

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CENSUS OFFICE.

FRANCIS A. WALKER, Superintendent,
Appointed April 1, 1879; resigned November 8, 1881.

CHAS. W. SEATON, Superintendent,
Appointed November 4, 1881.

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LIBRARY

THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS,

BY

S. N. D. NORTH.

ALASKA: ITS POPULATION, INDUSTRIES, AND RESOURCES,

BY

IVAN PETROFF.

THE SEAL ISLANDS OF ALASKA,

BY

HENRY W. ELLIOTT.

SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES,

BY

HENRY HALL.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1884.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CENSUS OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., April 1, 1884.

Hon. H. M. TELLER,
Secretary of the Interior.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith the eighth volume of the quarto series comprising the final report on the Tenth Census. This volume, miscellaneous in character, contains a report (1) on the Newspaper and Periodical Press, by S. N. D. North; (2) on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska, by Ivan Petroff; (3) on the Seal Islands of Alaska, by Henry W. Elliott; and (4) on the Ship-building Industry in the United States, by Henry Hall. The four subjects herein treated were confided to special agents, the results of whose investigations and studies are contained in these reports.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. W. SEATON,
Superintendent of Census.

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HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION

OF THE.

NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

WITH A

CATALOGUE OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CENSUS YEAR.

BY

S. N. D. NORTH,
SPECIAL AGENT.



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- No. 5.—Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, Indian territory
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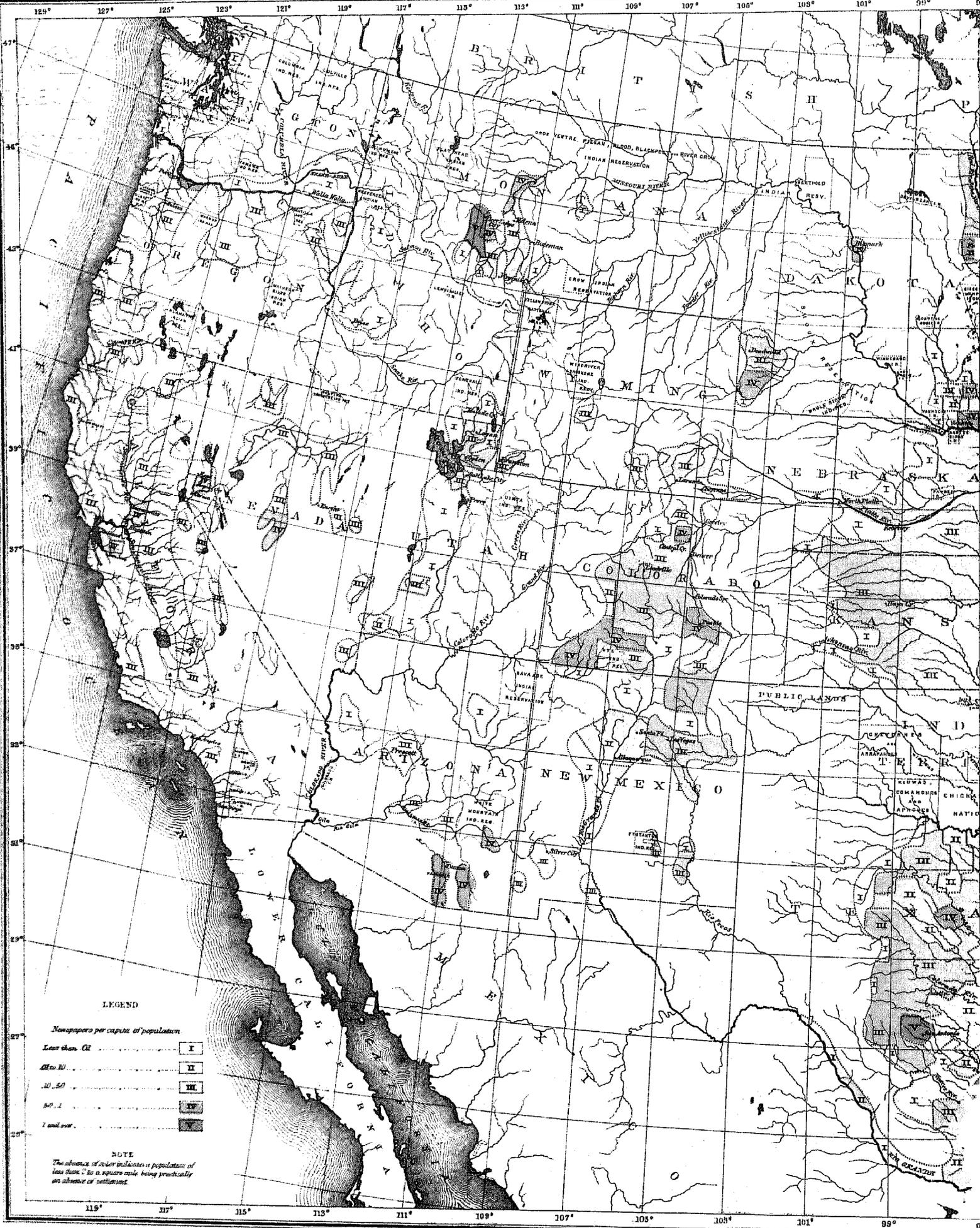
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LEGEND

Newspapers per capita of population

- Less than .02 I
- .02 to .10 II
- .10 to .50 III
- .50 to 1 IV
- 1 and over V

NOTE

The absence of a color indicates a population of less than 100 in square miles being practically an absence of settlements.



MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
 SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN THE
NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED
 AND THE POPULATION
 Compiled from the Returns at the
 Tenth Census.
 1880.

97° 96° 93° 91° 89° 87° 85° 83° 81° 79° 77° 75°

Scale
 200 400 600 Miles.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UTICA, N. Y., October 1, 1881.

Hon. FRANCIS A. WALKER,
Superintendent of Census.

SIR: I transmit herewith a Report upon the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States for the Tenth Census. The collection and preparation of the statistics of this branch of inquiry were intrusted to my care, as a special agent of the Census Office, on May 21, 1880. The report is divided into four parts, as follows:

- I. A history of the newspaper and periodical press from 1639 to 1880.
- II. Statistical tables.
- III. A catalogue of periodical publications issued during the census year.
- IV. A chronological history of the newspaper press of the United States.

The tables separately submitted are fifteen in number, and embody the essential facts and figures bearing upon the number, the character, the circulation, the earnings, the manufacture, and the comparative growth by census decades of the newspaper and periodical press. A number of minor tabular statements, illustrative of several of these features, are included in the body of the report.

The first portion of the report is an attempt to briefly sketch the history of newspaper and periodical publication in the United States, which was suggested by you as a proper complement to a report upon the present condition of this interesting industry. Private ventures in the direction of such a history have been few and unsatisfactory. The most important is Isaiah Thomas' *History of Printing*, which brings the subject down to the year 1810, covering in a very complete manner the history of printing in the United States up to that date. It was republished in 1875, with many valuable foot-notes and additions, by the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Massachusetts, of which Mr. Thomas was the founder. *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872*, by the late Frederic Hudson, of the New York *Herald*, preserves in desultory and unchronological form a great mass of important data relating to the subsequent development of the American press. In addition to the information supplied by these sources, much has been added from pamphlets, occasional addresses, scattered gazetteers, newspaper files, and personal correspondence. Notwithstanding the pains taken to complete the historical record, this portion of the work is at points incomplete and unsatisfactory; but care has been taken to supply all the statistics of any moment heretofore published respecting the publication of newspapers in the United States, and the groundwork here exists upon which hereafter may be constructed the full and complete history of the American press.

This history naturally divides itself into three periods, namely, the colonial, which carries the American newspaper to the close of the war of the revolution; the transitional, which brings the history down to that point of time when, by the perfection of printing machinery, the establishment of telegraphs and railroads, and the operation of other causes, the American press took on its present distinguishing characteristics, inaugurating the third period.

In considering the development of the press in this third era I have chosen to treat the historical data in direct association with the statistics elicited by the Tenth Census, and this consideration forms the third section of the report. The chronological method of treating such a topic is so unsatisfactory that it has been avoided, and in an appendix to the report has been gathered together, in chronological order, such data respecting the origin and growth of the press in each state and territory as was attainable.

The second portion of the report consists of a series of statistical tables.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

The third section of the report, being the catalogue of the American press in the census year, has been prepared directly from the schedules forwarded to the Census Office by the several publishers, and is submitted in the belief that it is valuable, not only for current reference, but as an historical record. A complete file of the newspaper and periodical press as it existed in the census year was also collected at your suggestion, arranged alphabetically by states and territories, and also by classes, and has been deposited in the Library of Congress, where it will be properly bound, and remain a unique memorial of the periodical literature of the census year.

It has not seemed fit, in a report of this character, to enter into any disquisition upon the character, the power, or the influence of the press as a factor in American civilization. The data for deductions of that nature are supplied for the use of others. Neither has it seemed proper to color an official report with allusions to the personal services of any of the distinguished gentlemen who have done so much in the past, and who are doing so much at present, to build up the press, to develop its resources, to extend its usefulness, and to elevate its general character and influence.

In conclusion, permit me to express the obligation I am personally under to yourself and the chiefs of the several divisions of the Census Office for unvarying courtesies and facilities during the progress of this investigation. Mr. Benjamin M. Lewis, of Utica, New York, who has served as assistant agent from the beginning of the investigation, is entitled to especial praise for the zeal, care, and intelligence with which he has forwarded the work. Acknowledgment is also due of the services of many private gentlemen, and especially to the corresponding secretaries of several historical societies, and to Dr. Henry A. Homes, the accomplished librarian of the New York state library, for valuable assistance in the collection of data.

Very respectfully, yours,

S. N. D. NORTH,
Special Agent.

THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS.

FIRST PERIOD: 1639-1783.

THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING IN AMERICA.

The history of the United States of America is contemporaneous with the real development of the art of printing. The first known specimen of printing in the English language, the presumable handiwork of William Caxton, bears the date 1471, less than a quarter of a century before the discovery of America. The progress of the art in England and on the continent was quite as slow as the progress of discovery and settlement in America. The popular demand for the services of the printing press was not marked until after the publication at Antwerp in 1526 of Tyndale's translation of the Testament, and of Luther's Bible, which followed it, in 1534. There is positive evidence that a printing press was established in Mexico as early as 1540, (a) and John R. Bartlett alludes to the fact that "readers familiar with early books relating to Mexico have seen mention of a book printed there as early as 1535". (a) He continues that in the year 1532 the viceroy, D. Antonio de Mendoza, carried printing to Mexico. The first printer was Juan Pablos, and the first book printed in the New World was that written by St. John Climacus, entitled *Spiritual Ladder to Ascend to Heaven*. (b) He adds the titles of ninety-three books printed in Mexico prior to and including the year 1600, and of seven books printed in Peru before 1600. These books were mostly on religious subjects, the governments strictly prohibiting printing without license; but the list also includes many works which treat of history, morals, and classics, as well as grammars and dictionaries for the use of the aborigines. A royal printing house was established in Port au Prince, on the French part of the island of Santo Domingo, as early as 1650, and several other presses existed in neighboring towns at dates more recent, but previous to the eighteenth century. There was also printing in Portuguese America previous to the opening of the eighteenth century.

The development of printing contemporaneous with that of America.

Printing in Mexico.

Gazettes were also printed in both Mexico and Peru at a very early date; but whether anterior to the first New England newspapers is a matter of some doubt, although the probabilities favor that view. Several authorities state that they existed before the close of the seventeenth century. Dr. Robertson thus describes the contents of the *Gazetta de Mexico* for the years 1728, 1729, and 1730, printed in quarto:

Gazettes in Mexico and Peru.

It is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, *auto da fés*, etc. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner of this monthly magazine of intelligence. (c)

Even such a gazette, it should be added, was superior to anything published in the colonies until near the time of the revolution.

a Thomas' *History of Printing*, Appendix A. The references in this report are to the second edition of Isaiah Thomas' *History of Printing in America*, published in 1874 as volumes V and VI of the *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, of Worcester, Massachusetts, under the joint editorial supervision of Samuel F. Haven, Nathaniel Paine, and Joel Munsell.

b *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 367.

c In Spanish America the first newspaper was founded in Chili in 1712. * * * * In Mexico the oldest newspaper is *El Siglo XIX*, which is published daily, and supports liberal principles. * * * * In the present British-American colonies the credit of establishing the earliest newspaper belongs to the island of Barbadoes, where Keimer founded the *Barbadoes Gazette* in 1731. Thirty-one years afterward, in 1762, appeared the *Barbadoes Mercury*, which continued till 1845. In the other British West India islands newspapers were introduced as follows: Grenada, 1742; Antigua, 1748; St. Kitts, 1748; Dominica, 1765; St. Vincent, 1784. In July of the latter year the *Bermuda Gazette* was founded. In Canada the *Quebec Gazette* appeared in 1765, and the *Montreal Gazette* in 1775. In Nova Scotia the *Halifax Gazette* appeared in 1751, but was not firmly established till 1760. In New Brunswick two or three newspapers were published at St. John in 1782.—Appleton's *American Cyclopaedia*.

The founders of the colony of Massachusetts arrived at Salem in 1628, and in January, 1639, the first printing was done in what is now the United States. (a) Previous to the establishment of this first press at Cambridge a number of manuscripts originating in the colonies had been sent to England for publication, and there is evidence that this practice continued for some eighty years afterward. (b) Moses Coit Tyler makes the first book written in America Captain John Smith's *True Relation of Such Occurrences as might have Happened in Virginia*, etc., which was composed in 1607 and published in London the following year. The second book written in the colonies was Smith's letter to the English proprietors, and the third his *Map of the Bay and the Rivers*, which was not printed until 1612, at Oxford. In 1610 Sir Thomas Gates wrote *A True Repository of the Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, which he sent to England to be printed. George Sandys, also of Virginia, wrote a translation of *Ovid*, which was sent to London for publication in 1626. There are records of a number of other volumes, chiefly of a religious character, which were written in this country and sent to England for publication prior to the establishment of the first press at Cambridge, in 1639. Thomas says in his *History of Printing in America* that "from a variety of causes it happened that many original works were sent from New England—Massachusetts in particular—to London to be printed. Among these causes the principal were: 1, the press at Cambridge had generally full employment; 2, the printing done there was executed in an inferior style; 3, many works on controverted points of religion were not allowed to be printed in this country".

As a matter of fact, up to this period, and for a long time after, there was almost no demand for printed matter in the colonies, and very few London publications of any character were sold in this country. The first regular bookseller of whom there is any account was Hezekiah Usher, who is not known to have been in business earlier than 1652. The British books that found their way to the colonies were generally kept in shops with other wares. Benedict Arnold sold drugs and books. Later in the development of the colonies the occupations of printer, bookbinder, and bookseller were generally combined in one.

Although there was considerable culture and learning among the early settlers of Virginia, and several of them were book writers, as we have seen, the feasibility of doing their own printing does not appear to have occurred to any one in the colony until 1681, seventy-four years after the first settlement was made. Some explanation of the delay clearly lies in the celebrated declaration of Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, in his answer to the inquiries of the Lords of the Committee for the Colonies in 1671:

I thank God we have not free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both.

The pious protest of the governor against "free schools and printing" nearly forty years after the founding of Harvard university and the establishment of the first printing press in the younger colony of Massachusetts has been held to illustrate the difference between the cavalier civilization of Virginia and the Puritan civilization of New England. When the first printing press was introduced into Virginia, in 1681, its adventuresome proprietor, one John Buckner, (c) was promptly called before the governor and council and ordered to enter into bond "not to print anything hereafter until his majesty's pleasure shall be known". This was an actual suppression of the press, and thus differed materially from the regulation of it by the appointment of licensers, which had in the meanwhile been sanctioned by law in Massachusetts. But it was simply the carrying out of royal instructions, and therefore not a test of Virginia civilization. The licensing of printing was still in vogue in the mother country, nor was it formally abandoned there until 1694, on the accession of William and Mary. It continued, even after the revolution of 1688, to be assumed by the crown as one of the rights of the prerogative in all the American colonies, as claimed and exercised under the Stuarts. The royal governors

a The funds for the purchase of this press in England were contributed or collected by the Rev. Joseph Glover, a wealthy dissenting clergyman. The press appears to have been particularly provided for the benefit of the academy then founded there, and also for Harvard college, which was founded soon after. The records of the latter institution contain this entry: "Mr. Joss Glover gave to the college a font of printing letters, and some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave toward furnishing of a printing press with letters forty-nine pounds, and something more." Mr. Glover died on the voyage across the Atlantic in 1638, and the press was set up and managed for ten years by one Stephen Daye, who was employed by Mr. Glover in England to come to this country and serve in the capacity of a practical printer. The first press remained at Cambridge "upward of sixty years", and for about thirty years printing in the British North American colonies was exclusively conducted in this town. The first publication from this press was *The Freeman's Oath*, which bears the imprint 1639; the second was an almanac; and the third, printed in 1640, was *The Psalms in Metre, Faithfully Translated for the Use, Edification, and Comfort of the Saints in Publick and Private, especially in New England*, crown 8vo., 300 pages. Thomas gives a list of nine books or pamphlets known to have been published from this press while it continued under the management of Daye. He adds that "many others were printed by Daye, but no copies of them are now to be found".

b Thomas' *History of Printing*, vol. i, p. 15.

c *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 331.

of the American colonies under William and Mary were vested with the censorship over the press. (a) The instructions to these governors read as follows, as quoted from the commission of a New York governor:

And forasmuch as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing within our province of New York, you are to provide by all necessary orders that noe person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever bee printed without your especial leave and license first obtained. (b)

Mr. Bancroft insists that, in spite of these instructions, "the press generally was as free in America as in any part of the world." To accept this view we must be convinced that the imposition of a license does not work a greater comparative repression in a country crude and unsettled, without expert mechanics, and with few ambitious of the printer's honors, where the art of printing has not yet obtained a footing, than in countries where, under even severer discipline, it had yet made steady headway for more than a century. At the same time it is to be borne in mind that the press sprang up in several of these colonies while these instructions were yet nominally in force, and in practical defiance of them. Yet, as long as the British authority remained unchallenged, there was continual interference with the press on the part of the government, and notably in the three colonies of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, where it had taken hardest root. No single event in the colonial annals of the continent attracted more general attention, both in America and England, than The trial of Zenger. the trial of John Peter Zenger, publisher of the *New York Gazette*, in 1735—thirty years later than the establishment of the first American newspaper—for the publication of "false, scandalous, malicious, seditious libels" against the royal government of the colony of New York; a trial in which the government persisted, by information, after the grand jury had refused to indict; a trial in which all the authority of the crown, all the weight of the court, and all the power of the English common law of libel failed to coerce a verdict of guilty from the jury. The trial of Zenger was the first real struggle of the colonial press for freedom of speech against the government, and laid the deep and broad foundation of the liberty of the press in America. But it was twenty years later (January 25, 1755) that the Rev. William Smith, first and last provost of the College of Pennsylvania, was arrested by order of the Pennsylvania assembly and sent to jail, where he remained six months, for translating and publishing in one of the German newspapers a pamphlet reflecting on the government. It was in 1771 that Thomas was annoyed by the Massachusetts governor and council very much as Zenger had been in New York, except that he was not imprisoned, and the attempt to proceed against him by information was abandoned on account of the popular opposition; and in 1769 General Alexander McDougall, of New York, reputed to be the author of a pamphlet, privately printed, which the assembly of that colony resolved to be a "false, seditious, and infamous libel on the government", was arrested, imprisoned from December to April, when the grand jury found an indictment against him, and was finally brought before the assembly and required to answer whether he was guilty or not. McDougall refused to answer, on the ground that he was under indictment for the alleged offense and was entitled to an unprejudiced trial before a jury of his peers. He was finally adjudged guilty of a breach of the privileges of the house, and committed again to prison, where he remained several months. The annals of the colonies are full of somewhat similar instances of the severity with which the authorities of this country, in imitation of those of Great Britain, dealt with the printers and those who participated in political discussion through the instrumentality of the newspaper or printed page.

