistence; and Claus thought his boat more valuable than land. William, the son, refused an offer almost as great. Penn wished him to purchase a piece of land, adjoining the mill tract, and extending from Bensill's Lane to Ox's Lane and between the township line and Germantown road, containing about 500 acres. The ground would now procure 150,000 dollars. The price demanded by Penn was 10 pounds. William thought that sum too much, and declined. But instances like these, although almost incredible at present, might easily be multiplied. The property of the Levis paper mill, on Darby creek, near Philadelphia was procured by Samuel Levis, the father of Wm. Levis,

the present paper maker there, for an old horse, not worth 6 dollars. The same property is now worth 60,000 dollars.

So much for the first paper mill in Pennsylvania.

The second paper mill in Pennsylvania, and the second in the new world, was erected by Thomas Wilcox, on the west branch of Chester creek, in Concord township, (now) Delaware County, 20 miles southwest of Philadelphia. Thomas Wilcox was born in Staffordshire, England, where he served an apprenticeship to paper making. His father died when the son was yet an infant. Thomas arrived at Philadelphia about the year 1712, at the age of 23. He sought employment at his trade at Rittenhouse's mill, but could not obtain any; and there being no call for paper makers elsewhere, he went to the house of an Englishman in Buck's County near Delaware river, by the name of ——— Kartright, in whose family he continued for some time. He afterwards lived with the Gilpin family, near Chad's ford, on Brandywine creek. Here he followed, for some years, along with Gilpin, the occupation of pit sowing.

After being about 14 years in America, and having gathered by hard work, some money, he constructed his paper mill, about the year 1726. Perhaps it was earlier; perhaps in 1724. The deed of the tail race lot cannot now be found; but the deed of a small tract for the accommodation of the dam was given in January, 1727. It may, however be safely dated to commence in 1726.

The particular branch of paper making to which Thomas served in England was at fuller's boards. Paper of linen or cotton had barely commenced to be made at that time in England. With making fuller's boards Thomas began working his mill, and with these he continued for about 14 years, without manufacturing any other kinds of paper. Writing and printing paper he commenced to manufacture about the year 1760. His fuller's boards, besides supplying Franklin's demands in Philadelphia, were sent to New York and Rhode Island, and the demand for them was very great.

Franklin bought paper principally from Wilcox; and there was an intimacy between them. Franklin often visited Wilcox at his mill. In Franklin's life, published by Duane,

I am told there are some letters which passed between Wilcox and Franklin; but I have not the book to examine. Wilcox afterwards supplied Franklin & Hall, and Hall & Sellers.

Thomas married Elizabeth Cole, of Chester, about the year 1726. The relatives of his wife are now some of the first families in the northern parts of Georgia. By this connection he had a large family of children: 5 sons, and 5 daughters: of these 8 grew up.

The first purchase of land that Thomas made for his mill seat was from the proprietors of Pennyslvania. The additional piece for his dam he agreed for at one shilling sterling a year for ever. This seems at present to have been a small compensation; but lands were then plenty, and money scarce. Lands were leased out at one penny an acre; but this price was estimated high. Quantities of land were afterwards taken up at one shilling sterling for every 100 acres. The state, about the commencement of the revolution, bought out the quitrents from the proprietors for 130,000 pounds; but the proprietors still retained the manors.

There was an Indian town and an Indian apple orchard on these premises of Wilcox. One of the apple trees is still standing. It measures, round the trunk, 8 feet. It bore when Thomas purchased the property, and it still bears. Its trunk is hollow, and must soon be overturned, as must soon be the fate of the present ancient proprietor: but perhaps new shoots may spring from the roots of each, to perpetuate their existence anew.

James, a son of Thomas, built a mill on Ridley creek, Providence township, a few miles from his father's, about the year 1767. He continued from 10 to 15 years, and then died. This mill is now owned by Wm. Levis, sen. It was converted into a cotton factory in the fall of 1813.

The first glazing machine in America was constructed at Thomas Wilcox's mill. He had been familiar with the plan in England, and procured one to be made for himself.

Thomas gave up business to his son, Mark, about the year 1767. The father was then near 80. "Three score and ten," said the old man, "is long enough for working hard." A hard working industrious man he truly was. His body was

suitably framed for hardship; being what is called a big little man. The race, dam and mill, were mostly his own work, having had but little assistance from the labour of others in their construction. For about 12 years before his exit he was childlike and useless. He died, at the advanced age of 90, November 11, 1779. His wife died the ensuing May. They had resided together, on the same farm, 60 years.

In religion, Thomas was a Catholic. This sect had been frequently outlawed in America, and perhaps he felt the force of the prejudice existing against people of that persuasion. He continued, however, to have public worship, after the manner of his sect, performed at his farm four times a year, and a priest from Philadelphia attended for that purpose.

The son and successor, Mark, was born August 19, 1744, and commenced, at the age of 23, and about 12 years before his father's death, to conduct the mill on his own account. Mark is supposed to have been the first manufacturer of the paper with water marks used by the American loan offices. His post, cap, and printing, were well made; and perhaps keep the lead, the price and quality considered, to this day. He made the paper used for all public purposes, as continental bills, &c. The paper on which the bank bills of the North American bank, established in 1780, were printed, was manufactured by Mark. His was the first bank in the union, and this was the first bank note paper made in America. He made subsequently, the paper for the United States bank notes; the bank of Pennsylvania and other banks throughout the United States, without any competition till about the year 1804. Since that period many have commenced a rivalship. He still makes for the Pennsylvania, Farmer's and Mechanic's, and Gerard's, and many other banks. The paper on which Barton's Memoirs of Rittenhouse is printed was from his mill. The paper for the Stereotype Bible, now printing in Philadelphia by the Bible Society, is also from his mill. Mark Wilcox had conducted his mill with much credit to the art, and to himself; and was, without exaggeration, the first good paper maker in Pennsylvania. John and Joseph, two sons of Mark, have the mill now in operation for themselves; and the old man attends principally to the cultivation of his fine farm

which surrounds the mill. The old brick mill erected by Thomas Wilcox is still standing, but additions of stone have been placed on the east and on the west end. Mark Wilcox is a very tall man. He is now upwards of 70 years of age, but is still in good trim.

Mark was always an active public character. Not so the father: Thomas would never permit himself to be called to act in public, nor would he meddle much in public affairs. Mark was appointed on several committees prior to the revolution, and was delegated to several popular meetings. Hence he became obnoxious to the tories; and the day after the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, the British as they passed his house, made him a prisoner. During the ensuing night he was put under guard, about three miles from his house. Being cold, he requested the Sergeant of the guard to go up to a house within sight, and solicit the owner, who was well acquainted with Wilcox, to favour him with a blanket for that night. The sergeant was kind enough to oblige him, and soon returned with a blanket. "Do you know that man from whom I borrowed the blanket for you?" asked the Sergeant. "Yes," replied Wilcox. "Well," answered the soldier, "he must be a great scoundrel; for he has been giving me a catalogue of your political sins." The Sergeant, however, possessed so much honour, as not to suffer the tell-tale's tale to proceed further than Wilcox's ear. His fidelity to misfortunate Wilcox, prevented him from running the gauntlet for his life. Wilcox was carried with the army to Philadelphia, and detained a prisoner till the following February. He was twice, in the interim, permitted to visit his family. The second time the permit specified no particular time for returning, and he returned no more. Some short interval after this, he met the officious neighbour who had detailed his political transactions. Abashed and ashamed, the neighbour endeavoured to avert the notice of Wilcox; but Wilcox wished an interview, and met him in full front. "Don't you recollect on such a night I sent to you for the loan of a blanket?" "Yes," replied his pallid and trembling opponent. "Do you recollect what you told the soldier who bore the request?" Immediate chastisement was expected when Wilcox proceeded: "What you then told

the soldier would have been the cause of my being hung, if he had carried it further, but if you will now promise, never again, while you live, maliciously to utter aught to the disadvantage of any one's person or property, I will forgive you." The conditions were joyfully accepted, but the fellow, to his death, never was free from fear of Wilcox.[14]

The improvements in paper making from Wilcox's and some other mills of Pennsylvania, were principally owing to the abilities and genius of an unhappy Englishman by the name of John Reader. This man was bred to paper making in a mill contiguous to Maidstone, in England. In Maidstone was the mill of Wattman, the extensive and famous English paper maker; and from this mill Reader obtained much information respecting his art. Reader possessed an ungovernable temper, and his fractious disposition rendered him and those around him, unhappy. From England he went over in a pet to Ireland, and was foreman to Blow, an extensive paper maker near Dublin. From thence he departed, in another pet, for America, and arrived at Philadelphia about the year 1768. He had indented himself to the captain of the vessel for his passage, and Mark Wilcox redeemed him, and set him to work at the mill. Here Reader soon gave evidence of his ingenious active turn, and, his unhappy temper apart, his performances gave such satisfaction to Wilcox, that he kept his indentures, for fear of contingencies, but allowed him wages during the whole time of his servitude. Paper makers that arrived from England, at that period, were usually very indifferent workmen; but Reader was a workman of the first class, and was a great acquisition to the community. Writing paper of a real good quality was not made in Pennsylvania till Reader came into the colony. Reader was not only a thoroughbred paper maker, but a capital millwright, and had a good mechanical genius; and it was he that introduced the then recent English improvements of the engines, and other portions of the mill, into use in this part of America. If any thing was out of order, or any thing broken, or any disaster whatever

[14]For an account of the Wilcox family and the paper-mills, see "Ivy Mills, Willcox and Allied Families," by Joseph Willcox, 1911, and Supplement, 1917.

occurred in the operation, Reader could instantly detect and correct it. He constructed the works, or superintended their execution and erection, of very many mills in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. He was the very best of paper makers, and his abilities were unrivalled. Hence he might have amassed property, and enjoyed a fortune. But all his abilities were tarnished by his temper; and his fortune was prematurely absorbed by the bottle. He died poor, about the year 1806, aged about 60.

When Delaware county was formed out of Chester county, about the year 1790, Mark Wilcox was appointed associate judge of the new county. He still retains that office, and his usual appellation is Judge Wilcox.

And so much respecting the second paper mill in America.

The third paper mill in Pennsylvania was erected on the Wishahickon creek, about 11 miles north of Philadelphia, about the year 1728, by Wm. Dewees and John Gorgas. They did not continue at paper making more than 8 or 10 years, and then converted the building into a grist mill, which it has ever since continued. Dewees and Gorgas obtained their insight into paper making at the Rittenhouse mill. At the time of starting their mill, or shortly after, they were related to the Rittenhouses by marriage: Gorgas married Wm. Rittenhouse's sister; and Dewees married Gorgas' sister. They were all brothers in law.

The fourth paper mill in Pennsylvania was built by Wm. Dewees, junior, two miles lower down the Wishahickon than the mill of Dewees and Gorgas, and 9 miles from Philadelphia, about the year 1738. He did not continue long in this occupation, but relinquished it for farming. Mathias Maris succeeded him in the mill. Maris kept it in operation a short time, and died. Jacob Flaga, a Switzer, of small stature, then rented it, and carried on the paper making for some years. Sower, of Germantown, obtained his printing paper from this mill from 1747 to 1750, and perhaps longer. It was the only mill (says Kurtz) that made printing paper at that time, in the vicinity of Philadelphia. This mill was sold to Nicholas Hasselbaugh, who put up a pair of stones, and carried on an extensive business in the paper and flour manufacturing; but after some lapse of

years he discontinued paper making and employed his mill at grist only. Hasselbaugh lived on this mill a great many years, and was the first that put up an engine in his mill. Daniel Righter, his neighbour, was the inventor. Hasselbaugh left America, some years before the revolution, to visit Germany. He never returned, and was said to be captured by the Algerines.

The fifth paper mill in Pennsylvania was built by Christopher Sower, the first of that name, about the year 1744, on a branch of Frankford creek, which runs through the lower end of the farm belonging to the house on which he resided at Germantown. Sower manufactured printing paper. He continued paper making but a very short time, say a year or two. He had employed Wm. Adleheit and Henry Sheetz to work the mill. Sheetz soon after married, and left Sower, and set up for himself on Mill creek. His was the first paper mill on that stream. but his paper is said to have been none of the best. Adleheit knew very little of the process; and Sower then relinquished paper making. The mill was afterwards sold to George Danenhaugher, who converted it into a grist mill, and such it still continues.

The mill built by Frederic Bicking, and which I told you in my other[15] was the third mill in Pennsylvania now proves to be not even the sixth or seventh in order. I should have been glad to have Bicking's name introduced among our early paper makers; but the enumeration of others, still prior, would be too tedious. He began about 1752.

These articles on paper mills occupy considerable space. Perhaps they are too long for your purpose. I shall close the subject by relating an incident or two respecting a grist mill, acquired during my researches after the paper mill history. In 1701 a one story building was erected by———Newlin,[16] for a grist mill, on the west branch of Chester creek (and now near Wilcox's mill) Delaware county. This grist mill is now, by direct inheritance, in possession of the great great grandchildren, the fourth generation from the first settler. It is

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[15]See McCulloch's letter of September 1, 1812, on page 92.

[16]Nathaniel Newlin, see Ashmead's "History of Delware County," p. 490.

now a large three story mill, and rents for 500 dollars a year. It was, at different times, raised from one to two, and from two to three stories, and the original stone on which the date was chiseled, raised along with the building.

Connected with the history of early printing in America, might be noticed such persons as have singularly encouraged the book trade. You have already heard of Logan whose vast collection of books is now incorporated or deposited in the Philadelphia Library. There was also an extensive collector of books in Virginia. I have some choice books that belonged to him. Each book has pasted between the front guard leaves a copperplate representation of his coat of arms: the motto "*Nulla pallescere culpa*" the name "William Byrd, of Westover, Virginia, Esq." When Byrd died, which was some time before 1774, his library was rummaged, sold and scattered. His son had no taste for reading. Gaming, at which he was sometimes as deep as 10,000 pounds in one night, was his principal employment. He shortened his days. Many of these books were sold by Bell at auction. Perhaps as much as 40 waggon loads of them were sent on to Philadelphia.

Have you ever seen the "Picture of Philadelphia, by James Mease, D. M." printed in 1811? According to an abstract there published of the marshall's report of the manufactories in the city and county of Philadelphia, there were, in 1810, in that limit, 51 printing offices, 153 printing presses, and 7 paper mills. He has some details of Philadelphia printing for which he frequently quotes your book, and which he recommends for perusal. He says there were then (1811) publishing in the city, 8 daily newspapers: 3 of these three times a week, and 1 twice a week; and another, or ninth paper, printed once a week. The impressions distributed from these every week he states to be 19,298. "In 1786," he says, "4 booksellers thought an edition of the school testament a work of risk, requiring much consultation previously to the determination of the measure." I can myself recollect of two or more booksellers engaging in the publication of one 12 mo. volume, as a work too arduous for one alone to undertake. Mease says there are 500,000 volumes annually printed in Philadelphia. This would seem too high a calculation, and yet, when it is considered

what vast quantities of books are everywhere piled up, and what supply the endless auctions, and what are daily hawked about, it is evident that a great many thousand volumes are needlessly issued. This rapid multiplication of books operates as a clog upon the wheels of personal industry; and, on account of the nature of the most of the books published, does not diffuse knowledge so extensively as might be presumed. But Sympson, the author of Science Revived, seems to have anticipated a general benefit from the very effect I am depreciating. Speaking of Batavia, he says:

> Nor shall the aspiring State her commerce bound
> To the dull wealth in things material found;
> A nobler trade shall intellectual stores
> Import from neighboring hills or distant shores:
> For Presses, rais'd in every town, shall teem
> With foreign learning in abundant stream.
> The treasures that from ev'ry region flow
> On ev'ry region they again bestow.
> Thus the broad ocean, whose unfailing tide
> Is daily by a thousand floods supplied,
> Back o'er the world the liquid tribute pours
> In the soft balm of vapours, dews and show'rs.

Mease has given a concise history of the Philadelphia theatre, as you, (p. 384,) have of that of New York. Exhibitions of that kind first appeared in Philadelphia, on the 15th of April, 1754, by Hallam's company, with the "Fair Penitent, and Miss in her Teens." In July, 1759, the Presbyterians, in a general convocation, petitioned the governor and legislature of Pennsylvania to forbid these stage plays, as pernicious and irreligious. The theatrical corps, in retort, announced for exhibition, "the tragedy of Douglass, by the reverend Mr. Home, of the kirk of Scotland."

There has also been published "a Picture of New York." I have not seen it.[17]

P. 331, vol. 2. I think Wm. Bradford relinquished printing some time before his death. The present True American, according to Mease, now commenced in 1797. This disagrees

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[17] "The Picture of New York, by a Gentleman residing in this City" (Samuel L. Mitchell) New York, 1807.

from your statement. (I have since been told by one of the family that 1797 is correct).

P. 330, vol. 2. The time of publishing the Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser, was changed, about the year 1788[18] to twice a week; but, from some inadvertency, the title was not altered. Eleazar Oswald, who printed the Independent Gazetteer, was a neighbour to Thomas Bradford, (then successor to William); and these two printers were not on good terms. They were opposed in sentiment with respect to the adoption of the federal constitution. In order to ridicule his opponent, Oswald published this sarcastic remark: "The Weekly Advertiser published twice a week, weekly, or two weeklies in one week."

The following satire appeared in Oswald's gazette, about the same year as the foregoing: "Massa Ozsel—Moos ebbery day somting said in your paper bout american Brethren in slavry in Algeers. I read little. I tink good deal. I am slave in free America. My Fader, my moder, my wife, my Chillen, all in Ginne. I cry ebery day, ebery night I want to see my wife, my Chillen. my wife want to see me. nobody here care for me. when I tell my massa so he kick me and tell me go to hell. I poor negur.

Poor Cuff."

P. 310, vol. 2. I suppose the Oswald here mentioned is the same I have been writing about; and that he began in Philadelphia, when he sold out his New York establishment. He went from America to France, to join her armies, "during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, contending through blood and slaughter, for his long lost liberty." I do not know how long he continued there, nor whether he entered their military ranks.

P. 126, vol 2. James Adams arrived at Philadelphia about the year 1753, when about 23 years of age. Franklin and Adams used to work at press together. When Adams was agitating a removal to Delaware, it was Franklin's opinion that one of the English islands (but which I cannot learn) embraced a more advantageous prospect; but Adams pre-

[18]The exact date of the change was June 23, 1781.

ferred Wilmington. Adams married in Buck's county, Penn., and by the money received with his wife, was enabled to purchase an office. Adams was an avowed whig, and from apprehensions for his safety, when the British were approaching Philadelphia, in 1777, removed his family, printing office, and stock, to the vicinity of Doyle's town, Buck's county. The waggon carrying his type had passed Philadelphia only three miles, when it was met by the British, who seized a portion of his types, and either destroyed or sold them. He returned to Wilmington immediately after the British left Philadelphia in 1778; and some of their shipping passed Wilmington even after he arrived there. He printed an almanac during his sojourn in Buck's county, but nothing else, as no paper could be procured, and he had taken but a small quantity from Wilmington. He printed, before the war, Bates on Redemption, and Edwards against Taylor. About the year 1787 he commenced a newspaper, called the Wilmington Courant, which was continued two or three years, and then, through lack of encouragement, relinquished. My information does not embrace the title of the paper he attempted,[19] but it was different from this. (p. 349, vol 2.) He continued state printer till a few years before his death; when he was underbidden by rivals, and he declined a competition. He printed the laws of Delaware, the votes and proceedings of the legislature, the state money. Other works from his press were chiefly school books and testaments. He was a very correct particular workman. He died in December 1792, or rather, perhaps January, 1793, aged about 63. He had amassed considerable property, and owned two or three houses in Wilmington, and some marsh meadow in the neighbourhood. He had 10 children, 4 of whom were sons, and all 4 printers. Hanse, the oldest son, entered the revolutionary army, was stationed at Wilmington during the time Philadelphia was in possession of the British, and died there of a camp fever. Samuel and John

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[19]McCulloch here refers to Thomas's statement that Adams established a paper about 1761, called "The Wilmington Courant." The exact title of the Wilmington Courant of 1787 was the "Delaware Courant and Wilmington Advertiser," and although it may have been established or financed by James Adams, the known copies of 1787 state that it was printed by Samuel and John Adams. James Adams died Dec. 11, 1792.

in partnership had established a printing office in Baltimore; and when their father died, removed their establishment to Wilmington, and opened in their father's late stand. James had another printing office, at that time, in Wilmington. Samuel died about the year 1802. John, about the same time, removed to Philadelphia, where he opened a printing house, published a vast number of toy books; but did not succeed in money making. John and James are still living in Philadelphia, have long since sold out their share of their father's industry, and are now in the worst condition for worldly goods. John is my oral author for this paragraph. I received it from him when on a visit to him in the Debtor's Apartment of the Philadelphia prison.

P. 71, vol. 2. James Humphreys was born in Philadelphia. His edition of Sterne's Works was in 5 volumes, 12 mo. and printed in 1776. One of his sons told me it was the first set of books printed in America; but this, according to your statement, p. 68 and 449, vol. 2, is a mistake. His paper, when published on Wednesdays and Saturdays (which are the market days in Philadelphia) was called "the Pennsylvania Ledger and Market Day Advertiser." He had become extremely obnoxious to some of the whig party, and was obliged to fly, very precipitately, from Philadelphia. He published in Shelburne a newspaper called "The Nova Scotia Packet." It was issued once a week, both in a folio and a quarto size, and both sizes at a different price, in order to suit the means of different purchasers. His printing office in Shelburne was closed, from want of encouragement, I presume, for three years, during which he was employed in merchandise. He was 18 months in England, after the peace, endeavouring to settle business of a pecuniary nature, which to this day is unaccomplished. He returned to Philadelphia in April 1797; and brought with him his printing materials from Nova Scotia. He then commenced a printing office and bookstore at the corner of Third and Cherry Streets. There he continued about one year,and then removed down Third Street, opposite to the bank of the United States, to the brick house now the corner of Carter's alley, but which alley was not not then opened to Third Street. While in this stand he published "The Weekly Price Current,"

which met with great encouragement; but the fever of 1798 suspended it, after if had appeared about six months, and it was not resumed. He lived about one other year in this house, and then removed to the corner of Walnut and Dock Streets, where he remained about three years. His last removal, excepting his removal to his grave, was to the corner of Walnut and Second Streets. This situation was in the vicinity of the Merchant's Coffee house, and he advertised his house as situated on "Change Walk." He died February 10, 1810, in his 63d year. His sons, who succeeded to their father's business, declined the avocation, in January, 1813; and the stock was disposed of at auction.

P. 176 and 178, vol. 2. One or two of Daniel Humphreys' daughters are said to have been tolerably smart and ready compositors, and would sometimes, for their amusement, work in the office. I frequently heard of this circumstance when I was a boy; and thought it rather marvellous. I was witness, sometime since, in visiting a printing office near the city, to two women working at case with seeming expedition.

P. 79, vol. 2. Enoch Story was a *noted* job printer. He had large type for the purpose; and I recollect of seeing his jobs exhibited in every direction. He died at Baltimore; and, it is said, at the Bettering House there.

P. 106, vol. 2. The British under Gen. Vaughan, at their conflagration of (Kingston or) Esopus, October 13, 1777, burnt all Holt's furniture and effects. The only article recovered was the iron part of a pair of brass andirons.

P. 201, vol 1. The population of Brazil is probably one sixth more than is here estimated. The population of South America has been guess work by most writers. The works of Du Pons and Humboldt, and Molini, with respect to Spanish America, are scientific and valuable; and perhaps the only works respecting these regions that are worthy of confidence.

P. 202, vol 1. No booksellers are now, or ever were tolerated in Spanish (and I think Portuguese) America, under the governments of the priests; for the priests, emphatically govern, under the ancient dynasty of those regions. Wherever the revolution has gained an ascendency, books, newspapers, and printing are encouraged. Books bring a very high

price in those countries. A common 12 mo. one dollar volume of ours will command four or five dollars in New Spain.

P. 374, vol. 1. "Ohio is now said to contain." It is put beyond a say-so, by the last census, which enumerates the inhabitants at 230, 760: but you had not received this census probably in time for your book. "It is only about 20 years since." Two settlements, the first attempted, were effected in 1786: one was Marietta, at the mouth of Muskingum; and the other at the mouth of Miami. These were in consequence of an ordinance of Congress of May 20, 1785, authorizing the sale of lands in that country.

P. 117, vol. 2. You have, no doubt, received information of the death of Deacon Loudon. The following is from a New York paper of March 2, 1813.

Died, on Wednesday, the 24th of February, near Middletown-point, New Jersey, in his ninetieth year, Samuel Loudon, a Christian, a Patriot, a good Man and a Friend. Mr. Loudon was many years one of the most respectable inhabitants of this city, and passed a long and honorable life without reproach. In his christian walk he was sincere and exemplary; in his domestic relations affectionate; amiable and friendly in his social intercourse; in his private dealings just. He was one of the earliest Printers in the Union, and for a considerable time Editor of the "New York Packet," and "Diary" which last has since been changed into the present "Mercantile Advertiser." During the American Revolution he held the office of printer to this state, and performed its various duties with integrity. In the latter period of his life personal infirmities rendered it necessary to retire from business; but he still retained his natural cheerfulness and serenity. Few men possessed a more extensive circle of acquaintances or were more universally and deservedly beloved. In early youth, Mr. Loudon, had received strong religious impressions, and always continued a firm and steadfast believer. He was one of the early founders of "the first Scotch Presbyterian Church" to which he ever retained his attachment. In his usual conversation with his friends, he seldom lost an occasion to introduce the sublime precepts of christianity, and to instil those maxims which he believed most useful to promote his divine Master's cause. It was remarkable that when on every other occasion the hand of time had rendered his mind infirm, still on the great subject of religion he conversed correctly to the last; appearing to retain his perfect recollection. This truly worthy and pious

man breathed out his last without a struggle or a moan, dying with perfect composure and in peace with God and his fellow-men.

New York, March 2.

Samuel Loudon was poor. The reason of his retiring from business was his failure in business. My father, about the year 1775, entrusted Loudon with a bill on Scotland of 9 pounds (the then value of money much greater than at present) to be paid to his aged mother. There was a defaulter. The money did not arrive; and I believe that Loudon's continued poverty was the shield which protected him from a suit.

P. 70, vol. 2. I have an old copy of the Philadelphia Library Catalogue, printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Second Street. Crukshank printed Poor Will's almanac, (which he yet continues) for 1778, for I recollect that Gordon quotes it in his History of the Revolutionary War, in order to contradict Sir Henry Clinton' official statement of marching by moonlight after the battle of Monmouth. Poor Will's almanac allows him no moonlight that night.

You make mention, p. 43, vol. 2, of a Society of booksellers. These associations, as far as they have come under my view, have been useless, if not pernicious. At least they always appeared so to me; and for that reason, although sometimes solicited, I would never join the journeymen's, the master printer's, the bookseller's, or any other society. Excepting, forsooth, in one instance, at Washington City, where I worked one winter, the journeymen craft appointed me one of a committee to draft their constitution. I soon retired from them. I cannot say to the contrary, but that Mr. Carey's Literary Fair, although once a peculiar hobby horse with him and others, has been one source of the disadvantages under which the trade now labours. Some ten or fifteen years ago, the printers of this city convened for the purpose of fixing on a regular undeviating rate of prices. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and it was anticipated that there would be a new era of printing. But one of the pledged members, on his return from the meeting, called on Robert Campbell, then a principal bookseller in the City, and told him that the printers had entered into an obligation to each other, to print at such

and such prices only: "but," continued this disinterested man, "if you will give *me* your work, I will do it for such and such a price." Ah! sir,

"There is no faith in man's obdurate heart.
It does not feel for man. The nat'ral bond
Of brotherhood is sever'd."

P. 39, vol. 2. The proem of wills still continues in the old form. "In the name of God, Amen." Bills of lading formerly ran in this style. "Shipped, by the grace of God." Some people of Philadelphia objecting to this phraseology, as making light of serious things, Franklin printed some without these words, and inserted an advertisement in his paper to this effect: "Bills of lading for sale at this office, with, or without, *the grace of God*.