The only direct legislation of Great Britain against the colonial press was the stamp act of 1765, aimed quite as much against other pursuits as against printing, but more direct in its influence upon the newspaper press than upon any other colonial enterprise. A considerable number of the newspapers, particularly in the south, were driven to suspend publication until the stamp act was repealed. More opulent The stamp act of 1765. but equally cautious publishers, when the act was to take effect, dressed their journals in mourning, and for a few weeks omitted to publish them. Others, less cautious, but apprehensive of the consequences of publishing newspapers without stamps, omitted the titles altogether, or altered them as an evasion. Those publishers who continued to print without reference to the stamp took a risk which proved how thoroughly imbued they were with the spirit out of which grew the revolution. The stamp act was but a temporary check to newspaper growth; but it must be regarded as the manifestation of a spirit which these early printers knew to be ever present, the spirit to coerce the press into more circumspect allusion to the causes of friction between the colonies and the mother country. The colonial governments in the colonies of Massachusetts and New York also resorted to stamp acts as a means of raising revenue. Such an act was passed in Colonial stamp acts. Massachusetts in 1755, and a similar act by the assembly of New York in 1756, which was continued until January, 1760. During this period the papers then published in that colony sometimes appeared with stamps and sometimes without them. These acts were plainly modeled upon the English parliamentary law, which then bore so heavily upon the press of the mother country. The fact that there were but two, and that they lasted so short a time, may be accepted as the evidence that the American colonists early recognized the press as an instrument of popular education and civilization, which was entitled to exemption from the burdens of taxation.

^a Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. ii, p. 279, edition of 1876.

^b *Documents relating to Colonial History of New York*. See Instructions to Governors Dongan, Sloughter, Fletcher, Bellomont, and Hunter, 1686 to 1709.

It is worthy of remark that since the revolution only two American states have attempted a direct tax upon the products of the press. In 1785 the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act imposing duties upon licensed vellum, parchment, and paper, and laid a duty of two-thirds of a penny upon newspapers and a penny upon almanacs, which were to be stamped. This act became at once so odious that it was repealed before it went into effect, but in the July following another act was passed which imposed a duty on all advertisements inserted in the newspapers of the commonwealth. This latter enactment was denounced by Isaiah Thomas, then publisher of the Worcester *Spy*, and by many of his contemporaries, as placing an improper restraint upon the press, and in consequence of it he discontinued the publication of the *Spy* during the two years in which it was in operation. One of the sources of revenue in the state of Virginia as recent as 1848 was a tax on newspapers, the revenue from which in that year amounted to \$355. (a)

MECHANICAL DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING IN AMERICA.

It is difficult at this distance in time to realize the mechanical obstacles which retarded and embarrassed the introduction of printing in colonial America. Everything in the shape of materials was of necessity imported from the mother country, at an outlay which must be made at the risk of small and doubtful return. The earliest printing press known to have been manufactured in this country was made for Christopher Sower, jr., the Germantown printer, in 1750; but it was not until the eve of the revolutionary war that good printing presses were manufactured as a business in the colonies. In 1775 such presses were made in Hartford, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, modeled almost wholly on the English press; and after that date the importation of hand presses gradually ceased. Thomas says that the great improvements perfected by Adam Ramage in the prevailing press led to the entire cessation of importation as early as 1800; (b) but, as a matter of fact, the Ramage presses, while they were superior to anything previously built in this country, were wholly inadequate for satisfactory newspaper work, and his early presses were so small that only one-half of one side of a sheet of the ordinary dimensions of that period could be printed at one time, and four distinct impressions were necessary to print both sides of a small newspaper. (c) It was not until the beginning of the present century that iron was substituted for wood as the principal material in the construction of American presses. The most successful of these later inventions was the Columbian press, invented by George Clymer, of Philadelphia, about 1817, which certainly indicated the greatest improvement ever shown in one machine for hand printing, and many hundreds of which, with important later modifications, are still in use throughout the United States. Self-acting or machine printing presses were totally unknown before the present century; and, for many years after their invention and use in England, all that were used in this country were imported from Great Britain.

Paper was also of necessity wholly imported until 1700, and chiefly imported for nearly one hundred years thereafter. The first paper-mill in the colonies was built in 1690, by William Rittenhouse, at Germantown, Pennsylvania, with the assistance of William Bradford, then the only printer in the colonies southward or westward of New England. Ten years later this little mill was carried away by a freshet, and the stone mill, erected in its stead soon after, continued to manufacture paper until 1798, under the auspices of the same family. How far in the enterprise of paper-making William Bradford was in advance of the country generally may be inferred from the fact that the first paper-mill in New England—a region which was settled by the English a half century before Pennsylvania—to wit, that at Milton, Massachusetts, was not erected until 1730, about forty years after the one in Pennsylvania. (d) The whole history of this first paper-mill has been carefully collected by Horatio Gates Jones in his *Historical Sketch of the Rittenhouse Paper Mill*. In 1770, according to Munsell, (e) there were forty paper-mills in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, which were supposed to make £100,000 worth of paper annually. At the breaking out of the revolution there were three small paper-mills in Massachusetts, and one in Rhode Island out of repair. (f) The paper these mills could make fell far short of the demand, and much of it was miserably manufactured, it being often taken from the mills wet and unsized. Rags were scarce, and were collected and transported with great difficulty. The manufacture of paper was further checked by the great difficulty of finding skilled workmen to carry it on. The paper-makers, like the printers, were long in increasing, because the uncertainties attending the business were so great as to deter men from undertaking it, either as a trade or with a view to the investment of capital.

Still more important, as a repressive influence, was the cost and difficulty of securing type for printing enterprises.

It was not until 1772 that a regular type foundry was established in America, although there had been at least two previous unsuccessful efforts in that direction—one in Boston, about 1768, by a Mr. Michelson, from Scotland, and one in Connecticut, a few years later, by Abel Buell. (g)

a Munsell's *Typographical Miscellany*, Albany, 1850. b *History of Printing*, vol. i, p. 36. c *Cyclopedia of Printing*, p. 359.

d John William Wallace on Bradford. e Munsell's *Chronology of Paper Making*, p. 30. f Munsell's *Chronology of Paper Making*, p. 31.

g I have yet to notice an exceedingly interesting fact in regard to the history of newspapers and printing in Connecticut—a fact which seems not to be widely known. It is, that the first metallic type cast on this continent was the work of an ingenious citizen of this

Christopher Sower, jr., already mentioned as the first manufacturer of a printing press in America, established a type foundry at Germantown in 1772. This was eighty-four years after the first venture of the father, on the same spot, in the manufacture of paper. The materials for this foundry were imported from Germany, as well as a workman to make use of them. The first font cast here was a German pica for the printing of a Bible, a fact significant in more ways than one. About the time the revolution broke out a second type foundry was established at Germantown by one Jacob Bey, who had been a workman in the original American foundry. The type foundry established by Benjamin Franklin in 1775 was the third in the colonies, and the last until the close of the revolutionary war. It was under the management of B. F. Bache, Franklin's son-in-law, and was equipped with all the materials needed for making Greek, Hebrew, or Roman type; but the small demand for types led to its practical abandonment before it contributed substantially to the supply of types in the country at the time the revolutionary war was in progress. It was a number of years after the conclusion of that war before the United States was able, from its own manufactories, to supply the better part of the increasing demand for types. (a)

The first type foundries.

The printing ink used in this country for many years was almost wholly imported from Europe. Thomas records that Rogers & Fowle, of Boston, who were engaged in the book and newspaper printing business in 1750, were the only printers in the colonies who at that time could make good ink. He adds that "in the first stages of printing printers made their own ink and types; but the manufacture of types and ink soon became separate branches of business. Most of the bad printing in the United States, particularly in New England, during the revolutionary war was occasioned by the wretched ink and more wretched paper which printers were then under the necessity of using". (b)

Ink.

These were the mechanical and material obstacles in the pathway of the rapid introduction of the art of printing in the American colonies. They were of a character to check and restrain a movement in that direction, which during the entire century previous to the American revolution had been undergoing remarkable acceleration in Great Britain. The people of that country were just beginning in this century to discover the possibilities and the capabilities of the printing press. Books were multiplying, periodical publications were becoming an accepted element in the current civilization, and the masses of the people were beginning to get the benefits of the art that has done more than all other arts to level and destroy the distinctions of class and caste.

SMALL DEMAND FOR BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS.

It is an accepted fact that the development of printing in England and on the continent during the three-quarters of a century preceding the American revolution was marvelous in degree and in kind, notwithstanding repressive and increasing government taxation, and found no counterpart on this side of the ocean. The purely mechanical obstacles which have been summarized were the least important causes of this slow progress. They were obstacles which the inventive enterprise of the colonists would have overcome if the effort in that direction had been stimulated by the promise of adequate reward, but

The colonists not a reading people.

(Middlesex) county; I mean Abel Buell, of Killingworth. He petitioned the general assembly in 1769 for aid to establish a foundry, for the reason that he had discovered the art of letter founding, which he said in his Memorial was known but to few in Europe. He asked for assistance, "either by lottery or in some other way." He added that, as a specimen of his abilities, he had caused his Memorial to the general assembly to be impressed with types of his own manufacture. This document, thus impressed, may be seen in the state library at Hartford. It is a very excellent specimen of typography, and but little inferior to the best of the present day.

A committee of the assembly took the subject into consideration, and reported, in regard to Buell's invention, that they "are fully convinced that he hath discovered the art of letter founding". They proposed to let him have £100, "provided he doth not depart from this colony to inhabit elsewhere." Buell was required to give bonds in the sum of £200 that he would return the money loaned by the general assembly after the lapse of seven years.

It does not appear, however, that the foundry was ever erected. In the Yale college library, in connection with this subject, are letters from Benjamin Yale, of Killingworth, of the date of Buell's petition to the legislature, addressed to President Stiles, the head of the college. Yale solicits the assistance of President Stiles in behalf of Buell, for the reason that he has "done a great thing for his country in learning the art of compounding type metal and casting type". He cautions that literary functionary not to let the secret communicated be known or hinted. He adds: "If you want to have a set of types, you must either procure him some old types—or if you could get a pound or two of bismuth—I think all the metals of which types are composed are to be had in America, unless it be bismuth, and I very much suspect that is likewise." He also informs President Stiles that there were at the time (1769) "near 40 presses in America; that a set of types cost £300 sterling, and they do not last more than seven or eight years. The saving to America [he continues] will be considerable annually".—Address delivered before the Connecticut Editorial Association, June 20, 1855, by James F. Babeock, of the New Haven *Palladium*.

a David Bruce, in a history of type founding in the United States, says:

The history of type founding as a business dates no farther back in this country than 1798, strictly speaking. It is true the introduction of various parcels and portions of type-founding implements dates almost coeval with the introduction of the earliest printing establishment, simply for the purpose of supplying sorts to particular offices; but type founding, as a self-sustaining business, did not exist in this country prior to the date above given, when Messrs. Binney & Ronaldson established themselves successfully in Philadelphia. Their struggle for existence in the then limited condition of printing in the United States was indeed very severe, and had not the state of Pennsylvania generously donated them the sum of \$5,000 it is doubtful if they could have survived the difficulties they encountered

b The paper and ink used by John Foster, "the first printer of London" (as he is designated on the stone which marks his grave in the Dorchester burying-ground), have stood the test of time much better than the materials used by our printers a century later. Some of his election sermons may be called elegant specimens of printing. Like impressions would do no discredit to our best printing concerns.—Munsell.

that promise was altogether lacking. The colonists were not a reading people. Franklin bears striking testimony to this fact in his autobiography :

At the time [he writes] I established myself in Philadelphia—1723—there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia the printers were indeed stationers, but they sold only paper, almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books to England.

They were far removed from the incentives and the influences which contributed to make a demand for books and newspapers in a thickly and thoroughly settled country like England, and they were not only isolated, but they had a greater concern and interest in what was going on in the mother country than in the affairs of a neighboring colony. Thus it happened that long after the making of books had begun in the colonies those few among the settlers who cared at all for books continued to prefer the volumes manufactured in England and sent across the seas, at prices at least as reasonable as those for which the American printers could afford to vend the products of their presses.

It was with newspapers as with books. Those who cared for them at all preferred the sheets which came across the water, and were wholly taken up with the details of English and European politics. The early American

Newspapers. newspapers, exhibiting that instinct which judges so accurately of the wants of the masses, and is to-day a striking characteristic of the newspaper publisher of the United States, were almost wholly filled with the details of foreign happenings. The people of one colony heard from England with greater frequency, and generally with greater interest, than they heard from another colony. We need no further explanation than is conveyed by these facts of the constant complaints of the early New England editors that their efforts to supply the colonists with the latest news were rewarded by the failure to receive in return the money expended to that end. The circulation of an American-made book, pamphlet, or newspaper was necessarily limited almost wholly to the town in which it was published. Mails were infrequent and irregular; communities were widely separated as well as sparsely settled; and to venture into the printing business under such circumstances was to be a devotee or a fanatic, and there were not many such among the men and women who laid the foundations of the American republic. The scarcity of practical printers among the colonists has attracted the attention of historians. Those who knew the trade had learned it in England, and for years after printing presses were introduced it continued to be necessary to send across the waters for printers to man them. When Governor Fletcher tempted Bradford to New York, in 1693, he did it because he could find no printer in all that city, (a) and there were several instances in which rewards were offered to tempt printers into the southern colonies.

THE FIRST STIMULUS TO PRINTING IN AMERICA.

As the questions out of which the revolution sprang began to engross the attention of the colonists the conditions we have related underwent a rapid and complete revolution. It came to be seen that the several colonies had a common cause, and that the fate of that cause transcended in interest and importance anything that might happen on the other side of the water; that the press was a most valuable and indispensable auxiliary of this common cause, and that it was the instrument most potential to secure unity of opinion and concert of action among the colonists. Men not printers, and not identified with the business in any way, were brought into closest relations with the press by this political excitement, and printing thus had the advantage of an artificial stimulus during the years preceding the outbreak of the revolution, patriotism taking the place of profit as an incentive to new enterprises.

The American people had just begun to realize the significance and importance of the press as the revolution broke upon them. They found themselves at war with the country upon which they had relied for everything in the shape of printed matter and printing materials, with no adequate provision for supplying themselves with the instrumentalities for producing their own printed matter. The specimens of the art which came from the colonial presses during the continuance of the war gave abundant evidence of the primitive appliances and the crude and unskillful workmanship. But the revolution was of incalculable service to the art in this country in two ways. It educated a generation of readers, and it evolved a generation of mechanics ready to supply those readers and quite as skillful as any of their English rivals in the invention of improved processes and the execution of good work. For a long period after the termination of the revolutionary struggle the lot of the American printer, in whatever department it was cast, was not an easy one. Those who could afford to buy books in any quantity still preferred the book of English manufacture, and venture after venture in the making of books of a higher grade than ordinary met with disastrous failure. The constituencies of the few newspapers which proved their right to live, by surviving the cruel ordeal of the war, continued to be small and unresponsive, and the utility of the periodical press as a medium for advertising had not yet been discovered.

^a The following entry appears on the council minutes of the province of New York :

Resolved in Council, That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New York for the printing of our acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40, current money of New York, per annum for his salary, and have the benefit of his printing besides what serves the publick.
March 23, 1693.—*Council minutes*, vi, 182.

Arriving in New York, Bradford was immediately appointed royal printer.

The prices paid for paper and printing material continued to be ruinously high, and men who had passed the better part of their lives in the business were compelled to confess that the result was complete failure in the pecuniary sense, and that it had been a life of hard work, constant anxiety, unnumbered embarrassments, and scant rewards. Of course there were occasional exceptions. In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin, discussing the circumstances which induced him to establish a new newspaper in Philadelphia, speaks of the only journal then existing in that city, which was Andrew Bradford's, as "a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, and yet profitable to him". The well-known antipathy between the two great Pennsylvania printers must be remembered in considering the import of this criticism. The fact that Bradford had found the printing business profitable is established. Franklin speaks of him later on as "rich and easy, and caring little for the business". He undoubtedly made the greater portion of his money out of the general printing business rather than out of the newspaper. Franklin himself, notwithstanding the adverse circumstances under which he began the business for himself in Philadelphia, by rigid economy and indomitable industry very soon succeeded in paying for his establishment and amassing a fairly comfortable competence. But even Franklin turned very early from the exclusive attention to his printing office to supplement his earnings by the office of clerk of the colonial legislature, and later by that of postmaster. These and some other exceptions to the general rule do not alter the truth of the statement that the occupation was one of hardship and penury, "the business of the printer," to quote from Franklin's autobiography again, "being generally regarded as a poor one."

THE RELIGIOUS AND THE POLITICAL PAMPHLET.

The characteristic literature of the early colonial period, indeed, was neither the book nor the periodical, but that intermediary form known as the pamphlet. The pamphlet form was still a popular though no longer a prevailing method of publication in England, and it was natural, in a new and rude country, for the literature to take this fragmentary and transient shape. The colonists were not equal to book writing or book making, and they had no need for newspapers. Their demands upon the printing press were few, and were made at distant intervals for the most practical of purposes. Thus, while the pamphlet met their wants and constituted the bulk of their literature, its most common appearance at the beginning was in the shape of the almanac. The second issue from the first Cambridge press was an almanac, and there are more almanacs than all other classes of pamphlets combined, excepting only sermons, in the bibliography of colonial literature. Some of these almanacs met with enormous sales for that day, sixty thousand copies of Ames' famous almanac, printed by John Draper, being annually sold in the New England colonies. (a)

Colonial pamphlet literature.

The bibliography of the epoch (b) reveals the fact that the great bulk of the publications of the early printing presses, other than almanacs, were in pamphlet form; that is to say, they were rude, unbound publications, of less than one hundred pages each, generally not more than twenty-five to fifty, and they arrange themselves into two grand groups—the religious and the political tract or pamphlet. In the earlier days of colonial settlement the religious pamphlet naturally predominated; it was in line with the prevailing tendencies of the colonial mind, and consisted of the publication of a famous sermon or a contribution to some of the many prevailing religious controversies, an exhortation to severer living, a denunciation of some prevalent vice, or a tract or waif sent out upon its proselyting mission. There exists a list (c) of three hundred and eighty-two of the publications of Cotton Mather (believed to be far from complete), nearly all of which were single sermons, controversial letters, or tracts of a theological complexion. The list of the publications of Increase Mather includes eighty-five titles, principally sermons or similar tracts. The fecundity of these celebrated divines was exceptional, but the direction of their efforts was not exceptional.