P. 41, vol. 2. You say, in this page, that the partnership of Franklin and Hall was dissolved February 1, 1766; and in p. 54 you *seem* to say it happened in May, of the same year. The first month is the correct one. But the 1000 pound per annum story is unfounded: The materials were appraised; and Hall took them at the appraisement. You have taken no notice of Franklin's experiments on electricity, and his invention of pointed conductors. Philosophy was a prominent trait of his genius. It was Franklin that established the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the Philadelphia Library, and he had a concern in the establishment of most all the public institutions of this city, in his day.

P. 55, vol. 2. David Hall died December 24, 1772, and not the 17th as you have it.

P. 63, vol. 2. Sellers worked for some time as journeyman to Hall; and being then a steady man, Hall took him into partnership. Robert B. Sellers, his son, was also bred a printer, and possessed an office. He died in 1813, in Arch Street, in the same house now No. 83, in which his father lived and died. The office was then sold at vendue. "At the old stand, near the market." A stranger to Philadelphia, from your mode of expression, would suppose this stand was in Arch Street.

P. 71, vol. 2. Wm. Hall, son of David, was an opulent, respectable, and popular man. He was for several successive

years elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature. He was a federalist; and the party adverse to his politics becoming predominant about the year 1800, left him out. He is still living but much reduced in circumstances, owing to his giving securities to one of his old friends, and which Hall was obliged to pay. He lives very retired, and seldom goes out of his house. He still works at composition.

Wm. Hall, junior, or third, entered into a partnership, and the firm was Hall and Pierie. This Hall died in 1813; and this Pierie died last summer. The firm is still, by their advertisement and jobs, Hall and Pierie. Over the door of their *old* stand, as you and every one else calls their residence, they have "the Newest Printing Office." It is the same sign board that Franklin put up; but I perceive it has been lately repainted.

P. 301, vol. 2. Can Mr. Thomas be ignorant of the *name* of that "poet to whom the muses were auspicious?" Philip Freneau, and a printer? He executed part of the public work while the seat of the federal government remained at Philadelphia; and for about three years published a newspaper in the same city. He then removed to Charleston, S.C., and commenced a paper which he still continues.

P. 95, vol. 2. Bradford's paper mill was without doubt the first in America, according to the information you then possessed; although there appears to be another, (p 213, vol. 1, and 423 and 432 vol. 2,) almost its contemporary. But from the additional facts concerning early paper making in America, communicated in this volume, Bradford's mill must be ranked after Rittenhouse's and Wilcox, and I think it must even rate after Dewees' and Gorgas's. In that case, Bradford's mill would be the fourth erected on the continent, and Henchman's (if 1732 be its date) will be the fifth. Rittenhouse's mill was erected 38 years before any other in America; and Wilcox's 4 years before the third mill, whether that was Dewees' or Bradfords.

Since copying all I had gathered respecting the first paper mills in Pennsylvania, I have conversed on the subject with John Righter, an aged paper maker, who has conducted paper making at his seat on Mill creek more than half a century. He

says that Dewees and Gorgas (the operators at the third mill in Pennsylvania) made a successful imitation of asses' skin paper, for memorandum books, out of the cotton stone. This stone is found in several places in the northern neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and has a fibre that would naturally suggest the probability of converting it into paper. Righter has seen this cotton stone paper; and says that when it became sullied by wear; or defaced by writing, the method of cleaning it was by throwing it in the fire, from whence it was taken out perfectly cleaned, and its texture uninjured. The colour of this paper was naturally yellowish and appeared exceedingly similar to the asses' skin paper obtained from Europe. Righter also informs me that Mathias Maris, who succeeded to the fourth mill in the State, manufactured writing paper. Righter has some of this paper still in his possession; and says one sheet of it is as *thick* as four such as now usually made. Righter also informs me that John Reader was last employed by him, and died at his house. He cannot remember the time of his death; but thinks it was about 10 on 12 years ago, that is, about 1802 or 1804, and not 1805, as I had before received the time. But the exact time may be ascertained, and perhaps I may have an opportunity of finding it. Righter says that Maris, as well as all other paper makers at that period in America, used pounders to cut their rags. But he thinks that an engine was put up in another mill, before the one erected for Hasselbaugh by Daniel Righter, of whom this John Righter has no knowledge. But Jacob Rittenhouse, a man still older than Righter, is my author for that particular; and I think that Jacob, being a millwright, and living on the spot, must be correct. This engine was probably erected about the year 1755, perhaps 1760. John Reader introduced the same improvement from England; but that was about the year 1768. Hence, Daniel Righter, was an original inventor, and so I understood Jacob to mean, although the same thing was in operation, without his knowledge, before that time, in England; in the same manner that Jacob himself introduced the water wheel for glazing, and thought himself the original inventor, although it had been long before in use in Wilcox's mill.

[Some notes regarding early European printers, taken from Smith's "Printer's Grammar" are here omitted.]

If I recollect right, you have mentioned Benedict Arnold (once an inestimable American general), as a bookseller. I will also subjoin Gen. Jaudon, an energetic Frenchman, as once ranking with our trade, and following the bookselling for a livelihood. Cooke the popular comedian, was bred a printer. And General Henry Knox, late Secretary at war, was a binder, and learned the trade in Boston.

After having copied my notes thus far, Francis Wrigley, the oldest *white pressman* of Philadelphia, called in to see me, and chat a while. Wrigley is an English man by birth, and has followed ink making at which he is an adept, for many years past. He tells me that the christian name of Pierie, partner to Hall, was George; that George has no surviving brother, and that the firm of Hall and Pierie is still used in order to settle the business of the late firm, or for some other cause unknown to him; that there is now no printer Pierie; that David Hall is and has always been the pecuniary stay of the family; and that, although he was the pet child, the mother's darling, and never worked any time at printing, at least not more than sufficient to get a stickfull, yet, as he has always been a domestic creature, and not addicted to company, he has at least the passive merit of being no spendthrift, and from the absence of temptation, has succeeded in keeping together the patrimonial inheritance; that Wm. Hall, in his younger days, was extremely fond of company, and that fishing was so much his delight, that he had a fish house constructed on the Schuylkill; that Wm. Hall, jun. was also fond of company, and equally frolicksome; that David was always esteemed rather a lazy, but at the same time a very steady, orderly and sober man.

You mention (p. 367, vol. 2) that 3 pounds were equal to 2 dollars:—and (p. 380) 5 shillings Halifax:—, and, (p. 383) 30 shillings currency:—and, (p. 378) that 18 shillings were $3.60. These, and a great many other notices of prices, throughout your volumes, are not sufficiently explicit. There should have been incorporated with the notes a table of the different currencies, with their equivalent valuation in federal coin. Or

else, and perhaps better, a line or two of elucidation at the bottom of each page where these various meaning sums occur. I have lately printed a "Table Book for Schools," which approaches as near to perfection, on this subject, as I can make it with my present materials. I will send you a copy of the toy herewith.

I will now furnish you with extracts from my Chronology, relative to several passages in your work:

P. 156, vol. 2. George Whitefield died in 1770, aged 56, of an asthma, at Newburyport, Mass., while on his seventh visit to America.

P. 9, vol. 2. Penn's tree, at Kensington, fell down, you say March 5, 1810. I have it March 3, and your date is an error.

P. 40, vol. 2. The first literary production of an English colonist inA merica,was a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia Company.

The first Greek book printed in America was Lucian's Dialogues, 1789 (I do not know the *printer* of this book. It was taken from some writer in hopes of finding more particulars concerning it from some other).[20] I possess a Latin pamphlet printed by W. Bradford, at the London Coffee House, at the corner of Market and Front Streets, in 1765, called "Epistolae Familiares et alia quaedam miscellanea. Familar epistles, and other miscellaneous pieces, wrote originally in Latin verse, by John Beveridge, A. M. professor of languages in the college and academy of Philadelphia."

P. 82 and 87, vol. 2. Germantown and Ephrata. Your dates and statements concerning the settlements of these places are erroneous; but I shall incorporate the corrections in the lengthy detail of their printing history which will soon follow. I will state, in this place, that the Quaker meeting house in Germantown was founded in 1705.

[Some notes on Chronology, taken from well known books of reference, here omitted.]

P. 303, vol. 2. The perversion of the author's meaning, from the mistakes of printers, is often ludicrous. A very recent one occured, in printing Brackenridge's Law Mis-

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[20] "The Select Dialogues of Lucian," Philadelphia, printed by Joseph James, 1789.

cellanies, where "the *younger* practitioner of the bar" was rendered "the *young cur* practitioner." In one edition of Dryden, that line, "Shall take the lady and the treasure too." was printed, "Shall take the lady, and the pleasure too;" and Dr. Gray of this city, informs me a student, had the passage in which it is embodied, to learn for a task at exhibition, who, unconscious of the error, spoke it as printed in error to the assembly, considerably to their confusion.

There was a pocket Bible printed in Scotland (that country proverbial for its correct biblical printing) and which was in general circulation there about the year 1760, in which that sentence in Jude, "Suffering the vengeance of eternal *fire*," was rendered, "Suffering the vengeance of eternal life." There was a quarto Bible printed in the same country, of which thousands have been imported to America, in which was this injunction: "A man may not marry his wife's mother's *brother*." I have heard of a Bible printed in England which omitted the negative *not*, in the seventh commandment. The entire edition of the whole Bible, and not the erroneous sheet only, was ordered to be burnt, as an example to other printers. In Aitken's Philadelphia edition of the Bible there were several gross mistakes. That declaration, in 2 Kings 7, xii "I will now shew you what the Assyrians have done to us" was rendered by Aitken "I will *not* shew you" &c. And that ejaculation, "O, that my words were engraven, with an iron pen and *lead*, in the rock", Job 19, xxiv, was printed, "O that my words were engraven with an iron pen, and *laid* in the rock." The Rev. Mr. Beveridge was preaching from that text, in this city, about the year 1790, and having Aitken's Bible in the pulpit, and another edition in his study, he arrived at the last section of his discourse, and referring to the Bible, and finding a dissimilarity, but not imagining the cause, became confused, and supposing himself baffled by an oversight in not studying his notes aright, passed over that head of his discourse. Conversing on his embarrassment afterwards, he discovered the mistake to arise from a misprint of the Bible; and is said, from that time, to have been particularly cautious against using Aitken's edition of the Bible. There were

several other mistakes in that Bible, which escaped the detection of its corrector.

P. 290, vol. 1. James the Printer does not appear to possess the sagacity of one of his red fellows, who being elated with liquor at a tavern in New York, boasted that he could read and write English. A gentleman present, wishing to indulge his humour, asked him who was the first person circumcised. "Father Abraham", was the ready reply of the Indian, who immediately after asked the gentleman if he knew who was the first Quaker. The Indian perceiving the question to nonplus his opponent, informed him that Mordecai was the first Quaker, for he would not pull off his hat to Haman.

P. 369, vol. 1. The writer of this can say the same.[21] He used to stand on the furniture box, about 18 inches high, and which is still preserved in the office, in order to reach the capital case. He, as well as his sire before him, were tolerable compositors by the time they were 9 years of age.

P. 447, vol. 2. It is some time since I read Mrs. Warren's History of the American Revolution, but it seems to me that her description of her unfortunate kinsman, Otis, is the most affecting narrative that could be penned.

P. 181, vol. 2. By referring to Ramsay's American Revolution, vol. 1, p. 341, you will perceive your surmise with respect to a printer being sent to Montreal not only confirmed, but embodied as a portion of American History. In a letter wirtten by Gen. Washington, July 19, 1777, (See Lendram's History, vol. 2, p. 261) you will find a project proposed for allowing a travelling press for headquarters, and its utility very earnestly recommended.

P. 124, vol. 2. Collins printed a *quarto* Bible also; and the best edition, perhaps, in America: at least the Quakers think so.

P. 297, vol. 2. There is but one *r* in the name of Anthony Car; at least it so spelled in his paper.

I shall now proceed to a narrative of Germantown printing. It will be long, but I hope not tedious. The information I am

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[21]Referring to Isaiah Thomas's statement that he had set type, when a lad of six, standing on a bench eighteen inches high.

furnishing, respecting the Sower family, the only printers in that village before the revolution, is the fullest that was ever before in any one person's possession, not excepting even any one member of the family. I expect you will esteem it as an acquisition. For myself, I feel highly gratified on its collection. When the statements differ from your dates, and they do in several particulars, you may safely regard mine as correct. I will endeavour to arrange the history in method, but my notes are so crude, that I despair of attaining a regular order.

Christopher Sour (the first) or Sower (according to American orthography) was born in the year 1694, in the town of Lauderberg,[22] 2 German, or 10 American miles from the city of Heidelberg, in Germany. The business he was bred to was that of a taylor. He arrived in America in the fall of 1724, and took up his residence at Germantown. His principal employment for some time in Germantown was at botton mould making, at which he had a considerable run of profitable business. But for the space of 16 years, from the time he arrived in Germantown till he commenced the printing, tradition is not clear as to his occupation. He resided some time with Doctor Witt, of Germantown, (but this was after his return in 1731) the famous conjurer, with whom he acquired some medical knowledge. He was at Tulpehocking above Reading, or rather Dulpehakin, (whither he went from Lancaster county) where he was concerning in casting stoves. These stoves were very excellent; and one of them with a three fold revolving flue for smoke, is said to remain still in the house he occupied in Germantown. He appears to have been employed some time at farming, in Lancaster county (whither he went from Germantown in the spring of 1726). He was also at Ephrata for a period, where he is said to have acquired some insight into bookbinding. He returned to Germantown, finally, in April 1731. At length he turned his mind altogether on printing and commenced that business in Germantown in the summer of 1738.

Sower 1st became a printer by accident. Jacob Gans (in English, Goose, which is now a common appellation of the

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[22]Ladenburg is about ten miles from Heidelberg.

family) who was settled about 4 miles above Germantown, had a quantity of printing materials sent over to him by some of his spiritual brethren, the German baptists of Germany, and for which they raised a subscription, that Gans might be enabled to have such good books as might be useful to the Society. But Goose did not understand the business, and did not possess the native ability necessary to the erection of an office; and as there was no person in the neighbourhood at that time that evinced the ability, the materials were esteemed no better than so much lumber. Sower 1st obtained them for a mere trifle; and being very acute and ingenious, soon put them in trim for business.

The first German almanac printed at Germantown, and perhaps the first German almanac in America, was by Sower 1st and for the year 1738 and printed the same year. It was continued, regularly, by him, his son, and his grandsons, 40 years, till the year 1778.

At what period Sower 1st commenced a newspaper, I cannot ascertain; but presume it may be dated 1740. It was called the Germantown Zeitung (Gazette); and was continued by him and his successors till the year 1778.[23]

I lately sold a copy (the only one I ever had) of "Bromley's Sabbath of Rest, or the Soul's Progress in the work of the New Birth. By Thomas Bromley. London printed. Germantown reprinted by Chris. Sower. Sold also by Solomon Fussell and Jonathan Zane, Philadelphia, 1759." This book is a small octavo, with pica type, well printed. Who Fussell or Zane were I cannot learn, but suppose they were dry goods merchants. But I have copied this article too soon. It was not Sower 1st that printed it, but Sower 2d.

Sower 1st printed "The Christian Pattern, or the imitation of Jesus Christ, being an abridgment of the works of Thomas à Kempis, By a female hand. London printed 1744. Germantown reprinted by Christ. Sowr, 1749." This *female hand* is said (says Henry Kurtz, a person who will be often mentioned) to have had but very few printed, and that it was esteemed, at

[23]Sower established "Der Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvania Geschict-Schreiber" Aug. 20, 1739, and under this and other titles it was published until 1778. From 1762 to 1777 it was called "Die Germantowner Zeitung."

that time, valuable as rare, and that the Quakers in Philadelphia recommended or encouraged Sower 1st to multiply the work by a new edition. But before I proceed further, I had better introduce you to this Henry Kurtz. He is now 82 years of age, and arrived in America in the year 1748, when 16 years old, and shortly after was apprenticed to Sower 1st to learn printing. It was during Kurtz's apprenticeship that Thomas à Kempis was printed. Kurtz says they ran out of lower case *o*, and Sower set to work, and continued to supply the requisite quantity. The moulds used were first of lead, and afterwards of plaster of paris, and these still further improved upon, by which means Sower was enabled to cast sorts himself, without waiting for a recruit from Germany: but no regular or complete fount was cast till after the arrival of the foundry apparatus from Germany, many years after. Kurtz still lives in Germantown, and to him you are indebted for a number of particulars respecting Germantown printing. Kurtz has a rare typographical curiosity in his family, a German folio Bible, printed at Frankfort, on Main, in 1565, almost 250 years since. The chapters are not divided into verses. It was four years in press. It is exceedingly well printed, but its rare show is the engravings; as it has innumerable quantity of wood cuts, highly and richly coloured, and the colours are as lively and brilliant as if laid on but yesterday. This digression seemed unavoidable.

I have an edition in German of Short Sayings of Thomas á Kempis, printed by Sower in 1750. (But this also is copied in the wrong place. It was printed by Sower the 2nd).

There was a pamphlet printed by Sower 1st in 1748, called *Plain Truth*, in the German language.

I have a small pamphlet in German, called True and False Repentance, printed by Sower 1st in 1749.

Another book that Sower 1st printed in English was "Some Gospel Treasures, or the holiest of all unveiling; discovering yet more the riches of grace and glory to the vessels of mercy, unto whom it is given to know the mysteries of that kingdom, and the excellency of spirit, power, truth, above letters, forms, shadows. In general sermons preached at Kensington and elsewhere, by John Everard, D.D., printed in the year 1653.

And now reprinted in Germantown by Christopher Sower. 1757." This work is in quarto, the type pica, and looks still well; the ink, which was Sower's own making, appears to good advantage.

Sower 1st could not himself correct the proofs of his English publications; and with severe trials, could never attain a correct orthography of the language. He was 30 years of age when he arrived in America, and 44 when he began printing; an age too advanced to commence on improvements in language. He employed a proof reader for English.

Sower 1st seemed to possess an universal mechanical genius, and is said to have been sufficiently adroit at 16 (or according to some 24) different trades, to secure a maintenance by following either of them. Among these were that of a stone caster, farmer, bookmaker, taylor, distiller, farrier, apothecary, turner, paper maker, tinman, lampblack maker, printer's ink manufacturer, bookbinder, and printer. To the last he was particularly attached; as an evidence of which he desired on his death bed, that the printing business might never go out of the family of his descendants, but that one or other of the lineage should acquire and practice the art.

Sower 1st married in Germany. His wife died Dec. 24, 1752. Sower, himself, after prosecuting the printing business for 20 years with success, died, Sept. 25, 1758, aged 64, and was buried on his own ground, back of his mansion, in Germantown. He is said to have demised several legacies to poor persons in his neighbourhood, and to some of his indigent friends bequeathed annuities for life, and appropriated one of his houses for their residence. Sower 1st was bred a presbyterian, but died a separatist.

Christopher Sower, the second, the only child of Sower 1st, was born Sept. 26, 1721, in the Town of Lasphe, in Witgeinstein, Germany, 18 miles from Marburg, and when he arrived at Germantown, in 1724, with his father, he was only 3 years of age.

Sower 2d was a rigid and exemplary member of the Tunkers, a body of German Baptists, and was one of its members who wore a long beard. He embraced that sect from conversion, and not by education; as his father did not belong to that

party of religionists, nor did he wear a long beard. Sower 2d was baptised in his adopted church in 1737, and was ordained a minister June 10, 1753.

Sower 2d had commenced the binding business for himself, and continued it, distinct from his father, for a number of years, till 1758, when, upon his father's death, he succeeded in the printing establishment. You date his printing career from 1744, but it is a wide mistake. He was at that time (1758) 37 years old.

Sower 2d, with a number of his spiritual companions, had at one period agreed not to marry, but devote their time as undividedly as possible to religious duties. They accordingly hired a house for themselves, and without any female attendants, took their stated round in keeping bachelor's hall. Sower himself was the first to annul the agreement; and surprised his associates very much, by rising up in a religious meeting of his society, and declaring his intention of marrying Catharine Sharpnack. He espoused her April 21, O. T. 1751. The nature of this celibate agreement was singular, but not altogether without a parallel. Gen. Wolfe, Monckton, and other youths of the same army, took a similar resolution some ten years after this period, and united in an agreement not to marry till the war in which they were engaged should be succeeded by peace, that their military career might not be interrupted by attention to domestic concerns. Sower enjoyed the company of his consort 26 years; she died in 1777, aged 47 years and 9 months.

Sower 2d continued the newspaper commenced by his father, and it obtained an extensive circulation, and high reputation. Sower 2d was accused by some of entertaining sinister designs against the English government, and of cherishing a disposition to bring Pennsylvania under the jurisdiction of Germany. Parson Smith, for some time prevost of the college of Philadelphia, accused him in 1759 to Gen. Fobes, then in this city, on his return from the western campaign against Fort du Quesne. Sower was conducted, under guard, before the general, the charges adduced, and the newspaper produced for proof. After an examination, pro and con, Fobes dismissed Sower, pronouncing the allegation unfounded, and told him,

that as he was troubled with a guard from Germantown, against his inclination, he would, if not disagreeable to Sower, trouble the officer and guard, with the honour, perhaps against their wish and expectation, of escorting him back again to his residence. Parson Smith was for some cause or other an enemy to Sower. This transaction was noticed in the newspaper, and Sower remarked, a mild slur on Smith, that he had received better treatment from the red coats than from the black coats.

The consequence which Sower 2d obtained in the community was very extensive. No medicine, not even a dose of jalap, was effectual unless purchased at Sower's apothecary shop: No almanac was correct in time and weather, and no newspaper spoke the truth, unless published by Sower. The following incident will demonstrate that he was not only a man of consequence, but a leader in his neighbourhood: During the violent disputes between the people and proprietors of Pennsylvania, the quakers, at one time, obtained an ascendancy in the legislature, and petitioned the proprietors to grant them, as a society, some exclusive privileges, as exemption from military requirements, and a jurisdiction for themselves. The people in general condemned the plan. Sower 2d wrote against it in his paper, and a considerable stir ensued prior to the approaching general election. This was about the year 1760. Sower 2d with an elegant red flag, and followed by near 300 inhabitants from Germantown, proceeded in regular cavalcade to Philadelphia, to vote against the proposers of the obnoxious measures. The people succeeded, and the quakers were left far in the rear. But Sower was blamed, by some, for his interference in these transactions, as inconsistent with his religious professions.

I have seen a number of the German almanacs printed by Sower 1st and 2d. Those which I have seen are for the years 1753, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 66 and 76. Some of these I send you. No. 7 and No. 5 of the old almanacs I send you, contain each a list of some German books printed by the two Sowers prior to the year 1763.

The execution of all the almanacs, pamphlets, and books from the Germantown press is neat and judicious. The ink is

remarkably good. Some of the almanacs were printed with red and black ink, which troublesome method was imposed upon Sower from the rivalship attempted by Behm, who understood the process, and who was employed by Godhart Armbruster of Philadelphia, who published his almanac in that manner in order to excel the Germantown emission.

Sower 2d printed a "Spiritual Magazine" in German; but how often it was issued, or at what period it commenced, I have not learnt. No. 12 was printed in 1772; and that is all the date respecting it I can discover.

In 1772 Sower 2d obtained materials from Germany, and commenced type casting. The history of this foundry you shall have at large when we come to Justus Fox's history.

In one of the old almanacs accompanying this, No. 9, 1762, you will find an apology for the delay in emitting the second edition of Sower's quarto bible, because of the scarcity of workmen, and desiring the people to exercise patience. The first edition of 1743 was in Long Primer: the second was in Pica; and the third was page for page with the second. Sower's bible of 1743 was the first in Pennsylvania and the first in America except Eliot's Indian bible. The type for the third edition of the quarto bible was cast at Sower's foundry. It was the intention of Sower to cast type sufficient for a standing edition of the quarto bible; and with that view had a very large fount made, and many supernumary sorts, of no use but for that prospect. Of the lower case *e* alone 72,000 were cast. The cost of the fount was 3000 pounds currency. But the war, and subsequent revolution of his fortune, prevented the accomplishment of his design in making a standing edition of the bible. The number struck off was 3000. The number of pages 1272: old testament and apocraphy 992; the new testament 280. The apocraphy was between the two testaments. Some few copies are still on sale and their price is $5.50. The second edition of his bible was 3000 in number, and not 2000, as you have it. The price was put to 21 shillings currency in sheets.

But this was not the only standing work that Sower projected. He accomplished a standing edition of the German

Hymn book; which will be again mentioned when we come to the history of type casting.

The rapid emigration of Germans to Pennsylvania was in a great measure owing to these two first Sowers. They wrote many letters to their friends in the land of their nativity, and by their representations in favour of the soil, and the alluring prospects in America, induced many to move thither.

Sower 2d was extremely regular and temperate. He never drank spiritous liquors. All his workmen, and he frequently had a great number, eat at his table. He rose regularly at 4 o'clock, and employed himself in singing and other devotions till 5, when the whole family, children and boarders, were called up. At 7 they all breakfasted; dined at 12: took tea, coffee or chocolate (as it happened) at 4: supped at 10. Before meals he always implored, with great seriousness and gravity, a benediction on the food and its partakers. His children were not allowed to acquire a habit of rejecting or partaking of any particular kind of victuals; but, unless he found some sorts actually to disagree with them, they were compelled to eat, indiscriminately, whatever was set before them.

About the year 1773 Sower 2d built a paper mill, on the Schuylkill, near the upper side of the falls, and made a considerable quantity of printing and writing paper. At this period he manufactured books entire and throughout: the type, the paper, the lampblack, the ink, the binding were all executed within himself, or by his own immediate workman. Indeed he could perform each of these branches himself, and some of them to great perfection. He appeared to possess the genius, in this respect, of his progenitor.

Sower 2d declined the printing, and its concomitant branches, in favour to two of his sons, in the summer of 1777. I believe he relinquished business on the death of his wife. He was at the period of his relinquishing worldly business, 56 years old, and had been engaged in the printing business 19 years. He resigned worldly concerns, and contemplated the passing of the remainder of his life in religious repose. He possessed from the exertions of his father and himself, an independent estate.

Such, popular and respected, "was the even tenor of his

way." Smoothly indeed he glided along. In his temper equanimous; in his disposition pacific; in industrious plodding almost unrivalled; in religion a saint; in conduct exemplary; in sanctity, commanding the respect and silent and sudden veneration even of the most profligate. But "as man is born to trouble," as naturally as the sparks from a fire fly upward, so now Sower began to experience such trying scenes as would prove his fortitude as a man, as would test his virtue as a christian. So, often, does a mariner, after a lengthy and successful voyage, view his return haven, and suddenly meet with an adverse gale, or a destroying rock, on the very verge of his expected felicity. And as adversity is the touchstone of profession, let us see, by the sequel of his story, whether his afflictions bear him out as "dross," or as the "refiner's gold, which is seven times tried."

Sower 2d was discreet by habit and by nature; and it does not appear, from any information I can gather, that he actually declared himself, during the revolutionary struggle, either for or against the colonists. It rather seems he was disposed to "submit to the powers that be, for conscience' sake." But suspicions were either excited against him, or else his friends, fearful lest popular resentment might alight on him, persuaded him to desert his station in Germantown, and remove to Philadelphia, then in possession of the British. The distrust of his friends might have had some foundation, as his son, Christopher, who had rendered himself utterly obnoxious to the whigs, had been obliged to decamp from Germantown some time before his father removed. Sower accordingly left Germantown, and took up his residence in Philadelphia, October 19, 1777, fifteen days after the battle of Germantown. This measure was strongly inisisted upon by his son.

When the British were about evacuating Philadelphia, Sower 2d, conscious of innocence, resolutely returned to his home. He entered Germantown May 23, 1778, twenty-four days before the British evacuated the city.