As the colonies progressed toward their political destiny the religious pamphlet, while it continued important, was relegated to the secondary position, and the tract became the most common method of intercommunication among the men who were profoundly concerned in the problem of the political destiny of the American colonies. These tracts or pamphlets usually took the form of letters, and were signed by fictitious names. They formed, indeed, the great bulk of the colonial literature immediately preceding the revolution, and are almost the only feature of it which is worthy of recognition as forming a distinctive colonial literature. Miscellaneous writing continued to be either a faint reflection of the cultivation of the old world or nondescript in its character and utterly unworthy

a Thomas, i, 126.

b The second edition of Thomas' *History of Printing in America* contains in an appendix a catalogue of publications prior to the revolution in what is now the United States. There are in the list 7,683 entries of titles, of which number nine-tenths, at least, are of pamphlet or tract publications. This catalogue was the work of Dr. Samuel F. Haven, jr., of Worcester, Massachusetts, one of America's most accomplished antiquarians. The work of compiling this catalogue of titles, starting from the basis of memoranda left by Isaiah Thomas, was not completed at the time when Dr. Haven dropped his antiquarian work in response to the call of his country, in whose cause he sacrificed his life. The editors of the second edition of Thomas' *History* published the catalogue just as Dr. Haven had left it. Thus it happens that the late Joseph Sabin, in his *Bibliography of American Bibliography*, describes this list of ante-revolutionary publications as being "far from complete", and adds, with truth, that "a reference to Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* would have furnished many titles now entirely omitted". Careful comparison of the entries in this list and in Sabin's *Dictionary* reveals several hundred titles omitted in the former. As a rule, they are of the tract or pamphlet order, and of unpretentious character.

c *Life of Cotton Mather*, by his son, Samuel Mather. Boston, 1729.

in its attempts at originality, a conclusion to be drawn after considering the industrious efforts of Moses Coit Tyler to rescue early American literature from oblivion and elevate it to permanent dignity. (a) The type of fragmentary literature represented by the political pamphlet was not only developed out of all proportion to every other form of literature except the religious in colonial America, but exhibits in its best aspects the tendencies and peculiarities of the American mind, and at the time took immediate rank with the cultured writing of European statesmanship. This was before an American book, outside of politics, had ever been read or heard of on the other side of the Atlantic. (b)

The pamphlet era of colonial literature has been spoken of as the formative one. This form of publication was not chosen for the reason that it was the best, but because it was the only form available. As the newspaper developed in importance the pamphlet slowly but surely made way before its onward march. The burden of the publication of the pamphlet rested solely upon the author, and he could not, and did not, look for reimbursement by sales. Its circulation was correspondingly limited, and it was, moreover, necessarily accidental, as it was without organized and regular methods of reaching the hands of those to whom it was addressed. These methods the newspapers at once supplied, and the amalgamation of the political pamphlet and the newspaper became speedily complete, adding to the importance of each. They gave publicity to the views of the political writers of the time without involving either them or the newspaper publishers in expense on account of them, and came in time to be an expected and a distinguishing feature of the periodical press. The latter crowded the pamphlet out of the field, and has held its own against it ever since, as it is right and natural that it should. Undoubtedly the pamphlet, with its popularity, stimulated the printing industry of the colonial epoch, and was a great instrumentality in preparing the way for the more rapid establishment of newspapers. As the colonies approached the verge of the revolution the number of political writers increased rapidly, but their writings found circulation almost entirely through the medium of the periodical press.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPERS.

The first English newspaper printed in America was issued from a Boston press in 1690. It is a significant commentary upon the subsequent rank growth of periodical literature in the United States that this pioneer paper was immediately suppressed by the authorities of Massachusetts. It was entitled *Publick Occurrences*. *Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick*, and, for the reasons named, never reached the dignity of a second number. (c) It is doubtful, therefore, whether the real date of the birth of American journalism is not fourteen years later, as given by Thomas, because of the establishment of the *Boston News-Letter* on April 4, 1704. (d) It is worthy of attention that it was during the series of years in which the printing press was gradually getting foothold in the American colonies that the determined and finally successful effort to

a *A History of American Literature*, 2 vols., 1676-1765. By Moses Coit Tyler: 1879.

b In the early schools of the colonies the American mind was soon educated to a point in the science of politics much in advance of the contemporary culture of Europe, and it produced, along with this intellectual progress, a literature the vigor and even sometime elegance of which became the admiration of some of the first publicists and statesmen of England. Of course the remains of this early literature are very scant. Before the revolution of 1776 few books were printed in America, and most of the school-books came from England. The political literature of the colonial era was necessarily or conveniently tractarian, taking the form of pamphlets and letters and other comparatively light and perishable forms of the press; yet many of them were perishable only in the conventional sense, and the controversial pamphlets of colonial politics, the prints of Franklin and Witherspoon and Price, the tracts of Adams, the *Farmer's Letters* of Dickinson, and the *Common Sense* of Paine take rank with a literature that in more modern times has been thought worthy of preservation in the best boards of the binder's art, and illuminates the libraries of our scholars. It would be interesting to collect these productions of the colonial period, in a sense more extraordinary than that of reclaiming strays and fugitives in the general literature of our country. The form of literature, so far as print and paper are concerned, is very insignificant, and in some sense the distinction between the pamphlet and book is merely mechanical; yet this minor literature (using the comparative term as only that of the printer's art) attaches some peculiarities which give it frequently a character *sui generis*. This is remarkably so in one form of literature even lesser, mechanically, than the pamphlet, and one which was formerly much in fashion in our politics. The modern facilities of the press and the multiplication of its uses have been the occasion of the decay of what at one time figured largely in the communication of ideas, and especially those concerning political affairs. We refer to the elaborate letter, or epistle, in times wherein the means of miscellaneous print were less abundant and men were wont to compose long dissertations in communications to their friends, designed, perhaps, to go the rounds of a circle of acquaintances. * * * * Beyond the letters of Franklin but little has been rescued from what was almost the exclusive department of our literature in colonial times. Much of it must have been destroyed in the perishable form of manuscript, or has passed beyond the region of discovery. * * * * It is to be observed that America has reversed that order which has commonly been observed in the productions of a nation's genius. As a general rule of history, the poet precedes the statesman, or, in more general phrase, the arts are anterior to political science. This rule we see remarkably reversed in the intellectual development of America.—Tyler's *History of American Literature*.

c Considerable doubt has been expressed regarding the genuineness of the only copy of this paper known to be in existence, which is in the State Paper office in London. That such a paper was actually published at the date given would seem to be established beyond peradventure by the references to it in the colonial annals of Massachusetts.

d The second newspaper printed in the colonies was a republication of an English gazette in 1696 in New York by order of the royal governor. The circumstance is thus detailed by Governor Fletcher in a letter to the lords of trade, dated May 30, 1696: "A ship belonging to this place from Madera happily met at sea that vessel which had your Lord's packet for Virginia, & brought me a Gazette which gave me an account of that horrid conspiracy against His Majesty's Sacred person. I caused it to be reprinted here, & proclamation was issued for thanksgiving thro'out the province."—*Documentary History of New York*, iv, 150.

secure the abolition of the censorship of the press was in progress in the mother country. (a) The general system of censorship was established in England by a decree of the star chamber, dated June 11, 1637, which remained in force during the civil war, and was confirmed by act of parliament in 1643. Censorship of the press. It was against this act that Milton wrote his *Areopagitica, a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*. The act expired in 1679, and thereafter any person might print, at his own risk, a history, a sermon, or a poem without the previous approbation of any public officer. But the courts continued to hold that this liberty did not extend to gazettes, and that by the common law of England no man not authorized by the crown had a right to publish political news. This view of the common law was accepted without dispute in the colony of Massachusetts. Four days after the appearance of the *Publick Occurrences* it was spoken of in the general court as a pamphlet which came out "contrary to law, and contained reflections of a very high nature"; (b) and it thereupon strictly forbade "anything in print without license first obtained from those appointed by the government to grant the same". (c) This short-lived pioneer of the American press was published by Benjamin Harris "at the London coffee-house", and was printed for him by Richard Pierce on three pages of a folded sheet, one page being blank, two columns to a page, and each page being 7 by 11 inches. It was intended to appear monthly, and the journalistic notions of its projector were fully set forth in the following prospectus:

It is designed that the Countrey shall be furnished once a month (or if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener) with an account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice. In order hereunto, the Publisher will take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation of all such things; and will particularly make himself beholden to such Persons in Boston whom he knows to have been for their own use the diligent Observers of such matters. That which is herein proposed is, First, That Memorable Occurrences of Divine Providence may not be neglected or forgotten, as they too often are. Secondly, That people everywhere may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, both abroad and at home; which may not only direct their Thoughts at all times, but at some times also to assist their Business and Negotiations. Thirdly, That some thing may be done toward the Curing, or at least the Charming of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails among us, wherefore nothing shall be entered, but what we have reason to believe is true, repairing to the best fountains for our Information. And when there appears any material mistake in any thing that is collected, it shall be corrected in the next. Moreover, the Publisher of these Occurrences is willing to engage, that whereas, there are many False Reports, maliciously made, and spread among us, if any well minded person will

a The newspaper press cannot be said to have had an existence in England until the expiration of the law which subjected the press to a censorship, May 3, 1695. Within a fortnight Harris announced that the *Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign*, suppressed fourteen years before by tyranny, would again appear. Ten days later was printed the first number of the *English Courant*. Then came the *Packet Boat* from Holland and Flanders, the *Pegasus*, the *London Newsletter*, the *London Post*, the *Flying Post*, the *Old Postmaster*, the *Postboy*, and the *Postman*. These first English newspapers were not superior typographically to their humble imitators across the Atlantic, and hardly superior in a literary point of view. On these points Lord Macaulay says in his *History of England*: "At first these newspapers were small and mean-looking. Even the *Postboy* and the *Postman*, which seem to have been the best conducted and the most prosperous, were wretchedly printed on scraps of dingy paper, such as would not now be thought good enough for street ballads. Only two numbers came out in a week, and a number contained little more matter than may be found in a single column of a daily paper of our time. What is now called a leading article seldom appeared, except when there was a scarcity of intelligence, when the Dutch mails were detained by the west wind, when the Rapparees were quiet in the Bog of Allen, when no stage-coach had been stopped by highwaymen, when no nonjuring congregation had been dispersed by constables, when no ambassador had made his entry with a long train of coaches and six, when no lord or poet had been buried in the Abbey, and when, consequently, it was difficult to fill up two pages. Yet the leading articles, though inserted, as it should seem, only in the absence of more attractive matter, are by no means contemptibly written."

b Buckingham's *Reminiscences*.

c In 1662 some religious pamphlets were published by the colony, which the general court or some of the ruling clergy judged rather too liberal and tending to open the doors of heresy, and regular licensers of the press were therefore appointed at that time. The ancient records of the colony show that Major Daniel Gookin and the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell were the first appointees under this regulation. A year later, May 27, 1663, the regulation was rescinded and the general court "ordered that the printing presse be at liberty, as formerly, until this court shall take further order, and the late order is hereby repealed". The effect of this repeal seems to have been a return to the publication of somewhat free-spoken pamphlets. The government immediately became alarmed again, and the following rigid edict was subsequently passed:

At a General Court called by order from the Governour, Deputy Governour, and other magistrates, held at Boston 19th of October, 1664. For the preventing of Irregularities and abuse to the authority of this Country, by the Printing Presse, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that their shall no Printing Presse be allowed in any Towne within this Jurisdiction, but in Cambridge, nor shall any person or persons presume to print any Copie but by the allowance first had and obtaind under the hands of such as this court shall from tyme to tyme Impower; the President of the Colledge, Mr. John Shearman, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell and Thomas Shepheard, or any two of them to survey such Copie or Coppies and to prohibit or allow the same according to this order; and in case of non-observance of this order, to forfeit the Presse to the Country and be disabled from vsing any such profession within this Jurisdiction for the tyme to Come. Provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any Coppies which this Court shall Judge meete to order to be published in Print.

At the same time a law was passed that "no printing should be allowed in any town within its jurisdiction except in Cambridge". This was subsequently so modified as to permit the use of a press at Boston, and a person authorized to conduct it.

The government not only required conformity to this law, but even exercised a power behind and above it, as on an occasion when the licensers had permitted the republication of a book written by Thomas à Kempis, entitled *Imitation of Christ*, etc. This treatise was presented to the court in the session of 1667 as heretical, and immediately the following order was passed: "This court being informed that there is now in the presse reprinting a book that imitates of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas Kempis, a popish minister, wherein is contained some things that are lesse safe to be infused amongst the people of this place, Doe comend to the licensers of the presse the more full revisale thereof, and that in the meane tyme there be no further progresse in that work."

Daniel Fowle, one of the best printers and the best known men in New England in that time, was arrested in 1754, on an order from the house of representatives, and taken before that body, on suspicion of having printed a pamphlet entitled *The Monster of Ministers*, by Tom Thumb, Jr., which reflected on some of its members.

be at the pains to trace any such false Report, so far as to find out and Convict the First Raiser of it, he will in this Paper (unless just Advice be given to the contrary) expose the Name of such person, as A malicious Raiser of a False Report. It is supposed that none will dislike this Proposal, but such as intend to be guilty of so villanous a Crime.

Harris is spoken of by Thomas as the fifth printer in Boston, and previous to and after his journalistic venture he was engaged in printing, chiefly for the booksellers. Two years after the suppression of his *Publick Occurrences* he was appointed by Governor Phipps "Printer to his Excellency the Governor and Council", and printed the acts and laws of Massachusetts in 1692 and 1694.

There was nothing significant about this first journalistic venture, except the manner of its sudden demise. It was an enterprise conceived by a printer lately from London, and modeled after the sheets which were at that time beginning to be of comparative frequency in the British capital.

The second American journal appeared April 24, 1704; it was printed by Bartholomew Green, (a) and published and edited by John Campbell, then postmaster of Boston. It was called the "Boston *News-Letter*, published by authority", and was issued every Monday. Its beginning was nearly contemporaneous with the appearance of the first Scottish gazette, and it appears to have been the natural outgrowth of

Boston News-Letter.

a series of news-letters (modeled after the similar letters that had long previously been sent regularly from London into the provinces), which Campbell, by virtue of his official character as postmaster, had been in the habit of preparing and sending to the governors of the several New England provinces. Nine of these letters have been preserved. (b) They embody, in concise form, a digest of the most recent news received from across the water and the events in Massachusetts bay, with occasional

Postmasters as editors.

political or other suggestions; and they doubtless conveyed the first intelligence of these events to the distant points whither they were sent. It was a function which a postmaster, as a center of intelligence, naturally assumed; and it is not surprising that, for a long period after John Campbell established his *News-Letter*, a newspaper was regarded as a natural adjunct of a post-office. (c) The second paper in the colony was established in 1719 by William Brooker, immediately upon his appointment to succeed Campbell as postmaster of Boston, and was called the *Boston Gazette*. Four postmasters in succession conducted the *Gazette*, and the post-office may fairly be called the godfather of American journalism. (d) Beside the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette*, established by postmasters, the *Boston Weekly Post Boy* was founded, in opposition to the *Gazette*, by Ellis Hushe, immediately upon his being appointed postmaster in 1734. James Parker, postmaster of New Haven, established the *Gazette* in 1755, and Benjamin Mecom, postmaster, published the same journal in 1764. The *Providence Gazette* was established by John Carter, who had been postmaster before the revolution. James Parker, the founder of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* (1742), was comptroller of the post-office, and was subsequently accused by William Weyman, who had been his partner, and who began a rival *Gazette* in 1759, of giving orders to post-riders not to circulate this new journal. William Hunter, the publisher of the *Virginia Gazette*, was also the postmaster. During a considerable portion of the period in which he conducted the *Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury* Andrew Bradford was postmaster of that city; and the office was indeed, if we can accept Franklin's statement, "an important adjunct of the newspaper. As he held the post-office, it was imagined that he had better opportunities for obtaining the news, and his paper was thought a better distributor of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more; which was a profitable thing for him and a disadvantage to me, for tho' I did receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise; for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately, Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasioned some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of the practice that when I afterwards came into the position I took care never to imitate it."

a Five days after town meeting was issued in Boston the first newspaper published in North America. This was the *Boston News-Letter*. The proprietor and publisher was John Campbell. He was postmaster of Boston, and this office gave him superior facilities for the circulation of a newspaper. Nicholas Boone was associated as publisher.—Samuel G. Drake's *History of Boston*.

The first newspaper established in North America was the *Boston News-Letter*, the first number of which appeared on Monday, April 24, 1704. The contents of the *News-Letter* during the whole of Campbell's proprietorship are chiefly extracts from the London papers. The little that has the appearance of having been written by the editor is clumsily composed, with no regard to punctuation or grammatical construction. The *News-Letter* was regularly published for nearly seventy-two years.—Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, vol. i.

The prospectus of the *News-Letter*, as printed in the first issue, was as follows:

ADVERTISEMENT.

This *News-Letter* is to be continued weekly, and all persons who have Houses, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Ships, Vessels, Goods, Wares or Merchandise, &c., to be Sold, or Let, or Servants Run-away, or Goods Stole or Lost; may have the same inserted at a Reasonable Rate, from *Twelve Pence to Five Shillings*, and not to exceed, who may agree with *John Campbell*, Postmaster of *Boston*.

All Persons in Town and Country may have said *News-Letter* every week, yearly, upon reasonable terms, agreeing with *John Campbell*, Postmaster, for the same

b They are addressed to Governor Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, bearing dates from April to October, 1703, and are preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

c Newspapers were at first carried free in the mails. In 1758, "by reason of their great increase," they were charged with postage at 9d. a year for 50 miles and 18d. for 100 miles.

d Postmasters started the first two papers in Boston, and succeeding postmasters seemed to claim a right to such publications, or at least to think a newspaper was an appendage to their office.—Thomas.

This extract from the autobiography undoubtedly tells the real secret of the great tendency of postmasters to become the editors of the colonial newspapers, as well as of the great advantages they derived from the office in the matter of distribution.

For fifteen years Campbell's *News-Letter* continued to be the only newspaper printed in the colonies. He met with innumerable difficulties throughout this entire period, and received but little encouragement from any source. The population of Boston was 8,000 when the first number of the *News-Letter* appeared; and in August, 1719—fifteen years later—Campbell declared, in one of his frequent appeals through his paper for a better support, that he "can not vend three hundred at an impression, tho' some ignorantly concludes he sells upwards of a thousand; far less is he able to print a sheet every other week, without an addition of four, six or eight shillings a year, as every one thinks to give quarterly, which will only help to pay for press and paper, giving his labor for nothing. * * * * It is afforded by the year, or by the piece or paper, including the difference of money, far cheaper than in England, where they sell hundreds, nay thousands of copies to a very small number vended here".

Difficulties of the Boston *News-Letter*.

Such proportions between circulation and population reveal at a glance the inhospitable field in which this pioneer labored. Neither the times nor the people were well adapted to the creation of a new want of this character. The settlers had lived along without newspapers, and continued to so live after the latter were at hand. There were few stirring events going on in their own midst of which they required the periodical chronicle, and the news from England and Europe interested them only in a general way, and therefore they were content to know it by word of mouth, at second or third hand, whenever it should happen to fall to their lot to hear it. The newspaper was of no aid to them in their respective business, and there was not the remotest probability of the *News-Letter* containing any first announcement of an event which affected the value of their properties, or even worked a rise or fall in the markets. The marvelous development of the later-day journalism is due not more to the increased popular intelligence or the greater energy and enterprise of its conductors than to the fact that the changes in business and in business methods have made our whole commercial life dependent upon the information which is conveyed from continent to continent, from city to city, from interest to interest, from individual to individual, through the medium of the public press. This contrast can be made more striking by glancing at the contents of Campbell's paper. At one time he expressed his regret that he found himself "thirteen months behind in giving the news from Europe". When he did give it, it was in the shape of transcripts from the *London Gazette*, the official organ of the British government, which never contained anything the publication of which was not sanctioned by the government. Issue after issue of the *News-Letter* was almost wholly filled with the formal proclamations, the verbose addresses of deputations, and other like official matter, which then, as now, was very dull reading; especially when "thirteen months late". There were rarely advertisements in the paper; and it was not until after the revolution that the newspaper came to be generally recognized as the most natural and direct method of business communication with the public. Campbell's powers of composition were limited, and in the matter of home or colonial news he generally confined himself to the record of the arrival and departure of vessels and an occasional brief account of a fire or the death of a citizen. The dreary monotony of the files of the *News-Letter* (a) during the entire period in which it was the only American journal affords a sufficient explanation of its admitted failure in a financial point of view.

Mechanically, it was more creditable to America, in comparison with similar work then done in England. It was printed sometimes on a half-sheet folio, sometimes on a full sheet of post paper with a small-pica type, and occasionally one of the four pages would be left blank. There were a number of weekly papers published during the last census year in the United States, and specimen copies of which are contained in the census file, which in mechanical appearance and in the quality of paper used compare unfavorably with the Boston *News-Letter*.

THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIAL PRESS.