The next day after his return, he was taken prisoner by the Americans. He had been with the British army, and that was enough. If nothing else, that with an inflamed and exasperated populace, was sufficient to constitute treason. He was

arrested, at his own house, at 10 o'clock at night, May 24. The second day after (May 26) he was confined in prevost. He was released from imprisonment May 29; and the next day (May 30) was admitted a prisoner on parole, and took up his residence at Methatchen.

During his durance, some of the whigs, exasperated and unreflecting, cruelly abscinded his beard, and otherwise maltreated him. (His beard afterwards again grew out as formerly). From Germantown he was conveyed to White Marsh, where the American army lay, and there endured fresh indignities, and was arrayed in tattered regimentals, and scornfully paraded. The old man, however, is said to have been as content as possible with his ragged attire, and walked about with as much indifference as if no insult had been intended. There is one circumstance related of Sower 2d during these transactions, which borders on the marvellous. After he was denuded at the American camp, a continental soldier seized his pantaloons, and enrobed his own limbs with them; in place of his former pair. The soldier had drawn them on but a short time, when he was seized with agonizing pains over all his body. He cried out "I can neither live nor die: I am in great torment: Take off the old man's trousers, that I may die." That part of his covering was taken off, and the man shortly after expired. The friends of Sower allowed this was a judgment of God, on account of the indignities offered to the saintly man. But be the cause of the incident what it may, the fact is well attested, both by his personal friends, and by his former political accusers.

When he returned from Philadelphia to Germantown, May 23, 1778, the whigs demanded his signature to the oath prescribed by Congress. He replied that he would cheerfully swear allegiance to the colonial government, but could not, consistent with his religious faith, engage, as that oath required, to aid and assist the Congress. He was also required by the oath, to state his nonadherence to the British: but that, neither, could he do. Of course, he was arrested, and his property liable to confiscation. (But this paragraph was not copied in its regular order.)

From Methatchen he returned to Germantown June 23,

1778. During his stay at Methatchen, the court, on the subject of pending confiscations, opened its sitting at the town of Lancaster, whither all those concerned were invited, by public advertisement, to appear, (during the month of June) and shew cause why final proceedings should not be taken. But Sower did not hear of this call till the very day he arrived at Germantown, June 23; and then it was too late, as that was the day appointed for his hearing. Newspapers were then seldom seen in Germantown; and means of conveying intelligence were scant and uncertain. This was a fatal misfortune; because, as no overt act could be alleged against him, his property would have been safe, and its sale prevented.

His property was seized, and an inventory taken July 27, 1778. When the deputies entered his house and demanded his keys, the old man was sitting at tea. He delivered them very composedly, telling them, that if they had a better right to the keys than himself, they must take them. The ensuing day, July 28, he received a notice to move off his premises. He took a final leave of his house and effects July 30, and removed to Beggar's town (a contiguous continuation of Germantown) about one mile above his own house, to the dwelling of his brother in law, Henry Sharpnack. He remained at this place near 2 years, during which he employed himself in binding books.

The confiscated sale of his property took place in August 1778. John Dunlap, of Philadelphia, purchased the printing office and most of the books in sheets at this sale. Among the books in sheets was most part of the lately finished edition of the German bible. Dunlap obtained the whole for a mere song; and as he purchased for speculation, and was unacquainted with the German language, he sold a great part of the bible sheets for cartridge paper, instead of binding them up into bibles. There were very few purchasers at this sale. There was an opinion prevalent among many of the friends of Sower, that such sales would be void on the return of peace, even if the colonists should be successful; and that affairs by a treaty would revert pretty much to *status quo*. Hence, Sower and his friends did not interfere, and Dunlap was seldom outbidden. But Peter Liebert, a spiritual brother to Sower,

a bookbinder at the upper end of Germantown, understanding the use that Dunlap was making of the bible sheets, went into Philadelphia, and repurchased them. Liebert, in partnership in this affair, with his son in law, Michael Billmeyer, (a printer, who established himself shortly after, opposite to Liebert's house,) also repurchased part of the printing office from Dunlap, and the printing business was recommenced at Germantown by the firm of Liebert and Billmeyer. They reprinted a number of the destroyed sheets of the bible, and completed and bound a number for sale. But the greater part of Sower's printing office was thrown in pie; and many thousand pounds were sold by Dunlap to Justus Fox for old metal.

The type foundry alone, of all Sower's possessions, escaped the general wreck. When it was first imported, in 1772, it was conveyed to Fox's house, nearly opposite to Sower, and was there still continued. The types cast were mostly in Sower's name, and Fox received a salary for his services. But the foundry being so long in the possession of Fox, and he being the operator, as well as ostensible proprietor, the very generally received opinion was, that it was owned bona fide by Fox, hence it escaped.

Sower had been in extensive business, and many debts, which were due him by country storekeepers, were now paid him in the depreciated continental currency, which was a lawful tender. This new injury was extremely aggravating to the old man's feelings.

I have represented Sower 2d as neutral, in the colonial disputes; but some of the traditions I have received render his neutrality doubtful and I cannot well judge between them. But if some sentiments ascribed to him are correct, a vast deal must be allowed for the irritation occasioned by the lawless conduct of some intemperate and mistaken whigs; and a great proportion of alleged discontent might naturally arise in his mind repugnant to the new innovation of things, and from a recollection of his recent affluence, his tranquillity, his safety, and contrasted with his subsequent fear, flight and poverty. He is said to have used hasty expressions on beholding his property sacrificed; but these might have resulted from a chagrin entirely independent of a radical discontent at the

political commotions. My opinion is, that he might be termed neutral. Men of property are at all times opposed to a revolution. The Tunkers were mostly all rich; and it may be supposed they consented "rather to bear those ills they had, than fly to others that they knew not of."

The loss of property sustained by Sower was far greater than you estimate. He possessed a great many estates, among which were, his large stone dwelling house in Germantown, with an annexed farm; another house and large lot opposite to his mansion; several farms in the vicinity; and on the Schuylkill he owned a shad fishery, a stone dwelling house and lot, and a paper mill. Instead of 30,000 dollars, it should be rated so many pounds; and these pounds, according to the present value of money would now be worth 70,000 pounds. The estate would now bring near 300,000 dollars, so much has the value of property since that time, rose in nominal amount.

Sower 2d removed, from the house of his brother in law, to Methatchen settlement, April 7, 1780. This was his last voluntary movement. He kept house, at this place, by the assistance of his female children, and employed his working hours at binding books. At this business he obtained his death. Beating some copies of the same quarto Bible that he had lately published, he worked very diligently, and went through a day's work in half the day. Being overheated and thirsty from his exertion and the warmth of the day, he walked down to the spring and drank heartily of water. This chilled his blood, and gave him an apoplectic shock, of which he died some short time after. His exit from this sublunary scene was on August 26, 1784. He was buried in the Mennonist Church yard at Methatchen, 21 miles north of Philadelphia.

Sower 2d was a muscular strong man, above the middle size, and inclined to corpulency. He weighed, perhaps, 250 pounds on the day of his death. But notwithstanding his grossness, he was a great pedestrian. He delighted in walking and preferred that mode of travelling to riding. He hardly ever rode. He correctly measured his time by walking, as he regularly progressed 4 miles in an hour. He travelled on foot, within a fortnight before his death, to Shippack, in Mont-

gomery county, 12 miles from his home, on the Sabbath, to supply the church there, preached, and walked back again the same day. He observed to the congregation, there assembled, that it would be the last time he should preach to them. He appeared to have certain presentiments of his approaching dissolution. At the request of Frederic Augustus Muhlenburg (afterwards speaker of Congress) he drew out a statement of his sufferings while a prisoner to the Americans. Having completed the compilation, he observed he had now nearly finished all he had to do. This was 8 days before his death. He foretold his end to others; and said that two of his children would soon follow him. He mentioned the names of these two to the spiritual brother who afterwards preached his funeral sermon; who, on that occasion, related the fact, but declined designating which of the children were named.

The inscription on his tomb stone is still legible. "In memory of Christopher Sower, who departed this life the 26th day of August, 1784, aged 62 years and 11 months.

"Death, thou hast conquer'd me
Twas by thy darts I'm slain;
But Christ shall conquer thee,
And I shall rise again.

"Time hastens on the hour,
The just shall rise and sing,
O grave! where is thy pow'r?
O death! where is thy sting?"

Such are the principal incidents pertaining to a biography of Christopher Sower 2d. Christopher is a Greek word, signifying Christ's bearer. One thing with respect to the second Christopher is evident: he was continually taking up his Saviour's cross, and following him.

I have already mentioned that Sower 2d was succeeded in the printing business by two of his sons in the summer of 1777. The names of these two were Christopher (jun. or 3d) and Peter, in partnership.

The only thing I have seen printed by this firm was a German almanac for 1778. The political troubles of the times burst upon them about the period they commenced, and the office was partially suspended. This was the 40th and last

annual emission of this almanac, commenced by the grandfather, in 1738.

The partnership did not continue long. I believe about 3 months only. Peter Sower was a very smart man, and an excellent compositor; but his genius did not seem to assimilate itself with the art of printing. He had rendered himself obnoxious, and flew from Germantown to Philadelphia; where he resided during the continuance of the British in the city. He went, with their army, to New York, and there studied medicine under Dr. Maurison. From thence he sailed, about the latter end of the year 1783 (a little time before the British evacuated New York) to New Providence, with an intention to settle and practice physic at Nassau. Shortly after his arrival there (that is, about a year after) he died. He was the first of his children that Sower 2d prophesied should be a victim of death.

Christopher 3d did not possess the prudence of his father. During the first progress of opposition against taxation, Sower 3d was warm in declaring himself in favour of the colonists; and is said to have been active in some cases of preparation for resistance. Sower 3d was a popular man at that time. Owing to one of his arms being shorter than the other, he was exempted from military duty; and by now stepping out in favour of the colonists, he was regarded as a volunteer from principle. But he afterwards veered round, changed to the opposite party, and from various speeches, rendered himself very obnoxious to the whigs, and from threats, openly avowed, became in danger for his safety. Sower 3d is said to have been induced to relinquish his whig principles by the instigation of Joseph Galloway, who was an intimate of the family.

The battle of Germantown commenced early on the morning of October 4, 1777. Conscious of his personal jeopardy, Sower 3d made off for Philadelphia upon the report of the first firing, with great precipitancy. A rare instance of female fortitude, or rather rashness, was evidenced by his wife, at the same time. When her husband left Germantown, she left her residence, and went up, through the thickest of the fire, callous to fear, to the house of a relation, to obtain his society and protection.

Galloway advised Sower 3d to resume the publication of his newspaper in Philadelphia, which was accordingly done, and continued till the British left the city. This paper has been continued, since its commencement, by Sower 1st and 3d, without any intermission, (except the time lost by leaving Germantown for Philadelphia, and the little delay there experienced by acquiring other types,) from about the year 1740 to 1778, a period of 38 years. From Philadelphia it was distributed by hawkers.[24]

The printing materials at Germantown remained unemployed from the time Sower 3d fled to Philadelphia.

Sower 3d published, during his residence in the city, several harsh and grating pieces against the whigs. Among others was "a cure for an American rebel." These publications increased the acrimony of the colonists against him.

Some time after the battle of Germantown, a detachment of the British army left Philadelphia, and for some forage or other purpose, proposed to pass through Germantown, and return by the ridge road. Sower 3d, having some private business to transact, took advantage of this escort to proceed to his former residence and obtain some papers of family importance. He stepped into his house, obtained the papers, and was proceeding to join the detachment, when, unapprehensive of danger, he was apprehended, opposite the market house, by Capt. Coleman, a captain in the American army, who was lurking for stragglers. Sower was then taken to the American camp, detained five weeks, and then exchanged. Captain Coleman was an active partisan. He lived many years, after the war, in Third Street, opposite to the Golden Swan tavern.

When Sower 3d was brought to headquarters, Gen. Washington, after some interrogatories, addressed him thus: "Well, Mr. Sower, you will be likely now to get some sour sauce." Sower 3d would not have been exchanged at all, or at least not so soon as he was, but for the occurrence of a fortunate incident. He had some how received information of George Lusk, a powder manufacturer, being at a certain place unprotected. Lusk had been a next door neighbour to Sower;

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[24]The name of this paper was "Der Pennsylvanische Staats Courier."

and was now the principal person on whom the Americans depended for a supply of gunpowder. Sower knew the estimation in which he was held, and instantly formed the plan of compassing his captivity in order to effect his own release. He accordingly continued to inform the British of Lusk's situation and he was taken prisoner. Threats were given out against the lives of both; but an even exchange was at length effected. Both perhaps, owed their lives to each other.

The British evacuated Philadelphia June 17, 1778, and Sower 3d went with them to New York. He resided in New York about 5 years, with his family, with the exception of the time employed in a voyage to England. He sailed thither in the same vessel with general Howe.

When the British evacuated New York, Nov. 25, 1783, Sower 3d embarked for London. He staid there about two years, and then removed to Nova Scotia. He then established himself again as a printer, and published, at New Brunswick, the Royal Gazette. He was here appointed deputy postmaster general for the province of New Brunswick, and was also elected a member of the Corporation council of St. Johns. He also obtained a colonel's brevet from the king entitled to half pay during life.

He left New Brunswick to visit his brother Samuel in Baltimore where shortly after he arrived, he was taken with an apoplexy, and the next day July 3, 1799, died, in the 46th year of his age.

Sower 3d was allowed, by some of his Germantown neighbours, to have been one of the smartest men in America. He was a poet, or at least possessed a ready knack at rhyming. Some of his philippics against the whigs, published in Philadelphia, are said to have been composed in verse. I have seen several letters written by him, and they evidently prove him to have been a man of abilities.

The treaty of 1783 provided that all monies still unpaid from the purchase of confiscated estates, should revert to the loser; but as the Dumplers will not sue in any case, Sower 2d did not, although within his power, reinstate himself into an affluent condition. But some of his heirs obtained a part. The British it is said, bestowed 700 pounds on each of the

children of Sower 2d, after the war, as an indemnification in part; excepting, however, Christopher and Peter, who were omitted in the schedule.

Christopher Sower 2d had 8 children; 5 sons and 3 daughters. Their names and order of birth, are: Christopher, Daniel, Peter, Catharine, Esther, David, and Samuel. The first born was a daughter, who died in her infancy.

Christopher and Peter have been already mentioned.

Esther died 2 or 3 years after her father, and was the second child designated by him to follow soon to the grave.

Catharine married a farmer in Buck's county by name Samuel Harley, where they are both still living.

Daniel was brought up to paper making. The mill on Schuylkill belonging to his father was given by the old man to Daniel, as his inheritance, some time before the British arrived near Philadelphia, and probably cotemporaneous with the giving up the printing office to Christopher and Peter. Daniel worked the mill on his own account, and owned the premises both by possession and promise, but as he had not received the formality of a deed, the property was adjudged to belong to the father and confiscated. Paper making was continued at this mill, by the Sowers, from its erection, in 1773 to June 1777. After this mill was confiscated, Daniel purchased a snuff mill, near his former mill, converted it into a paper mill, and commenced paper making again. But he retained this occupation a very short time. He sold the mill, turned his attention to agriculture, and settled near Valley Forge, Chester county, where he is still living.

David was brought up to the saddletree making. He afterwards acquired a knowledge of printing and established an office in Norristown, the county town of Montgomery county. He commenced a newspaper June 1, 1799, called the Norristown Gazette. After one year's emission he altered the title to the Norristown Herald, and its publication was continued by him till 1811, when he relinquished printing in favour of his son Charles. David is still living, and has a farm and store on the summit of Methatchen hill, in Montgomery county. Charles continued the paper in Norristown till October, 1812, when he sold out that establishment and removed to Union

town, Maryland. There, he now prints another paper. His brother Christopher the 4th, (a minor) works in that office.

Samuel was bred to the carpenter (or cabinet) business, at which business he settled at Chestnut Hill, near Germantown where he was also an apothecary and printer. From thence he removed to Baltimore about the year 1794, where he was concerned in printing and bookselling till the year 1804.[25] He then commenced a type foundry, in copartnery with Wm. Gwynn, Esq. of Baltimore. In 1806 he obtained by purchase the foundry worked by Justus Fox; and this brought part of his father's possessions again into the family. Samuel still continues type casting in Baltimore, with W. Gwynn, who is the present editor of the Baltimore Federal Gazette. The firm is S. Sower & Co. Samuel cast the type for the diamond bible, the printing of which is finished. John Hagerty was the publisher: the printer B. W. Sower. You desired me to send you a copy of this bible. Till very lately I did not possess a copy myself; and now it is not necessary to send one, as a number have gone on to Boston for exchange, and every bookseller there will have them. Samuel Sower was *not* the constructor of that watch on the head of a walking stick, which I mentioned in my other letter. Christopher Gobrecht, now of Philadelphia, an ingenious artist and engraver, was the constructor of that watch. Gobrecht was then engaged in the Baltimore foundry. Gobrecht presented that cane to Jefferson, while president. Jefferson offered to pay him for it. This affronted Gobrecht. But Jefferson informed him he accepted of no gifts, and on that ground could not receive it as a voluntary present.

Brook Watson Sower, only son of Christopher 3d now works in my office. To him you are indebted for some part of the information respecting the Sower family.

P. 87, vol. 2. "Quakers do not take interest for money." This does not apply to the quakers. They *never* disallowed interest. Quakers also go to law, provided the dispute is with a person out of their society, but cannot go to law with one another: but the quakers are seldom at law, and the reason

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[25]See also S. F. Hotchkin's "Ancient and Modern Germantown," 1889, p. 418.

is, because they mostly settle their disputes in meeting. The Dunkards will not take interest for money, or, if any members of this society should receive or demand interest for money, it is in direct contravention of an established rule of the fraternity. When Sower 2d deserted his post at Germantown in 1777, he had considerable sums of money deposited in the hands of several spiritual friends, who, when he returned in need, in 1778, proved his friends indeed. They returned their borrowed sums, which helped him to support himself. Morse seems to have been your author, in leading into this misstatement, respecting the quakers and Tunkers. But in this, as well as many other particulars, Morse is radically wrong. Brackenridge, in his Law Miscellanies, has promulgated a similar error. Morse, in the statement just referred to, appears to have miscopied a passage from Morgan Edwards' History of the Baptists, and thus led into an erroneous representation. But the passage from Edwards (p. 66, 67) correctly quoted, is thus: "General redemption they certainly hold; and withall, general salvation; which tenets, though wrong, are consistent. They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and, like them, will neither swear nor fight. They will not go to law; nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and except one congregation, keep the first day Sabbath. Their acquaintance with the bible is admirable. In a word, they are meek and pious christians; and have just acquired the character of the *harmless Tunkers.*"

I was wrong, in my other, in calling Sower 2d a Mennonist. He was of the Tunker sect. They are both of the sect of baptists, but differ in some points, and the Mennonists (generally corrupted and pronounced *Meneeses*) are the most numerous. Sower 2d was buried in the Mennonist grave yard at Methatchen, but he was not conjoined to the society. Some of the Tunkers wear beards, and some shave. Justus Fox, who will make some figure in this pamphlet, was a Tunker, but wore no beard: Sower 2d wore a long white one. Among other characteristics of this sect, are, the practice of washing one another's feet, the kiss of charity, the right hand of fellowhsip, and anointing the sick with oil for recovery

(James v, 14-16). Sower 2d, as said before, was a breaker of the bread of life with this sect; and his wife, as well as his son, Christopher 3d, were church members in the same persuasion. The name Tumblers, or Dumplers (as germanised in pronunciation) was given to them from their method of baptizing which was by plunging. They were also called, in allusion to a practice in their love feasts, Tunkers, or Dunkers, from tunken, to put morsel into sauce. "They must rest," says Morgan Edwards, a pastor of a Baptist church in Philadelphia, and author of their history, "they must rest content with the nickname, since it is the fate of Baptists in all countries to bear some cross or other."

P. 82, vol 2. "Germantown was settled in the *seventeenth* century." Some Mennonist families from Germany, and some from New York government, arrived in 1692, and commenced the building of Germantown. Morse, and most others, date the founding of that village in 1719. About 20 families from Germany settled there in that year; and these were the first Tunkers that appeared in America. It is from this circumstance probably, that this error arose.

Justus Fox's history is blended with the Sower narrative, and next demands a place.[26]

Justus Fox was born March 4, 1736, in the city of Manheim, Germany. His father, a cabinet maker there, was in circumstances affluent enough to give Justus a good education, and even sent him to Latin School, where he acquired some knowledge of that language. It seems it was usual, in that place, for all who could afford it, to send their children to Latin School. When sitting on his bench at school, Justus, would frequently wonder to himself (when he was no more than 5 years old) how the printing of the books he was studying could be executed; but, endeavouring to devise the probable manner of the process, suspected he had discovered the plan by which it was affected. A trait of his genius began thus early to unfold its future destinies.

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[26]For a comprehensive study of the career of this man, see "Justus Fox, a German printer of the Eighteenth Century," by Charles L. Nichols, in Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc. for April 1915, p. 55.

He arrived at Philadelphia, with his father, in the beginning of September, 1750. Henry Kurtz was apprenticed at this period to Sower 1st, and his father, a tobacconist, increasing very much in business, wished Henry to return to him; but Sower was unwilling to part with him. At length, after frequent teasing, Sower consented to give up Kurtz, provided he would procure another lad in his place. Kurtz, knowing of Fox's arrival, apprised Sower of the same. Sower went into Philadelphia, and the next day after his arrival, Justus was carried out to Germantown. He was immediately put in the printing office; and although he had never seen one before, he now ascertained that his infantile notions of the process of printing were somewhat correct.

Justus, when a babe, could never be induced to take the breast of his mother. He was reared by hand, and afterwards imbibed a strong antipathy to milk and pap. Riding on horseback, behind Sower, from Philadelphia to his destined residence, he began to reflect within himself on the many inconveniences he should endure from refusing to partake of such nutriments as he had always so heartily detested. He had been informed that mush and milk was a frequent dish in America; but during the journey he formed a resolution within himself to eat anything of the dreaded obnoxious that might be set before him. That night, as it happened, there was mush for supper. It was a hard trial for Fox's squeamish stomach. He nibbled a little: was very hungry; but could scarcely conquer his aversion against placing such food in his mouth. He succeeded in his attempts, and from that time partook indifferently of all sorts of food.

Justus served 6 ½ years, till he was of age, with Sower. He afterwards worked with Sower 1st till the old man died, and then with Sower 2d. Fox was a good scholar, and a ready penman, and sometimes acted as clerk.

Fox cut in wood the bust of Gen. James Wolfe, and the plan of Quebec and its environs, which were inserted in one of Sower's almanacs shortly after the city was captured from the French.[27] I have seen these engravings, and they are really

[27]These are in Sower's Germantown almanac for 1761, and a copy with the two cuts in now in the library of the Society.

well executed. Fox cut numbers of things in that way for almanacs and other works.

Sower 2d, perceiving the ingenuity of his father's protegé, in cutting types and prints, was encouraged to send to Germany for a set of moulds, in order to establish a foundry for type casting. Moulds for three sizes of German letter were obtained, but in very imperfect condition, owing, it is supposed, to the jealousy of the manufacturers in the parent country. Fox, however, plied himself to the task, and soon put the whole in working order. The first fount that was cast was the pica for the third edition of Sower's quarto bible. This was the first fount of types cast in America. Fox proceeded and cut new matrices for other sizes.

Justus Fox possesed a ready talent in drawing heads and designs on wood. Every thing of the kind he cut was on apple wood. No. 9, of the old almanacs I send you has three drawings done by him: queens Mary and Elizabeth, and a plan of Constantinople. Fox, for this last, was paid 16 dollars, by Sower. There is a sample of script type in this almanac, but not by Fox. His script was handsome. The price he charged for script was one dollar a pound. The picture of George III, in No. 8, is by Fox, and had a great deal of work in it. No. 3 contains some blocks of copy pieces for writing; but they are from Germany. The types for the German writing characters are also from Germany. But Fox had moulds of his own construction for the like characters. This same almanac No. 3 for 1757, once belonged to Charles, the father of Justus Fox, and contains some of his old cabinet making accounts. All this bagatelle of German almanacs was obtained from Henry Kurtz. I wish you could preserve them, or deposit them in some place where they will be preserved. They contain some curious matter; but they will be much more curious 50 or 100 years hence. The frontispiece in these almanacs printed by the Sowers, was cut by Fox, and was used annually till 1778; and has been used by Billmeyer, for his almanac, from 1780 to 1815 which last No. 11, I send you. In No. 6, is draft of Crown Point and Niagara fort, done by

Fox. In No. 5 are two cuts, Montreal and Frederic III, both done by Fox: this last I esteem his *chef d'oeuvre*.[28]

Fox was nice, to a hair, in all his work, and displayed great patience and pains in its execution. If he came across a file, or other tool, no matter what was the demanded price, so that the metal and workmanship were good, he immediately monopolised it.

Justus Fox possesed a versatile turn. He was employed for many years by Sower 2d in making lampblack. He was an excellent bleeder, and cupper, and tooth drawer. And he never used any fleams, or other instruments necessary in these lines, but those of his own making; and they were of the very best kind. He also kept an apothecary shop, as well as Sower 2d; and did a little in the practice of medicine. He was, at one and the same time, a farrier, an apothecary, a bleeder and

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[28]This "bagatelle," or collection, of examples of early Pennsylvania printing is frequently referred to in McCulloch's notes. It consisted of 27 pieces, most of which are now to be found in the Society's library. The first 9 are kept together, but the remainder have been scattered in the general collection, and some cannot now be traced. A few of them are entered in the Society's Donation Book, under date of April 18, 1815. The following are the numbers:

1. "Neu-eingerichteter Calendar" for 1749, Phila., A. Armbruster.
2. Same for 1756.
3. "Hoch-Deutsch Calendar" for 1757, Germantown, C. Saur.
4. Leaf from Saur's almanac of 1756.
5. Same almanac for 1762.
6. "Neu-eingerichteter Calendar" for 1762, Phila., P. Müller.
7. Leaf from Saur's almanac of 1763.
8. Leaf from Saur's almanac of 1763, cut of George III.
9. Imperfect copy of Saur's almanac of 1773.
10. Mutilated specimen of F. Bailey's printing.
11. "Hoch-Deutsch Calendar" for 1815, Phila., Billmeyer.
12. Fragment of Bailey's almanac of about 1784.
13. Printed "proposal."
14. Pennsylvania Magazine for June 1776.
15. Catalogue issued by Robert Bell.
16. Tables of Arithmetic for schools, Phila., 1815.
17. McCulloch's Pocket Almanac for 1815.
18. Almanac, probably issued by McCulloch.
19. "Germeinutzige Landwirthschafts Calendar" for 1813, Lancaster.
20. United States Register for 1794.
21. List of prices by journeymen printers, 1806.
22. German catalogue, Hamburg, 1790.
23. German catalogue, Hamburg, 1791.
24. Young and McCulloch imprint, about 1785.
25. Bailey's Rittenhouse Almanac for 1815.
26. M. Carey imprint.
27. M. Carey imprint.

cupper, a dentist, an engraver, a cuttler, a turner, a lampblack manufacturer, a maker of printer's ink, a typefounder, and a physician. Like Sower 1st and 2d he was jack of all trades.

Justus Fox cast the types on which Bailey printed, about 1784, the Laws of Pennsylvania, as well as a great many other founts. I have, from inheritance, a set of his figures and capitals, in Long Primer for an almanac, which has been in constant annual use these 25 years, and on which I am still likely to print for many years to come. Their name has always been the Germantown capitals and figures. I possessed by a similar conveyance, a fount of French Brevier, which Franklin brought over from France, and which was used on an incredible quantity of editions of books. My father printed a great many 1000 copies of the school testament on that fount. This testament, from the manner of taking in, spacing &c. would be the most profitable model of any for a printer to copy from. But no copy, to my knowledge, is now extant. I sent this Brevier to the Philadelphia foundry some years since. I have sometimes mentioned the fact to Binny, our present founder, that these castings of Fox, and those of Wilson, of Scotland, excel his in wear and durance. His answer has been, that they were at first so "devilish" ugly, that the longest using cannot mar their deformity.