Upon the removal of Campbell from the post-office, in 1719, he met with his first opposition, his successor founding the *Boston Gazette*. The serene temper displayed in the journal for fifteen years was for the first time ruffled by this opposition, and the chagrin of the editor was not concealed from the public. The *Gazette* was owned and conducted by five persons, all of them successive postmasters, between 1719 and 1739, when it was merged with the *New England Weekly Journal*, a paper that had been established in 1727. A day later than the first issue of the *Gazette*, the third newspaper in the colonies, and the first outside of Boston, was founded in Philadelphia, the *American Weekly Mercury*, "Printed and sold by Andrew Bradford, at the Bible, in the Second street, and John Capson, in the High street, 1719-'20." Bradford was then the postmaster of Philadelphia, and the son of William Bradford, who established the first colonial printing office out of New England.

In 1721 the fourth paper appeared in Boston, its first issue dated August 7. It was called the *New England Courant*, and was established by James Franklin, who had recently lost the work of printing the *News-Letter* for Campbell. The father and many friends of Franklin are said to have been inimical to his project, "supposing that one newspaper was enough for the whole continent, and apprehending that another must occasion absolute ruin to the printer." (b) Nevertheless it had been left for Franklin

The *New England Courant*.

a A complete file of the Boston *News-Letter* for the seventy-two years of its existence is preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

b Thomas' *History of Printing*.

first to introduce into journalism that versatility which now began to create something of a public demand for this weekly vehicle of intelligence. He began by denouncing the *News-Letter* as "a dull vehicle", and continued by attacking the government of the province and its principal agents, the clergy and private individuals, in a free-handed manner entirely out of consonance with the spirit of the age. The controversy with the clergy grew out of a difference of opinion respecting inoculation for the small-pox, a practice which the *Courant* opposed by argument and by ridicule. The Mathers—father and son—were lampooned with a virulence seldom seen in the press of the present day, and the result was an *Address to the Publick*, by Dr. Increase Mather, in which the *Courant* was denounced as "a wicked libel", and the wrath of God was called down upon the head of its editor. This controversy was followed by repeated attacks upon the government, which, in 1722, received the notice of the general council. A committee was appointed to consider and report on the subject, which found as follows :

James Franklin and the colonial government.

The tendency of said paper is to mock religion and bring it into contempt, that the Holy Scriptures are therein profusely abused, that the reverend and faithful ministers of the Gospel are injuriously reflected upon, His Majesty's government affronted, and the peace and good order of His Majesty's subjects of this province disturbed, by said *Courant*; and for precaution of the like offense for the future the committee humbly propose that James Franklin, the printer and publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden by this court to print or publish the *New England Courant*, or any other pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the secretary of this province. (a)

The next issue of the *Courant* appeared in the name of Benjamin Franklin, and for three years thereafter, and probably until the suspension, the younger brother was the nominal publisher, although he does not appear to have remained with the paper during that period. The device was sufficient to elude the supervision of the government, and the *Courant* continued, with hardly less freedom than before, its rough and frequent criticisms upon the institutions of the province. But the effect of governmental opposition was fatal to the *Courant*. The contributors to whom it had been indebted gradually dropped away; the paper ceased to interest the public, and finally perished for lack of support. The Philadelphia *Mercury*, at the time the only newspaper in the colonies out of Boston, commented with just severity upon the re-establishment of a censorship in Massachusetts; but in the way of liberty the publisher of that paper had little to boast. Not a year before, on account of some offensive article, he had been summoned before the governor and council and compelled to make a humble apology, receiving at the same time an intimation "that he must not presume to publish anything relating to the affairs of this or any other of His Majesty's colonies without the permission of the governor or secretary". (b)

During the nine years of its existence the *Courant* received and published communications on a variety of topics from a number of persons, the friends of its publisher. Thus it set a fashion that soon became a prevailing one in the colonial papers, and opened the way for a larger and higher field for journalism than that which Campbell had marked out in the *News-Letter*.

When Green succeeded Campbell as the publisher of the *News-Letter*, in 1723, he announced that he proposed to extend his publication to the "history of nature among us, as well as of all foreign and political affairs, and, agreeable to this design, he desires all ingenious gentlemen, in every part of the country, to communicate the remarkable things they observe; and he desires them to send their accounts post free, and nothing but what they assuredly know; & they shall be very gratefully received & published. So that this paper may serve for the philosophical transactions of New England, as well as for a political history; & the things worthy of recording in this as well as in other parts of the world may not sink into eternal oblivion, as they have done in all the past ages of the aboriginal and ancient inhabitants". Green followed the example of Franklin in this respect.

Enlarging the field of colonial journalism.

This was the beginning of the outside communication to the press, which soon developed into its most prominent feature, involving the contributions of public men to the discussion of the current political questions, and for several years before the revolution many communications from able writers on the side of the government and some of its first officers, under various signatures, appeared in the Boston *News-Letter*.

Prospectus of the Boston Weekly Rehearsal.

When Thomas Fleet took possession of the Boston *Weekly Rehearsal*, in 1733, he blocked out a field of literary usefulness for his journal in the following ambitious announcement:

The Gentleman who first set up and has hitherto been interested in this Paper, having now resigned all his Right and Interest therein into the hands of the Subscriber, the Subscriber thinks himself obliged to give publick Notice thereof, and informs all such as have taken, or may hereafter take it, that as he has settled a Correspondence with Gentlemen in London, and most of the principal Towns within this and the neighbouring Governments, and is favoured with the acquaintance of many intelligent Persons in Boston, he doubts not but he shall be able to make the *Rehearsal* as Useful and entertaining as any of the Papers now published. And the better to effect it, requests all Gentlemen in Town or Country who may be possessed of anything new or curious, whether in the Way of News or Speculation, worthy the publick View, to send the same to him, and it will be gratefully received and communicated for the Entertainment of the Polite and inquisitive Part of Mankind. The publisher of this paper declares himself of no Party, and invites all Gentlemen of Leisure

a In Council, July 5th, 1722. Whereas in the paper called the *New England Courant*, printed Weekly by James Franklin, many passages have been published boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government and on the Administration of it in this Province, the Ministry, Churches and College; and it very often contains Paragraphs that tend to fill the Readers' minds with vanity to the Dishonor of God, and disservice of Good Men.

Resolved, That no such Weekly Paper be hereafter Printed or Published without the same be first perused and allowed by the Secretary, as has been usual. And that the said Franklin give security before the Justices of the Superior Court in the Sum of 100l. to be of the good behaviour to the End of the next Fall Sessions of this court. Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Non-Concurred.

b Hildreth's *History of the United States*, ii, 395, first series.

and Capacity inclined on either Side, to write anything of a political Nature, that tends to enlighten and serve the Publick, to communicate their Productions, provided they are not overlong, and confined within Modesty and Good Manners; for all possible Care will be taken that Nothing contrary to these shall ever be here published. And whereas the publishing of Advertisements in the Weekly News Papers has been found of great Use (especially in such as are sent thro' all the Governments as this is) this may inform all Persons, who shall have Occasion, that they may have their Advertisements published in this Paper upon very easy Terms, and that any Customer for the Paper shall be served much cheaper than others. And whereas the Price of this Paper was set up at Twenty Shillings per Year, and so paid till this time; the present Undertaker being willing to give all possible Encouragement to his Readers has now reduced it to Sixteen Shillings; and offers all Gentlemen who are willing to hold a Correspondence, and shall frequently favour him with any thing that may tend to the Embellishment of the Paper, to supply them with one constantly free from Charge. And considering it is impossible for half a Sheet of Paper to contain all the Remarkable News that may happen to be brought in upon the Arrival of Ships from England or other extraordinary Occurrences, the Publisher therefore proposes in all such Cases, to Print a Sheet of what he judges most Material, and shall continue to send the Paper to all such as have hitherto taken it, until he is advised to the contrary by those determined to drop it, which he hopes will not be many.

The *New England Journal*, 1727, was furnished with miscellaneous essays on moral rather than political topics by literary gentlemen. Governor Burnet is supposed to be the author of a series which appeared in its third year.

The Boston *Independent Advertiser*, 1748, was supplied with well-written essays, chiefly political. A number of gentlemen associated themselves for this purpose, among them Governor Samuel Adams. They were all whigs, who advocated the rights of the people against the government. Indeed, the principal purpose of the *Advertiser* came ultimately to be political discussion, as the means to arouse the people of the province to maintain their rights. The address of the proprietors to the public is as good a declaration of the widest scope of colonial journalism as can be found. It reads:

As our present political state affords Matter for a variety of Thoughts, of peculiar Importance to the good People of New England, we purpose to insert every thing of that Nature that may be pertinently and decently wrote. For ourselves, we declare we are of no party, neither shall we promote the narrow and private Designs of any such. We are ourselves free, and our Paper shall be free—free as the Constitution we enjoy—free to Truth, good Manners, and good Sense, and at the same time free from all licentious Reflections, Insolence and Abuse. Whatsoever may be adapted to State and Defend the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, to advance useful Knowledge and the Cause of Virtue, to improve the Trade, the Manufactures, and Husbandry of the Country, whatever may tend to inspire this People with a just and proper Sense of their own Condition, to point out to them their true Interests, and rouse them to pursue it, as also any Piece of Wit and Humor, shall at all Times find (free of Charge) a most welcome reception. And altho' we do not altogether depend upon the casual Benevolence of the Publick to supply this Paper, yet we will thankfully receive every Thing from every quarter conducing to the Good of the Publick and our general Design.

The *Massachusetts Spy*, 1771, was filled with essays in the whig interest, and in 1775 it began to publish Robertson's *History of America*, completing the whole in about a year. This was followed by a history of the revolutionary war.

The custom of forming a club to write political and literary articles for newspapers was quite common in colonial days. Beside the Hell-fire Club, which contributed to Franklin's *New England Courant*, a similar club of gentlemen in Boston wrote for the *Weekly Rehearsal*, founded by James Draper in 1721, evidently at the suggestion of its members. At the head of this club was Jeremiah Gridley, afterward attorney-general of the province of Massachusetts and a member of the general court, who was the real editor of the paper. The receipts of the *Rehearsal* never amounted to more than enough to defray the expenses of publication. Of the *Connecticut Courant* (1764) Mr. Scudder says that, "with the exception of a scanty abstract of news, the paper may be said to have been edited by its subscribers—a policy which made such papers very good reflexions of the feeling of the community." (a)

Journalistic clubs.

Among the contributors to the Boston *Gazette*, which was the leading and most influential organ of the revolutionary party in Massachusetts, were Samuel Adams, Jonathan Mayhew, James Otis, John Adams, Joseph Warren, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Dexter, Oxbridge Thatcher, and Samuel Cooper. Charles Carroll was one of the writers for the *Maryland Gazette*, 1765, the year of the stamp act, and in that paper, through his influence, first appeared the famous resolutions of Patrick Henry in the Virginia house of burgesses, declaring the exclusive right of the general assembly of that state to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants thereof. These resolutions were subsequently published in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in the Newport *Mercury*, which was instantly suppressed as a traitorous publication, in three Charleston papers, and in the Boston *Gazette*.

Political development of the colonial press.

Thus the colonists learned the divers uses to which the newspaper press might be put, and early made it a medium for the discussion of the public questions and the dissemination of the political opinions which were so speedily to become controlling in the colonies. (b)

a *Life of Noah Webster*, by Horace E. Scudder.

b Nearly all of these newspapers were issued once each week. Many of them were on diminutive sheets, and for a long time all of them clung to the prudent plan of publishing only news and advertisements, abstaining entirely from the audacity of an editorial opinion, or disguising that dangerous luxury under pretended letters from correspondents. News from Europe, when it was to be had, and especially news from England, occupied a prominent place in these little papers, but, necessarily for each one, the affairs of its own colony, and next the affairs of the other colonies, furnished the principal items of interest. Thus it was that early American journalism, even though feeble, sluggish, and timid, began to lift the people of each colony to a plane somewhat higher than its own boundaries, and to enable them by looking abroad this way and that upon the proceedings of other people in this country, and upon other interests as

THE COLONIAL PRESS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Nevertheless, the number of newspapers did not increase rapidly. We have seen that Pennsylvania had her first newspaper in 1719—the *American Weekly Mercury*, by Andrew Bradford, worthy scion of the founder of the printing press in both Pennsylvania and New York. The *Mercury* was published by Andrew Bradford, with a temporary association with William Bradford in 1739, until his death, in 1742, after which it continued to be published “by the widow Bradford” until its suspension, in or about 1746. This paper was creditably printed and conducted, alike under Bradford and his widow. It announced its general object to be “the encouragement of trade”, and local news, obituary notices, and the like, had but small attention in its columns. Foreign news, commercial statistics, custom-house entries, including those of all the considerable ports along the coast, occupied regularly allotted space, and there were occasional literary communications and extracts from English classics. In the meanwhile, December 24, 1728, Samuel Keimer had established in Philadelphia *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette*, under which pretentious title it was carried on to No. 40, nine months, never with more than one hundred subscribers,^(a) when, for a trifling consideration, Keimer was glad to turn it over to the more active energy and sagacity of his former apprentice, Benjamin Franklin. Explaining his immediate success, Franklin said: “Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province—a better type and better printed—but some remarks of my writing on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.” For a short time Franklin published the *Gazette* twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, on a whole or a half sheet of pot, as occasion seemed to require; but the semi-weekly was of short duration, notwithstanding the fact that the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, as the journal was now called, became in the course of a few years the most valuable newspaper property in the colonies, circulating extensively for those times throughout Pennsylvania and in other colonies, and compelled several times to enlarge “by reason of a great increase of advertisements”. When Franklin practically retired from the management of the *Gazette*, in 1766, on account of the urgency of his public duties, he received from his former partner, David Hall, the sum of £1,000 per annum, currency, for a number of years, in lieu of his share of the profits of the newspaper and a lucrative printing business attached thereto. The *Gazette* did good service for the revolutionary cause until the British occupation of Philadelphia, in 1777, compelled its suspension until after the evacuation. It survived, with another brief suspension in 1815, until 1824. The *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, founded by William Bradford, third, December 2, 1742, divided the field with the *Gazette* until the British occupation, and, like it, was afterward revived. The *Journal* made an unsuccessful venture as a semi-weekly about 1788, and when it was discontinued, in 1797, it was to make room for the *Daily American*, a daily newspaper.

As the period of the revolution approached newspapers multiplied in Philadelphia as they did in Boston; indeed, it may be truly said that Philadelphia, from the first establishment of newspapers there, gave them a better support, both by subscriptions and advertisements, than was received by the Boston colonial press. The *Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, was founded in 1771, and when it returned from Lancaster, after the British evacuation, in 1778, it was published three times a week, becoming a daily paper in 1784, being known after 1786 as *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, and the first daily journal established in the United States. The *High Dutch Pennsylvania Journal*, a weekly German newspaper, was founded by Joseph Crellius as early as 1743, and the *Zeitung*, a second German paper, was founded by Godhart Armbruster, the German copperplate printer, about 1748. For a considerable period previous to the revolution there were two German and two English newspapers regularly published in Philadelphia.

THE COLONIAL PRESS OF NEW YORK.

New York, after Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, was the colony in which the newspaper met with the greatest success. The venerable William Bradford, then over seventy years of age, began the first newspaper there, the *New York Gazette*, October 16, 1725. ^(b) It was printed weekly on a foolscap sheet. He had been tempted to New York by Governor Fletcher in 1693, disgusted with the controversies which his printing press forced upon him with the dominant authorities of

precious as their own, to correct the pettiness and the selfishness of mere localism in thought. Colonial journalism was a necessary and a great factor in the slow process of colonial union.

Beside this, our colonial journalism soon became, in itself, a really important literary force. It could not remain forever a mere disseminator of public gossip or a placard for the display advertisements. The instinct of critical and brave debate was strong even among those puny editors, and it kept struggling for expression. Moreover, each editor was surrounded by a coterie of friends, with active brains and a propensity to utterance; and these constituted a sort of unpaid staff of editorial contributors, who, in various forms—letters, essays, anecdotes, epigrams, poems, lampoons—helped to give vivacity and even literary value to the paper.—Moses Coit Tyler, in *History of American Literature*, vol. ii, 304.

^a Thomas' *History of Printing*.

^b On May 20, 1863, the New York Historical Society celebrated, with appropriate commemorative exercises, the two-hundredth birthday of “Mr. William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the middle colonies of British America”, on which occasion a

Pennsylvania. He became printer to the government of New York, and his newspaper steadily supported the latter through a period of exciting and bitter controversy. November 5, 1733, (a) the second newspaper, John Peter Zenger's *New York Weekly Journal*, began publication, avowedly for the purpose of opposing the administration of Governor Cosby, in the interests of the popular party led by Rip Van Dam. Zenger's journal may be called the prototype of the American political journal of to-day. Its editor, while somewhat illiterate, was an excellent printer, and was bold and bright. The columns of his paper were filled with sharp criticism, gibes, poetical fusilades, and the like, largely the contributions of prominent opponents of the government, which so annoyed the administration that Zenger was finally arrested on an information for libel, and his subsequent acquittal taught the authorities of the colony that the time had passed in which *Zenger's Journal* the government could exercise unresisted surveillance over the American press. The *Journal* continued to be published by Zenger until his death, in 1746, and afterward by his widow and son until 1752, when it was discontinued. Its title was revived again in 1766 by John Holt with new types and a new printing apparatus, and the paper soon had an extensive circulation.

The *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* had in the meanwhile been established by James Parker in 1742, about the time that Bradford discontinued his *Gazette*, and it was practically a continuation of Bradford's journal, and probably held most of its subscribers. In 1760 Parker formed a partnership with John Holt. Afterward Holt published the paper alone for some time, but relinquished it again to Parker in 1766, when he started his *Journal*, taking most of the subscribers of the *Gazette and Post Boy* to the new paper. Parker died in 1770, and the *Gazette* survived him but two years. In the meanwhile Holt's *Journal* maintained its ground as an earnest and fearless advocate of the popular cause until the British took possession of the city, in 1776, and its columns had many able contributors beside the editor. After the occupation the *Journal* had a migratory experience, being driven from Esopus to Poughkeepsie, whence it returned to New York in 1783. There, under the name of the *Independent Gazette, or The New York Journal Revived*, it became a semi-weekly. Holt died in 1784. Thomas Greenleaf, who purchased the establishment of the widow, made it the basis of the first daily newspaper published in New York. This appeared in 1787, and was called *The Argus, or Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser*.

most scholarly and entertaining address was delivered by John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—himself a descendant of Bradford—in which was presented the most complete record of the work, the history, and the personal character of William Bradford that has yet been written or is likely to be written. The following are among the most striking paragraphs in Mr. Wallace's address:

"The figure of this enterprising youth, as he labored at his press in these early days, deserves, I think, to make a feature on the canvas which shall perpetuate the history of American civilization. In all other countries the typographic art has been cultivated beside the supporting walls of palaces, within the protecting close of religious houses, or under the fructifying air of patronage and wealth. Princes have been its nursing fathers and queens its nursing mothers, and nobles and bishops and scholars have watched its early progress. Westminster, the venerated abbey in which for ages England has crowned her sovereigns, and which she consecrates as the abode of her most honored dead, counts even as one of her distinctions that Caxton reared his press within her precincts. France, celebrating the munificence of the Eleventh Louis, displays, in all the richness of her art and in the costliest products of her *Sèvres* skill and taste, upon the windows of her Louvre the monarch who sat beside her press and fostered with his care its flickering light.