Fox became an intimate acquaintance with Franklin. The Tunkers allowed of no formalities of politeness, but Justus possessed much grace of conduct by nature. He had heard of Franklin's genius and was very anxious to become acquainted with him; but having no person to introduce him to the doctor, went himself without that formality, and candidly told his errand and desire. Franklin received him with cordiality, and numbered him with his friends.

Fox purchased the foundry in 1784, a little before the death of Sower 2d, and continued the business on a tolerable large scale. His son was taken into partnership at the time of the purchase, and the firm continued about 9 years. His son then declined a concern, and settled on a farm above Germantown. Justus then continued the business, by himself, and kept it going on till his death. He died January 26, 1805, aged 70. He was a man of small stature, was in his appearance nice and

neat, and for an old man, remarkably agile. He was possessed of considerable property.

Justus, when about 28 years of age, married. The fruit of his marriage was an only child, his son Emanuel. His wife was elderly at the time of his marriage.

Charles Fox, the father of Justus, followed his business of cabinet making in Race Street, between 2d and 3d Streets, Philadelphia and built a house there. He died there about the year 1775, and was buried in Germantown, Justus, the son, was a redemptioner; and Sower 1st by the money he paid for Justus, extinguished the passage bill for his father and family. The father was in poor circumstances in Germany, and as it does not appear that he became reduced, it would seem that the plan of disposing of young Fox's minority was the wary result of German prudence in order to acquire some active capital from present dead stock.

Emanuel, in 1806, sold the foundry to Samuel Sower, who removed the materials to Baltimore, in addition to his foundry already established there. When the apparata were first imported from Germany, there were moulds for Pica, Long Primer, Brevier (German) and a Script (English): four founts only. But the industry of Fox had been still adding to their number, and at the time of the purchase by S. Sower, there were matrices for several different moulds. It appears, however, that but little use has since been made of them by S. Sower; as they were fabricated of brass, which heats too soon, and during the casting of a large fount, are apt to vary their extension.

Emanuel still lives, and resides at the patrimony in Germantown, and follows the business of lampblack making. I expected to see a number of books and newspapers of Germantown early printing in Emanuel's possession as his father was very curious in preserving such: but was disappointed. Emanuel says he has made away with great parcels of them as wrapping paper for his lamp black packages, not supposing they would ever be esteemed valuable.

Justus, in character and conduct uniformly answered his name. He was very pious, very exemplary, very humane, very charitable. *Emanuel* (figure to yourself the devotion of the conscious father, perhaps for some display of goodness

from the Divinity he worshipped, naming him *God with us*,) Emanuel (but to your own private eye only is it addressed) does not follow the footsteps of his sire. But in person, and in mental capacity, he is, to my apprehension, above mediocrity.

It was my intention, after Fox's narrative, to proceed with the narrative of some other type founders, but as the notes on these articles are not so perfect as I expect to make them, the subject will be deferred, and the next paragraph introduced will be some on minor criticisms and notices.

P. 254, vol. 1. "and those I shall more particularly take notice of." This is a common fault with writers. It should read "and *of those* I shall more particularly take notice."

P. 131, vol. 2. "Till several years since that time," would be better rendered by "for several years after that time."

P. 19. vol. 1. "The boundless ages of antiquity" is an exceptionable expression. It seems to favour the atheistical opinions entertained by some of the eternity of matter. It contradicts the Bible.

P. 413, vol. 1. "It is only forty years." But in 50 years hence that 40 will be 90. This is a very loose unsatisfactory manner of narrating history. It obliges the indolent to calculate; and if the date of the imprint be defaced, the curious is at a loss.

Vol. 1, p. 235. "New-england"; "News-Letter"; "North America."

Vol. 2, p. 44, "classicks"; p. 87, "Tunckers"; p. 163, "stiling"; p. 207, "Greatbritain"; p. 217, "stile"; p. 268, "almanacks"; p. 369, "stationery"; p. 383, "Saintjago—St. Domingo"; p. 384, "Westindies"; p. 385, "Barbados"; p. 393, "Saintgeorge."

These, and many other similar instances, are without uniformity of rule. If the old orthography is best in part, it is best in toto; or if an innovation is necessary, it should be consistent and general. Some orthographers in America, esteem an essay or letter very faulty, and even *illiterate*, if public, almanac, and such words, have not the addendum *k* of Dr. Johnson. But the doctor's practice was not infallible, as Walker, his friend, repeatedly demonstrates. The practice of uniting compound words, such as New England, &c. into one

word, is directly adverse with Johnson's system. Yet the adherents of Johnson disagree with him in this particular, and at the same time invariably adhere to his expletive *k*, in public, &c. Johnson's other peculiarities, as in superiour, governour, &c. seem to be now exclusively taken up by one only of our political parties. But printers of both parties often assume various methods of printing and spelling. If I recollect right, Mosheim's Church History, printed by Ustick, of New Jersey, was without a word divided at the end of the lines throughout the whole six volumes. Newengland, Greatbritain, &c, are somewhat difficult to be read at the first sight of such conjunctions, than when written, as they most usually have been, New England, Great Britain, &c.; but perhaps it is an improvement. In Newbury Port, and such words as we have been long accustomed to unite in one, it is evidently an improvement. Charles Town would now appear uncouth to any eye. German Town and New Town, (which quaker Story, in his Life, mentions as visiting in 1699) seem hideous. Style and stile are two different words: the first was the one you intended; the second the one you used: but printers, almost without exception, confound the two. I know of no dictionary that spells stationary with an *e* in the penultima. Babardoes seems to have dropped the *e* in the ultima only with Keimer. You are right in expense; but the major part of printers misspell it with a *c*. Despatch is also by printers spelled dispatch, but wrongly; Recompense is by some frequently misspelled with *c* in the ultimate. Other words, in which printers are apt to aberrate, are:

balance, not ballance,
emplead, empoverish, enforce } not i,
imbody, not e
chase, not chace,
bucaniers, one c,
belman, belmetal, alum } one l,
device, not devise,
instructer, not instructor
renard, not reynard
prophecy—noun
prophesy—verb
riband, one b,
guaranty—noun
guarantee—verb
gray—not grey
control, not controul

P. 326, vol. 2. "March 1, 174^{2}" There appears to be a fraction figure deficient.

P. 282, vol. 1. After "April" should be inserted "24th."

P. 218, vol. 2. The year 1523 should be 1723.

P. 376, vol. 2. The Halifax Gazette is here stated to have commenced January, 1751; and in p. 176, the same paper is said to date its beginning in January, 1752.

Your index is not sufficiently minute. On turning to it I have been frequently disappointed, and obliged to turn over the leaves of the volumes to find the required places. In p. 563, the figures 213, relative to the Indian bible, should be 243.

If you had arranged the head lines of the first part of your work as you have the latter part, by inserting, after the United States, the particular state or colony to which each page relates, it would have been an improvement, and would have facilitated research.

The first press in Virginia is said, in p. 208, vol. 1, to have been established in 1727. And in p. 143, vol. 2, Wm. Parks is mentioned as the first printer in the colony, and in 1736. Can this Parks be a relative to the notorious monster, Daniel Parks, governor of Antigua, and who there perished in 1710? See governor Park's history in Edwards' West Indies, vol. 2, p. 160.

In p. 221, vol. 1. The first press in Massachusetts, is said to have been erected in 1638. And in p. 227, Day, the first printer, is said to have erected the press in 1639. The exact time that Glover arrived is not stated; but it would seem that the press was imported in 1638 and erected in 1639.

Note *p*, p. 485, vol. 1. would be more in place were it inserted in p. 468, vol. 2, in place of note *e*; and *e* in place of *p*.

If you could have arranged a table, in chronological order, of the commencement of the different printing offices and newspapers, it would be very satisfactory, with a coup d'oeil, to trace their progress from it.

The testament of Fowle & Co. is said, in p. 324, vol. 1, to have been printed *before* the bible of Kneeland & Co.; and in p. 305, the testament is said, it would seem, to be printed after the bible.

P. 31, vol. 2. After "December" there should have been placed the date, "the 22d."

P. 469, vol. 1. "hls" is printed for "his." The following is said to be a copy of a warrant issued by one of the red justices of the peace, on whose instruction Mr. Eliot was so indefatigable. For conciseness and energy the most learned precedents bear no comparison with it. "He, High Howder, yu Constable, yu Deputy, bess way you look um, Jeremiah Wicker, strong you take um, fast yu hold um, quick yu bring him before me,—Captain Howder." This undertaking was one mistake of one good man. Eliot thought to civilise the Indians. But others beside him had formed the same design. Las Casas, in 1520, attempted a settlement on the southern continent, with high expectations of realizing a similar design but which proved a murderous disaster. Jefferson and others, among whom the most active are the quakers, have recently attempted the same. The efforts have as yet been fruitless, but perhaps not yet desperate. Many, among whom is the present Thomas Bradford, the elder, proclaim loudly against negro manumission. Perhaps one will yet be experienced as feasible as the other. The negroes ought to be free, and the Indians ought to be civilised, if possible. An Indian student of Eliot's time has been thus sung:

"Some thought he would in law excel,
Some thought in physic he would shine;
And some, who liked him passing well,
Beheld in him a sound divine.

"But those of more discerning eye
E'en then could other prospects show;
They saw him lay his Virgil by
To wander with his dearer bow."
But *jam satis nuga.*

P. 469, vol. 1. I can very readily believe the tradition of Eliot's employing the same pen during the translation of his bible, without presuming it to be other than a common goose quill. I have often been surprised to find how long I could use a pen. I mostly make mine out of pinions, and have frequently employed the same one for two and three weeks, without any mending; and if they were not frequently removed from my desk by different persons, I believe the same pen would continue in my willing employ for months. This present

communication of a copy from the first; and nearly the whole of the first notes, amounting in matter to about as much as is already transcribed into this quarto, was written with one pen, once only made, and which still remained as good, for my use, as at the first trial, and I believe would write, with little deterioration, six times the quantity.

P. 367, vol. 1, and 430, vol 2. A Liberty Tree, or Pole, or May Pole, was erected by the rebel Morton, at Quincy; and was cut down by a party from Salem, under the command of captain Miles Standish. This is the only mention of Liberty Trees in the American annals, as far as I know, till the Boston elm you mention was so termed. Those in opposition to parliamentary measures assumed the title of Sons of Liberty, which was the appellation given them by colonel Barre, in the debate on the stamp act in 1765. The Boston elm obtained the name of Liberty Tree; and the ground under it, where the people assembled, was called Liberty Hall. Liberty Poles, dignified with the name of Trees, became, during the war, common over the continent. During the insurrection in 1794 of the western parts of Pennsylvania as well as the other insurrection of 1798 of the northern counties, they were frequently planted, and became rallying points for assembling the people.

P. 242, vol. 2. John Gill, according to Heath's Memoirs of the Revolutionary War (p. 197) printed the Continental Journal at least as late as Nov. 7, 1778.

P. 131, vol. 2. Hasselboct cannot be correctly spelled: perhaps it should be Hasselbaugh for *boct* is not a German combination. For information respecting Baltimore printing you might perhaps be satisfied by addressing a line to John Hayes (formerly or lately) a printer there. (When this was written I did not know Hasselbaugh was a paper maker already noticed.)

P. 334, vol. 1. There is a negro now in this city who has been a pressman since the year 1770. His name is Andrew Cain. He was born a slave either to Crukshank's father (or his father in law) then a farmer, near Derby, 7 miles from Philadelphia; and about the time the quakers began to think the thraldom of the blacks to be inconsistent with their principles, was set at liberty, and then learned presswork with the present Joseph Crukshank. He worked for a long time on

Dobson's Encyclopedia. He has worked, off and on, in the office I now possess, for these fifteen years. He has been a good workman. According to the nearest calculation I can make, he is now about 94 years of age. A year or two since he was struck with the palsy, and rendered unfit for hard work; but his stoutness of flesh seems otherwise unimpaired.

P. 103, vol. 2. Hugh Gaine had the type standing for a 12 mo. school bible. Mr. Carey now possesses it.

P. 86 and 348, vol. 2. That name should not be *Stumer*, but Steemer, (in German Stiemer) Steemer (but more correctly Stiemer) was an apprentice to Sower 3d; and I believe finished his minority with Charles Cist, Sower's office being wrecked in the interim. When the British lay in Philadelphia, Steemer, still a boy, was at Germantown. The commencement of the firm must be erroneously dated; for Albright, served his time with Sower 2d, with whom he resided until a short time before the British entered Germantown, in September, 1777. By their almanac of 1813 accompanying this, see No. 19, which is continued for the 26th time, and then printed by Anthony Albright, they must have commenced in 1787. Besides, they obtained their press from Goodman, and he did not commence that business till 1787. Steemer, (Anthony, for that was his first name) was disappointed, from some obstacles opposed by the father, in obtaining a girl he was seeking in marriage; and from that cause, it is said, became careless in business, and involved. He died, of a kind of hectic cough, in a convent in Lancaster county, in '89 or '90, two or three years after he commenced business.[29] Albright was allowed to be the best pressman in America; and once obtained a prize medal as such.

P. 346, vol. 2. Tom Paine boarded in the next house to Aitken's store in Front Street. Paine, it would seem, was once a tory, or inclined that way. He, as well as Aitken, were careful not to insert such articles in the Magazine as were strongly tinged with whigism. I send you No. 14, one number of this Magazine for June '76.

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[29]Stiener, Albrecht and Lahn established the "Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung" Aug. 8, 1787. Stiener died Apr. 12, 1788.

P. 68, vol. 2. The "Union Library" was the same as the "Philadelphia Library" established by Franklin. It was called "Union" because a number of persons had united their private collections of books in order to establish the library. The house wherein it was kept, and to which Bell removed, is still standing, and is at the corner of Pear and Third Streets. In my other, I stated, that Bell served his time at Berwick upon Tweed; but that proved an error, as he was born in Glasgow, Scotland, and served his apprenticeship there to bookbinding. Bell was witty as a companion, but his moral character, in some respects, did not stand fair. In Dublin he was a book auctioneer. He worked, and made his people work, on Sundays and all days alike. His "religion" was at least doubtful. When the British were in Philadelphia, Bell was in their favour: when they departed, he was clamorous against them. If he had any stable, predominant principles in politics, they inclined to the British. Bell had a daughter Margaret Green, by his mistress, who was born in July 1776 and died in July 1811, aged 35. There was some accomodating connection in trade between Bell and Woodhouse. Bell printed for Woodhouse. I send you herewith one of Bell's catalogues. See No. 15. by which you will discover many of his publications. Bell sold his books at as exorbitant prices as he could command. A gentleman called on him to purchase, and being told the required price, complained that it was very dear. "But it is the only book of the kind in the country," replied Bell. "It is very high for all that," returned the purchaser. "Suppose," retorted Bell, "there was but one barrel of flour in all Philadelphia, would you blame the holder for demanding a price for it?"

P. 520, vol. 2. "Another German paper." The name was the Philadelphia Correspondent, and the printer John Geyer, the mayor, during 1814, of Philadelphia. But of this paper more anon.

P. 430, vol. 1. During Carter's apprenticeship the business was conducted by David Hall only, Franklin being then in England.

P. 177, vol. 2. Henry Anthony. I am about to give you some traits in this man's history, but must first introduce Henry Stirner, with whose history Anthony's narrative is sometimes

connected. Stirner has given me a number of particulars respecting Anthony and others: he now works as journeyman in this city. Henry Stirner arrived at Halifax in June 1781 with the last transports of the Hessian auxiliaries of the British with whom he was a corporal. Stirner was a regular bred printer; and his officer sold him to Henry Anthony, at Halifax. By a fraud very common in that army, these sales frequently occurred: the officers, on their return to Europe, would then report them as deserters; and all deserters and others, not forthcoming after the war, and not killed, were to be paid for, at a stipulated rate, by the British government. Stirner was ignorant of the law in this case, and although his purchased transfer was without his consent, concluded it must be legal and irremediable. He was sold in July 1783, for 36 guineas, and was to serve Henry for 1½ years, that is, till January 1785. Stirner set to work, (at first, in 1781) but so awkwardly that the people of the office all allowed he would not succeed. (See further on). However, he soon turned off the stickfuls tolerably expeditious. Well, said they then, stop till his proof comes, and then we'll see foul work enough. The proof was examined, and but 3 solitary errors were detected in it. Stirner had been used to composing Latin in Europe, knew the Roman characters, and was thence enabled to compose English though ignorant of the language, with mechanical correctness. He was so clean a compositor that the Halifax press at length went on without waiting for the correction of his proofs. (The next clean compositor to Stirner that ever I knew, is B. W. Sower, whom I mentioned before; 3 or 4 literals are his only corrections in a close form). Stirner is also a very swift compositor. He had frequently, his present employer tells me, set 12,000 ms. on a German Hymn book in one day. The fault of many printers attaches to Stirner. He is occasionally intoxicated: when a little so, he is loquacious; when sober, taciturn. But to proceed with Henry Anthony: He came from Elsore, and arrived in Canada with the troops under Wolfe. He deserted from the army (as I am told and not discharged) and reaching Philadelphia, was purchased (the manner or lawfulness of which I cannot make out) by Anthony Armbruster, who, after some time, sold him to Bradford for 5

reams of paper. His name, at this time, was Henry Anthony. He did not remain more than half a year with Bradford,when he again absconded, and from Philadelphia, proceeded to Nova Scotia by water. There (no doubt from a presumption of wit as well as concealment) he changed his name from Henry Anthony to Anthony Henry. The black woman that he there married had been for many years a cook to the governor, Parr, and who had accumulated 500 pounds by her industry and economy. Henry was a person of insinuating address, and appears to have been taken notice of by the governor. This black woman of the governor's household possibly admired him also; for it is said the proffers of marriage came from her. Desdemona, in another case of party coloured nuptials, wished "that heaven had made her such a man." Perhaps this sooty cook imbibed a similar desire; for she told Henry she would give him her 500 pounds if he would marry her. Henry, in want of money, and probably not repugnant to the object soliciting, took her at her word. Henry was bred a Catholic; and with the same facility with which he altered his name, he also changed his religious sentiments in Halifax for those of Lutherism. Governor Parr, an Irishman, and a Catholic, assented, some time after, that a chapel should be built for the Catholics; and Henry again embraced his first faith. Henry was a favorite with the governor, who procured him a new set of types from London, and procured for him the appointment of king's printer. Henry had one child, a girl, by his white wife: hence, if she was 90, she must have been smart. Henry was a poor botch of a printer, and as poor a scholar. He could scarcely write his own name. Stirner conducted his paper while he resided with him: before and after that period it was conducted by Henry's men or boys. During the time that Stirner lived with Henry, proposals were issued for a German paper, and which soon obtained 300 subscribers. Stirner (in Henry's name) then wrote to Justus Fox, of Germantown, and procuring in August, 1787, German types, commenced its publication. It was well received, and its patrons soon amounted to 500. The name of the German paper, as well as the English, was the Halifax Gazette. It was continued about two years, when Stirner left Henry's employ, removed to

Philadelphia, and the German paper was abandoned. Stirner also procured the types from Fox for a German almanac, which Henry published but for 1788 only. Stirner arrived at Philadelphia in June 1789.

P. 325, vol. 1. Sower 1st made printing ink of an excellent quality, as appears from the books he issued, before the period that Roger & Fowle commenced their partnership. Sower 2d and Justus Fox continued the manufacturing, and at one time Justus supplied the most of the ink used in Philadelphia and the southward.

Having copied my notes thus far, and wanting some material to connect some of the ensuing narratives, I took a walk to Germantown, in order to obtain them. Jacob Bey, a type founder whom you have not mentioned, and whose history is somewhat interesting, and whose story I had possessed in part, was the principal person of whom I wished to obtain information at Germantown, but while there I picked up one or two additional articles respecting the Sowers.

I said before that a stove constructed by Sower 1st at Tulpehocking (or rather Dulpehaken) was said to be still in existence at his former mansion house. To ascertain the fact, as well as to examine its principle, I called at the mansion. But widow Wolfe, the occupant, informs me that her husband exchanged it about 30 years ago with a stove merchant in Philadelphia for a ten plate stove; but she does not know who the merchant was, and supposes it to be long since melted over. The stove she describes to be about 6 feet high, about 5 feet in length, and to have been affixed to the chimney and wall. She does not know that there was a date on it. This stove had two ovens, one above the other; and from this stove is said to have been obtained the idea of ten plate stoves.

I also mentioned that Sower 1st obtained his printing materials from Jacob Goose. This is now confirmed. Types and a press, and a great quantity of books were sent from Germany; and Goose, a German baptist, was to receive them gratis, and to be entitled to all emoluments accrueing from the proposed printing establishment, on the sole condition that he should distribute a number of copies of each edition of the good books he was to print, among the poor. Goose did not possess a

talent for the business, and Sower 1st, ingenious and cunning, fell heir to the types and press on the same condition on which they were sent over to Goose; that is, Sower paid no money for them, but was to distribute good books among the poor, gratis. The books remitted to Goose along with the office were expressly sent as boons to the poor. Sower obtained these books also, and scattered them according to the design of the subscribers in Germany. Goose lived at Chestnut Hill. This transfer was at first opposed by Gans' friends; but they at length acquiesced in the measure. They desired the press to be continued in the baptist society, but Gans was not competent to their employment. Among other warm opposers of the transfer was the rev. Alexander Mack, the Tunker minister, who was at length perfectly satisfied. This was the foundation of the riches and consequence of the Sowers. (This A. Mack senior, was the first minister and the spiritual father of all the Tunkers).

I saw at Germantown a copy of the Spiritual Magazine (Ein Geistliches Magazien) printed by Sower 2d in 1764. It is bound in one volume, 8 ^{vo}, but is in numbers of 8 pages each, except the first, which has the title and a preface of 4 pages by Sower himself. It has 406 pages, and 50 numbers. In No. 38 is an extract from the "Zeitung" for the year 1754. The type on which it is printed is sometimes Pica, and sometimes Long Primer, intermixed. At the end of the Magazine is bound up "the School Rules" (Schul Ordnung) of Christopher Dock, a schoolmaster of Germantown, also printed by Sower 2d, and contains 54 pages. The imprint of this last is 1770.

Now for the type founders, an article promised before.

Jacob Bey was born about the year 1739 in the village of Moenchenstein, a few miles from the city of Bazil, in Bazil canton. He was apprenticed to the silkweaving business in little Bazil, (for the city is built on both sides of the Rhine,) at which trade, before the expiration of his time, he became such a proficient as to excel both the master and journeymen. He was afterwards employed in this business at some of the most celebrated establishments at Lyons and other cities of Europe. The date of his permission to migrate is June 14, 1771 and on the 24th of the same month he left Bazil, and in 6 months all to

one week, (after being detained at Rotterdam, and from thence proceeding to London for a vessel,) arrived at Philadelphia in the middle of December. In this city he commenced blue dyeing and calico printing in Arch Street, on the north side, a few doors above Sixth Street. He continued here from Christmas till the ensuing March, 1772, working at that business.

In April, having relinquished other business, he engaged with Sower 2d as an assistant in the type foundry, which had been recently established. He for some time assisted Fox, and then cast a fount for Sower on part of the matrices imported by Sower, while Fox, in another house, but also under Sower, was casting on the other matrices.

After assisting Fox about two years he removed and commenced type casting, on his own account, in the kitchen part of a house in Donenhaugher's lane, about half a mile lower than Sower's mansion, and near the old paper mill. He cast a number of founts, cutting all the punches, and making all the apparatus pertaining thereto, himself, for Roman Bourgeois, Long Primer, &c. But Fox had cut and cast Roman letter before this period.

After residing about 3 years in this lane, he removed to a house fronting the street, lower down Germantown, where he continued till shortly after the sale of Sower's property, 1778.

Dunlap had purchased the house partly opposite to Sower's mansion at the confiscated sale, and sold the same to Bey for type. This was the house in which Bey first worked at the business. The type he made for Dunlap in payment was Pica, Roman; for which Bey cut the punches himself.

But before this period Bey cast a large fount of bourgeois German for Sower 2d, sufficient to set up and keep standing the German Hymn book of about 400 octavo pages.

Bey lived in the house purchased from Dunlap about 9 years, and was, during that time, principally employed in type casting. He then sold that house, and bought one higher up the town, near the market house. He lived there about two years, still doing something at type casting; and during which he commenced diaper weaving. He then removed to Frankford, still continuing the weaving, and remained there about 3 years.

Thence to near the rising sun tavern, Germantown road, and still a weaver. Thence, after one, or about one year, he removed to Philadelphia, in Second Street, near Coat's Street. This brings down his history to the year 1792.

At this period, I am told, he sold the materials of his foundry establishment to Francis Bailey. But I am inclined to think it must have been anterior to this time.

Bey has cast several founts of types for Sower, Bailey and others, and Bailey is said to have been often a visitor at his foundry, and there received his insight to type casting. All the founts Bey cast were from punches cut by himself.

During the revolutionary war the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, or the Committee of Safety, (it is not recollected which) recommended to public notice, among other artists in the then colony, "that ingenious type founder at Germantown." No name being mentioned, Fox and Bey both contended for the honor. But the framers of that recommendation, in my opinion, meant Sower, the owner of the foundry: if not, Fox must have been the man. Fox first commenced the operation of Sower's foundry; and when Bey, (whose apparent ingenuity had induced Sower to engage him) went out to the foundry in 1772, Fox was then at work at type casting. But I have had considerable difficulty on this very point, viz., which had the priority of type casting. But the dates given, on both Fox and Bey, are correct.

There was lately in the possession of Daniel Sower, a borrowed volume of the Spiritual Magazine printed by Sower 2d in 1772. (This must be a second edition of the Magazine of 1764, already noticed.) In No. 12 of this book are these words: "printed on the first type ever cast in America." Without detailing the several perplexities, from different traditions, that these two last paragraphs have occasioned, I will just give the result of my cogitations. This type, which is pica, was a small sample, the precursor of the larger fount then casting for the bible; and that Justus Fox commenced it, but was assisted, after its commencement, by the ready genius of Bey. My reasons: Sower 2d, having concluded to print another edition of the quarto bible, and having often experienced the delay of procuring type from Europe, as well as

their incompleteness when procured, concluded to order type making apparatus from Europe, and have them manufactured himself; that Fox, whose mechanical genius was fully evinced, was confidently anticipated to be equal to the task; that when the matrices arrived Fox actually began their employment; that Sower 2d became first acquainted with Bey in Philadelphia, and induced him to add his genius to the attempt.

Bey's residence, or the residence of his family, has been minutely given, but that must be considered, as well as the given occupations, to be his leading residence and employment. He was a volatile genius, and a bird of passage. He is said to have been for some time a drummer in Switzerland: He made an elegant brass drum in Germantown, beat it himself, and was appointed drum major. He went with the militia to the Jerseys, when overrun by the British. He was of a solitary turn. Was constable for 5 years, and that employment was still increasing his sauntering, unsteady disposition. He for one while took to quarrying stones. He was, I said, a drummer: being a man of small stature, he was sometimes called the little drummer.

Bey was of a very ingenious and inventive turn, and possessed the stamina of a nice workman; but was too volatile; thought he could not arrive too soon at the end of his work; and did not take time to finish well. It satisfied him if he could get a machine or apparatus to work, and without endeavouring further perfection, soon turned his attention to the accomplishment of something more novel. Hence, although he had a great demand for types, and could have had sufficient business and emolument at the occupation, he neither attended strictly to the concern, nor did he finish his type with accuracy. Their principal fault was their bottling. Dunlap, soon after he obtained his pica from Bey, gave it to Fox to run over.

His weaving business for some time was a partnership concern, with two gentlemen, whose names I know not. He wove different kinds of flowered stuffs, all the machinery of which he made himself. He was at any time able, without description or model before him, and by the assistance of his memory only, to construct any machine he had ever seen, no matter how many years before, nor how complicate soever. Among his

copied machines was a loom with six shackles. And that loom, said to be invented by ———— of New England, patterns of which, were exhibited in Philadelphia, in the spring of 1814, and sold, in state rights, for enormous sums, was made, almost identically the same, by Jacob Bey. The only difference was, that Bey used iron pegs: the patentee brass. Among his original contrived machines was a stove, small as a pitcher, so as to be seated ornamentally in a window, and at the same time transmit sufficient heat to warm a large room.

Bey came to America with a view to establishing the silk weaving business; but as the raw article could not be obtained, he turned his attention to calico printing; for Bey, like Fox and Sower, seemed adequate to all kinds of mechanical operations. When he arrived, he was a widower. He married again in Germantown. His son, by his first wife, was blown up in an explosion of a powder mill at Frankford, near Philadelphia.

But Bey, with all his ingenuity, continued poor, and became about the time of the transfer of his foundry to Bailey, an insolvent debtor. Wolves surrounded him, and taking advantage of his openhearted careless disposition, conjoined, with his own folly, to accomplish his ruin. It is possible that Bailey purchased his foundry at the sheriff's sale.

Shortly after the United States mint was established at Philadelphia, application was made to Justus Fox to engage in it as engraver, or die cutter, but as this was incompatible with Fox's regular avocations, he declined it, and recommended Bey to their notice, as an ingenious mechanist, fully competent to the business. Bey was accordingly taken into the mint. This was about the month of February, 1792, and about 9 months after Bey took his last residence in Philadelphia.

These particulars respecting Bey are principally derived from Margaret Reger, Bey's sister, a plump lady of 68, still living in Germantown—from Leonard Yundt, Reger's brother or brother in law, living in Baltimore, and for many years editor of the Baltimore Federal Gazette—from Emanuel Fox, of Germantown—and from Mawney's (for that is the familiar German pronunciation of Emanuel) cousin, John Goodman, a magistrate and notary public of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia.

After a six months sojourn in the mint, Bey died, aged about 54. He was one of the first victims of the yellow fever which made its appearance in July 1793.

The chronological order, of these and the following type founders, were—Sower, or Fox, Bey, Bache, Bailey, Bayne, Mappa, Conden and Harrison, Binny and Ronaldson, and Samuel Sower.

There were other type founders of more recent date, but perhaps not to be embraced in your plan. Among these was the once rev. Mr. Lothian, who cast types in New York and whose history is as interesting and diversified as any other, if your plan could embrace it.

P. 214, vol. 1. Benjamin Franklin Bache cast some types at his foundry. Dr. Franklin was desirous of establishing his grandson at that business; and with that view Bache wrought some time in the foundry of P. S. Fournier, of Paris, in order to acquire some insight preparatory to his commencing in America. Franklin purchased a foundry from this Fournier, which he brought to America, at his (Bache's) arrival; and Bache began type casting in Franklin court in Market Street but soon relinquished that business for printing. I have seen, in Binny and Ronaldson's possession, an history of type founding (in French) of which this Fournier is the author. Ronaldson, who was some years since in France in pursuit of antimony, tells me he was in this foundry, now in the possession of Fournier's grandson, and that there is a bust or head of Franklin in that laboratory, at which the men looked and pointed with the liveliest enthusiasm, exclaiming: "l'excellent Franklin." Bache's foundry is still in possession of the family, but lies dormant; and indeed from the subsequent improvements in that art, of no utility. In mentioning this foundry, a singular character, who was employed in it, must not be overlooked; this was Frederic Geyer. He was from Germany, where he was a mathematical instrument maker. He arrived in Philadelphia some time after the peace was concluded, where his passage was redeemed by Dr. Franklin, who placed him in the foundry, where he made great proficiency. The stamps that Geyer cut exceeded every thing of the kind that had appeared in America; and in this respect he

even excelled Fox's best endeavours. Geyer, like Bey, possessed an uncommon ready genius for mechanism; but, like Bey, unsteady and unfortunate. Geyer plodded along while at the perpetual motion; and such was his confidence in the final issue of his attempts, that he confidently anticipated pocketing the proffered reward. Disappointed in this, or wearied with the delay of adjustment for indefinite movement, he next applied himself to find out the longitude by lunar observations, allured to this new study by the princely reward offered by the British parliament. But the perpetual motion turned his brain, and the lunar observations transformed him to a lunatic. Intemperately mad, he was confined in the cells of the Philadelphia alms house, and is probably still resident there. (I perceive, by the books of the mint that Guyer, thus there spelled, was employed in the mint in 1794.)

P. 214, vol. 1. The name of that Hollander was Adam G. Mappa. I have not ascertained that he was poor, but rather the contrary. His foundry was very extensive, and his specimens were extravagantly showy. He became concerned in the Holland Land Company, and his foundry was locked up for many years. I have not understood that he was obliged to fly from his country; but rather that he retired in disgust, on the Prussians, under the duke of Brunswick, entering Holland, to reform the Stadtholdership. Mappa is still living, and resides at or near Utica, New York, whence you may readily obtain a letter from him. (But this article should have been placed after the subsequent.)

The Baines, p. 214, vol. 1, or, according to the best recollection, Baynes, first settled, or at least arrived at New York. Wm. Young of the house of Young & McCulloch induced them to settle in Philadelphia, about the year 1785. Old Mr. Bayne was an original mechanical genius, and is said to have been the first that communicated any insight into the arcana of type founding to Wilson, of Glasgow. Bayne, in his knowledge of the art, like Fox and Bey, was selftaught. All that he acquired was by his own genius. Bayne and Wilson entered into a partnership at type founding in Glasgow, but they soon after separated. Bayne then passed over to Dublin, and established a type foundry there. From thence he re-

moved to Edinburg, and commenced a type foundry in that city. Thence he emigrated to America. The son of the old gentleman was a dashing fellow; and I cannot learn that he did any thing at the business. He did not behave well and died prematurely. John Bayne, the grandson, continued the avocation of his grandsire. He and his grandsire, also, cast a good many founts for Joseph James, (afterwards of James & Johnson) a printer of Philadelphia, who soon after gave up business, and retired to Frankford. I possessed, from my father, two of young Bayne's founts, a small Pica and Brevier. The brevier was rather soft in metal, but the fabric, excepting the Italic, good and proportionate. The small pica was a thin faced letter, but excellent metal, with a small portion of silver intermixed; for it was derived from the ruins and rubbish of St. Domingo. Young Bayne, a few years after the death of his grandfather, declined the business. The reason of his relinquishing it, as he himself declared, was, because he could not finish the type to his satisfaction, owing to his mechanical deficiency in genuis and taste. I recollect him well; and he always appeared to me to be much fonder of the table and the toilette than the workshop. Bayne sold a considerable part of his foundry to Francis Bailey: and Binny and Ronaldson purchased a portion, but which has, with them, been long since useless. Bayne, for some time after ceasing business, resided in New Jersey. Bayne did not "return to Scotland"; and as you will perceive by this narrative, he was not the first regular type founder in America. He died at Augusta, Georgia, about the year 1799.

Conden and Harrison commenced a foundry in Philadelphia about the same time as Binny and Ronaldson; but the attempt proved abortive. B. and R. purchased some of their materials. But these, as well as most other purchased apparatus, were of little service. The fashion and figure of the type improved so rapidly that the old materials soon became like lumber and trash.

Binny and Ronaldson opened their Philadelphia type foundry in 1796. They are the only founders, since the revolution, that have made the attempt permanent, and attained a general vogue. They are from Scotland. Ronaldson was a

baker in this city, before he began the type business, and is said to have furnished the money. Binny possessed an operative genius and took up this business of himself. He first commenced in Edinburg, where he cast the type for the standing pocket edition of the kings bible. He endeavoured to convey some of the most necessary articles from his foundry, in order to establish himself in America but the custom house officers seized them. He afterwards succeeded through the medium of some friends in smuggling them out, for it was contrary to law to remove such apparata from the kingdom. Binny and Ronaldson encountered many difficulties before they could succeed in obtaining a permanency to their establishment. They offered their type 3 cents a pound cheaper than the importer; but the prejudice against their manufacture was so great, that the European was still generally preferred. Their business acquired the name of an unwholesome one; and many parents would not suffer their chhildren to work at it. However, they worked themselves, every day, early and late, and by not giving out their type till completely finished, began to acquire such credit, that by the end of two years, they could not supply the demand. They have brought up very many improvements in type making, and now rival any foundry in the world for beauty, and excel them all in economy of operation. The new cut figures, to line together, were cut and cast by them about the same time that those made in London appeared, and without any knowledge of each other's improvement; the American specimens appeared somewhat the first. Binny and Ronaldson have now amassed a large fortune.

So much for the type founders.

P. 75, vol. 2. Towne is here said to have continued his paper till near the time of his death which, in p. 76, is dated July 8, 1793; and again, p. 335, the paper is said to have terminated in 1782.[30] This last date is the most correct one. Towne was a slovenly fellow.

P. 82, vol. 2. When the German settlers in America began to Anglicise their names, they frequently used two and three

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[30]The last issue located of Towne's paper "The Pennsylvania Evening Post" is that of Oct. 26, 1784.

methods in spelling them. Thus, the original name of the first Sower was Saur, which, according to an ancient manner of spelling the word when translated would be Sour; but, according to a more recent manner, Sower. The first Christopher, as before given, has once printed it Sowr. When this name was anglicised it had a final *s*, Sowers, and was thus continued for some time, and was thus painted on their signs. But the spelling, as now uniformly adopted in that family, is Sower. Never, as you write it, Sauer.

P. 80 and 342, vol. 2. *Steiner* is the correct method of spelling the name you write Steyner and Styner. Steiner is the exact German orthography: He did put on his sign Styner; but it was from his being unacquainted with the English analogy.

P. 81 and 337, vol. 1. Gotth*an* appears to me like a gross mistake of the press. The final *n* should be *rt*, and the name Gotthart. This would be the exact spelling according to the original German letters in the name; but Godhart is the correct way of spelling it when translated.

Godhart Armbruster was born in Manheim city, Germany, and thence served an apprenticeship to the printing business. He arrived in America in the year 1743 and commenced printing. You date his career from 1747: but I have two proofs for 1743. The first is tradition from the surviving relatives, who assert that he, his brother Anthony, &c., came to this city the very year that the German Lutheran church in Fifth Street was founded; and the date on that building is 1743. The other is printed testimony, for No. 2 of the German almanacs herewith sent, carries its own date as far back as 1743.[31]

Godhart, as well as Anthony, went over to Germany for supplies or some other purpose, and after a short absence, both returned to Philadelphia in 1748. They came over, at this time, in the same vessel with Henry Kurtz and family. Godhart, had induced ——— Behm to accompany him to America.

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[31]The almanac in question was the "Neu-eingerichteter Americanischer Geschicts-Calendar" for 1756, printed by Anthony Armbruster. It stated on the title-page that this was the "third" issue, which McCulloch evidently misread for "thirteenth," as in his own handwriting on this particular copy he subtracted 13 from 1756, giving 1743. In fact, however, the year 1756 was the third issue of the series started by Anthony Armbruster alone. The first issue printed by Godhart Armbruster was that for 1748.

This Behm was a letter press as well as copperplate printer. Behm had a gibbous form, occasioned, it was said, by steady application to copperplate printing. Behm was acquainted with the process of red and black printing, and Godhart, with his assistance, began to print his almanac in that style. This was principally with a view of excelling Sower's almanacs. Sower also printed his with red and black; and both continued the practice for some years. This Behm is the same copperplate printer noticed in p. 337, vol. 2. Behm died a few years after his removal to America, probably in 1751, of a lockjaw.

The only thing I have seen of Godhart's printing is a German almanac for 1749, and which I send you, (numbered 1).[32] Kurtz says that Godhart, in 1748, brought some new types over with him. The pica, in this almanac, is evidently the first impression. The title is torn off, but the year is ascertained from the eclipses; and the printer, "Gotthard Armbriester" (an incorrect fanciful orthography) is found by an advertisement, on the next leaf after the eclipses. By this advertisement you will perceive that Godhart published a newspaper "Die Zeitung" (Gazette) once a week at 10 shillings a year. It is presumable that his paper was commenced by Godhart in 1743[33]; but of that I know not. I can hear nothing of the German and English newspaper[34] mentioned in p. 337, vol. 2: but it has been with the greatest difficulty I could obtain anything correct respecting Godhart. Godhart, by this advertisement, appears to have printed an English and German Grammar, and a Lutheran and Reformed A B C book. He offers one penny a pound for linen rags. He dates these things from the High Dutch Printing office, but does not state the street. In 1748 you have his residence in Race Street; in 1751 in Arch Street. I know nothing either pro nor con as to his residence.

Godhart appears, to me, to have quitted the printing about 1752, after being a master printer in Philadelphia near 10 years. He returned to Germany some years after, and there,

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[32]A copy of the "Neu-eingerichteter Americanischer Geschicts-Calendar" for 1749, minus the title-page.

[33]This paper was more likely established early in 1748.

[34]This paper, unknown both to Thomas and McCulloch, was "Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung," published by Benjamin Franklin in 1751-1752.

shortly after his arrival died. He was a spare small man, was in a decay when he left this city, and was, at his death about 30 years of age.[35]

Kurtz, and all others, whom I have questioned, as well as their publications, say there was no partnership between Godhart and Anthony. Kurtz is a curious man, and once possessed a large collection of newspapers, both of Armbruster's and Sower's emission; but he gave them to his friend, Striebert, who took them with him to Germany, and there died.

Anthony Armbruster succeeded his brother. Anthony also was born in Manheim, and bred to printing there. Anthony was a younger brother than Godhart; but how Godhart took the lead in printing for 10 years, during which Anthony appears no more than a journeyman with his brother, I cannot tell. Kurtz says Anthony, in 1748, appeared about 20 years, and that Godhart in 1752 was about 30. This would make Godhart 6 years older than Anthony; although, according to p. 57, vol. 2, Anthony must be born in 1717, whereas according to Kurtz, it was 11 years after. Probably your date is an error, and Anthony the youngest brother. But again, tradition is positive, among the descendants, that Anthony served his apprenticeship to printing in Manheim, and arrived in Philadelphia in 1743.

Anthony appears to have commenced for himself about the year 1753. I have seen several of Anthony's old account books; and on the guard of one of these are these words "we entered into this house January 22, 1753." What house it was may be inferred from the imprint of a book printed by him in that year. Part of the title of this book is "Seliger Marter stand der ersten Christen, oder von den Zehen Haupt-Verfolgungen der ersten Christen Neues Testaments; in den ersten dreyhundert Jahren, unter den heidnischen Kaysern, bis auf den ersten Christichen Kayser Constantinum Magnum:" (&c., &c.) "Aus den altesten Scribenten mit fleiss zusamen gatragen, und dem gemeinen Mann zum Besten in Deutsche Sprache bescrieben von Henrico Benkendorff, von Ultzen. Philadelphia, gedrucht, und zu finden bey Anton Armbrüster,

[35] In Isaiah Thomas's handwriting is written: "He must have been older."

wohnhafft in der Dritten-Strass,desgleichen bey David Limbeck Buchbinder, Anno 1753." This book is in 12 mo.; has 326 pages, and is printed with a pica type.

Anthony resided in Third Street when he published this History of the First Martyrs, in 1753, and he still resided there in 1755, the time he published his almanac for 1756, which, No. 2, is herewith sent to you. His almanac is also in red and black. It is published for the 13th time;[36] and hence its first emission was for 1743. In this almanac is an advertisement of several books sold by the printer; and it may be inferred these books were all printed by Godhart or Anthony. He also advertises: "Die Wahren Christenhümer" (True Christian's Monument) with copper plates, printed in Philadelphia, and to be sold by Benjamin Franklin, post master general, in Market Street. Under these notices of Anthony's, is an advertisement of Peter Miller, and his occupation, whose history I shall presently attempt. In this almanac you will find an account of the American Indians; and the population, at that period of the English and French colonies. This was probably the last year that Anthony published his calendar in black and red. Sower and he both grew tired of it; and Sower's calendar for 1757, herewith sent, No. 3, is without the red.

Anthony Armbruster, some time in the year 1755, entered into a copartnership with Benjamin Franklin. I think I see you start at this assertion. It has been denied by several. Kurtz recollects the circumstance well; and Squire Goodman has a pamphlet printed by Franklin and Armbruster. But that is not all the testimony I have to offer: I have seen the partnership accounts, kept by Anthony, which are now in possession of Peter (a son of Anthony) a residenter of this city. Peter says he has seen, in some of the books, a statement that the copartnery began in 1755; but the books are now much mutilated, and I could not discover that memorandum. The first notice I saw was June 15, 1756, when a new account is rendered "to Franklin of all expenses incurred since the last account was rendered." These accounts are apparently well kept, in folio books, one side of which contain debits, and the other credits.

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[36]Error for 3rd time.

The office in all the accounts rendered, is called "the German office." During this partnership Franklin went to Europe. Anthony, by these account books, continued the newspaper as late as 1758; and there is nothing to contradict his publishing it all the time he was in business. The price he there uniformly charges for "the news" is three shillings a year; and I presume, from the price, that he published once in two weeks. (Matthias says the paper was continued till Anthony left Race Street.)

In the year 1756, according to these books, Anthony "rented a lampblack house for one year." This is presumption that he made his own ink.

During these transactions Franklin was on the most intimate terms with Anthony. Franklin stood godfather for one of Anthony's sons, which was named, in honour of the philosopher Benjamin Franklin Armbruster.

These book accounts of Anthony's furnish general items worth transcribing. The price for "binding and cutting 1000 almanacs" is stated at 1£. 15 s. The almanacs are charged at 5/ a dozen. His demy paper was purchased of "Mr. Sheetz" at 12/ a ream. Ball skins were 1/ a pair. (And in January 1757, he charges Peter Miller for printing some blanks). He charges Franklin "for translating the almanac for 4 years, at 2£ a year, 8£."

During this partnership there does not appear to have been anything printed else than the news, the calendar and jobs. The concern, according to these books, seems to have closed in 1758; although one of the sons relates it to have continued till after Franklin's return. But one thing seems to me evidence of its termination in 1758. During Franklin's absence Anthony's goods are said to have been attached, and that when Franklin returned from Europe, he succeeded in retrieving his portion. How he could effect this, unless the partnership had previously expired, I cannot tell. But his accounts as far as I can see of them, although they appear to close the concern in '58, yet they are not positive evidence to that fact.

Franklin does not attest to this partnership in his Memoirs. Anthony, some time after, caricatured Franklin. The slur

was exhibited at the lodge, to which they both belonged and Franklin averred he would disown the author.

Anthony, according to the information derived from Matthias, one of his sons, resided, during this partnership, in Fourth, below Market Street. Now Franklin's English office was in Market Street, and Hall appears to have been a partner in the English office, while Armbruster was a partner in the German one.

Matthias says (but this is directly opposed to your History and not to be much relied on), that Anthony removed after the partnership was closed, from Fourth to Arch Street, a few doors below Second, on the south side. That thence he removed to Moravian alley, and was some time in partnership with Nicholas Hasselbaugh, who soon after dissolved and removed to Baltimore. That Anthony then moved to Race Street, opposite to Moravian alley, (now No. 79) and a few doors west of the house Henry Miller afterwards occupied.

Anthony finished his career as a printer, in Race Street. He became irretrievably involved, (says Matthias) and his books and office were sold. This, I presume, was in 1760.

Anthony married a third time. His first wife was a good worker at press, and assisted her husband in many and many a day's work at the *prelum*.

His residence in Third Street was near Race, and opposite to the tavern of Old Rotterdam.

There were 5 brothers of them, who all visited America. John the youngest, a sea captain, traded to the city in the Guinea trade.

Anthony had several sons, but his wreck of fortune prevented them, excepting only B. Franklin, from receiving an education. Benjamin is dead, and the survivors are mostly newscarriers and city watchmen.

This finishes Anthony's career as a printer for himself, as far as I know; but I think your history of him, subsequent to this period, correct. Anthony was not altogether exemplary for sobriety. Among his fellow compositors Anthony used to be called the Grand Master, meaning grand master of printing. He used to call himself by that name, and obtained the nickname. He died during his engagement with Billmeyer,

of Germantown, to finish the edition of the German bible then in press. His body was conveyed to Philadelphia by his sons, and buried in the Dutch graveyard of Fifth Street church.

Like Swedenborg, Anthony Armbruster was at times under a species of insanity, and apprehended he had intercourse with invisible spirits. Many stories are related respecting the mental delusions of Anthony. I hinted this failure in my other. Sometimes Anthony would produce a German book he possessed, a book of *pretended* exorcism and divination, and showing the picture of a sassafras bush, said, there were 10,000 dollars buried under that bush, about 6 feet under the ground, and that that bush grew near Frankford, and he frequently went thither to search for this treasure. [And he, in money searching, is not singular. I have seen 30 or 40 partial diggings on the heights of this city, in a morning, done over night; many having imbibed a strong notion that captain Kid, and the pirate Blackbeard, had buried vast sums of money in the vicinity of Philadelphia; and by consulting Kendall's Travels, vol. 3, p. 85-104, you will find the same opinion of hidden money is entertained with respect to other parts of the continent]. Anthony would frequently explain to his auditors (and many auditors, on such golden proffers, he could readily obtain) the probability of detecting this obscured treasure. There was but one difficulty in the way, and that was the Devil. This personage maintained a constant residence contiguous to the immured treasure, and like Cerberus, guarded well the subterraneous passage. His visible presence, it must be owned, was no trifling obstacle to the attainment of the prize. Anthony often encountered these enterprises; but for dread of *his majesty*, never proceeded alone in them: he must always be attended by several others. These adventures were always undertaken in the night, as the devil and the witches could be more readily conjured from the vicinity of the research during the shades of darkness and midnight than any other period. Anthony possessed a peculiar aversion to the witches and the devil. The devil and the witches were uppermost on his tongue. He frequently laid these troublesome beings by describing a circle and uttering some effectual abracadabra. One night, as Anthony, and his volunteer

associates, were earnestly engaged in removing the earth from a spot where they had, they thought, most correctly ascertained the treasure to lie, the rumbling and indistinct noise of an unexpected waggon, passing near them, spoiled all their prospects for that night. The noise was unanimously construed to proceed from the Devil himself, coming roaring upon the intruders of his charge, and the party decamped with all the speed they could summon. At another time, while on the same errand, they concluded, in order to furnish some light to their nocturnal pursuits, to set fire to a few bundles of buckwheat straw that lay adjacent. The owners of the straw, perceiving the blaze, rushed with speed to the spot. The witches headed by the Devil, were now again supposed to be upon them and the party took flight with a celerity redoubled to that of their assailants. When travelling by himself, he has frequently been known to stand for some time steadfastly looking at a tree, with his walking switch pointed towards it, and then exclaim "what's that you say?" There being no answer he would strike the tree with his switch, and say, "did I not hear you speak to me?" When a stone or stump lay athwart a path he was treading, he would strike it and say "why don't you get out of my way when you see I am coming?" He conceited he had a special charm for raising and laying the devil, and would frequently arise, at midnight, and spread out a large sheet of whimsical drawings which he possessed, and surround it with four or five candles. This was one of his conjuration feats; and when candlesticks were not to be had, he would substitute bottles in their place, and the *tout ensemble* was truly laughable. Sometimes he would say his flesh was impregnable: a person told me he offered to ascertain it with his penknife; but Anthony, on the motion being made, withdrew his hand with a jerk.

Anthony's establishment was continued by Peter Miller, who purchased Anthony's office. This Peter Miller is a printer, or rather a conductor of a press, of whom you have taken no notice, excepting indirectly in p. 340. But that "other German paper" was Anthony Armbruster's paper continued. Peter Miller was no printer; he was a scrivener.

Weiss was also a scrivener and a neighbor to P. Miller.[37] I have seen nothing printed with Weiss' name attached; but it is very like he was concerned with P. Miller as you state in p. 340, vol. 2. P. Miller then lived in Second Street, in the house now numbered 129, near Race.

The only thing I have seen of Peter Miller's printing is an almanac for 1762, which I send you (No. 6). This is the same almanac, the same type and ornaments as Armbruster's; and as such is acknowledged to be by "a continuation for the 19th time." It has no printer's name; but is "printed and to be sold at the High Dutch Printing Office in Race Street, and is also sold by Peter Miller, and by distant merchants." At the end of the volume is an advertisement of "Peter Miller, in Second Strreet, at the sign of the hand and pen, where he writes deeds, &c agreeably to the best forms." In this almanac there is a well written description of Louisana. Anthony Armbruster, at this period, appears to have been employed as a journeyman by Peter Miller: perhaps he was a partner.

Kurtz says that Peter Miller continued his press but a few years; that during that time pamphlets and almanacs were the principal things he published. This almanac, for 1762 was printed in 1761, of course; and my presumption is, that the office was transferred to Henry Miller; whom you date to commence in 1762: indeed I have been told that such was the fact.

Peter Miller (says Jacob Rittenhouse, the blind) was probably from Germany, for when at school, at 16 or 18 years of age, he could scarcely speak a word of English. He used to bring Dutch cheese to school for dinner. The pedagogue avowed a mortal antipathy to the smell of that species of food, and would send Peter out of school to eat his dinner, which, he said, stank enough to knock a horse down. The boys had many a laugh about his Dutch cheese. He was called, from a deformity of eye, Squinting Peter.

Miller, as well as Weiss, was from Germany. Peter was from Manheim where he was born about the year 1724; and arrived in America about the year 1740. He was a noted

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[37]For an account of Ludwig Weiss and his connection with Peter Miller, see Seidensticker's "First Century of German Printing," p. 52.

scrivener, and had all the proprietors business for a number of years. Peter removed from Second Street about the year 1771, to Third Street, the house now No. 67, the next one south of the Golden Swan tavern, where he exercised the profession of a scrivener and a notary public till his death. He was no relation to Henry Miller.

Peter Miller was witty as a poet. Edmund Physic (the father of our celebrated sergeon), who was agent for the proprietors, was in Peter's office at one time when an Irishman came in and demanded a patent. After some cross questioning on the validity of the alleged claim, the stranger offered such arguments in favour of his prior right, as to induce Physic to say "if you will prove that fact to our satisfaction, we will proceed to fill up a patent for the tract." Peter, who was all the time writing at his desk suddenly turned round, and subjoined,

"If you'll convince of that fact
We'll adjudge you the tract,
And order a patent in fee;
But then harkee, *dear honey*,
You must pay down the money,
With int'rest and quitrent to me."

Caleb Emlen, an opposite neighbour of my father for many years, was, during the war, brought up by the whigs to take the oath of adherence required by Congress. Emlen was a quaker, and he, as well as many others, would frequently assemble for that on Jeremiah Warder's large porch, near to Emlen's house. Peter Miller, being a staunch adherent to the proprietors, and as such often termed a tory, and being intimate with the quakers, would frequently meet the squad on Warder's porch. But just before the caucus I am about referring to, Timothy Hurst, having a claim on some lots, fenced them in. Peter Miller, the friend and warrior of the proprietors, not only disputed the claim, but detached a file of axemen, who prostrated the enclosure to the ground. With all these occurrences very familiar, Peter, at a sitting in the capacious porch, said, spontaneously, in reference to Caleb, and in reference to "mene, tekel, uphassin," Dan. v. 25.

"The whigs, they took up Cale
Who was wanting in the scale."

This, creating a laugh, occasioned Caleb to be called on for a similar distich in retort, who soon said

Peter Miller
Is the proprietor's *thiller*

but this did not give satisfaction to the company as poetry equal to Peter's and Caleb was again called on, and

"Peter Miller is a man of sense,
He cut down Timothy Hurst's fence—

was the second attempt; but this, neither, was judged equal to Peter's verse, and Caleb was condemned to pay a forfeit.

Abraham Shoemaker, a justice of the peace for Philadelphia, and some relation to Peter Miller, is my author for the two last anecdotes.