"Where rank and wealth and learning have not been its cheerful supporters the press has languished or has had to wait for happier times. Even in Massachusetts no book nor paper was issued for eighteen years after the settlement of that province. Virginia and Maryland forbade the art entirely. William Bradford, establishing his press in these middle states, presents an exception to all ordinary history. He has crossed an ocean and is a thousand leagues away from the genial influences of education and taste. He has no 'assistance of the learned' nor any 'patronage of the great'. No 'academic bowers' lead the way to his humble roof nor bring scholars to watch his daily progress. No strains, pealing through long-drawn aisles and swelling the note of praise, refreshed his spirits, as they often must have Caxton's, as he grew weary with his lengthened toil. The arches above *him* are of the interlacing forests, and amidst the primeval oaks the curious and wondering Indian watches him in the solitary practice of his 'mystery'. He is printing the wisdom of Francis Bacon—his essays, 'Of Studies,' 'Of Counsel,' 'Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature,' 'Of Judicature,' 'Of Honour and Reputation,' 'Of Ceremonies and Respects.' His Sacred Meditations, 'Of the Moderation of Cares,' 'Of Earthly Hopes,' 'Of the Church and the Scriptures,' for the rough trader, whose soul is absorbed in schemes of gain, or for the poorer colonist, anxious only to build himself a shelter from the storm or to provide for the day that is passing over his head. His patrons are the ignorant Finlander and Swede and Hollander, whom Penn is bringing to his colony. To use his own simple but expressive words, he has 'laid out the greatest part of that small stock he had on materials for printing (which are very chargeable), and coming here found little encouragement, which made him think of going back'. Unaided he rears his humble press. With his own hand he sets the type. He imposes himself the form; corrects by his own care the pages; locks them in the chase; adjusts the register; and then, applying the full vigor of his arm and turning back the crank, lifts up the printed sheet. Behold! (exhibiting to the whole audience the open volume of Lord Bacon's *Essays*) the genius of Lord Verulam shines upon a new world! At such a moment how joyous must have been the emotions of such a man! Measuring them by the means of their accomplishment, in what other land can the art conservative of all the arts boast so noble a result?

"This issue of Bradford's press appeared in 1683, seventeen years before Benjamin Franklin was born, thirty-nine years before he established anywhere the printing press. The name of Franklin is widely revered. But the printers' calling received no addition to its dignity when the candle-end-saving genius of Poor Richard usurped the honors which in an earlier day had been paid to the author of the *Instauration*."

a "Munday, Oct. 5, 1733," was the date of the first issue of the *Journal*, but it appears that a mistake of a month was made.—*Hudson's History of Journalism*.

A number of other journals, most of them short-lived, appeared in New York previous to the revolution. The most important were the New York *Weekly Mercury*, by Hugh Gainé, "printer, bookseller, and stationer," founded in 1752, and Rivington's New York *Gazetteer, or the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*, founded in 1773. Gainé's paper was one of the best in all the colonies in its collection of intelligence, and it gained a comparatively extensive circulation in the city and surrounding settlements. But its publisher, like other publishers of the time, was ready to be upon either side in the revolutionary struggle if he could be sure it was to be the successful one; but this was not the way to journalistic success at that time. He printed his paper for some time in New Jersey after the British occupation, but soon returned, and, like Rivington, continued the publication of his paper under the protection of the king's army. With the close of the war it naturally suspended, after an existence of thirty-one years. Rivington's *Gazetteer* was printed upon a large medium sheet, folio, and was perhaps the best specimen of the typographic art that appeared in the colonies before the revolution. His sympathies were warmly with the royalists, and his circulation was confined to the tory element of the people. The end of the war was the end of the *Gazetteer*.

THE COLONIAL PRESS ELSEWHERE.

Before the revolution there were thirteen papers of all kinds started in New York colony, all but one in the city, and of these four only were in existence at its outbreak. Of these four, all save the *Journal* were in the interests of the tory or royal party, and alone survived the event.

I shall not attempt to follow the early press of the other colonies with any detail. The great bulk of the newspapers was located in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York, and their experience elsewhere was even more precarious than we have seen it to have been in these three colonies. Maryland was the fourth colony in which a newspaper was established, the *Maryland Gazette*, at Annapolis, being commenced by William Parks, probably in the year 1727, and continued irregularly until 1736. Nine years later, 1745, another *Gazette* appeared, and, with the exception of a short suspension in 1765 on account of the stamp act, was regularly published through the revolution, and is still in existence as a weekly journal, there being but one other newspaper in the United States which is of prior origin. The third Maryland newspaper, the *Maryland Journal*, appeared in Baltimore in 1773, and these three constituted the entire ante-revolutionary press of the state.

South Carolina and Rhode Island followed Maryland in 1731. The *South Carolina Gazette*, of that date, in Charleston, survived but a few months, but another, started in 1734, continued to the revolutionary war, after which it was revived. Still two other *Gazettes* were started in the colony, one in 1758, which suspended in 1780, its publisher, Robert Wells, being a royalist; and the other in 1765, born into the world for the express purpose of opposition to the stamp act, and published regularly, without stamps, after the date upon which the act was to have taken effect until 1775.

The *Rhode Island Gazette*, the first newspaper in that colony, continued but seven months in 1732-'33, and was the paper established by James Franklin after the suspension of the *Courant* and his removal from Massachusetts. The *Newport Mercury*, established in 1758, was able to maintain itself, and has been continuously published up to the date of this report. The *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, 1762, was interrupted by the stamp act, but with that exception was a successful undertaking, and did zealous work for the cause of independence.

Virginia's first newspaper appeared at Williamsburg in 1736. As an evidence that the influence of the colonial press may easily be exaggerated, there were but two newspapers published in all Virginia previous to the outbreak of the revolution, one of them surviving only until 1750, and the other not born until 1766. North Carolina and Connecticut welcomed their first newspapers in the same year (1755), more than half a century after Campbell's venture with the *News-Letter*.

The *North Carolina Gazette*, at New Berne, lived six years, was discontinued, and established again in 1768, and, with the *Cape Fear Mercury*, was still published at the commencement of the war. The *Connecticut Gazette* appeared in New Haven in 1755, and lived until 1767.

New Hampshire's first newspaper, the *New Hampshire Gazette*, at Portsmouth, appeared in 1756, and Georgia followed in 1763 with the *Georgian Gazette* at Savannah. The *Gazette* was the only newspaper attempted in Georgia previous to the revolution, and, like many of its contemporaries, was compelled temporarily to suspend when the stamp act was passed. New Jersey had no newspaper until December 3, 1777, when the *New Jersey Gazette* was established; and the territory which afterward became the state of Vermont had its first newspaper, the *Gazette, or Green Mountain Post Boy*, in 1781, at Westminster. (a) The first and only pre-revolutionary newspaper in Delaware, the *Wilmington Courant*, established in 1762, lived but six months.

Before the close of the year 1765 there had been established in the American colonies forty-three papers of

(a) The Vermonters were dependent upon the columns of the *Hartford Courant* to carry on their public controversy with the citizens and authorities of New York before and during the war of the revolution respecting their title to the present territory of Vermont.—Munsell.

which either the record or the visible evidence remains. Of these, one was in Georgia, four in South Carolina, two in North Carolina, one in Virginia, two in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, eight in New York, four in Connecticut, three in Rhode Island, two in New Hampshire, and eleven in Massachusetts. (a) In the ten years just previous to the Revolution the number multiplied faster than in any previous epoch of like length, but still not so fast as one, looking back from this point, would naturally expect.

During the seventy-one years embraced between 1704, the year of Campbell's venture, and 1775, seventy-eight different newspapers were printed in the British-American colonies. Of this number thirty-nine were discontinued, either occasionally or permanently, and but thirty-nine were actually in process of publication at the commencement of the war. These figures, which are supplied by Thomas, furnish the only correct basis upon which to found an estimate of the influence of the newspaper press in the colonies, and of its share in producing the state of public feeling which culminated in the Declaration of Independence. In the first place, it is obvious that thirty-nine newspapers, all of them, or nearly all of them, published weekly, and none oftener, was a very small allowance for the three millions of people existing in the colonies in 1775.

Statistics of press previous to the revolution.

It is evident, from an abundance of testimony, that none of these papers had a circulation that would now be regarded as even respectable in point of size. Its average was even smaller, in proportion to population, than the average circulation of the far western newspaper of to-day, which encounters a rival at nearly every village. We have already quoted Campbell's testimony to the effect that he printed but three hundred copies of the *News-Letter* per week during the years in which he had the field absolutely to himself. The *News-Letter* existed seventy-two years, its plucky proprietors carrying it through the gathering storm of the revolution with tory principles. It was the only journal printed in Boston during the siege, and it only surrendered when the British evacuated the city. But, notwithstanding their pertinacity, its proprietors never made a profit out of it, and it may be questioned if a thousand copies of a single issue were printed during the entire seventy-two years. Franklin's *Courant* was frozen out, after a hard and brilliant struggle of seven years, by want of sufficient support.

Circulation of colonial newspapers.

From 1747 to 1759 there were but two weekly papers, Parker's *Gazette* and Gaine's *Mercury*, printed in New York city. Rivington, of the *New York Gazetteer*, informed his readers in 1773 that each impression of his *Weekly Gazetteer* amounted to 3,600 copies. A census of New York was taken in the same year, which showed its population to be 21,876 people. It is probable that Rivington was guilty of the more modern device of exaggerating his circulation.

New York.

November 1, 1780, Thomas, in his Worcester *Massachusetts Spy*, issued an appeal for more generous support, in which he said:

Massachusetts Spy.

For twelve months past the number of customers for this paper has been so small as to be by no means adequate to its support, by which means the printer has absolutely sunk money by its publication. Books, schools, and newspapers are become too much neglected, and of consequence the rising generation will be great sufferers thereby if these necessary things, which tend to learning, are not more encouraged.

It further appears from this notice (b) that the subscribers were in the habit of stopping their subscriptions in the winter time, and Thomas threatened to accept a proposal to remove his establishment to another town if more subscribers, who would continue through the winter months, were not forthcoming.

Mr. Thomas puts the average circulation of the four newspapers which were printed in Massachusetts (all in Boston) in 1754 at 600 from each press. The total list of subscribers to his *Massachusetts Spy* in 1771, on the occasion of its conversion from a semi-weekly to a weekly paper, upon his own authority, was less than 200, although it increased rapidly from that time, until in two years "its subscription list was larger than that of any other paper in New England".

The great mortality among the colonial press—just one-half of the whole number established suspending before 1775—is the conclusive evidence of small and unprofitable circulation, although the high cost of materials, especially paper, the stamp acts in Massachusetts and New York, and the oppressive supervision of the authorities, must also be taken into consideration in accounting for this mortality.

POLITICS OF THE COLONIAL PRESS.

Then not all the press was political, and not all the press that was political was whig. Several journals permitted the revolution to break over their heads without alluding to the causes which were in operation to bring it about, and a number occupying relations with the government authorities through their acceptance of the public printing were neutral in their attitude or violently hostile to the patriot cause. (c) In his *History of American Loyalists* Sabine makes a definite statement of the political division of the colonial press. He says:

The neutral and the tory press.

Of the thirty-seven newspapers which were published in the colonies in April, 1775, seven or eight were in the interest of the crown, and twenty-three were devoted to the service of the whigs. Of these thirty-seven, however, one on each side had little or no part in discussing the great questions at issue, as they were established only in the preceding month of January, and of those which

a Tyler's *History of American Literature*.

b Hudson's *History of Journalism*, p. 131.

c Speaking of the *Williamsburg Gazette*, established in 1766, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Till the beginning of our revolutionary disputes we had but one press, and that, having the whole business of the government, and no competitor for public favor, nothing disagreeable to the governor could find its way into it. We procured Kind to come from Maryland to publish a free paper."

did participate in these discussions and maintain the right no less than five went over to the loyalists in the course of the war. Of the number first named, two were printed in German and English; and, as another of the thirty-seven was commenced in April, there were, in fact, but thirty-one newspapers in the vernacular tongue at the close of 1774. Up to the beginning of the strife printing had been confined to the principal towns, but hostile deeds, interfering with all employments, caused the removal of some of the journals to places more remote, and were the means of interrupting or wholly discontinuing the publication of others. Those that existed at the period of which we are speaking were very unequally distributed; thus, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, taken together, had but one more than Pennsylvania, and but three more than Massachusetts. In New Hampshire the *Gazette* was alone, while Rhode Island had both a *Gazette* and a *Mercury*. Of the editors and proprietors who originally opposed the right or became converts to the wrong several sought refuge in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where they established newspapers, which were the first published in these colonies.

The individual responsibility for the position and utterances of the newspaper made it naturally conservative—a follower rather than a leader. The real contribution of the printing press to the revolutionary cause was through the medium of the occasional tract or pamphlet, to which allusion has already been made.

Let us not, however, underestimate the services to the patriot cause rendered by the few journals which did what they could in that cause, and did it with boldness, zeal, and disregard of consequences. At the head of this class of colonial journals stand the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, founded by Benjamin Edes and John Gill, April 7, 1755, and the *Massachusetts Spy*, founded by Isaiah Thomas, August 7, 1770. The *Spy* was started shortly after the suspension of the *Boston Chronicle*, which had been founded in 1767, and had rendered itself obnoxious to the whig element of the community by assailing the citizens who differed with the advocates of the British administration. Four other papers were in the meanwhile regularly published once a week in Boston, viz, the *News-Letter*, the *Evening Post*, the *Gazette*, and the *Weekly Advertiser and Post Boy*. Of these the *News-Letter* and the *Weekly Advertiser and Post Boy* were conducted in the interests of the government. The *Gazette* was warmly enlisted for the whig cause, and the *Evening Post* was apparently neutral or indifferent, paying little or no attention to political controversy and a great deal to religious controversy. Under these circumstances there appeared to be great need for another journal devoted to the patriot cause, while there was very little to encourage the hope of its financial success. In 1768 the *Boston Chronicle* had set the fashion of a semi-weekly publication, it being the first newspaper published oftener than once a week in New England. It increased its issue from once to twice a week without any addition to the cost to the subscriber, which was six shillings and eight pence—"but a very small consideration," according to Thomas, "for a newspaper on a large sheet and well executed." Mr. Thomas proposed to publish his paper three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, and did so publish it for three months, giving his readers a quarter-sheet twice a week and a half-sheet once a week. At the end of that period the tri-weekly was replaced by a semi-weekly, which ran for three months longer, when, that also proving unprofitable, the enterprise was started anew, on March 7, 1771, as a weekly. This was printed on a whole sheet, royal size, folio, with four columns, and was a larger paper than any that had thus far been published on the continent. There are few weekly newspapers now published in the United States which do not contain from three to twenty times the amount of reading matter for which there was room in the columns of the *Massachusetts Spy*.

The *Spy* was supplied with communications from the ablest political writers of the day. It began by admitting controversial articles upon both sides of the great question, but its leanings were so clearly whig that the loyalist element gradually withdrew altogether from its subscription lists, and the *Spy* thereafter devoted its entire energies to the furthering of the patriot cause. Some of the contributions in its columns were powerful and effective specimens of argument and invective, notably those signed "Centinel", "Leonardas," and "Mucius Scævola". In the meanwhile John Adams, Josiah Quincy, jr., and other patriots only less distinguished, were regularly contributing to the columns of Edes & Gill's *Gazette and Country Journal* the series of papers on political questions which produced the most marked influence in shaping and stimulating the public opinion of the time. In the columns of this newspaper "every innovation upon the chartered privileges of the colonies was examined, reviewed, reprobated, and condemned with a freedom which knew no fear and a severity which despised all control". (a)

It was in January, 1775, that John Adams began the publication in the *Gazette* of the celebrated series of papers signed "No-vanglus", in reply to the contributions of Jonathan Sewell, published in the *News-Letter*, and signed "Massachusettensis". Mr. Adams' series ran through several months of the most exciting period just prior to the outbreak of hostilities. They often filled two or three pages of the *Gazette*, and their singular clearness of reasoning and vigor of style gave them a wide circulation, and made them, on the whole, the most cogent expression of the case for the revolutionists which found the light of the types in the colonies.

The contributions of Josiah Quincy, jr., to the *Gazette* were hardly less powerful and eloquent, and certainly no less bold, than those of John Adams. They were published over a variety of signatures, and it is probable that the whole number of them are not identified as from his pen. These and other writers who had begun their criticisms upon the measures of the government almost from the first establishment of the *Gazette*, in 1755, continued their fire, with increasing directness and indignation, at each successive obnoxious act of government—the stamp act, the massacre, the tea tax, and the closing of the port of Boston—until the plucky publisher (b) was driven by

a Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, vol. i, p. 167.

b Gill was not concerned in the publication of the *Gazette* after April, 1775. In 1776 he began the publication of a new paper, called the *Continental Journal*. After the war the *Gazette* was surpassed by many rivals, and lingered along, without any distinguishing features, until 1793, when the venerable publisher published his valedictory and the paper died. The *Spy* continued to be published in Worcester, where it met with sundry difficulties which occasioned temporary suspensions, but, reckoning from the date of establishment, it is now the oldest journal in Massachusetts.

the commencement of hostilities to remove his press from Boston to Watertown, where, after a brief suspension, the *Gazette* continued to be published until the evacuation of Boston permitted his return. Mr. Thomas, in the same way, moved the *Massachusetts Spy* to Worcester.

Massachusetts was almost unique in the possession of these journals, so wholly and earnestly enlisted in the cause of the colonies against Great Britain; and in estimating their influence it is proper to compare the revolutionary feeling existing in that colony, where it had these exceptional stimulants, with the same feeling in other colonies, which were largely without such stimulants. The difference was not sufficiently marked to justify us in assigning any exceptional influence to the periodical press in bringing about the revolution. This conclusion is further justified by the fact that Massachusetts was the scene of the most aggressive measures of the government, as well as of the first bloodshed, and that the revolutionary spirit was precipitated there by a certain priority of events.

Prominence of the Massachusetts press.

COLONIAL NEWSPAPER TYPOGRAPHY.

In their mechanical construction and typographical appearance the journals of the colonial epoch differed from those of the present era quite as widely as in their contents and functions. Until about 1770 they were generally printed on half sheets of varying shapes and sizes; the earlier size was ordinarily 7 by 9 or 10 inches. The Boston *News-Letter* of 1704 was printed on a half sheet 7 by 13 inches. This was the size of Franklin's *New England Courant*, the *New England Journal*, and several other papers of the era between 1720 and 1770. Frequently the publisher of these and other journals varied the size of their periodicals. They would print on a half sheet folio or quarto of different sizes, as they found it convenient, most of the paper used in America before the revolution being imported from England, and it often being impossible to obtain uniform paper. Sometimes an enterprising publisher would give his readers an occasional whole sheet. This practice was first inaugurated by the Boston *Gazette* of 1719, but it frequently happened on such occasions that one entire page would be left blank.

Mechanical and typographical characteristics of the colonial press.

About the year 1760 it became the custom with all or most of the Boston journals to print a whole sheet (crown) regularly. A calculation of the number of ems of type in these journals shows the average to have been: for the half sheets, from 3,000 to 7,000, according to the size of the type; for the whole sheets, 6,000 to 14,000, or about the contents of from one to two columns of the New York *Herald* of to-day. There were generally two columns, three-inch measure, to a page, although it occasionally happened that one broad column sufficed, or one column occupied the first page and two columns the others. The colonial journals varied as widely in their typography as in their size. Many varieties of type were brought into use: pica, small pica, english, roman, brevier, great primer, and long primer, the latter being the size and style more commonly used. It was not often that more than one style of type was put to use on one paper, except in the matter of head lines. Reading matter and advertisements were all printed alike. The latter were rarely "set off" from the literary contents in the early newspapers by rules, and the two-line letter does not appear in advertisements until near the revolutionary epoch. At that time it began to be customary to use great-primer flowers between the letters. Frequent use was also made of illuminated letters for capitals.

Amount of reading matter.

The composition on these early papers was generally accurate, and the orthography compares favorably with that of the English press of the same date. In both countries the capital letter was used with an extraordinary and unaccountable freedom, the general custom being to capitalize all nouns, and as many other words as possible.

The press-work was also good, considering the character of the wooden presses upon which it was executed.

The captions of the colonial journals were uniformly plain, and quite as uniformly contained for a secondary line the now obsolete legend, "Containing the Freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestick;" and many of the first papers added the expression, "Published by authority," by way of indicating that the approval of the authorities to the enterprise had been obtained.

DEVICES.

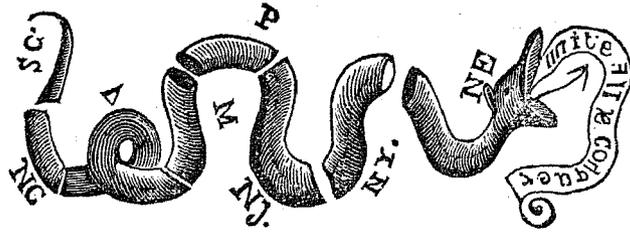
A distinguishing peculiarity was the device of the caption. These devices first appeared in the Boston *Gazette* of 1719, which was adorned with a cut of a ship on the right and one of a postman on the left of the title. These devices were frequently changed. The *Gazette*, above referred to, which was discontinued in 1752, had at one time devices of a postman on horseback (Fig. 1), a pine tree, and a news-carrier holding a copy of the paper in his hand. They were of the rudest possible workmanship, and often quaintly inartistic in design and ludicrously unsymmetrical in proportion. At first these devices appear to have been used merely by way of embellishment or as distinguishing marks. The successor to the Boston *Gazette*, above mentioned, displayed a cut which had been designed to accompany one of *Æsop's* fables. Mr. Fowle, after establishing the *New Hampshire Gazette*, appears to have luckily fallen in with a series of cuts made to illustrate an edition of *Æsop*, and from time to time he enlivened his caption by substituting one for another of them. After a while these embellishments came to have either a journalistic or a political significance. William Bradford's New York *Gazette* (1725) was adorned with badly-executed cuts of the arms of New York, supported by an Indian on either side, with a crown for the crest. Andrew Bradford's Philadelphia *Mercury* (1719) had a small

Allegorical devices.

figure of Mercury, bearing his *caduceus*. Cuts of the king's arms were frequently used, several tory journals continuing to display them down to and into the revolution. The devices were frequently accompanied by mottoes, often in Latin, and sometimes bristling with the vehemence of the *Massachusetts Spy's* "Americans! Liberty or Death! Join or Die". The *Constitutional Courant*, one issue of which was published at Burlington, New Jersey, in 1765, had in its title a device representing a snake, divided into eight parts, each part denoting a section or colony, the head and neck representing New England, and the body the middle and southern colonies, and under it the motto, "Join or Die" (Fig. 2). There was no mistaking the significance of this device. Mr. Thomas



Fig. 1.



JOIN or DIE

Fig. 2.

afterward adopted a modification of it for his *Spy*. He was also fruitful with his own devices. He originally used a cut of the goddess of liberty, seated upon a pedestal. A still later one in the *Spy* (Fig. 3) is thus explained in its full allegorical significance by Mr. Thomas himself:

The device on the left is a figure representing America, an Indian holding the cap of Liberty on a staff with the left hand, and in the right a spear, aimed at the British Lion, which appears attacking her from the opposite shore. That on the right is a chain of thirteen links, with a star in each link, representing the union of the thirteen states; the chain is placed in a circular form, leaving an opening for the arms of France, to which the ends of the chain are attached. Above the arms are two hands, clasped, and directly over them a sword, with its hilt resting on the clasped hands.

Other devices, like that of the *Independent Ledger and American Advertiser* of Boston, in 1778 (Fig. 4), were symbolical of the union of hand and purpose on the part of the thirteen colonies.

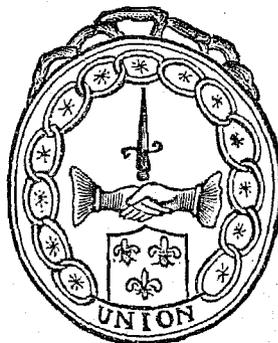


Fig. 3.

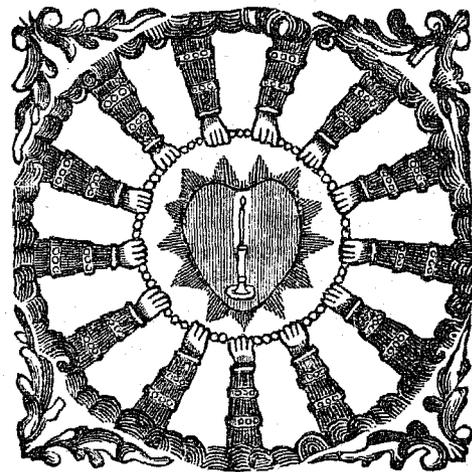


Fig. 4.

These devices, indicating with varying intensity of allegory the convictions and principles of the journals adopting them, began to disappear from the captions after the revolution and with the disappearance of the causes which created the political feeling in the colonies. The American press, so far as it has not discarded these titular emblems altogether, is now content with miniature printing presses, occasional portraits of Benjamin Franklin, or goddesses of liberty, which, from an artistic point of view, are not more deserving of praise than the devices which disfigured the colonial press.

PRICES OF COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS.

The colonial newspapers were sold at prices which varied according to the location and the currency of that location. The latter fluctuated so frequently in value that it is not always possible at this date to determine precisely the sum that the publisher regarded himself entitled to receive from his patrons; but there is sufficient reason to believe that this sum was a nearly uniform one in the respective colonies, and that it did not vary greatly in any one colony from the standard established in all the others. John Campbell, when he founded the *News-Letter* in 1704, may be said to have established for his own

Prices.

and for subsequent generations the prevailing price of the weekly newspaper. He received the equivalent of \$2 of our present currency, but did not think it worth while to advertise his price of subscription in the paper itself. This was a neglect to take advantage of an opportunity which found several imitators in the subsequent colonial newspapers. The *Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal* (1719) was sold for 16s. a year, and 20s. when sealed, payable quarterly, and at the value of currency at that time this was equivalent to \$2 50 in our present money. The *American Magazine*, a monthly periodical of 50 pages, founded in 1743, was sold for 3s., new tenor, a quarter, being at the rate of 50 cents, or \$2 per annum. The *Rehearsal*, founded in 1731, was sold originally for 20s., but was reduced from that price to 16s. when Fleet took possession of it in 1733.

The *Boston Advertiser* was sold for 5s. 4d. "lawful money", and the *Boston Chronicle* (1767) for 6s. 8d.—"but a very small consideration for a newspaper on a large sheet and well printed," according to Thomas, but likely to be regarded as a high price for a similar newspaper in these days. The *Christian History*, weekly, 1743, was sold for 2s., new tenor, per quarter, but subsequently 6d. more was added to its price, "covered, sealed, and directed." The *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, a monthly of 50 pages, sold for 3s., new tenor, per quarter, the equivalent of \$1 50 per year. Nevertheless, 6s. 8d. appears to have been the ruling price at this period, for the *Salem Essex Gazette* (1768) and the *Norwich Packet* (1773) were vended at that rate. The *New Hampshire Gazette* (1756) was sold for "one dollar per annum, or its equivalent in bills of credit, computing a dollar this year at four pounds, old tenor". The *Portsmouth Mercury* (1765) was sold for "one dollar, or six pounds o. t. per year; one-half to be paid at entrance". Thomas Fleet, who discontinued the *Weekly Rehearsal* in 1735 and began the publication of the *Boston Evening Post* on a half sheet of large foolscap paper, regarded the prevailing price for newspapers altogether too low, and in a dunning advertisement to his subscribers he declared:

In the days of Mr. Campbell, who published a newspaper here, which is forty years ago, Paper was bought for eight or nine shillings a Ream, and now tis Five Pounds; his Paper was never more than half a sheet, and that he had Two Dollars a year for, and had also the art of getting his Pay for it; and that size has continued until within a little more than one year, since which we are expected to publish a whole Sheet, so that the Paper now stands us in near as much as all the other charges.

In Pennsylvania the prices of newspapers were more uniform than in New England. The *Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury*, the first paper founded in that city, and the first outside of New England, being the third in the colonies, was sold for 10s. per annum. The *Philadelphia Gazette* (1733) was sold for the same price, as was also the *Philadelphia Journal* (1766), the *Chronicle* (1767), and the *Ledger* (1775). The *Philadelphia Evening Post*, founded in 1775, and issued three times a week, was sold at a price of two pennies for each paper, or 3s. the quarter. The *Dutch and English Gazette* was sold for 10s. in 1749, when it was a weekly publication, and for 5s. in 1751, when it became a fortnightly publication. The *New York Weekly Journal* (1733) was sold for 3s. the quarter. The *Virginia Gazette* (1766) was 12s. 6d. per year. There was a notable increase in prices during the war in several cases, and the *New Jersey Gazette*, which was founded in 1777, fixed its price at 26s. per annum.

INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR UPON THE PRESS.

Such was the condition and the characteristics of the colonial press at the time of the outbreak of the revolution. It had not yet been able to reach the position of a recognized force in politics and in society. It had done good service for the patriot cause, but had still been only a secondary element in the tide that was sweeping the colonies toward independence. Its usefulness was circumscribed by a variety of causes, one of which, at least, the revolution did more than aught else to wholly remove. With the outbreak of hostilities all attempts of the government to regulate and control the public press came to an end, and in all the colonies the breaking loose from the control of England seems to have been accepted as carrying with it the abrogation of the laws and customs inherited from the mother country which involved anything like a censorship of the press or a governmental control of its utterances. As colony after colony organized state governments and adopted constitutions for self-government the freedom of the press, under the restrictions which still obtain for the regulation of its utterances in reference to individuals, was recognized as a cardinal point in free institutions. The influence of the revolution in producing the liberty of the American press, as we understand the meaning of that phrase, has not been generally recognized, and can only be fully appreciated by a consideration of the restrictions which surrounded its utterances under the colonial system and the complete independence of governmental control which has ever since been its birthright. In Great Britain it was many years afterward before this principle was recognized as a fundamental one.

Secondary influence of the colonial press.

Freedom of press established by the revolution.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES OF A FREE PRESS.

When the Constitution of the United States was framed there was no provision included in it regarding the freedom of the press, the general convention having left this subject to the common understanding and established opinion of the people. It is true that Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, on May 29, 1787, laid before the convention a draft of a plan of federal government which he had prepared, in which was included a provision declaring that "the legislature of the United States shall pass no law touching or abridging the liberty of the press", (a) and that on August 20 of the same year Mr.

The federal Constitution and the press.

a *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, as reported by James Madison, revised and newly arranged by Jonathan Elliot, p. 131. Washington: 1845.

Pinckney submitted to the convention, for reference to the committee of detail, a series of propositions, in which was included the declaration that "the liberty of the press shall be inviolably preserved". Neither of these propositions having been incorporated in the Constitution, the first Congress, by way of amendment to the Constitution, resolved that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances".

But previous to the adoption of this amendment to the federal Constitution there had been express provision made in the constitutions of each of the several states which adopted new constitutions to prevent an abridgment of the liberty of the press. It is interesting to recall these provisions, and to observe how carefully they have been preserved in all the subsequent constitutional modifications of the original states and incorporated in the constitutions of those states which have since been admitted to the federal union.

State constitutions and the press.

New Hampshire.

The constitution of New Hampshire (1784), article XXII, declares that "the liberty of the press is essential of freedom in a state; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved". This provision was identically preserved in the constitution of 1792, which is still in force in that state.

Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts the declaration of rights prefixed to the constitution of 1780 declares that "the liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth"; and this declaration of rights remains unaltered and in full force.

New York.

The convention which framed the constitution of New York (1777) contented itself with declaring, ordaining, and determining that "such parts of the common law of England, with the statutes adopted and the acts of their own legislature, as together did form the law of the colony in 1775, shall continue, subject to the alterations of the legislature". They regarded the freedom of the press as established by the common law. But the second constitution of New York (1821) contained this explicit declaration (article VII, section 8):

Every citizen may freely write, speak, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain the liberty of speech or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels the truth may be given in evidence to the jury, and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

This significant declaration was introduced into the organic law of New York as a direct consequence of the large number of libel suits which had resulted from the exciting politics of the previous years—suits in which a variety of constructions of the existing law were adopted and the press was held to have suffered unjustly. The provision of 1821 still remains in the constitution of New York.

Pennsylvania.

The state of Pennsylvania was more explicit than New York on this subject in its second constitution (1790). The provision reads:

That the printing press shall be free to every one who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of the government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In the prosecutions for publications of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men of public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the courts, as in other cases.—Article 9, section 7.

This provision was retained in the constitution of 1838, and also in the existing constitution of 1873, with an important modification of phraseology, to wit:

No conviction shall be had in any prosecution for the publication of papers relating to the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, or to any other matter proper for public investigation or information, where the fact that such publication was not maliciously or negligently made shall be established to the satisfaction of the jury.

Provisions almost identical with the original Pennsylvania clause quoted above were incorporated in the first constitutions of the states of Arkansas, Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas.

South Carolina, in her original constitution (1776), committed the privilege to the keeping of the common law as understood by the people, but the constitution immediately thereafter adopted (1778) contains the declaration "that the liberty of the press be inviolably preserved". This declaration

South Carolina.

disappeared in the constitution of 1790, and did not again appear in that of 1865; but in the constitution of 1868, sections 7 and 8, article I, there appears the following:

All persons may freely speak, write, and utter their sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for publication, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels the jury shall be the judges of the law and the facts. (See Pennsylvania.)

The Georgia constitution (1777) declared that "the freedom of the press and trial by jury shall remain inviolate", and this provision remained intact in the constitutions of 1789 and 1798. In the declaration of rights of the constitution of 1865 was the following:

Georgia.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are inherent elements of political liberty. But while every citizen may freely speak, write, or print on any subject, he shall be responsible for the abuse of the liberty.

The same phraseology remains in the constitution of 1868.

The North Carolina constitution (1776) declared "that the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained". The constitution of 1868 retained this phraseology, with the proviso added that "every individual should be held responsible for the abuse of the same", and thus it stands in the constitution of 1876. North Carolina.

In the bill of rights which accompanied the Virginia constitution of 1776 is the declaration "that the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments". This declaration of rights was re-enacted with the constitutions of 1830, 1850, 1864, and 1870, in the latter instrument the clause being added: "And any citizen may speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." Virginia.

The Maryland constitution (1776) in the "declaration of rights" asserted "that the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved". This clause is repeated in the declarations prefixed to the constitutions of 1851 and 1864, the same qualification quoted in the case of Virginia being added in the last instrument. Maryland.

The original constitution of New Jersey (1776) contained no declaration regarding a free press, but that of 1844 contains this explicit provision—the most explicit in reference to the rights of publishers in libel cases which had been incorporated in the fundamental law of any state up to that time: New Jersey.

Every person may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right. No law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libel the truth may be given in evidence to the jury, and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted, and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

Substantially this provision, commanding verdicts for defendants where the truth of the statements complained of is proven and the motives of publication are justifiable, is now incorporated in the constitutions of New York, Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Maine, Ohio, Iowa, Nevada, and Colorado. In other states, where the phraseology of the Pennsylvania constitution is the model, this provision is limited in its application to publications relating to the official conduct of public officers or men in public capacity.

The first constitution of Vermont (1777) declared as follows:

The people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments concerning the transactions of government, and therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained. Vermont.

This phrase reappeared in the constitutions of 1786 and 1793, which latter remains the organic law of the state.

New constitutions were not formed in the states of Rhode Island and Connecticut upon the declaration of independence, the former state continuing to be governed under its original charter, granted by the English government in 1663, until this charter was superseded by the constitution of 1842, in which the declaration took this form: Rhode Island.

The liberty of the press being essential to the security of freedom in a state, any person may publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty; and in all trials for libel, both civil and criminal, the truth, unless published from malicious motives, shall be sufficient defense to the person charged.

This constitution remains unchanged, except by minor amendment.

The Connecticut charter of 1662 made way for a constitution in 1818, in which appeared a more explicit declaration than had yet been given place in any organic law, giving the right to freely speak, write, or publish, forbidding the passage of any law at any time to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press, and finally providing that "in all prosecutions or indictments for libel the truth may be given in evidence, and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court". Connecticut.

The second constitution of Delaware (1792) provided as follows:

The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public capacity, and any citizen may print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for publications investigating the proceedings of officers, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels the jury may determine the facts and the law, as in other cases. Delaware.

This section is retained without change in the constitution of 1831, and provisions practically identical with one or the other of those quoted above appear in every one of the thirty-eight state constitutions as they exist to-day.

The constitution of West Virginia contains one of the exceptional organic clauses relating to the freedom of the press, as follows: West Virginia.

No law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press shall be passed; but the legislature may, by suitable penalties, restrain the publication or sale of obscene books, papers, or pictures, and provide for the punishment of libel and defamation of character, and for the

recovery, in civil actions, by the aggrieved party of suitable damages for such libel or defamation. In prosecutions and civil suits for libel the truth may be given in evidence, and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the verdict shall be for the defendant. (a)

THE EXISTING LAWS OF LIBEL.

These provisions of the organic law, which guarantee to the press of the several states the sacred right of free speech, and accompany the responsibility for the exercise of that right with the privilege of trial by jury upon the law and the facts, are supplemented in each state by statutory provisions regarding actions for libel, civil and criminal. Everywhere it is established in our jurisprudence that the guarantee of free speech does not involve the freedom from those restraints which regulate that speech to the requirements of public decency and public order and to the protection of private character. The abuse of the freedom of the press has made the United States more prolific of libel suits than any other country in the world. The law offers every facility to the individual for such redress for defamation of character as pecuniary damages can bring; and if the experience of the country is that juries are not prone to award heavy penalties in such cases, the fact remains that every publisher, after every issue of his newspaper, is at the mercy of any person who may regard himself as aggrieved by some publication therein, and that many publishers have become involved in expensive and annoying litigations in consequence of the courageous consecration of their press to the exposure and extirpation of public wrongs. While there is no decrease in the universal feeling that public and private rights demand full legal protection from the malicious publisher, there is an increasing feeling, on the other hand, that the publisher should be better protected from the malicious prosecutor. The uncertainty of the result in an action against the proprietor of a newspaper for libel deters many from attempting to pursue this method in the vindication of their character. This distrust, it will be conceded, does not arise from any indefiniteness or uncertainty in the law, or in the method of its expounding by the courts. On the other hand, there is an increasing tendency, observable of late years, to resort to the law for purposes which may be described as nearly akin to blackmail and intimidation. From the standpoint both of the public and the publisher, therefore, the existing libel laws of the United States are capable of modifications that will better adapt them to the purposes for which they are devised, and it is not to be expected that journalism will ever outgrow the tendencies which render it necessary to throw these legal restraints around the free press of the United States. In a country where the establishment of a newspaper is such a common and easy affair it is to be expected that some newspapers will always exist whose conduct is not regulated by that scrupulous regard for private rights which has long distinguished the better class of American journals and is developed to a most admirable degree in the press of England. The nature of our political institutions and the fierceness of our party politics have always developed in the press a greater freedom of personal reference, accompanied by bitterness and vindictiveness of criticism, than is seen elsewhere. Of this, however, it is safe to say that there is much less than existed in the early history of American newspapers, while the gross and vulgar intrusion into private affairs, merely for the gratification of a prurient public taste for sensationalism and scandal, has long been confined to publications of no recognized standing in the community.

THE PRESS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The American press, emerging from the revolution with the great advantage of free utterance guaranteed in the organic law to compensate it for the trials of that ordeal, was compelled to pay to the full the penalty which war imposes upon all classes of society and all elements of material wealth. It had not yet made itself a necessity, for its issues were still but once a week, and were therefore, as a rule, behind the news which the people were eager enough to learn, but which they found themselves learning more expeditiously by word of mouth than from the printed page. For this reason there was no such unusual increase in the circulation of the existing newspapers as ordinarily accompanies the outbreak of a war. The information they did convey was necessarily meager, owing to the lack of facility and ability to print or to obtain details. Journalistic enterprise, as we understand that phrase in these days, was an undeveloped element, and the cost and difficulties of publication were inordinately increased. Paper was extremely scarce, and toward the close of the revolutionary war piteous appeals to the people to save their rags for the paper-mills, which necessity had established in several colonies, began to appear in the prints. Skilled printers were few in number, and there had ceased to be any fresh arrivals from England and the continent, and worn-out types could not be replenished except at a cost which was ruinous. These causes prevented that rapid multiplication of newspapers in the sections not actually involved in the war, such as is usually seen in such times.