Peter Miller was bred a presbyterian, but was afterwards inclined to the Moravians. Jemima Wilkinson, the fanatic,now of New York, was intimate in his family, and induced his daughter to join her sect: but she soon deserted Jemima, and wrote a pamphlet against her tenets.

Peter received a palsical stroke, by which he was for some time before his death, disabled. He died of a dropsy, in February, 1794, and was buried in the quaker burying ground in Arch, between 3d and 4th streets.

Henry Miller, I should presume, succeeded to the types and establishment of Peter Miller, in 1762.[38] But you say he procured new types in 1760, and began their employment in 1762. But perhaps your statement and my presumption may both be the fact; and that Peter, knowing Henry's technical abilities, declined all competition with him, and relinquished to him the establishment of almanac, newspaper, &c. Indeed I have been told that this was the case. (My informant for this last, as well as some few other articles and dates, is ——— Paff, a journeyman printer of this city, who served to the printing in Germany, and who came here at 18 years of age, in 1768, who

[38]For an account of Henry Miller, see Seidensticker, p. 54.

is now 64, and who has wrought, regularly and steadily, these 34 last years, with Joseph Crukshank.) You say Henry Miller was concerned in a German printing office in Philadelphia in 1751: This office might have been Crellius; for I know nothing of him: but Kurtz says that when he came to Philadelphia, in 1748, there was no German printer but Armbruster, nor for many years after.

Henry Miller began printing, Paff says, in Second Street, between New Street and Coate's alley. He afterwards removed to Race Street, the house now No. 71, which he purchased, and built an office in its rear. Kurtz says he knows not that "John" was attached to the name of Henry Miller; but he says it was a common practice with the Germans to prefix John to the names of their children. The name of Henry Miller's paper was the "Philadelphia Staatsbothe" (Register).

I have seen a German almanac printed by Henry Miller in 1764, which is entitled the second of his emission, and which proves his almanac of 1763, the first, to be printed in 1762, the year of his commencement. I have also seen his almanac for the years 1772, 74, 76, and 78, printed in Race, between Second and Third Streets.

Miller's newspaper, which was conducted in avowed opposition to Sower's was with four folio pages of a very small demy size; and he published it once a week at 6 shillings a year. Sower printed his paper in a quarto of 8 pages, and issued it (at that time) once in two weeks, at 3 shillings a year. These two printers were the only publishers of German newspapers, at that time, in the vicinity, perhaps in the state; and there was a considerable paper war between them.

Henry Miller (this is from another source) married, in London, a Swiss lady. They did not agree, and when he came to America, he left her in London. He worked with both Franklin and Sower. His wife came after him and to avoid her, he then returned to London. (But this jars with your statements). His wife remained in America, and joined the Moravian Society at Bethlehem. He was induced to return to America from the request of a friend, who sent him word that a German newspaper was wanting in Philadelphia. (Peter Miller, from this, might be supposed not to print a newspaper.)

Henry at length became reconciled to his wife; but she would not leave her retirement. He granted her a maintainance there, where she died, some years before the revolution. Henry during his domicile (or to avoid the critics, residence) in Philadelphia, had a housekeeper, to whom (as by agreement promised if she continued with him till his death) he bequeathed something. What was the course of his domestic disquiet is to me and my informants unknow. Henry was a quiet amiable man, and his espoused was not at all a bad woman. He had no children. His wife was well bred, and could speak French fluently, like himself. She was employed at Bethlehem in painting in water colours, at which he was an excellent performer. When Henry was reconciled to his wife, he offered to take her home to the city, but she declined the solicitation.

I mentioned in my other, that Henry Miller was extravagantly fond of walking. One evening he told his apprentice, George Daily, to prepare himself in the morning, and they would take a walk together. Accordingly George and his master started the next morning on a walk. The master proceeded on, and on, and on, much to the increasing surprise of George, till they reached Germantown. "Well," said Miller, "we'd better now turn back." They retraced their steps, and with comparative expedition, reached their home. "Now," rejoined Miller, "I hope you have a good appetite for your breakfast; for I had no other object in the walk." George Daily, who said Miller was full of his "curiousness," has related this himself.

P. 61 and 342, vol. 2. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, which was on June 18, 1778, James Robertson went with them, and carried off a great part of the English types belonging to Henry Miller's office.

Henry Miller was succeeded in his printing office, newspaper, &c by his apprentice, Melchoir Steiner. Steiner was much esteemed by his master, who placed confidence in him. Steiner, commenced (says Paff) in Race Street, in the house that Henry Miller had built and occupied. He continued by himself about half a year, when Charles Cist was taken into partnership, and this firm continued about half a year. These

and my other following statements respecting these two printers are correct, according to the best of my research; but they differ from your book.

Steiner's father, the rev. John Conrad Steiner, V. D. M. published a volume of 25 sermons which I have seen. It was printed 1739, in St. Gallen, by Meniger; the volume is 4to; the sermons preached at Togenberg. This Steiner was for many years pastor of the Dutch Presbyterian Church in Race Street, near Fourth, and called, on account of the figure of the then building, the 8 cornered church.

Kurtz says that the place of Melchoir Steiner's nativity was Switzerland, in the canton of Zurich, where his brother is, or was till very lately, an extensive bookseller: that, not being a managing person, he took Cist into partnership; that he was negligent and lazy, and but an indifferent printer: that his turn did not suit Cist; and that this was the cause of the separation.

I have been uniformly told that Miller *sold* out to Steiner, but this disagrees with your statement.

Steiner continued the printing business till 1794. He then, or rather in 1795, while the seat of government was still at Philadelphia, entered Nourse's (Register) office. He removed with the government to Washington, and retained his clerkship till his death. He lived about 55 years.

I have seen, in the possession of Conrad Zentler, the successor to Cist, an incomplete file of German newspapers printed by Steiner and Cist. It begins with No. 24, April 19, 1780. It was published weekly, and called (when translated) the Philadelphia State Register, and printed by Steiner and Cist (and these spelled *Steiner*) in Second Street, four doors above Race. (This is much nearer Race Street than "the corner of Coat's alley.") It appears, by these dates (counting backwards 24 weeks) that they commenced their paper about the middle of October, 1779. When the firm of Steiner and Cist was dissolved, the former continued the paper, and Cist published no paper. I have also seen an incomplete file of Steiner's paper, commencing with No. 87, December 24, 1782; and (counting again in a retrograde order) it appears that

Steiner commenced it by himself about the first of May, 1781.[39] He had altered the numbering of the paper, and had changed its name to the Philadelphia Correspondent, and printed by Melchoir Steiner, in Race, near Third Street. He continued this paper by himself, I am told, for a number of years. In 1791 he took Henry Kammerer, Sen, into partnership; and this firm continued about 3 years. George Daily, Henry Miller's former apprentice, was now employed as foreman of this office. In 1794 Steiner and Kammerer both declined the printing, and were succeeded by Kammerer's sons, Henry, jun. and Joseph R., who continued the paper. Henry, jun. dying, in September, 1798, Joseph R. took George Helmbold, jun. into partnership. These two, in 1799, sold out to John Geyer, who published the paper till August 25, 1812, when it was finally relinquished. Geyer, about this time, obtained a magistrate's commission. But there are few persons in Philadelphia who read German but also read English; and this paper, as well as the one you note as published by Conrad Zentler, were given up, and both about the same period, literally, for want of encouragement. Geyer tells me there is no complete file of this paper extant; that he possessed one, but it was destroyed, when his office was set fire to, by his unruly boy apprentice, and burnt, soon after Geyer succeeded to the paper.

Thus have I given you a continuation of this paper, commenced by Godhart Armbruster, about 1743, to its last existence in 1812, a period of 69 years. (That is, if Henry Miller succeeded Armbruster in it, which I am of opinion he did).

Charles Cist landed first at New York, and came on immediately (p. 81, vol. 2) after to this city. Cist tried many an earnest endeavour to discover the philosopher's stone; but with no other effect than rendering himself extremely poor. He at last turned his attention solely to printing, which he found much more profitable than cabalistic scrutiny.

Cist, when he dissolved his connection with Steiner, in 1781, obtained a new office, and commenced for himself. I have

[39]The "Philadelphisches Staatsregister" was begun by Steiner and Cist, July 21, 1779, and was continued until the early part of 1781. The "Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz" was begun by Melchior Steiner in May 1781.

seen a German almanac printed by Cist for 1783, in Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth Street. I have also seen an almanac printed for 1788 by Cist, in Race, between Second and Third. His last removal was to Second Street, below Race Street, afterwards No. 104, where he continued many years. During his residence here he published Paine's Rights of Man, in German, which met a very ready sale.

Cist contemplated publishing a Printer's Grammar, and had engaged John Watts, a printer of this city, to get it up for him; but it somehow fell through.

Cist could speak, equally fluently, the French, German, Russian and English language.

Cist did not, as you have it, "remove" to Bethlehem. He was on a visit to his brother-in-law, on the north mountain, a few miles above Bethlehem, where he was seized with an apoplectic fit, on the morning of his intended return, and died there. His body was removed to Bethlehem, and enterred. Cist acquired property by marriage, and increased it by industry.

P. 87, vol. 2. Ephrata was settled by the rev. Conrad Beissel, a German (seventh day) baptist, and followers in 1732: Printing and bookbinding was carried on here, I am told before Sower commenced in 1738 at Germantown; and that Sower learnt bookbinding there. But of this I do not know, for certain.

Whether the printing press was established there before Peter Miller settled there I know not; but Peter settled there in 1744. I rather think it was there before that period; but Kammerer says Peter first introduced it there.

Peter Miller was born in 1709, in the bailywick of Kaiserlautern, in Germany. He was not a printer, not did he learn the art with Sower, nor any other person. He was the conductor of the press, and not a printer. He edited the good books issued from that press; but published a newspaper. Miller was a man of science, and of liberal education. He wrote fine Latin. He was no relation to the other Millers of this city; although the two Peters have sometimes been confounded.

The brethren at Ephrata owned a paper mill in 1770; but

how much sooner I cannot learn. This, as well as the printing office, was the property in common of the convent. The male members of the convent all wore capuchins, like the white friars of Europe; the sisters took the dress of the European nuns; and both the brothers and the sisters took the vow of celibacy. But some individuals would now and then break the vow, and marry; in which case they quitted their cells, and resided among the married people of the town. Their numbers have been dwindling, and there now remains but 2 or 3 members.

Peter Miller was a minister in this fraternity. Like all men of genius, he possessed eccentric notions. He held that a person could attain such perfection in religion as to be holy above measure, and be able to impart a portion of his graces to others. He wore a long beard. He was strenuous in the opinion that those who assume the holy order should not marry; and with Paul, he could say, "I would that such would continue as I am," for he continued in celibacy till his death. He died about the year 1790, aged about 80.

I have seen a German almanac printed at Ephrata for 1772, by Albert Conrad Reben: A printer and conductor was hired by the society; and I suppose this Reben united both in himself. I do not know whether the Ephrata printing is still thus conducted. I addressed a letter to the place, on these subjects, to which I confidently expected an answer, but have been disappointed.

Since transcribing thus far, I was favoured by squire Goodman, (before mentioned) with a sight of a Chronicle of Events at Ephrata. This book is in quarto, was printed while Peter Miller was still there; and its preface is dated April 14, 1786. The title is not attached, but the running headline is "Lebens-Bescreibung des Stifters des geistlichen Ordens der Einsamen in Ephrata"; or translated "Account of the life of the Founders of the Solitary Spiritual Order in Ephrata." The narrative is carried down to 1768. This book does not give the exact date of commencing printing there. In one chapter, in which a number of events are noticed, and among which the last date mentioned is 1742, is the following intimation: "Shortly after this we established a printing office in the

convent." This is the only clue given in the whole volume; But Goodman joins me in opinion that it was first established under the auspices of Peter Miller, who settled there in 1744. In 1754, according to this chronicle, they printed an edition of their hymns and chaunts. These people exceeded every thing in the exquisiteness of their singing. Peter Miller was bred a presbyterian; but renounced that faith, joined the seventh day baptists at Ephrata, and was baptised by them. This chronicle mentioned the time (I think 1740) when that society changed their sabbath from the first to the seventh day. Conrad Beissel, whose life this chronicle narrates, (and who has there the once fashionable Germanism *John* prefixed to his name) was born in 1690, at Eberbach, in the Palatinate. He began his travels to America and arrived at Boston in 1720. In 1721 he was in Lancaster county, and there erected an hermitage. He bid his fellows a last farewell, and departed for the woods, there to lead the solitary life of a hermit. It was some time before the search of his followers after his residence was successful. They detected it in 1732, and a number associated with him. The spot where they found him immuned is since called Ephrata, "the city of the wood," where a congregation first collected September 4, 1732; and the second house was erected the ensuing winter. The religious establishment is called Zion. Beissel was bred a presbyterian and joined the baptist in 1724. He died July 6, 1768, aged 78, and was buried at Ephrata. He composed and set to music, in 3, 4, 6 and 8 parts, a volume of hymns, and another of anthems. His musical talents were natural.

I have been told Poulson's paper, some years since, gave a list of early printers in America; but I suppose it was abstracted from your book, and nothing new.

I have before given some hints of Henry Stirner; and have now obtained others, which to interlineate, would render the description confused. Stirner, soon after his arrival, there being no call for actual service, obtained a furlough to work in Anthony's office. He worked during the winter after his arrival as well as most of 1782 and part of 1783 for 20 shillings a week and found. Then, the army being about to depart, Stirner was sold, by a curious legerdemain, and left in the

printing office. From the time he was free, January 1785, till about May 1789, he worked at 6 dollars a week and found. Anthony was a fifer in the British service.

P. 85, vol. 2. There was a master printer in Lancaster of whom you take no notice. He was established there before the revolution. His name was Theophilus Gassart,[40] and by birth a German. He went from London as secretary to some ambassador to Constantinople. He then removed to America, and began printing in Lancaster. He was afterwards a journeyman, and worked some years with Billmeyer of Germantown.

P. 310, vol. 2. I have obtained some other particulars respecting Eleazer Oswald. They differ very much from your dates, but my author Wm. Woodhouse is generally so correct, and was so well acquainted with Oswald's family, that, what he states is well worth transcribing. Oswald in 1783 kept the coffee house (established by Bradford), and had his printing office at its west end in Market Street. About the year 1786 after a political squabble, he and Mathew Carey fought a duel at Copper's ferry, in which Carey was wounded in the same foot in which he was before lame. Oswald is said to have been the first who gave Thomas Bradford the appellation of "goosy." Oswald by some finesse unexpected to Bradford, succeeded in an effort to first publish the king's speech of 1783, before Bradford, or the other Philadelphia printers. Bradford complained against Oswald's conduct in the paper; and Oswald, in reply published in his paper a phillippic against Bradford, in which were lines something like the following:

"In front Hall and Sellers come,
Next Claypoole, void of fear;
(here was another line)
While *goosy Tom*
Stalks martial in the rear."

The term has since clung to him; and Porcupine has given it a wide circulation. But Bradford was also said to have endeavoured to hatch goose eggs by the heat of an oven, and to have sent a paper on the subject to the Philadelphia Society.

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[40]Theophilus Cossart printed at Lancaster from 1778 to 1781.

But this is probably an assumption at the origin of the term "goosy" and not true. Bradford was accused of being rather stupid, and it is presumed that it was from this alone that Oswald first published the nickname. About the year 1795 Oswald sold his newspaper establishment to Gales (the father of the present editor of the National Intelligencer) who succeeded as editor to Oswald's paper, and continued it about 2 years. Gales then removed to the southward, and the paper was finally relinquished. About the year 1793 Oswald went to France; was there appointed état major under Gen. Dumourier, fought in 2 or 3 regular battles and was afterwards commissioned to proceed to Ireland, to assist in revolutionizing that country. He also went to England. Returned to France. But, not being well acquainted with the language, and dissatisfied with their proceedings, he returned, in disgust, to America. During this absence his paper was still continued and conducted by his wife. (By all this the transfer to Gales must have been subsequent to 1795). Oswald died in New York, of the yellow fever, about a year after his relinquishment of printing, (and says Woodhouse) in 1796. (But I since observe you place his death in 95; I should presume you were correct).[41]

Oswald was a relation to Holt. And Hunter, p. 107, vol. 2, was a descendant of Pocahontas, and thus brought the royal blood, of which the present John Randolph has often boasted, into Holt's family. Holt's son is settled in Kentucky.

P. 56, vol. 2. Armbruster again. Anthony's office, at one period, I am told, was in Second Street, below Race. This I expect to have been about 1748 or 50. Anthony possessed for many years, a copperplate printing press. The caricature which offended Franklin was printed by Anthony. It was a large print, with a variety of figures, emblematic of the Paxton boy's business, and among the group was Franklin, with a devil behind him sticking a pitch fork into Franklin's head. Anthony failed during Franklin's absence, and his office was sold; but Franklin, if it had not been for this circumstance,

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[41]Oswald died Sept. 30, 1795, and his paper was continued by his widow, Elizabeth Oswald until Sept. 10, 1796, when it was sold to Joseph Gales, and continued as "Gales' Independent Gazetteer."

would have assisted him in procuring a new office. But Anthony somehow or other, did obtain an office again. Hasselbaugh was in partnership with him about the year 1761. (This is the same Hasselbaugh mentioned among the paper makers; but I did not then know I should again notice him). Anthony, about the end of his master printing career, became completely deranged and he was for some time obliged to be confined to his house. Godhart Armbruster was weakly for several years, and could not attend to the business. This was probably the cuase that Anthony succeeded him. Anthony is said to have loaned John Dunlap 2 reams of printing paper on which to commence. Anthony is also said to have loaned his brother Godhart, on his departure, 200 pounds, which, on account of his death, was never returned.

If you judge the notice before given of Zachariah Poulson (the elder) worthy of a niche in your book, perhaps his kinsman Christian Frederic Hutman, would also be allowed a place. Hutman was from Germany, whence he arrived in America about the year 1753. He was a thorough bred printer, and as such was allowed to wear a sword, a mark of distinction allowed in Germany to such only as excelled in the art. He brought the sword to Philadelphia with him. He worked with Bradford, with Sower 2d, and with Hall and Sellers. Hutman and Poulson married each two sisters, by the name of Stoneberger: that is, Hutman espoused the sister of the girl that Poulson had chosen for his consort. He was a lively man. When too aged to compose, he employed himself in pasteing up advertisements. He died in this city, in December 1777, aged about 54.

P. 41, vol. 2. My impression is that Franklin never *marched* as colonel. I always thought Franklin considered himself as no military character; and in consequence, soon resigned his colonelcy.

P. 40, vol. 1. The following is from p. 397, vol. 2, of Hardie's Biographical Dictionary: "Poor Richard's almanac, which had such a salutary effect on the morals and conduct of the Pennsylvanians, by the maxims of frugality, temperance, industry, and integrity, which it inculcated, was begun by Franklin in 1732, and continued by him for about 25 years. So great was

its reputation, that he even then sold about 10,000 annually. The whole of the maxims were collected together in the form of an address and published in the last one. This address has been translated into various languages, and every where received with approbation." (I expect this almanac was relinquished on account of Franklin's departure, in 1757, for Europe).

P. 538, vol. 2. George Clymer, at present of Philadelphia, is justly entitled, from his ingenious efforts in that way, to be noticed among the new invented press makers of America. I am unable to give you a description of his presses. He has promised to furnish me with a description and figure, in order to be forwarded to you.

Among other improvements (so-called) in press making, is the use of rollers instead of cramps. They were invented by ———Taylor; and first used by Hugh Maxwell, a printer of this city. Maxwell invented stuffed rollers for inking the form, instead of balls. Maxwell has also promised to furnish you, through me, with a drawing and description of his plan. But Maxwell, as well as Clymer, will very probably both disappoint me.

I had purposed to give you a narrative of Pennsylvania press making and its regular advancement to perfection; but have been able to gather no materials.

Sower 2d made his own presses, or had them made under his establishment.

Lewis Fuhrer made, during the war, the iron work of presses; and Wm. Collady was his press joiner. Charles Cist possessed one of Fuhrer's presses.

Dawson (a present brewer of this city), was probably the next press smith. And ——— Rigby was his joiner.

Taylor (mentioned just before) was probably the next. This Taylor was an excellent white smith: he made the scales and beams for the North American bank with such exquisite nicety, that it was said a feather would destroy their equipoise. —Wheeler, at present residing in Vine Street, made screws.

In 1786, John Goodman, (often before mentioned) while yet in the employment of his father, began to make presses. A new press, and to the Philadelphia printers, a new and simple

pattern, had been imported from Scotland, and which was much admired. Young Goodman, having examined the construction, and confiding in his own talents, set about an exemplar construction. He succeeded, contrary to the anticipations of almost every one. Goodman took the pattern of the screw of this Scots press on paper; and such was his confidence in his own workmanship, that he would have engaged to have wrought a screw that would exactly fit the pattern box. In 1787 Goodman began the pressmaking business for himself, and soon obtained a sufficiency of business. Justus Fox frequently called on Goodman, during the operation and often expressed his delight in seeing the improved facility of operation. "Sower" he would repeat, "was often two days, and more, with our best exertion, in setting one box, and now you have contrived to set one in half an hour." Poor Fox! he ought to have lived longer; but, such is the fate of mortality. Dawson's charge for the iron work of a press was 15 pounds. Goodman, still confident, charged 16 pounds and always obtained his price without difficulty. The press that Fuhrer made for Cist, as well as the pattern press from which Goodman copied, are, it is thought, still in possession of Conrad Zentler, successor to Cist. "At length," says Goodman, "printers sprung up like mushrooms in a night, and their orders being daily, and their wants urgent, and their payments, contrary to the practice when I first commenced, being uncertain, and often found jeopardous, I determined to renounce my pressmaking profession."

Evan Trueman also made the iron work of presses. I have thought that when the Philadelphia pressmakers have had a *Goodman* and a *Trueman* for their avant smith pioneers, it is no marvel that our present press constructors have arrived to such an acknowledged perfection as to receive frequent orders, from various parts of both the American continents.

P. 446, vol. 2. By these additional facts that I have furnished, you will be enabled to encrease the bookseller's roll, with the names of Christoper Sower, 2d and 3d, Peter Sower, Godhart and Anthony Armbruster, Peter Miller, Henry Miller, Zachariah Poulson (perhaps), James Humphreys, Caleb Buglas, —— Dean, —— Taggert, —— Bradford, Ann Smith.

In the Edinburgh Quarterly Review, No. 45 (lately republished in New York) is the following notice: "Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth century, comprising memoirs of Wm. Bowyer, printer, and many of his learned friends: vol. 8, with 7 portraits." Perhaps this work, entire, would assist you in the revision of your history.

Isaac Riley, of New York, sometimes since sent a circular among the American booksellers for a list of the books published by each one from the commencement of their business. He must have obtained several lists, and as he will probably not make the contemplated use of them, which was to print their titles in a general catalogue of American publications, perhaps he may resign his collections to you.

P. 550, vol. 2. Finis. This word has a mysterious appearance to many people. When I was at the spellingbook class, I recollect being a good deal puzzled to know its meaning. Some of the boys, from the authority perhaps of their nurses, allowed its interpretation to be:

F for figs
I for jigs
N for knuckle bones
I } for jackstones
S }

I have now ended, and have made a far longer letter than I at first expected. I had calculated, from the materials I had collected, that 6 sheets of post would comprise the whole of my intentions. But the further I proceeded, and the more I reflected on the subjects, the greater did the matter accumulate on my hands.

I have by this effort been the means of rescuing much information respecting printing from everlasting oblivion. Some of my informants were very aged people. They are tottering over their graves; and "their secrets" as Junius says of himself, "were like to perish with them."

Tout ensemble, it is thought this volume will prove a very valuable communication. You will say it sacrificed a considerable portion of my time, and was a laborious effort. True: but not so much as might be imagined. I possess a peculiar knack at getting expeditously through such business And I may warrant an assertion that it has required one fifth less research, and has been accomplished in one fourth part of the time you will probably assign.

No strict order or rule of arrangement, as you will perceive, has been observed. Written, as it was, upon my store desk, subject to continual interruption, such arrangement was impracticable.

Your friend and well wisher,

WM. MCCULLOCH,

December, 29, 1814.

ADDENDA

Most of the facts respecting the first paper makers were obtained from Jacob Rittenhouse, the blind.

P. 84, vol. 2. "Madergy" should be Methatchen. Neither is "Philadelphia" correct: it should be Montgomery county.

[American Spelling, p. 170]. Some words are also hooted at by these gentry, (because Dr. Johnson's industry has not extended to their detection,) as vulgar Americanisms. Among these, than *lengthy* none more common. *Misspell* and *misfortunate* because not found in some dictionaries, might be with equal reason rejected.

[Freeing of negroes, p. 173] Lavater, I recollect, forewarns parents, that it a child evinces ever such evidences of incorrigible stupidity, if it possesses but a full round forehead, that they should never despair of improvement. We all know that an unreasonable prejudice has existed against inoculation for the small pox; and the kine pox inoculation is at this day dreaded by many. May we not anticipate such a dispersion of error, such an irradiation of truth, as that not only "the leopard shall lie down with the kid," but that the Indian and the negro shall be equally free with the white?

Bayne's brevier may be seen in the pocket almanac accompanying this (see No. 17); and the type and figures have been in annual use since about 1795. The small pica was employed on Middelton's Evangelical Biography (12 mo. abridged) which you have probably seen, and also History United States first edition.

[McCulloch's almanacs, p. 168] A copy of that calendar (see No. 18) accompanies this.

B. W. Sower to whom I handed this book for revision, suggests an alteration here, viz: "The British government, after the war, allowed each of the children of Sower 2d the sum of 700 pounds sterling, being part of an exhibited claim, the bulk whereof was supposed to have been provided for by the treaty. Christopher 3d and Peter, however shared not the benefit thereof, being both accidentally omitted in the schedule."

As Edwards' History is now a very rare book, and as you may not be able to obtain a copy, I will transcribe its title. "Materials towards a history of the American baptists. In 12 volumes. By Morgan Edwards, A. M. fellow of the Rhode-island college, and overseer of the Baptist church in Philadelphia. *Lo! a people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.* Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, and Isaac Collins, MDCCLXX." Edwards intended to compile a series of histories, in 12 volumes, but he did not, as far as I can hear, publish more than two: the second I have never seen: the first, which is now before me, had, besides the above general title, the following particular one: "Materials towards a history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania both British and German, distinguished into First Day Baptists, Keithian Baptists, Seventhday Baptists, Tunker Baptists, Mennonist Baptists. Vol. 1. *Lo! a people,"* &c. the same, and the imprint the same as the general title. This is a small 12 mo. volume of 134 pages, Long Primer, with Brevier notes. It contain a vast many dates. The 2d volume was a history of baptists in New Jersey. The first volume has a copperplate representation of a baptistery scene on Schuylkill river.

[Daniel Righter, p. 139]. I take this to be "Daniel Ritter" mentioned by Edwards in p. 69.

[Jacob Gans, p. 179] Edwards has the names of George

Balser Gans and Joanna Gans, in p. 69; and perhaps the name Jacob was an error.

Stiemer was probably a native of Germantown. At least his father lived on the property adjoining that of Sower 2d, which was owned by old Stiemer, who afterwards sold it and removed to Second Street, in Philadelphia, where he opened a leather store. He kept this store during the time the British were in Philadelphia, for Anthony at that time lived with his father, but how much sooner or later I have not heard.

Sower 3d published (and it must have been in company with Peter) an handsome edition of Gessner's Death of Abel, leaded. This was while he still lived at his father's. After which he moved up to the first house above the quaker meeting house in Germantown; and from whence he soon after decamped for Philadelphia.

Sower 2d possessed also much personal property. His various branches of business were well supplied with stock. He was an extensive importer, and dealt with the house of Dicotes & Co., London. He procured his drugs, paints, &c, &c, in large quantities, and there were hogsheads on hogsheads and barrels on barrels upon hand at the time he was upturned.