At the headquarters of the press, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, other difficulties of an even

a The constitutions of the states and of the United States use the word *press* as descriptive of the free communication of ideas and sentiments by the art of printing. By the freedom of the press they undoubtedly intended an unrestrained use and free improvement of the privilege of writing and printing in the communication of sentiments and opinions on matters of public concernment, governmental measures, and political procedures; not a licentious and destructive abuse of the privilege in such a manner as that wicked and malicious men should gratify their resentment, malevolence, and revenge to the overthrow of family reputation and the ruin of their neighbors' character.—James Sullivan's *Dissertation*.

more serious nature interfered with progress. With the successive occupation of these several cities by the British troops there was nothing for the publishers of patriotic newspapers to do but to pack up their accouterments as best they could and make their escape to other points, whence they could not supply their regular subscribers nor command their ordinary facilities, and frequently they found it necessary to suspend publication altogether for weeks and months. The most notable cases of removal were those of Thomas' *Massachusetts Spy*, which went from Boston to Worcester; Edes' *Gazette*, removed from Boston to Watertown, whence it returned after the evacuation; the *Newport Mercury*, from Newport to Attlebury, Massachusetts; and the *New York Journal*, to Kingston (Esopus), and thence, upon the approach of the British, to Poughkeepsie. The patriot newspapers printed in Philadelphia at the outbreak of the war were suspended altogether during the period that the British remained in possession of that city.

Suspension of the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia presses.

The royalist papers published in these cities at the outbreak of the revolution continued to print, generally under the protection and encouragement of the British authorities; but their difficulties were hardly less than those of their expelled contemporaries, as the citizens, sympathizing with the cause of independence, refused to patronize them, and the meager support remaining compelled several of them to suspend. Rivington's *New York Gazetteer*, which had "a very extensive circulation" in the principal towns surrounding the city, was descended upon by a body of armed men in 1775, which destroyed the press, pried the type, and effectually stopped its publication. Returning to England, Rivington supplied himself with a new printing outfit, and was appointed king's printer for New York. Coming again to that city when the British gained possession, he re-established the *Gazetteer*, under the title of Rivington's *Loyal New York Gazette*, "Published by James Rivington, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." This paper naturally suspended for want of support shortly after the close of the revolution, although its editor, by discarding the royal arms and pledging himself to print an impartial and complete newspaper, struggled hard to live down the prejudice excited by his conduct in the war.

The royalist press.

The list of newspapers which were in existence in the colonies in the year 1775, as compiled by Thomas, is probably nearly, if not quite, accurate. It shows them to have been thirty-seven in number, of which one was located in New Hampshire, seven in Massachusetts, two in Rhode Island, four in Connecticut, four in New York, nine in Pennsylvania (including three established in the early part of that year), two in Maryland, two in Virginia, two in North Carolina, three in South Carolina, and one in Georgia. The complete list is as follows:

The press of 1775.

Titles.	Towns.	Publishers.	Titles.	Towns.	Publishers.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.			PENNSYLVANIA--continued.		
* New Hampshire Gazette	Portsmouth...	Daniel Fowle.	Pennsylvania Journal	Philadelphia..	W. & T. Bradford.
MASSACHUSETTS.			* Pennsylvania Packet	do	John Dunlap.
Massachusetts Gazette and News-Letter	Boston	Margaret Draper.	† Pennsylvania Ledger	do	James Humphreys.
Boston Evening Post	do	T. & J. Fleet.	† Pennsylvania Evening Post	do	Benjamin Towne.
Boston Gazette	do	Edes & Gill.	‡ Pennsylvania Mercury	do	Story & Humphreys.
Massachusetts Gazette and Post-Boy	do	Green & Russell.	H. Miller's German Paper	do	Henry Miller.
* Massachusetts Spy	do	Isaiah Thomas.	C. Sower's German Paper	Germantown..	Christopher Sower.
Essex Gazette	Salem	S. & E. Hall.	English and German Paper	Lancaster.	Lahn, Albright & Steiner.
Essex Journal	Newburyport.	Lunt & Tinges.	MARYLAND.		
RHODE ISLAND.			Maryland Gazette	Annapolis	Fr. d. & Sam'l Green.
* Newport Mercury	Newport	Solomon Southwick.	Maryland Journal	Baltimore	William Goddard.
* Providence Gazette	Providence	John Carter.	VIRGINIA.		
CONNECTICUT.			Virginia Gazette	Williamsburg.	Purdie & Dixon.
* Connecticut Journal	New Haven	T. & S. Green.	Virginia Gazette	do	William Rind.
* Connecticut Gazette	New London	Timothy Green.	NORTH CAROLINA.		
* Connecticut Courant	Hartford	Ebenezer Watson	North Carolina Gazette	New Berne	James Davis.
Norwich Packet	Norwich	Robertson & Trumbell.	Cape Fear Mercury	Wilmington	Adam Boyd.
NEW YORK.			SOUTH CAROLINA.		
New York Mercury	New York	Hugh Gaine.	South Carolina Gazette	Charleston	Peter Timothy.
New York Journal	do	John Holt.	South Carolina and American General Gazette.	do	Robert Wells.
New York Gazetteer	do	James Rivington.	South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal.	do	Charles Crouch.
Albany Post-Boy	Albany	A. & J. Robertson.	GEORGIA.		
PENNSYLVANIA.			Georgia Gazette	Savannah	James Johnston.
* Pennsylvania Gazette	Philadelphia	Hall & Sellers.			

A star (*) prefixed indicates that they were continued in 1812. Those marked thus (†) commenced in January, 1775; those marked thus (‡) in April, 1775.

Of these journals eight only were in existence in 1810, when Thomas' list was first published, many of them having suspended during the progress of the war, borne down by the circumstances upon which we have dwelt. Five additional papers, not here enumerated, were established during the first year of the war.

An attempt has been made to estimate the number of copies annually printed of the thirty-seven newspapers of 1775, which places the figure at 1,200,000. The aggregate is reached by the simple process of assigning to each of the papers an average weekly circulation of about 600 copies. This average is probably amply high, and calls for an average weekly issue of all the existing journals of less than 23,000 papers for a population of 2,800,000, in round numbers, or a paper once a week for every 122 individuals. Any value which these figures may be supposed to possess must be qualified by the fact that the great bulk of the revolutionary papers was circulated in the three cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and their immediate vicinity.

Their probable circulation.

SECOND PERIOD: 1783-1835.

SECOND PERIOD.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

The close of the revolutionary war began the second era in the history of the American press, or the transitional era, as I have designated it. Up to this time it had taken firm root indeed, but in a soil which was sterile, where it survived as an exotic. The United States now entered upon an entirely different condition of affairs, the tendency of which was directly to stimulate the establishment of new journals in all the settled parts of the country and to supply them more adequately with the means of subsistence and growth, if not of large profits. As business enterprises, newspapers continued to be for many years uncertain and unattractive; and the circumstances which drew many men into the business, and tended to the continual multiplication of newspapers, were not of a kind to broaden their financial basis. (a)

Commencement of the transitional era.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PRESS.

With the establishment of independence and the prolonged and exciting discussion which preceded the adoption of the federal Constitution the people of the United States divided quickly into groups upon issues which concerned altogether their own internal affairs, and engrossed the public mind in controversies, soon to become warm, which everywhere demanded methods of public expression and intercommunication. To this political stimulus may be directly traced the immediate multiplication of newspapers, and the fact that they rapidly attained a degree of influence hitherto unknown in America, and probably not previously paralleled in the world. (b) They were born of the friction generated by intense political feeling, and were very often established, under circumstances which foredoomed them to failure as business enterprises, by men carried away by intensity of political opinion or prompted to the venture by other men, who desired to make use of public prints for political purposes. The neutral and colorless journal, which had been so frequent before the revolution and during its progress, almost entirely disappeared, and of the three hundred and sixty-two papers which Thomas found in existence in 1810 all but seventeen were classified by him as attached either to the federalist or the republican party, most of the exceptions being either agricultural journals or periodicals of a literary character. The political opinions of a newspaper not only offered an inducement to subscribers of its manner of thinking, and thus spread the circulation among many who would not otherwise have taken it, but offered certain other advantages, such as the petty patronage in printing which political parties are able to supply and the favor, and frequently the sustenance, of politicians who were in positions of more or less power. Hence it happened that these early newspapers were divided in their political opinions very nearly in accordance with the well-known geographical distribution of politics in that era. Eleven only of the thirty-two journals published in Massachusetts in 1810 were republican in politics, only one of

The press and politics.

a An episode in the life of Joel Munsell, of Albany, New York, affords illustration of the prevailing methods of newspaper publication even as late as 1827. In that year he was setting type on a weekly periodical, the *Masonic Record*, and to occupy the time when not thus employed young Munsell determined on issuing a newspaper himself. In one day along the principal business street he procured 150 subscribers. He purchased a small font of types and prepared for business. This paper was called the *Albany Minerva*, and was published semi-monthly on a half sheet folded as a royal octavo. The composition was done by Munsell in the back room of a bookstore, the use of which was paid for his attendance on customers while the clerk was absent at dinner. The paper was worked off at night on a Ramage press, with balls, in the *Record* office, and the next morning the editor himself delivered it at the doors of his subscribers. The labor involved in writing, type-setting, and press-work, all of which Munsell did himself, was so great that only eight numbers were issued, the first of which appeared January 1, 1828, when Munsell had not reached his twentieth year.—George R. Howell's *Memoir of Joel Munsell*.

Of the newspapers and periodicals printed or published by Mr. Munsell at various times there were, in addition, *The Microscope*, 1834, a weekly journal, which had for some time a considerable circulation, in the publication of which he was associated with Henry D. Stone; a daily whig campaign newspaper in 1840; a *Lady's Magazine* in 1842, edited by E. G. Squier; *The Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate* (1840); *The Spectator* (1844), a weekly religious newspaper, edited by Dr. William B. Sprague, which during the few years of its survival exercised a large influence in that portion of the state; *The Guard* (1845), an Odd Fellows' journal, of which C. C. Burr and John Tanner were editors; and, in subsequent years, *The State Register*, daily; *The Typographical Miscellany*, one of the earliest periodicals devoted to printing; *The New York Teacher*, the *Albany Morning Express* (1854), and the *Albany Daily Statesman*. Mr. Munsell was one of the committee appointed by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, to edit and supervise the second edition of Thomas' *History of Printing*, published in 1874.

b The newspapers of that day exercised an individual influence over the minds of their readers very far beyond that of the so much abler journals of our times. The power and influence of the press as a whole, and even the importance of the press as a political agent, have indeed greatly increased, but the effect which any individual journal can produce has very greatly diminished. In those days the *Aurora*, for instance, penetrated to many localities in which no other printed sheet ever made its appearance. There were many who never saw any other newspaper, and its falsehoods and calumnies produced all the effect natural to an uncontradicted statement of fact. At present the mischief that can be done by falsehood and misrepresentation is comparatively limited, detection and exposure following too close.—Hildroth's *History of the United States*, second series, vol. ii, p. 229.

the twelve papers in Connecticut, and correspondingly few in the rest of the New England states, throughout which the federalist party was strong. In Pennsylvania the political division of the newspapers at that time was very nearly even, while in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio the federalist journals were as scarce as republican journals in New England. At an earlier date, and when these geographical party lines were more marked, this peculiarity was even more noticeable. At a date still later the fact that a federalist or republican newspaper existed in a certain town, either with or without being able to make a comfortable living there, was apt to prove the sufficient provocation for the establishment of another journal of the opposite politics. And thus they went on multiplying at a much more rapid rate, considering the relative population, the relative number of readers, and the facilities for distribution, than they have multiplied at any later date in the history of the country. In New York city especially journal after journal was established during the first quarter century after the revolution whose sole mission apparently was to advance the interests of one or another political faction existing there, and whose life went out when the faction disappeared, if indeed it did not cease before, and this process went on, only in less degree, in the other well-settled parts of the country.

The early journalism of this country, therefore, owes much, in one sense of the word, to politics, which may be said to have been the chief stimulus to its rapid spread for the first fifty years after the close of the revolutionary war, and until the close of the second era. It was natural that there should have been every inducement to repay the debt, and that politics should thus early have occupied the chief attention of the editors. It was a state of things which brought into the profession a class of men widely different from those who had been chiefly conspicuous in it during the colonial epoch. The majority of the latter were men of merely mechanical skill, more intent upon making a living out of their trade as printers than of consecrating their energies to a public cause. We have seen how the greater part of the writing done in the colonial press, either for or against the principle lying at the root of the revolution, was the work of outside contributors—of men who were themselves neither editors nor printers, but rather the leaders of opinion in their several communities, who were glad to embrace the opportunity the press afforded for influencing the public mind. The editor, in the sense that we now use the word, was not a frequent character, even in such newspaper towns as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and this was one chief reason why the pamphlet, rather than the newspaper, was so vital a literary force in the revolutionary epoch. The tracts of Thomas Paine attained a wider circulation throughout the colonies, and were more potent in the crystallization of public opinion, than all the issues of the periodical press. It was often the case that Benjamin Franklin, who is conceded to have been the best writer directly connected with the colonial press, while actively engaged in the publication and pushing of his journal, put the compositions he regarded as of the most importance in pamphlet form, in contempt of the claims of the journal which brought him his bread and butter, but whose files bear little evidence of his literary and intellectual characteristics. This was because he knew that he thus secured for them a wider circulation. The letters composing the *Federalist*, on the other hand, were supplied by their distinguished authors to the newspapers of New York city, and in these columns first exerted their powerful influence in behalf of the federal Constitution.

The post-revolutionary editors were frequently not printers at all, or they were printers who were also politicians. Some of them were men of conceded ability, whose writings were terse, pointed, and scholarly; others were men who made their points bluntly, and not always with that respect for the amenities of discussion which we are learning to regard as essential to the printed page. There were among them no trained journalists in the modern sense, and very few bold and strong intellects capable of dealing adequately with the large issues precipitated upon the young republic.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

It is an historical fact that the men who were chiefly influential in giving its turn and tone to the American journalism of the period with which we are dealing were educated in other countries, and came to the United States without the training in American political affairs which native-born citizens had received by reason of the trials and restraints of the revolution, and without that respect for our young institutions which inured to the native. (a) William Cobbett was an English refugee; James Thompson Callender, of the Richmond *Examiner*, was an exile for seditious publication in Scotland; and William Duane,

a The apology for the sedition act was the unquestionable licentiousness of the press, which at that time was chiefly conducted by refugees and adventurers from Great Britain and Ireland.—Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, xvi, 162.

At the time of the passage of the alien and sedition acts there were about two hundred newspapers published in the United States. Of these about one hundred and seventy-five were supporters of the national administration; the remainder were chiefly under the control of aliens. Although there were eight daily papers in Philadelphia and five or six in New York, it was seldom that any one had an editor distinct from the printer and publisher. One of the first papers established on that plan in New York was *The Minerva*, a daily paper, set up in 1794, of which the name had been lately changed to *The Commercial Advertiser*. It was the ablest paper in the country on the federal side, and was edited by Noah Webster, afterward the lexicographer. Out of New England the publishers of newspapers were principally foreigners. They were wielding a powerful influence by being vehicles for communication with the people by such men as Hamilton, Jay, Madison, King, Ames, Cabot, and many others; and in the half century between 1765 and 1815 this peculiar literature of America is to be found in its newspapers, sometimes coarse and vulgar, but always vigorous. From 1790 to 1800 the political newspapers—and they were nearly all such—teemed with scandalous personal attacks. Chief Justice McKean, in his charge in a libel case in which Cobbett was concerned, said in 1798: "Every one who has in him the sentiments either of a Christian or a gentleman cannot but be highly offended at the envenomed scurrility that has raged in pamphlets and newspapers printed in Philadelphia for several years past, inasmuch that libeling has become a national crime, and distinguishes us not only from all the states around us, but from the whole civilized world. Our satire has been

the editor of the famous *Aurora*, the anti-federalist organ in Philadelphia, then the national capital, had made a fortune once as the publisher of an English journal in India. Suppressed by the government, and petitioning in vain for redress, disgust and despair drove him to seek a new professional career in America, where he became, perhaps, the most violent and unseemly of the partisan editors. No epithet was so opprobrious that his types shrank from its use, and no federalist was too high to escape his constant and denunciatory attack. The republican principles of the elder Joseph Gales involved him in trouble with the English government, and he came to Philadelphia in 1793, where he became proprietor of the paper which formed the nucleus of the famous *National Intelligencer* when the capital was removed to Washington. (a) Cheetham, Gray, and Carpenter, New York journalists, were English immigrants since the revolution. There were enough of these foreign-born journalists among the editors of the period to give them prominence as a class, and the violence of their newspaper writing, while it was often equaled by that of the native writers, whether connected with the federalist or the anti-federalist press, was sufficient to occasion the agitation which culminated in 1798 in the passage of the alien and sedition laws. (b) While these laws were not nominally directed against the press, their enactment was largely due to the circumstances we have been relating, (c) and at once created a

The alien and sedition laws.

nothing but ribaldry and billingsgate; the contest has been who could call names in the greatest variety of phrases; who could mangle the greatest number of characters, or who could excel in the magnitude of their lies; hence the honor of families has been stained, the highest posts rendered cheap and vile in the sight of the people, and the greatest services and virtues blasted."—Lossing's *Cyclopedia of United States History*.

a The *National Intelligencer* was founded at Washington by Samuel Harrison Smith, and was first issued as a tri-weekly on October 31, 1800. Joseph Gales became connected with it in 1807, and continued its editor until his death, in 1860. In 1812 he took into partnership his brother-in-law, William W. Seaton, by whom the journal was edited until 1865. It was issued as a daily from 1813 to 1869, when it was discontinued.

b The influence upon American politics exercised at this moment (1812), and for nearly twenty years previously, by a small body of educated and enthusiastic foreigners was indeed very remarkable, and may well serve as a caution to the nations of Europe. The demand for printers and editors, especially in the middle states, could not be supplied from domestic sources, and as many of these political exiles had been connected with the press at home, many of them, indeed, having been driven into exile in consequence of publications prosecuted by the government as libelous or seditious, they had adopted the same calling in America. Converted thus into mouthpieces of the democratic party, they obtained and exercised an influence out of all proportion either to their number or their talents. Randolph complained that almost every leading press in favor of war was conducted by men who had but recently escaped from the tyranny or the justice, whichever it might be, of the British government. He gave as instances the *Aurora* and the *Democratic Press*, the leading papers at Philadelphia, edited, the one by Duane and the other by Binns; the *Whig*, at Baltimore, conducted by Baptiste Irving, and the *Intelligencer*, at Washington, by Joseph Gales.—Hildreth's *History of the United States*, second series, iii, p. 217.

c The second section of the sedition act, as embodying the only legislation of the Congress of the United States which can be said to have been directed against the liberty of the press, is here reproduced:

And be it further enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage, or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$2,000, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

A *Dissertation upon the Constitutional Freedom of the Press in the United States of America*, by "An Impartial Citizen" (known to have been James Sullivan), Boston, 1801, contains an elaborate discussion of the relations of the government to the press in this country, and presents in judicial form the legal objections to the sedition act as they appeared at that time, and as forcibly as they have been stated in any subsequent publication. We quote the body of Mr. Sullivan's argument:

"The remedies for libels are on a civil process or on indictment. The former is by an action upon the case for damages. In this action the plaintiff sues in his private capacity, as a private citizen, and can make no use of any public official character he may sustain, excepting merely in aggravation of damages. The courts where such actions are to be litigated are the same as those where any action for breach of contract or other civil injury may be maintained.

"The remedy or redress on an indictment is on a different footing. There, unless the national Constitution has changed it, the prosecution is to be, not only in the state, but in the county where the offense is committed. The indictment cannot be for a libel simply against a public officer. The description of the offense may be aggravated by a malicious intention in the party charged to deprive the party libeled of offices or honors; but still it is no more an offense against the government in kind, even though the libels are against the officers of the same, but must remain within the jurisdiction of the state governments, because the party injured, although he is an officer of the federal government, yet remains a subject of and under the protection of the state where he resides. This will appear to be exclusive on a review of the powers given to the Congress of the United States.