[Publishing of school testament, p. 129]. These four booksellers were Joseph Crukshank, Francis Bailey, Wm. Young (of Young & McCulloch), and Thomas Dobson.

[Wearing of swords, p. 209]. The printers of England were granted the privilege of a sword by queen Elizabeth. It is not long since it became fashionable there for printers there to relinquish this article of a former full dress. But in England, and probably also in Germany, the sword was permitted to grace the side of printers, not from their excelling in the art, but because they were gentlemen, and men of science. None but gentlemen were allowed swords.

[Oswald's duel, p. 207]. Oswald had fought a duel before this encounter with Carey, and it was alluded to in one of Carey's replications; for he allowed there was not much chance with such an antagonist, and among other remarks, exclaimed, "Ods bodikens! the fellow has a mine of lead in his belly." This increased the irritation.

Sower 2d was a very conscientious printer. The Associate

Presbytery of Pennsylvania (or Secceders, as sometimes called) ordered, about the year 1765, that some of their acts, or something of the kind, should be published, and deputized John Fulton, a paper maker of Oxford township, near Lancaster, to engage the printing. Fulton called in Sower to have it done. "My friend," replied Sower, "I do not print every thing: if irreligious, or otherwise dangerous, I refuse: but if you will leave the piece for my perusal, I will give you an answer." Fulton called again and Sower informed him he would willingly print the piece.

Bradford's office and dwelling being contiguous to Oswald's, he might have thence expected a neighbourly participation of the news; But "every man for himself" was Oswald's rule in this instance. The rumour had spread through the city that tidings of peace had arrived, and crowds were thronging the office to ascertain its certainty. Oswald's office was fairly surrounded. The other printers, finding no other expedient had detached their boys to Oswald's windows, in order to snatch up the first impression thrown out; and in the mean time set their workmen to filling their cases. By these exertions they all had published the news a very little time after Oswald. The poetry might be obtained correct from Oswald's paper.

It has been questioned whether Freneau published a paper in Charleston. My impression is that he did and does, but send you at the same time the doubt suggested. Francis Bailey, whom I can never meet, could give satisfactory evidence in this as well as other matters.[42] On inspection, I perceive your book vol. 2. p. 523, does not corroborate my opinion. I have seen, in a late newspaper, a proposal by Freneau for publishing a new edition of his Poems.

I was promised a sight of a magazine which was said to contain a record of Gossart's death; and expected there to obtain some biographical notices of his life: but on obtaining the Magazine (it was Sword's of New York 1791) find only this in the February list of mortality: "Died, Theophilus Gossart, a printer, at a very advanced age." He died in Philadelphia.

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[42]See footnote, p. 226.

[Women printers, p. 134]. I am since told that these women can do a week's work, with almost any of the men; and that one of them (now the widow of the late Abel) Dickerson, finds it to her advantage to hire a woman for the household affairs, and betake herself to the office. Miss Foulis, of Glasgow, where her father and brother (Foulis & Co.) flourished as printers about the year 1765, was also an adept at composing.

Jan. 16. A progress to an end had been far reached, when I received your welcome letter of the 9th January: I say *welcome*; for I had begun to surmise a miscarriage. But it will not now be long before you receive the promised communication. You will preceive that I have already anticipated your additional queries; and have sent you the names of many books printed before the revolution, which if it had not been for my exertions, would have never seen your proposed catalogues. I have also sent you a number of such almanacs as you requested, and I am glad that you have made arrangements for their preservation.

Sower 3d also printed, in the German language, Barclay's Apology for the Quakers. This was during the little time he was in business in Germantown: and it seems Peter was not then in partnership. Indeed Sower 3d, in one of his letters, speaking of his concern with Peter, called it a "kind of a partnership."

[Philadelphia Theatre, p. 130]. On perusing Graydon's Memoirs of himself I find a tolerable minute notice of these stageplayers. He says, p. 76, &c., that Douglass married the widow Hallam, whose son, Lewis was the Roscius of the theatre. They had come from the islands, where they had exhibited a number of years, and divided their labours between Philadelphia and New York. At Boston

"they did not appear,
"So peevish was the edict of the may'r."

P. 124. Graydon also reminds me that Cato, according to the account given by Lucan, neither shaved his beard, nor combed his hair, during the civil war of Rome:

Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
Intonsos vigidam in frontem descendere caros
Passus erat, motamque genis increscere barbam.

And we have also a similar notion for one in our revolutionary contest. Christopher Ludwig, an aged German baker in Philadelphia was employed by Congress to circulate handbills among the German troops of the British army, in 1776 inviting their desertion, and promising them land. Ludwig, after this, obtained the management of the ovens, and styled himself "baker master general of the army." Ludwig made a vow never to shave his beard until a fortunate issue of the contest.

No. 12, of the bagatelle is an old remnant accidentally discovered while rumaging some of my papers. I neither know its date nor publisher; but its prophecies are singular. My own and father's collections of such odd things are now lost, by the neglect of a family member. (My father tells me, since, that it was Bailey's almanac, and that the prophecies were by Brackenridge) (about 1784).

I am printing, for Charles Thomson, (the late secretary to Congress) "a Synopsis of the Four Gospels," and as the proofs are sent to his residence, about 8 miles from the city, I took the liberty in one of my letters to him, to request such information as he might possess relative to a printer being sent to Canada by Congress. His reply was, "With respect to the appointing a printer to proceed to Canada, this is the first time I have ever heard of it. Such an act, I think, could hardly have been passed without my knowing it. I look upon this to be a mere fabrication, like many others of the present day, trumped up for vile purposes." As Thomson's memory is still unimpaired, I was considerably surprised at his reply; and as I felt assured, for my own part, that a printer was actually sent, I again mentioned the subject, and quoted for him, at large, the statements of Ramsay, to which I have referred you, and also subjoined the purport of Gen. Washington's letter respecting the utility of a press at headquarters, and requested his opinion a second time. His answer was: "And after the utmost recollection, can add nothing to what I have already said in regard to the printer. What Gen. Washington, in a military capacity, may have done, with the advice of individual members I cannot say: but had Congress passed a solemn act on the occasion, I think I should have known it, or at least have some recollection of it." Hence Charles Thomson's accuracy

is so unblemished, that it is to be now presumed we were building on a false basis.

Bozman, in his History of Maryland requests the reader (in his Errata) to alter the word *thing* to *king*. In the School Testament printed in 1807 by T. Kirk, for Campbell and Mitchell and other book sellers of New York, the words "on the *fifth* day of the week" Acts, xx. 7, are printed for "the *first* day of the week." In Woodward's Philadelphia edition of the Pocket Bible, of 1806, there is this passage "a *lion* shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem," Zach. i. 16, A friend, who pointed this out to me, says he was a long time puzzled to contrive what kind of a *lion* the prophet meant to extend over that city: but on reference to another edition, he found it was not a *lion*, but a *line*.

Bell, from Galsgow, went to Berwick, upon Tweed, and there worked at bookbinding for Samuel Taylor, and became acquainted with both Buglass and Woodhouse, afterwards of Philadelphia. Bell was no printer himself. From Berwick he proceeded to Dublin, and there set up bookselling and bookbinding. His bookstore in Dublin was very extensive. He there failed, and came to America. During the occupation of the city by the British, Bell kept a circulating library, and had a great run of custom from the officers. His rule was, that every one, when they took out a book, must deposit one guinea and when the book was returned, the guinea, deducting the sum for the loan, was also returned. Bell's wife followed him from Dublin, and arrived about 1785, but returned to Dublin in the same vessel which conveyed her thence. She brought her son James over with her, leaving her daughter in Ireland. James returned to his mother after the death of his father. The wife had property in Ireland, independent of her husband. Bell was about 60 when he died. He was a stout, chunky man.

[Caleb Buglass, p. 107]. But Caleb Buglass' widow informs me that although he arrived here in 1774, yet he did not commence for himself till August 1778, and that in the mean time he was employed by Bell as foreman. Buglass served his time, with Taylor, of Berwick, and was indented to learn printing, bookbinding, and bookselling. He wrought at

printing in the day, and binding in the evening. W. Woodhouse, also a native of Berwick, was his fellow 'prentice at the bookbinding. Buglass commenced the business of bookbinding and selling in partnership with Wm. Green, of Boston, at (now) No. 9 North Front Street. Green died about 1790. Buglass continued the business till his death, March 27, 1797, when he was 57 years and 6 days old.

Francis Bailey. I have been invariably baffled in my attempts to obtain an interview with this old secluded gentleman. I am sorry for it; and the disappointment is probably a great loss.

Finis, again. My father tells me that in the school of his day the lads construed the meaning of this word to be

Fine	Ine	Nickle	John's	Sister
F	I	N	I	S

ADDENDA 2d

Jacob Rittenhouse, the blind, informed me that his progenitors when they first arrived in Philadelphia, dwelt in the *caves* dug in banks of the Delaware during part of the winter 1687-88. But as I thought that must be an error, I did not copy it. My opinion of these caves were, that they were exceedingly temporary, and were not used after houses were erected in the city. But on consulting Proud's Pennsylvania (a book I had been some years proposing to peruse, but never did till lately) I find that these caves were reserved for new comer's habitations for a great number of years. Hence, blind Jacob, in this as well as everything else he has narrated, is correct.

Perhaps it would be most correct for your History to pass over Bell's patriotism, and say nothing about it.

No. 13 of the bagatelle I send you as a curiosity. It is no proof, neither is it a skit, but actually a proposal now disseminating over the city, and I obtained this along with a bundle containing some purchases from Thomas Desilver.

[Rittenhouse mill, p. 117]. And by Proud's History this mill was erected by Richard Townsend and was used both as a grist and sawmill. Its date must be 1683.

P. 121, vol. 2. I presume, from your notice of Smith's New Jersey, that you had not the book before you. The title is "The History of the colony of Nova Caesaria or New Jersey, containing an account of its first settlement, progressive improvements, the original and present constitution, and other events, to the year 1721. With some particulars since; and a short view of its present state. By Samuel Smith. Burlington, in New-Jersey: Printed and sold by James Parker; sold also by David Hall, in Philadelphia. MDCCLXV." Being also *sold* in Burlington by Parker, seems to impose an idea that he did not, immediately after its publication, remove his press to Woodbridge. It contains 574 pages. "Demy octavo." The page is about 5 Pica lines longer than your History and the width the same as yours. The type is Pica, with notes and appendix in Long Primer. The preface is dated Burlington Oct. 5, 1765. This history contains a number of interesting facts; but the style is so barbarous, that the meaning in some instances is rendered obscure from the manner of expression. The only thing in this book connected with your purpose is in p. 145, where there is a letter from C. W. (Conrad Weiser) to C. S. *printer*: but who this printer was I know not.[43]; but the same letter is inserted in Proud's Pennsylvania.

I send you, No. 20, another specimen of the younger Bayne's casting. It is the United States Register for 1794, edited (if I recollect right) by a Col. Dale, and intended to be continued annually, but that was the only edition.

I send also, No. 21, the List of Prices agreed on by the journeymen printers in Philadelphia in 1806. It seems now a trifle, but it will in 100 years, be thought a curious scrap for an History of Printing.

No. 22 and 23 are two German Catalogues. But I count them on the score of utility for your purpose, scarcely worth sending.

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[43]Undoubtedly C. S. stood for Christopher Sauer.

The almanac No. 25 is from the press of Francis Bailey's daughter in law, the widow of Robert.

No. 26 and 27 are two of a great number of similar notions issued by Mr. Carey.

I perceive, from the imprint of a catalogue printed in 1787, that there was a firm of printers called Wm. Prichard and Parry Hall: and by another imprint of 1790 the firm of Prichard & Hall was still extant. I suppose this Hall belonged to David Hall's family; but I cannot detail the genealogy. (But it is since told me and corroborated, they were not related.) P. Hall died of fever, 1795. Prichard removed to Richmond.

Charles Cist must have removed his residence very frequently; for I perceive, by a catalogue which he printed for W. Young in 1785, that he then lived at the corner of Fourth and Arch Streets.

Nor was this, it appears, Cist's last removal. He had the work, I am informed, of the general post office department, for some time before the removal of the government to Washington. He removed his printing office (or rather the English part of it), with the government, to that city, and enjoyed the work for some time, He was very much taken with the federal city, built 2 or 3 houses there, and contemplated a removal of his family thither. But by some change (I suppose on the accession of power by the democratic party) he was deprived of the public work, sold his office there, and returned to Philadelphia.

But Conrad Zentler, who was an apprentice to Cist, tells me now that both of these presses were taken by Cist to Washington, and there disposed of along with other parts of the office. The Scots press, says Zentler, was an admirable easy and perfect one for working and that the printers would frequently call and view it.

I sent this volume to Wm. Woodhouse for perusal. He has taken an interest in the attempt of furnishing you the additional documents; has given me some revisionary notes; and has called at the Philadelphia Library in order to ascertain some dates, &c., from old newspapers. I proceed to give you the result.

Oswald's data corrected. Oswald commenced the Independent Gazeteer, or Chronicle of Freedom, April 13, 1782. It was issued once a week, at 6 pence a number. The size was demy folio. It was printed in Third Street, near the Bunch of Grapes tavern, till July 27, 1782. The paper was issued August 3, 1782 from next door to the Coffee House in Market Street. Feb. 27, 1783, Oswald opened the Coffee House which was, for some time previous, unoccupied. (Hence, your dates p. 310, vol. 2, must be erroneous.) The poetry mentioned in p. 250, appeared in the Poets' Corner of Oswald's paper of March 1, 1783. The piece is in 9 verses, and called "Verses on a late Combination." The 3d, 4th and 5th are:

3

"To execute this daring feat
Three migthy pow'rs combine;
Collect their strength, each other greet,
And plan the vast design.

4.

In front, see H – ll and S – ll – rs come,
While C – – p – – e, void of fear,
The centre fills, and Goosey Tom
Stalks, martial in the rear.

5.

Since then our foe denies to share
His profits, sure as fate is,
We'll crush him quite, and never spare,
But send the *speech* out *gratis*."

April 5, 1783, the paper is issued by E. Oswald and D. Humphreys. (This, p. 78, vol. 2, is not noticed by you, and is another reason, why Oswald's story should have been continued after the hints given in p. 310, vol. 2.) The partnership was dissolved Dec. 27, 1783; and the paper was then continued by Eleazer Oswald. The paper was continued a folio weekly emission till October 7, 1786, when it was changed to a daily paper, and a quarto size; and so continued till October 6, 1789, when the quarto size, and the weekly issue, was again resumed. Oswald's office was removed to Market Street, next to the Black Bear tavern, Oct. 9, 1789. The Coffee House was now

finally relinquished and it closed. Sept. 10, 1796, the paper establishment was sold to Joseph Gales. James H. Puglia, whose ridiculous advertisements you may perhaps have seen in the Philadelphia papers, once published a pamphlet against Bradford, in which he asserted for fact, that Bradford had attempted to hatch goose eggs by forced heat; and Porcupine also reiterated the same: but Woodhouse thinks the term originated with Oswald. Oswald died possessed of a good printing office, a house that cost 2000 or 2500 pounds, (which was mortgaged for the one-half) and a large tract of land in Kentucky, said to be worth 5000 dollars.

Woodhouse says the True American was commenced by Lloyd and Duane.

P. 62, vol. 2. Bradford, during the war, was appointed commissary of prisoners. Oswald afterwards held the same office. The following is an extract from the Journal of Congress, Folwell's edition, p. 319, vol. 3: "Thursday, Sept. 18, 1777, Resolved, that major general Armstrong be directed, forthwith, to cause all the printing presses and types in this city and Germantown, to be removed to secure places in the country, excepting Mr. Bradford's press in this city, with English types."

P. 79, 80, vol. 2. Woodhouse thinks that Samuel Dellap never owned a printing office, and supposes he was always too much straitened in his finances to have procured one. Towne was the principal person who printed for him. (If such is the fact, and I see no reason to doubt it, his history should have appeared on p. 449 only, and not among the printers, according to your arrangement.) Samuel Dellap was from Ireland. He was a *very* honest man, undeviatingly so, as it regarded the payment of money, and such like transactions; and yet, with all that, he exhibited a very dishonest trait (to use no worse phrase) in his disposition: he vended, and laid himself out for the vending of obscene books. His residence at the corner of Chestnut and Third Street, was about the *close of the war*.

Hence your location of him in 1771 is doubtless correct. Dellap was also a binder; at least he did chap and other small work. He had an auction room, at one time, in Water Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets. This was

during the war. He had an auction room also in the Northern Liberties. So had Bell. This was a contrivance of theirs, to evade the then law prohibiting auctions from being held in the *city*; while on the other side of the street, and at a part equally populous, they were screened from any violation. Neither Bell nor Dellap were authorized auctioneers. He had also an auction and store room in an outhouse belonging to the Black horse tavern, in Market (north side) between Fourth and Fifth Streets: This was after he had given up his station at the corner of Third and Chestnut. He died, in this outhouse of the yellow fever, in 1793, and was then about 53 years of age. He was always poor; but he was always a very sober man. Samuel's brother, William, kept a small bookstore also; but William was addicted to drunkenness.

P. 345, vol. 2. Lewis Nicola. (not Nich*o*la) was town major in Philadelphia during part of the war time. He then went to Yorktown (probably with the Congress); and after his return to the city was appointed keeper of the workhouse. He was a man of small stature, possessed a remarkably prominent nose; and when he was decked with sword and plume, was said to resemble one of the figures stamped on playing cards. (Who was the printer of Nicola's Magazine?)[44] The following is from Goddard's paper of March 14, 1768. "Lewis Nicola has removed his shop and circulating library from Second Street, to next door to the Indian Queen tavern, Market Street."

One of Goddard's papers of 1768 contains an advertisement of Sparhawk and Anderton's "fancy good and bookstore in Market Street."

Sparhawk, between the removal from Elfrith's alley, to No. 67 South Second Street, lived in Market Street, (north side) a few doors below Second Street. This was about 1793. (Whenever the term *below* and *above* are used in this volume with regard to the localities of Philadelphia, the first must be understood as the south or east from the given point; and the latter as the north or west. Perhaps some of these descriptions

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[44] "The American Magazine," edited by Lewis Nicola, 1769, was printed by William and Thomas Bradford.

of residences may appear too minute; but, if I may judge from myself, the descendents or friends of those concerned will derive a pleasure, on passing a house, to know that there once lived a relation or friend).

P. 449, vol. 2. M'Gill also lived in Second, below Market Street. He went to New York with the British when they evacuated Philadelphia in 1778; and was induced to take that measure from the persuasions of his father in law, —— Cooper, a Scotch tory. M'Gill now resides in some of the towns on North river, and probably there follows the binding business.

[Crukshank's ownership of slaves, p. 174]. There must be some mistake here. Crukshank was a poor lad, and his first wife, named White, was a seamstress, and previous to her espousal to him lived in Market Street. Hence, neither his nor her parents appear to have possessed slaves, or any other property. Crukshank, I have since understood, was bred a presbyterian.

Woodhouse says Freneau published a newspaper in Charleston.[45] (This Freneau continued the prophecies, mentioned to have been commenced by Brackenridge for Bailey's almanac.)

Tom Paine boarded at the south east corner of Market and Front Street, (opposite the Coffee House). Aitken's store was at the next house below, (now No. 3 South Front).

Other books of Aitken's early printing were: Blair's Lectures, 4to., Burgh's Art of Speaking, 12mo., Esop's Fables, Boston's Crook in the Lot. But this last was about the year 1792. Aitken published a great many books.

Towne's last paper, (or rather the one he published after that you mention in p. 335, vol. 2) was called "All the news for two Coppers." Like Folwell, he hawked it about himself.

Goddard's paper of October 31, 1768, advertises "the Wilmington Almanac," and also "Tobler's Almanac published by James Adams, Wilmington, Newcastle county."

I had said the young Humphreys declined business through pecuniary necessity. But the stock left by the old man was sold by order of the executors, and the money arising from the

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[45]Peter Freneau, not Philip, was a printer and newspaper publisher at Charleston from 1797 until his death, November 9, 1813.

sales was appropriated to purposes mentioned in his will, that is, a division among his daughters and sons.

[William Hall's fish-house, p. 140]. The fish-house is said to have been built by a company, viz. Hall, Scull, &c, &c. David Hall at present attends to the printing and putting up of newspapers, &c.

Col. John Park translated (but since the revolution) Horace into English verse. Park was a Virginian.

Jacob Rittenhouse previously to leaving his friends would always say "Well, I believe I will bid you good-bye." This was so much his invariable *congé*, that he obtained these words for a nick name and byeword.

When W. Woodhouse removed to No. 6 South Front Street, he purchased of the widow of the late Wm. Tricket (an Englishman) the residue of stationary, &c. on hand. (Hence, it would appear as if this Tricket ought to be also placed in your list as a Philadelphia book seller.) (But I now learn he was both a book seller and bookbinder and lived in the house No. 5 to which Woodhouse removed. He commenced in 1773 perhaps sooner.)

P. 449, vol. 2. By an advertisement in Franklin's and Hall's paper April 1765, it appears there is still another Philadelphia book dealer, omitted in your roll. Joshua Fisher & Son, in 1765, advertise as having received from England, a literal translation of all the books of the old and new Testament.

In Franklin and Hall's paper of Oct. 31, 1765, "Samuel Taylor, at the Book in Hand, corner of Water and Market Streets," informs the public that he executes binding, gilt as well as plain. April 11, 1765, he advertises Godfrey's Poems; but I do not know whether he published it. (Franklin and Hall, I since understand, printed Godfrey's Poems.)

Franklin's and Hall's paper of October 31, 1765, has this sentence: "As the partnership of Franklin and Hall, proprietors of this paper, is near expiring", &c. It expired Feb. 1, 1766.

A large number of silver coins were found buried on a branch of Frankford creek, about the year 1810. A great many people were thence anticipating the discovery of Blackbeard's treasure in reality. From the account published at

the time, in Poulson's paper, I concluded, there was not the least ground to suppose they were the pirate's deposit.

P. 448, vol. 2. Bell once more. In Goddard's paper of April 4, 1768 (which was about the time Bell came to Philadelphia), there is this public notice: "Any person possessed of Libraries, or parcels of Books, may have ready money, according to their value, by applying to Robert Bell, Bookseller and Auctioneer, at James Emerson's, at the Sugar Loaf tavern, between Water Street and the river, in Market Street" (south side). This is probably Bell's debut, and the place he first boarded. I send you (a gift from the pious friend) No. 18,[46], one of Bell's Catalogues of "Jewels and Diamonds for Sentimentalists." This was principally the library of ——— Smith, who died in this city. The collection was very extensive, and the sale was on some evenings held at the old college in Fourth Street. You will notice that John Bayard, an (authorized) auctioneer, subscribes the list. When Bell worked with Taylor, (Berwick upon Tweed) he was apparently very religious. Some time after he run into the opposite extreme, and became profane. He was noted, at his auction sales, for ridiculing the clergy.

Such, (or the principal part) are the purport of the notes handed to me by Mr. Woodhouse. If he, or any other person, was to set earnestly about the business, there might, from the newspapers in the Library, and from traditions still ungathered be collected other details of the History of Printing in this city, that would fill a volume of half the size of this. But Woodhouse has done well. If there were but a few such collaters, your History would still be further enriched.

Wm. Smith, in his History of New York (printed in London in 1757) speaking of the pirates which infested the coast about 1696, says: "The pirates were frequently in the Sound, and supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of Longisland, who, for many years afterwards, were so infatuated with a notion, that the pirates buried great quantities of money along the

[46]No. 18 in the "bagatelle" is an almanac printed by William McCulloch. No. 15 was one of Bell's Catalogues of Books, but the only such catalogue now to be found in the library of the Society is one for 1773, and not the one referred to above, which was printed in 1778.

coast, that there is scarce a point of land, or an island, without the marks of their *auri sacra fames*. Some credulous people have ruined themselves by these researches and propagated a thousand idle fables, current to this day among our country farmers." My object in ransacking this History was to add to my Chronology, but I have, *en passant*, noted such articles as suit your purpose. He says, p. 109 and 110, "The governor, on the one hand, then (1703) proposed an additional duty of 10 per cent on certain goods not immediately imported from Europe; to which the assembly, on the other hand, were utterly averse, and as soon as they resolved against it, the very *printer*, clerk, and doorkeeper, were denied the payment of their salaries." And p. 117 and 118, the assembly of 1709 agreed to raise money for several designated purposes, among which were "Small salaries to the *printer*, clerk of the council, and Indian interpreter." This printer, twice mentioned, must have been W. Bradford; but I do not see that you mention his being a stated printer to the assembly. In p. 227 and 228 he quotes "Dr. Douglas' Summary, 2d vol., Boston edition, 1753." In p. 73, he notices "The Collection of our Acts published in 1752." But if Smith's New Jersey is uncouth in style, Smith's New York, with the same blemish, exhibits a partiality and bigotry altogether intolerable in an historiographer.

B. W. Sower has just handed me (Jan. 30) a note containing an additional circumstance relative to Christopher 3d. He had omitted to state it before, it having slipped his memory. He is solicitous that the circumstance should be added, as nothing more than justice to his late father's *manes*, as it tends to place his character, as a *gentleman*, on high ground. I copy his own words: "After my father's release from his continental imprisonment, and his subsequent removal (or flight) to New York, with the British army, the vicissitudes of war were such, that Nicholas Coleman (who had formerly been a schoolmate of my father's, and who had also captured him at Germantown) was now captured, in his turn, by some of the British Squadron. Coleman, at the time of his capture, served on board of a privateer, but in what capacity I know not. He was immediately consigned, together with his companions, to the prison ship, then lying in the Wallabout, New York.

My father, without any knowledge of Coleman's captivity, went on board of this prison ship, in company with several other gentleman from the city. It was not long before my father recognized among the prisoners N. Coleman, who appeared to be desirous of shunning an interview. My father, however, went immediately up to him, and familiarly accosting him by his christian name, expressed his surprise at finding him there, assuring him, at the same time, that he need not fear any resentment from him; but that on the contrary, he was disposed to befriend him, if it lay in his power, and to that end inquired into his present circumstances and situation. Coleman, besides a tattered outside garb, was almost totally destitute of linen, which my father's open and generous manner inspired him with confidence to make known. My father also recognized on board the prison ship two other persons with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and who had likewise been captured with Coleman, in the privateer; these were Daniel Brown and John Hurst. My father, after leaving the prison ship, immediately supplied Coleman with linen and other necessary articles; and, in the course of a few days, effected the liberation of him and his two companions, above named, even without an exchange. Hurst made his home at my father's for a long time afterwards. Coleman and Brown visited a few times, but soon left New York. Previous to the above there existed an intimacy between Brown's family and my father's; and subsequently, there has also been an intimacy between Coleman's and ours."

Joseph Crukshank has now declined bookselling. He sold out to a bookseller of his own sect (quaker) on New Years, 1815; or rather I suppose closed his concerns on that day. He had before relinquished business in favour of his son James; but, he managing badly, resumed it again.

P. 448, vol. 2. Goddards file of 1768 contains a notice of still another Philadelphia bookseller. "Roger Bowman, in Second Street, near Arch Street" advertises a lengthy list of books, and which, at that time, must have been valuable. (This also is a fruit of Woodhouse's research.)

John Wilcox, having called on me lately, I handed him this volume, that he might inspect what I had collated respecting

his family history. He tells me that he enjoys remarkably good health; and that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he is absolutely free from bodily pain. His mill and farm is twenty-two and a half miles from Philadelphia. He has been in the habit, for these 50 years past, of coming and returning to and from the city, once and twice each week. He has mostly rode the jaunt; but has sometimes walked it. But say, (to be within indisputable bounds) that he has passed and repassed the distance once a week. This, in one year, would make a total of 1170 miles travels: In 50 years the travelling would amount to 58,500 miles. Wilcox once resided in the city, and kept a warehouse for the sale of his paper, and in partnership (I think) with his brother in law, ——— Flahaven. Carey, the bookseller, married a Flahaven, and thus became related to Wilcox.

Thus have I written more than 20 pages after all the matter collected for your purposes were supposed to have been copied and finished. But the more the subjects are dove into, and the more generally the conversation for the design is extended, the more does the materials increase on the hands. Hence, although there actually appears to be no end, at present, in these enquiries and collections, yet, to give the book the appearance of a finish, I now subjoin

THE END

PHILADELPHIA, February 22, 1815.

MR. THOMAS,

SIR,

After a much greater delay than expected, the materials collected for your History of Printing are at last on the way to your residence. They were deposited with Mr. J. P. Grant, agent for the Union Line of Packets between Phil. and Boston, who, after some considerable delay, found an opportunity of conveyance. I was in daily search for a private opportunity but could not light on one. The bearer is Thomas W. Smith a waggoner, who left this city the 15th inst. and will arrive in Boston about the 1st of March. So there were some odds and ends of almanacs, etc. along with the materials. I put them

all up on boards, for the sake of safety. The box is directed to the care of Thomas and Andrews, Boston.

You will notice that I have given 1785 as the year Bell's wife came to Phil. It should be 1774, and before the intercourse between Britain and her colonies was suspended. It might also have been added, respecting Bell, that he sold books higher at auction than in store. He was full of drollery, and many, going to his auction for the merriment, would buy a book from good humour. It was as good as a play to attend his sales at auction. There were few authors of whom he could not tell some anecdote, which would get the audience in a roar. He sometimes had a can of beer aside him, and would drink comical healths. His buffoonery was diversified and without limit.

Wm. Woodhouse and John Dean were in partnership, as mentioned. But I am not sure whether Woodhouse was not stated to have been in business for himself before this partnership. Their copartnery was the first of either commencing business as master. Dean's relatives were somewhat wealthy, and assisted them to begin; for Woodhouse was a poor lad. When the partnership was dissolved, Dean (who was then a very indifferent binder) went to Dublin, worked there three years at his trade, and returned to Phil. a finished workman. Dean was from Belfast, and served his time there. Sometime after his return he opened a shop, in Front Street, corner of Taylor's alley. He died May 8, 1782, aged 32.

In addition to the vows noticed it might be mentioned that such whimsies were frequent among the blacks. One was recently instanced, in some of our papers, respecting Francis Adoneus, a French frizeur of New York. He had been employed in Louis' court, and when Bonaparte was crowned emperor, he took off his hat, and vowed never to cover his head till Louis was restored. When the news of his restoration reached New York, Adoneus walked down to the battery, took his hat from under his arm, gave three cheers, and covered his head. Sometime after, when the intelligence came that Louis had granted an indulgence for five years to the slave trade, he again placed his hat under his arm, and declared he would go bareheaded till that indulgence was denied.

It was expected that a good number of German almanacs would have been sent to you by Conrad Zentler. But he has repeatedly baffled me, and at last denied. Clymer has two or three times promised to hand me his descriptions, but has failed. Maxwell also has forgotten his promise. It is almost unaccountable how dilatory people are. They were informed they should have full credit for anything they furnished; and still they have declined.

Since the box was closed, I saw on my shelves, "The United States Register for 1795" printed by M. Carey. This is similar in size and execution to the United States Register for 1794, which is sent you; and I expect it was taken up on the other being dropped.

And since the box was closed, John Wilcox handed me, for your purposes, three old almanacs. They are for 1726, 27 and 28. I sent them by post herewith. The one for 1726 is printed by Andrew Bradford, in the Second Street, etc. The astronomer, as well as poet and essayist, is Titan Leeds. You say Bradford published Leeds almanac three or four years. Leeds in this edition, says it is published for the 13th time, which would make its commencement 1713. Who could have published it beside Bradford? He also says his father continued it 30 times, which would carry it back to 1683. But perhaps it was originated in some place other than Philadelphia. The one for 1727 is printed by S. Keimer, also in the Second Street. This is by Titan Leeds, too, who says he has changed his printer, for reasons best known to himself. You mention that this is surreptitiously Leeds, but I would not have thought so from the almanac itself. This calendar is sold by E. Phillips, Charlestown; and Dd. Humphreys, Longisland. The first you notice; the second you do not, and perhaps was no bookseller. The one for 1728 is without a title, but its date is bound in some advices near the end. By an advertisement in this almanac it appears Keimer should have had a place in p. 446, vol. 2, among the Philadelphia booksellers.

By a letter lately received from Samuel Sower, Baltimore, you are furnished with this additional information: "That Jacob Bey was half brother to Leonard Yundt. That Francis Bailey purchased a fount of matrices from Bey; but it is not

known what became of the rest of Bey's apparata. That Jacob Kempfer (now employed in the Baltimore foundry) cast the letter for Francis Bailey, in Bey's matrices, for a testament. That Frederic Geyer was in the habit of cutting punches for Bailey; and that he believes Geyer died in the Betteringhouse in Philadelphia. That Gesner's Death of Abel was the first book that Christopher Sower, the 3d, printed; and that it was done in company with Christopher the 2nd. That Hall and Sellers were the printers of the Congress money during the war, of which circumstance Mr. Thomas takes no notice. That the blending of the Germantown Baptists with the Seventh day Tunkers or Baptists was an egregious admixture. That the Tunkers or Baptists of Ephrata kept the seventh or Saturday holy; that they regulate their clocks 2 hours according to scripture time; that they had nunneries and monasteries, or what amounted to the same; that they wore hoods: of all which the others disapprove."

Wishing you health and happiness, I
remain your friend and servant,
WM. MCCULLOCH.

DEAR SIR PHIL. June 5, 1815.

Your letters of March 13 and April 15 came to hand. I am happy that you think my contributions are worth while. And I am sensible, as said before, that as much more new matter might be collected from this city, if time and patience were bestowed upon an attempt. Much additional matter was anticipated from the exertion of our friend, Woodhouse; but it appears that nothing more will come from that source. At that time he had just declined business, his family was removed to the country, and he had sufficient leisure. Now he seems again busied in affairs of some kind, and his family are with him to claim his attention.

Perhaps you have not the title of the following: "History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia. Being an essay towards a general history of the colony. By Wm. Stith, A. M. rector of Henrico parish, and one of the governors of William and Mary college. Williamsburg. Printed by Wm. Parks,

MDCCXLVII." The book is 8vo. on Long Primer type, well and fairly printed—sheetways. The paper is excellent and probably imported from England; some sheets at the latter end seem sea damaged. It contains 332 close pages; besides 34 pages of appendix in Bourgeois, or 366 in all. The appendix contains the different charts of Virginia.

I said Charles Thomson was 76: it should have been 86. He mentioned to me that it might have been stated in the preface of his synopsis that it was published in the author's 86th year.

When I assented to the assertion that paper making, both in England and America, was cotemporary, the idea should have been more qualified. It was meant that fine paper, or that fit for writing and printing was not made in England till 1688, the very year, the first paper mill was established in America. Coarse paper was principally made at the Rittenhouse mill, but some fine paper was also made; and it is probable that the first fine paper made both in England and America, were made in the same year. Paper mills were in operation in England long before this period but they made nothing but brown or wrapping paper. For a confirmation of this assertion see Anderson's History of Commerce, p. 131, vol. 3, Dublin edition.

No doubt but you have Prince's Chronology. It was printed by Kneeland and Green, Boston, for T. Gerrish, 1736. It has the names of several books published about that time, in advertisements scattered throughout the book.

I am printing "The Garden of the Soul," a catholic book, for M. Carey. While he was collating the copy, and I standing at his desk expecting a decision, says he, "I tell you a story. I was once in partnership with an old man by the name of Talbot. This was soon after the peace. Catholic books were then in demand, and not to be had. We concluded to publish some. Talbot, with that view, carried a catholic catechism round to Robert Aitken, and told him there was a pamphlet he wished him to print. Aitken took it in his view, laid it down, turned round and took down a book from the shelves. Says he 'Do you see that book? It is the Bible. I lost 1500 dollars (perhaps he said pounds) in that publication; and if you would

even make good that loss, I would not print your book. I would sooner print the Woman of Pleasure.'"

I did propose to purchase the Massachusetts Historical Collections, but on sending an enquiry to the Philadelphia Library, was informed they had it entire. I possess some scraps of it. All my object with them is to prove my chronology, by comparing some of the dates.

Halifax. It would indeed seem that 3000 families was too great a number for its first settlement. But I have not yet seen authority to the contrary. I have no good early account of the British provinces in N. America.

It was extremely difficult to obtain that narrative from Stirner; and that difficulty was felt solely in the arrangement or dates. His substance I esteem correct, but his arrangement was very much huddled, and was a great trouble to arrange. Perhaps the black wife was not the governor's servant; or perhaps she was servant of some governor before Parr's time. But this I know not. But suppose I have given you many new hints of Henry which you can arrange yourself, and safely insert. I have heard the story of Henry's being sold to Bradford from another besides Stirner; but cannot aver it to be firmly substantiated, though I have no doubt of the fact. Bradford's family might possibly know.

Yes. It is meant that the Spiritual Magazine was printed on type then casting by Sower 2d for his bible. At least I know of no other way of accounting for the intimation.

The article respecting the Armbrusters is all I can make out respecting them. I took a great deal of pains to correct and collate the traditions of the family. I still think it correct, or chiefly so. You obtained your account of the Armbrusters from Poulson: at least one of his sons told me Poulson had been gathering all he could from him, and I suppose it was for your History.

Gen. Fobes died in Phil. If the date of his death differs from the transaction, the date must be altered; for Sower was undoubtedly brought before him. I had examined by my chronology, the fact whether these dates would agree, and I thought they did. But the copy of notes I possess are laid by, and too inconveniently now to examine what date I gave.

Paff gave me his information from memory solely. If he disagrees with the Gazette dates, the latter must be supposed correct.

You say you spelled names and places according to the mode of the Gazettes you copied from. Wm. McCorkle, a printer of this city, was lately speaking to me about your book, and he seemed to express some chagrin that his name was spelled *Mac*orkle. I told him it was the correct and the original mode, and that Mc was an anglicism imposed upon *the Scots mode.*

Gossart died in Philadelphia. I cannot say for certain that he opened a printing office in Lancaster, nor when: but suppose, for certain, he did, and that it was before the revolution. My informant was Stirner, who, though not rigid in dating, I esteem correct and true.

I do not know whether the Hayes I mentioned is the same who printed in Baltimore in 1784, but suppose he is. Leonard Yundt recommended him to me for information, and I passed off the recommendation to you.

I did not write *G.* W. Bradford, at the coffee house. It must be some scratch which you could not make out.

The Penn. Gazette (Franklin and Hall's paper) is still published, and weekly as heretofore. The printer is Hall, lately Hall and Pierie.

I understand Jemima Wilkinson is still living. But of this am not confident.

No. Not Goüse: that is not German: but Gans, or, translated, Goose.

There is no manner of doubt, respecting the dates, as I gave them to you, of Sower's first establishment. But that first article, respecting Sower 1st was interlined, and perhaps you did not carefully examine it. Your former information, respecting the Sowers, whenever it clashes with mine, may be cancelled. Of this part of the narrative I am clearly satisfied.

Old Adams has frequently mentioned that he often worked at press with Franklin as a partner.

Wilcox began to make good fine paper only in 1760: but the other paper, before that period, which was principally fuller's boards, was chiefly purchased by Franklin.

P. 45 should have been 41 wherein I refer to your mention of Franklin and Hall's dissolution of partnership.

I cannot say about the fact of Franklin's advertisement respect grace of God; and have not now leisure to examine his paper. It may be mentioned as a say so.

D. Humphrey's daughters were and are amiable. I believe the fact certain. The other women I mentioned was the widow Dickinson and her (I believe) sister. I would date G. Armbruster's commencement in 1743 for the reasons before adduced. His 13th almanac was not likely to be printed by any other but by himself.

I send you all the books you ordered that I have been able to procure. Smith's N. Jersey is not to be had. So with all others not sent, except Duane's Life of Franklin, which is not yet published. Four volumes have been printed some years. The fifth and last is now in hands, and he says will be out in 6 months. Cole's Dictionary I present to your Society. And Sower's bibles I will endeavor to get presented by some of the descendents.

Since the above was written I am disposed to think a gift of the different editions of Sower's bible from the relatives not very probable. They are not ambitious enough.

I send you also as a gift, Aitken's Register for 1773.

I remain your friend,

Wm. McCulloch.

Phil. June 12, 1815.

Dear Sir,

Crescit eundo. In a pamphlet which, for other purposes than I am now extracting from it, I obtained from the Phil. library, are the following noticed: "They (the quakers of Pennsylvania) had recourse to a German printer, who was once one of the French prophets in Germany, and is shrewdly suspected to be a popish emissary, who now prints a paper wholly in the German language, which is universally read and believed by the Germans in this province. This man, whose name is Saüer, they took into their pay, and by his means told the Germans there was a design to enslave them, to force their

young men to be soldiers, make them serve as pioneers, and go down to work upon our fortifications; that a military law was to be made, insupportable taxes to be laid upon them, and in a word, that all the miseries they suffered in Germany, with heavy aggravations, would be their lot, unless they joined to keep in the quakers, under whose administration they had long enjoyed ease and tranquillity; and to force out of the assembly, all those who were like to join the governor, in giving money for annoying the enemy. In consequence of this, the Germans, who had hitherto continued peaceable, without meddling in elections, came down in shoals, and carried all before them. Near 1800 of them voted in the county of Philadelphia, which threw the balance on the side of the quakers, though their opponents, in that grand struggle, voted near 500 more than in any election before. The quakers, having found out this secret, have ever since excluded all other persuasions from the assembly, constantly calling in the Germans to their aid, by means of this printer. Hence it is, that by means of their hireling printer, they represent all regular clergymen as spies and tools of state, telling the people they must not regard any thing their ministers advise concerning elections, since they have a scheme to elect men who will bring in a bill for giving the tenths to the clergy, as in some other countries. There is nothing they (the quakers) fear more than to see the Germans pay any regard to regular ministers. Whenever they know of any such minister in good terms with his people, they immediately attack his character by means of this printer, and distress him by dividing his congregation, and encouraging vagabond and pretended preachers, whom they every now and then raise up. Yet, desperate as our case is here, a remedy in England is easy. Let the parliament but make a law to the following effect: "To suspend the right of voting for members of assembly, from the Germans, till they have a sufficient knowledge of our language and constitution: To encourage protestant ministers and schoolmasters among them: That no newspapers, almanacs, or any other periodical paper, by whatever name it may be called, be printed or circulated in a foreign language; or that no such publication be made, unless there be a just and fair English version of such a

foreign language, printed on one column of the same page or pages, along with the said foreign language."

The pamphlet from which the above extracts are copied is called "a brief state of the province of Pennsylvania," etc. It was printed in 1755 at London. In the same volume with this essay is bound up another pamphlet, also printed at London in 1755, called "an answer to an invidious pamphlet, intitled, a brief state of the province of Pennsylvania," etc. Neither pamphlet has an acknowledged author; but the reply lets us know who was the writer of the first essay. The extracts in answer are as follows:

"The person who wrote the letter is very well known to be a Smith, a proper tool enough for the club who employed him; but not to enter farther into his character (which is so black) etc., etc. However, we must not pass on without taking notice of one very remarkable personage, I mean the German printer; he speaks of him in terms which show the deepest concern, as well as dread of his power: as if all the distress of his party was owing to him; and that they can never hope to compass their ends, till the authority of that formidable foe is either lessened or destroyed. This printer seems to be more terrible to them than the quakers themselves, as he hath above 100,000 Germans at his devotion, who, if he but whistles, come down in shoals, and carry all before them, as he shall direct. Whenever they want to call in these foreigners to their aid, they do by means of this printer: by means of this printer, they represent all regular clergymen as spies and tools of state: whenever they know of any such minister on good terms with his people, they immediately attack his character, by means of this printer; and to be sure his business is done at once, for a single man has no chance to stand against such a printer as this *dominus fac totum*, who commands so many thousands, and obliges them to do whatever service he pleases to send them on. Who would imagine that printers, and German printers, too, should become so formidable in America, as to strike terror into the hearts of even governors themselves, for the general, the most dreadless and assuming mortals of any to be found? Yet we have had, it seems, of late, two instances of the kind, Zenger in New York and Saüer

in Pennsylvania. Not daring to try his strength at fair weapons with this Herculean typographer, he has recourse to his usual method of calumny, and bestows invidious names on him, as those of the French prophet, and popish emissary. Nor is it any wonder, that a printer who has wrought his party so much mischief, and blown up their designs against the assembly, should be the object of his keenest resentment. Accordingly, the remainder of his letter, is employed in blackening the character of this printer, as well as the Germans, and contriving expedients to abridge his most extensive influence and authority in Pennsylvania. This German printer has been a useful member of the Society, if no otherwise than in preserving the liberty of the subject, by communicating and exposing the evil designs and oppressions of the governors to the people, in the same manner as Zenger, before mentioned, had done at New York, not many years before: a proof of public spirit which an English printer at Philadelphia had not the courage or zeal to give, withheld by government connections and influence; which too generally destroy patriotism, and hinder men from discharging those duties which they owe to their country."

June 12—I have again seen Kurtz. He says he is upwards of 80: but I think I gave you his age before with more exactness. He says that Godhart Armbruster came over in the same vessel with him in 1748: that Anthony came over at the same time: that he thinks Godhart served his apprenticeship with Sower 1st: that he does not remember Crellius, and thinks he never heard of him: I cannot but admire how careful Kurtz is to speak the truth. "Indeed I can't say: that I do not know," are frequent answers to my interrogatories. But his memory must be supposed somewhat impaired. He is still hearty, and moves about with as much care as might be expected from any person of his age and corpulency. I asked Kurtz if I could obtain that old bible for money. He said "No: it had been in the family for 40 years, and it would not be agreeable to part with it. It was a family piece." So with possessors of old almanacs: they are unwilling to part with the relics of their youth. They are frequently resorted to by the aged owners, and their perusals reminds

them of some scene in more active, if not more gladsome days. They generally refuse even to sell them. As to Sower's newspaper, I cannot see or hear of one sheet. But files of old newspapers, and bundles of old almanacs, are frequently sold at vendues. Woodhouse told me of a great parcel sold at auction: but the present possession could not be traced. And the "pious friend" heard of a barrel full of old German almanacs and papers lately sold for waste paper, in search of which he undertook several little journies, but could trace nothing more of it. I told Kutz I understood from others that G. Armbruster commenced printing for himself in 1743. He said he did not know, but thinks he could not have been in business for himself till 1748, at which time he returned from Germany with new type. I then told him the data from whence this inference was made, the date on the church gable end in Fifth Street. "I don't know," returned Kurtz; "but I know that when I came to the country, and for some time after, that church was still unfinished; the windows were not then placed in it; people were very poor at that time." Hence, you must infer the most probable date yourself. If the church was still unfinished in 1748, G. Armbruster might well be employed in collecting subscriptions for its erection. But if he served his time with Crellius, he very probable collected for it in 1743 the year it was founded. And if he served his time with Crellius, there is some presumption that he might have succeeded him. The date of the almanac corroborates the date 1743,[47] and I confess I rather suppose it the true date. But of this year you have more facts to judge from than I have.

The date 1738 as the commencement of Sower's 1st career, I obtained from David Sower, at Methatchen; and he gave it to me from a note book of events written by Sower 1st himself. There can be no doubt of these dates.

Father thinks the story of Franklin's grace of God bills of Lading may be true.

June 14,

I have just been conversing with Billmeyer the elder, printer in Germantown. He says he has none of Sower's

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[47]See note on p. 189.

Bibles now on sale, and that there were none for sale, as he knows of, for some years past: that he could have sold 100 of them before this, and since the edition was out; that none are for sale except one now and then at auction: that he thinks no files of Sower's paper are now extant; that he had three files of them, but that they are long since torn and lost; that he delivered the paper, when a boy, and thus came in possession of odd numbers.

Peter Martin's History Jamaica is not in the Phil. Library; nor is it to be purchased in this city.

DEAR SIR, PHIL. June 19, 1815.

Poyer's History of Barbadoes is not to be purchased in this city. It is a London quarto; and I suppose the price would be about 12.00 if imported. But there is a copy of it in the Phil. Library, from which I will copy for you all that is mentioned in it relative to Printing.

"1733, Lord Howe (governor) was eminently endowed with all the virtue of a noble and generous mind: courteous, affable, hospitable, and condescending, he engaged the esteem of all with whom he conversed. By a familiar and unreserved intercourse with the people, he was enabled to calm the animosities of party, and contributed to unite the warmest political opponents, in social amusements and festive entertainments. In effecting this happy change, his lordship's endeavours were greatly facilitated, according to a judicious historian (Vide Universal History, vol. 41, p. 176) by the circulating of a weekly paper, published by one Keimer, under the title of the Barbadoes Gazette. (Keimer's press was established in 1731). Some of the most enlightened members of the community availed themselves of the advantages of a free press, and devoted their pens to the instruction of their countrymen. By the publication of many spirited and ingenious letters and essays on commercial and political subjects, the mischievous designs, sinister views and corrupt motives of those incendaries, who, under the specious garb of patriotism, had plundered the public and disturbed the peace of society,

were developed, scrutinized, and frustrated. Relieved from the illusion which had been long imposed on their senses, the Barbadians now began to see and understand their true interests. Nor let it be thought that the cause was disproportionate to the effect. There is no stronger principle in human nature than the fear of shame. The freedom of the press derives its utility from its influence over this powerful spring of action; and furnishes the only weapon which can be safely and effectually employed against folly and corruption acting without authority. The man in office who fears not to offend against the laws of his country and his God, when he can do it with the prospect of legal impunity, is often restrained from the commission of injustice and oppression by the dread of having his crimes revealed, and of being held up to the form of execration of mankind by means of an open press. Hence the arbitrary ruler, the corrupt magistrate, and the profligate legislature, of all countries, have ever been inimical to the liberty of the press, and anxious to deprive the subject of the privilege of canvassing the measures of government, and scrutinizing the conduct of those who are placed in authority over us. Happily, by the principles of the British constitution, the people are themselves the guardians of this inestimable privilege; and it is hoped that, in the hands of a jury of Barbadians, it will never be impaired, nor surrended to the rude gripe of despotism. The inhabitants of Barbadoes had not long enjoyed this advantage, when an attempt was made to restrain the exercise of it. Mr. Samuel Adams, one of the council, had published some remarks on the sugar trade of the colonies, which produced an answer, in which the honourable author's literary talents were treated with less ceremony and respect than some of his friends thought due to his rank. At the instigation of some persons, smarting under the censorial rod, the grand jury presented Keimer for publishing a malicious, scandalous, and seditious paper, and particularly for printing a false and deformatory libel on Mr. Adams. When the presentment was brought before the court, the attorney general declared there was nothing in the publication complained of which could possibly warrant a criminal prosecution; but the printer was nevertheless bound to keep the peace for

six months." Page 277, 278, 279, 280. Poyer, in his preface, mentions the Caribbeana: He was enabled to supply many deficiencies "by the acquisition of many well authenticated facts, extracted from a valuable collection of Essays, published under the title of Caribbeana." This is all Poyer says of Keimer, or any other printer, till 1759. Page 320. "Com. Moore lay ingloriously at anchor in Prince Rupert's bay above 11 weeks, in which time upwards to 90 sail of English merchantmen were captured and carried into Martinico. The inactivity of the commodore excited considerable murmurings at Barbadoes; where he was burnt in effigy, his person treated with indignity, and his name held in absolute detestation. This occasioned some ill blood between the inhabitants and officers of the navy; and the character of the country was afterwards grossly calumniated, in a pamphlet published by capt. Gardner; which produced a spirited reply from the classic pen of Sir John Gay Alleyne, who, for his judicious defence, was honoured with the public thanks of the general assembly." It would seem, that these pamphlets, especially the first, was printed in England; but when I began to transcribe the paragraph, my impression was that both were printed in Barbadoes. Poyer throws no more light upon it. No more about printing is mentioned by this author, except in 1794 he says the belligerent "admiral and general condescended to communicate to the president (of Council) the ulterior operations of their combined forces, which were regularly published, by his authority, in the Barbadoes Mercury."

So much for Poyer. By this last extract you will see that the Mercury was still in being in 1794. You say it was continued after 1775.

Extract from "Views of the Campaigns of the North Western Army, by Samuel R. Brown—1815 p. 156. "There is (in Detroit) a kind of nunnery, a Roman chapel for devotion and singing: a wretched printing office, in which religious French books are printed in a rude style. Learning is almost wholly neglected. In 1809, James M. Miller of Utica (New York) established a weekly paper entitled the Michigan Essay, but did not meet with sufficient encouragement to con-

tinue it beyond the third number." This must be new to you; at least your book takes no notice of the fact.

I said the date of Gen. Fobes death must be the guide for the date of Sower 2d appearing before him. B. W. Sower, now and formerly, insists upon it that he thinks I am wrong in attributing this circumstance to the 2d Sower. He says that family tradition ascribed it to Sower 1st. But I give you both sides, and you are the last appeal.

I mentioned the spelling of names, and instanced McCorkle. I might have added that your last letter, in writing the name of Thomas Paine, spells it Payne.

B. W. Sower tells me that John Hewes, of Baltimore, was probably intended by Yundt, and not Hayes: that he understood that the latter had been long since dead; and that the former was an intimate of Yundt's, and purchased the Federal Gazette of him.

June 29, Woodhouse has been searching Franklin's file of papers in Phil. Library, to ascertain the truth of his grace of God advertisements. He could not light on the fact, but says he will enquire of old Mr. Hall, respecting it.

But in rumaging he found a notice from James Chattin, next door to the pipe, Church alley, 1752, "that next seventh day would be published a pamphlet on education."

And in the paper of May 25, 1752, is the following obituary. "Last evening (you say the 23d) departed this life Wm. Bradford Printer, of this city, in the 94th year of his age. He came to America 70 years ago, and landed at a place where Philadelphia now stands, before that city was laid out, or a house built there. He was printer to the government upwards of 50 years."

July 10. This letter is the avant courier, though the last in order of three I had prepared, and intended, at first, to be sent by post. They are now put up in a bundle of such books of your order as are to be obtained in this city. The bundle is directed to the care of Thomas and Andrews, Boston, and goes by the schooner Alexander, capt. Barnabas Lincoln, jun., freight 50 cents, The vessel starts from this on Sunday next, the 16th instant. A receipt is taken.

July 18. Another tale of Aitken. The tradition is from my father. A lawyer of this city (his name, if recollected right, McGill) apprenticed his son in Aitken's printing office. A verbal agreement was made that the boy should not wheel the barrow. But once, Aitken, in the hurry of business, called the lad, and sent him off with some goods in the barrow, and without recollecting the agreement. The boy's pride was wounded, and the father took up the cudgels for him. A suit was instituted with a view of cancelling the indentures. The matter came before the mayor's court. The recorder of the court at that time was Allen, a noted jurisconsult, and who afterwards went with the British. The time was 1775. A person (I think it was the prothonotor of the city) happened to be present, when the bargain was made. He was asked if he knew anything of this agreement. He answered he recollected something of it, but thought, at the time, it would not do: it was making a boy of a gentleman, or a gentleman of a boy. After the evidence was heard, the recorder summed up, and gave it as his opinion that the boy was liable to go his master's errands. He instanced himself, when he was apprentice to chief justice Chew, he was obliged to convey his master's books every court day to the court house. They might be wheeled, or carried in the arms, but the books must be there. He ordered the boy back. The next day Aitken called the boy down. Now, says he, I will not have you in my house. I only wanted to show you that I was your master, and your father's master: and now off about your business.

When Bell was auctioneering one night, he held up, in turn, Babbington's Works, a huge folio. A celver book, said Bell, and if you have patience to go through it, you are welcome. A person, continued he, was going to the gallows, and had it left to his choice either to read Babbington through, or be hung. The fellow looked at it for some time: Well, returned he, I had rather be hung.

I expect I am now done troubling you. I remain your friend and well wisher

Wm. McCulloch