"None of these powers seem to include the authority to punish libels, and therefore some very good men have their doubts whether the general government can make laws on this subject.

"It is very clear that, considering a libel as a private injury, the Congress can have no authority to enact a law for its definition or punishment. But yet it does by no means follow that a libel may not be so conceived and published as to be a crime against the government itself, independent of the personal injury done to the particular subject of it, and when that is the case the government ought to possess the power of punishing it on the principle of preserving the Constitution.

"Any laws which may be necessary to the carrying into effect the powers vested in the national government may be enacted by the Congress; but if there is no government, or no Congress, there can be no laws made. It is therefore necessarily implied that all things which ought to be done to preserve and maintain that government which is vested with those authorities, and which may make laws for their execution, may make laws to preserve its own existence. Should it be said that the state governments will preserve and defend the existence of the federal government this would by no means be accepted as an answer, because a government depending on another government for its existence is merely a corporation; it can have no sovereignty, and can be no bond of union for a nation.

"The late act of Congress was deficient in its principles on these essential points. It went beyond what the Constitution would warrant. Some of the libels pointed out by the act were such as were written and published against the President to bring him personally into disrepute or contempt, or to excite against him personally the hatred of the people.

"The Constitution of the United States has expressly provided that crimes shall be tried in the state where they shall be committed;

great counter-excitement throughout the United States. There were about two hundred papers published at the time in the whole country,^(a) and it was believed that from twenty to thirty of these journals, which were

and that in civil actions for damages, where one of the parties is a citizen of a state of which the other is not a citizen, the action may be commenced and prosecuted in a court of the United States, at the election of the parties. There is in this provision no distinction in persons or officers. When the general government was formed the people might, if they had thought it proper, have made provision for a President, Vice-President, and all the officers of the general government to bring their suits and prosecutions in the federal courts; but no such provision was made. Perhaps the reason was that the general government is as much the government of the people as the others, and must derive its support from the same source.

"The character of the first magistrate of the nation is highly to be respected; and though it may not be safe in any keeping but that of the federal government, yet, as the Constitution has not placed it there, a question on a legal principle does not arise on the subject. Those who are advocates for the late act of Congress against libels may feel themselves hurt at these observations, and may endeavor to support their measure by arguments supposed to result from powers necessarily implied in the Constitution. Their arguments will be before the public, and I am without anxiety at the event, be it what it may; for I am ready to receive and abide the public judgment. It has been said that the power of self-preservation is an incidental, constituent part of the government, because a national government must be a sovereign government of course, and a sovereignty relying on another sovereignty for civil support is an inadmissible idea in politics; but it will by no means follow that the right to vindicate the President's personal character against libels is necessarily incident to the Constitution. The want of personal character in a chief magistrate would be an unfortunate circumstance, but governments have existed very frequently and very well under this difficulty. Should the President bring a civil action for a libel or other slander, he would stand on the same level with other actions, and have his trial by the same rules and in the same courts where they have theirs. Should there be a criminal prosecution for a libel published against him personally, it could not be prosecuted anywhere but in the state courts and in the county where the offense happens. But if the libel is pointed at him personally, and yet written, printed, or published with an intent to injure, oppose, or subvert the government of the United States, it takes a new denomination of criminality, and becomes punishable, of necessity, in the judiciary of that government against which the crime is committed.

"The argument that the Congress have a right to protect the character of the President would with the same propriety be extended to every officer and servant of the general government. There can be no government without officers, and there can be no government without subjects and property. The case with us is: whether right or wrong must remain under the process of experiment; that we have from a number of separate sovereign states carved out a national general sovereignty, limited as to its authority, over the same persons and the same property as the state governments have in protection, and what power is not expressly or by a necessary implication given to that is retained to the several states. Had the Congress enacted that if any person should print, write, or publish any libel against the President or either house of Congress, with an intent to obstruct, injure, oppose, or subvert the government of the United States, or to raise sedition against the same, he should be punished, etc., it would have described a new offense, which ought to be punished by that government. But when they enact that when any person shall publish a libel, with an intent to defame the said President, or to excite against him the hatred of the good people of their states, without connecting it with an intent to injure the government, it will be difficult to maintain the measure by the Constitution.

"It may be said that the injury done to the President may be an injury done to the United States. That may or may not be true; and it may be said that libels against the judges and other servants of the public are injuries to the government. Nay, every immoral and vicious thing is an injury to the nation; but the creators of the federal government are the creators and the supporters of the others, and are equally interested in all, and did not choose to invest the general government with all the authority claimed in the late sedition law, passed by the late Congress.

"This observation will, no doubt, be made, and be echoed and re-echoed from one champion to another, that if the federal government cannot protect their President from libels, but must send him to the state courts for defense, we had better give up the national system at once. This observation, when made, will be the result of the want of consideration. A moment's reflection will evince that the general government is supported by the same people who support the others; that these will have their influence; and whenever the general government shall be guided by men who shall attempt a separate interest the public opinion will gradually remove them, until the connecting balance shall be restored to its constitutional perfection. The sum of the argument, on the whole, is this:

"That the constitutional freedom of the press does not open the flood-gates of slander on the members of the civil society and allow each man to calumniate his neighbor with impunity.

"That a man's reputation ought to be guarded as of the next consequence to his life.

"That whatever is in fact done by a government, or by any officer of it, in his official capacity or under a pretense of official authority, may be published to the world without the writer or printers being chargeable for a libel.

"That the reputation of men in office is as dear to them as that of other citizens is to them, and as much under the protection of the laws as the reputation of men in private life is; and that, therefore, a charge against them of bribery or corruption ought not to be published otherwise than in a judicial prosecution against them before a proper tribunal, where they may be removed from office or otherwise punished, according to the demerit of their crime.

"That where a man appears as a candidate for an elective office he exhibits his character for a public scrutiny, and every one has a right to publish anything against his election which is not false in fact, but must be answerable for all falsehoods and groundless slanders, as well in civil as in a criminal prosecution.

"That though every one has a right to publish the proceedings of the government in all its departments, yet, if the publications are made of measures which have never happened, the writers and printers are amenable, provided that any injury is done, or may be done, to the government by it. The fact of writing or publishing being proved, the burden of the proof rests on the defendant to prove the truth of the facts published, which, if he cannot do, he must submit to punishment, unless he can show that it was innocently done from mere error and mistake.

"That though no one can justify the false publication of facts in regard to the measures of the government, yet, if facts are truly published, no one can be punished for reasoning erroneously upon them, or for publishing his reasons, however wrong he may be in his conclusions.

"That the general government, having the power of punishing libels against the government itself by a necessary inference from the Constitution, does by no means give it the power of punishing those which are published against its President or other officers, who are also the subjects of the state governments, unless the libel is made and published with an intent to injure the government itself, which intent must be averred in the indictment and be found by the traverse jury, or jury of trials; otherwise he cannot be convicted. As this distinction most plainly results from the Constitution, there can be no doubt but that every candid, sober man will be ready to give it a full force in his mind, because, were whatever he may with the Constitution, he must be content to take it as it is.

"And, finally, that a reasonable constitutional restraint, judiciously exercised, is the only way in which the freedom of the press can be preserved as an invaluable privilege to the nation."

^a This number is given by Hudson. Thomas says that in 1800 there were "at least one hundred and fifty publications of this kind printed in the United States". Hildreth states that the exact number is unobtainable, but that it considerably exceeded one hundred.

violently opposed to the administration of John Adams and its measures, were edited and controlled by aliens. A number of prosecutions occurred under these acts, among the most conspicuous being that of Abijah Adams, of the *Boston Chronicle*, who was indicted on the plea that he sold the papers—he being a bookkeeper in the establishment—which contained libels on the legislature of Massachusetts. Adams was found guilty of “publishing only”, and was sentenced to thirty days’ imprisonment in the county jail, to pay the costs, and to give bonds for good behavior for one year. Some of the most conspicuous of the prosecutions were brought, not against journalists, but against prominent politicians. Such a case was that of Matthew Lyon, a representative in Congress from Vermont, who was indicted and convicted in 1798 on the charge of having written a letter to the publisher of a Windsor newspaper “abusing in a most virulent manner the President and Senate of the United States”, with the intention “to stir up sedition and bring the President and the government of the United States into contempt”. Charles Holt, publisher of *The Bee*, printed at New London, Connecticut, was found guilty of defaming the President and discouraging enlistments in the army, and was sentenced to three months’ imprisonment and a fine of \$200. (a) James T. Callender, editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, was tried for a libel on the President, and was sentenced to nine months’ imprisonment and a fine of \$200. There were a number of other convictions under the sedition law, but just how many there is no means of ascertaining, and many were not of editors or publishers of newspapers. (b)

Convictions under the sedition act.

There can be no doubt that these laws were meant to be, and were, a restriction upon the liberty of the press in the United States, and that, as such, they were wholly repugnant to the popular judgment and feeling. The alien and sedition laws, instead of effecting the purposes at which they aimed, undoubtedly increased the intensity of the partisanship of the American press, and there was less of this kind of journalism, although still plenty of it, after they ceased to be in effect. However that may be, the laws stand as the only effort ever made by the government of the United States to take direct cognizance and regulation of the utterances of the political press, and were altogether the result of the peculiar and critical politics of the time, when the government was untried and good men actually feared that it was within the power of an unrestrained press to endanger its perpetuity by undermining the popular confidence in its *personnel*. (c) The fierce partisanship of the press of that era was the reflex of the public mind itself, and it cannot be said of these editors that they were any worse or any better than the people who read their writings and delighted in their gall and wormwood. But as time passed there came, gradually but surely, an improvement in the tone and character of the American press.

Causes and effects of these laws.

Of the journalism of this period, considered from a professional point of view, it is not possible to speak in high terms. Among the editors of that day were many men of great versatility and of marked intellectual gifts. Much of the political writing was powerful, and there can be no doubt that it exercised marked and continual influence upon the public mind, frequently leading public opinion, and sometimes determining important political results. Of journalism in the professional sense there was little, if any. (d) By this is meant that the business of making a newspaper had not yet come to be regarded as a profession distinct and clearly defined in itself, and was not pursued by those who sought it with a view to making it such a profession, men of all pursuits, if they had any literary tastes, regarding themselves as qualified, without any special training or experience. It frequently happened that they linked it to other occupations, and as the earlier editors had been booksellers and stationers, the later ones were lawyers, *litterateurs*, ministers, or business men. The profits of most newspaper ventures were small, and, as a necessary consequence, the remuneration given to men who were employed as editorial writers and managers was uniformly meager. An

Little professional journalism.

a Charles Holt, publisher of *The Bee*, incurred a fine of \$200 under the sedition law in 1800, which Congress, nearly half a century afterward, repaid him, principal and interest.—Munsell’s *Typographical Miscellany*.

b The following quotation, from Henry S. Randall’s *Biography of Thomas Jefferson*, fairly represents the view of the sedition law generally taken by the anti-federalists at the time:

“It has been said that the victims of the sedition law were few. We do not know the number, but they were surely enough for the purposes of intimidation. * * * * When we look at the cases and decisions under our sedition law of 1798 we cannot fail to become convinced that its aim and intent were not to prevent or punish real sedition—actual, open, or secret machinations against our institutions and laws. Its manifest object was to shield the federal government from damaging censure, to arm it with power to put down political opposition; in a word, to confer on it authority during its shorter political tenure about equivalent to that then possessed and exercised in political affairs by the government of Great Britain.”

c Franklin, in the second part of his autobiography, written about the time of the close of the revolution, alludes to the scrupulous care he always exercised to prevent the insertion of objectionable matter in his journal; and, commenting upon the changed tone of the American press, he adds: “Now many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals by false accusations of the fairest characters among themselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels, and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences.”

d On the subject of the personal and literary character of the journalists of this epoch there can be no better authority than Mr. Thomas, who knew personally so many of them and so many of their colonial predecessors. In his *History of Printing* Mr. Thomas quotes with approval some remarks from Miller’s *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, in the course of which it is said: “In the earlier part of the century talents and learning at least, if not virtue, were thought necessary in the conductors of public journals,” to which Mr. Thomas adds the comment: “This has not been generally so much the case in America as in Europe. From the earliest period too many of our gazettes have been in the hands of persons who were destitute both of talents and literature. But in later times the number of editors who fall under this description has become greater than formerly.”—II, 203.

accurate impression of the character of the business and the manner of its conduct, especially in the smaller cities and towns, is given in the following extract from an address containing some account of the early history of the *Providence Journal*:

In and about the year 1820, although there were as many newspapers as the community required, there was no systematic and well-managed journalism. A printer and publisher, for the purpose of extending his business, put forth proposals and issued a subscription for a new paper. If the number of subscribers was, in his opinion, sufficient to pay the expense, he engaged a person to edit and supervise the paper. At that time literary labor of this description was so meagrely compensated that no lawyer, physician, or schoolmaster would undertake the business for merely the monetary remuneration. In the case of the first editor of the *Journal* there was no demand or stipulation for pay. That person saw the necessity of a sacrifice by some one for the advancement of great public interests, and he consented to a temporary supervision of the *Journal*. A reference to the early files of that paper, now in the editorial library, will enable you to estimate the amount of labor bestowed. It was almost exclusively in the night season that the *Journal* was edited, as a relaxation from the daily labors of another profession, and it was understood from the beginning that so soon as the *Journal* could be considered as securely established another editor should be procured. At the end of the first year the name of the editor was omitted from the imprint in consequence of the increase of professional business, but he continued for several years thereafter an informal oversight of and contribution to its columns, for which, and for all previous labors, he received the sum of \$500.

DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE AMERICAN PRESS.

It is easy, familiar as we are with the journalism of the present day, to belittle the comparative excellence of that out of which it grew. An impartial and contemporaneous opinion is therefore desirable, and De Tocqueville on the American press. has been furnished in the admirable treatise of M. Alexis de Tocqueville on *Democracy in America*, written in 1835. M. de Tocqueville was amazed during his travels through the United States at the progress of the press, and says:

The number of periodical and occasional publications which appear in the United States actually surpasses belief. There is scarcely a hamlet which has not its own newspaper. The facility with which journals can be established induces a multitude of individuals to take part in them; but as the extent of competition precludes the possibility of considerable profit, the most distinguished classes of society are rarely led to engage in these undertakings. But such is the number of the public prints, that, even if they were a source of wealth, writers of ability could not be found to direct them all. The journalists of the United States are usually placed in a very humble position, with a scanty education and a vulgar turn of mind.

From this severe commentary the eminent Frenchman turns to a discussion of the methods and the influence of the American newspaper, and continues:

The will of the majority is the most general of laws, and it establishes certain habits which form the characteristics of each peculiar class of society. The characteristics of the French journalist consist in a violent, but frequently an eloquent and lofty manner of discussing the politics of the day, and the exceptions to this habitual practice are only occasional. The characteristics of the American journalist consist in an open and coarse appeal to the passions of the populace, and he habitually abandons the principles of political science to assail the characters of individuals, to track them into private life, and disclose all their weaknesses and errors.

And yet again:

The personal opinions of the editors have no kind of weight in the eyes of the public; the only use of a journal is that it imparts a knowledge of certain facts, and it is only by altering or distorting the statement of those facts that a journalist can contribute to the support of his own views.

In contrast with the harshness of this generalization and the conclusion, elsewhere reached, that "the power of the press is much greater in France than in the United States", M. de Tocqueville concedes, "notwithstanding this limitation of the resources of the press," that "its influence in America is immense. It is the power which impels the circulation of political life through all the districts of that vast territory. Its eye is constantly open to detect the secret springs of political designs, and to summon the leaders of all parties to the bar of public opinion. It rallies the interests of the community round certain principles, and it draws up the creed which factions adopt, for it affords a means of intercourse between parties which hear and which address each other without ever having been in immediate contact. When a great number of the organs of the press adopt the same line of conduct their influence becomes irresistible; and public opinion, when it is perpetually assailed from the same side, eventually yields to the attack. In the United States each separate journal exercises but little authority, but the power of the periodical press is only second to that of the people".

THE TYPICAL NEWSPAPERS OF THE PERIOD.

The best representatives of the American political press in this peculiar and formative period were: On the federalist side, the *Columbian Centinel*, established in Boston in 1784 by Benjamin Russell, and conducted by him for a period of forty years; the *New England Palladium*, begun as the *Massachusetts Mercury* in 1793, by Alexander Young and Samuel Etheridge; the *Minerva*, established in New York in 1793, long ably edited by Noah Webster, and the nucleus of the present New York *Commercial Advertiser*; the New York *Packet*, which had survived the Revolution and was shortly thereafter made a daily by its enterprising publisher, Samuel Loudon; the New York *Evening Post*, established in 1801, under the auspices of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and their political associates, and continuing its uninterrupted publication down to the present day; in Philadelphia, *Peter Porcupine's Gazette*, established in 1792 by that restless and vehement English agitator, William Cobbett; the *Connecticut Courant*, the *Salem Gazette*, and others of lesser influence. On the republican side the most influential journals were located at Philadelphia while it remained the seat of the federal government, and were the *Aurora*, established in 1790 by Benjamin Franklin Bache, (a) and edited after his death by William Duane, and the *National Gazette*, established in 1791 by Philip Freneau, while

The leading newspapers of the party press.

employed under Thomas Jefferson in the State Department. In New York the leading republican newspapers were *Greenfield's New York Journal*, a continuation of Holt's ante-revolutionary *Journal*, and rechristened about the beginning of the century the *American Citizen*, when it was edited by James Cheetham; the *Morning Chronicle*, established in 1802 by the friends of Aaron Burr, and edited by Dr. Peter Irving; while in Boston there was the *Gazette* that Edes and Gill had founded, the chief pillar of the revolutionary cause in New England, but espousing the losing side in the debate upon the Constitution and expiring in 1798; the *Independent Chronicle*, established in Boston in 1776, in the midst of the revolution, and until the close of the century the leading New England organ of the Jeffersonian school of politics; and the Boston *Patriot*, established in 1809, consolidated with the *Independent Chronicle* in 1817, and published as a daily until its absorption in the Boston *Advertiser* in 1831. The Richmond *Enquirer*, founded in 1804 by Thomas Ritchie, was a potential organ throughout the South.

Of all these journals Russell's *Centinel* may be accepted as the best type of the early political newspaper of the United States. During the greater part of its existence the *Centinel* was meager, fragmentary, and ill-arranged in its news and trivial and provincial in its original matter; but its blows were steady and heavy. Russell delighted in ingenious devices to attract attention, and pictures, curious mechanical arrangements of type, reckless displays, capitals and punctuation marks, and extravagant allegories and travesties in prose and verse were his constant resort to supplement his argument. After the election of Washington to the presidency the *Centinel* grew steadily in position and influence, and in spite of its constant and disgraceful personalities won great prosperity, and deserved it. Russell drew around him the most eminent federalist writers of America, and during the later years of his proprietorship his paper became an epitome of the history of the world. Mr. Buckingham is probably not too strong in praise when he says of it:

Russell's *Centinel*.

As a vehicle of useful and accurate intelligence the *Centinel* secured to itself a reputation superior to that of any other American newspaper. Russell had a peculiar mode of condensing and arranging the contents of foreign journals and presenting in the most readable shape all the incidents then (1790-1815) agitating Europe. Through the whole of this period, and for some years afterward, the *Centinel* was an indispensable source of news for the country printers, every one of whom relied upon it for matter to fill up the news department of his paper. Subscribers in the country also increased beyond all precedent. It was everywhere known and everywhere read, and if industry in collecting and fidelity in republishing information that was important to be known are worthy of credit never was popularity more honestly earned. (a)

One of the most praiseworthy journalistic ventures of this era—the one which, on the whole, has been of greatest service to the history of the country—was *Niles' Register*, established as a weekly at Baltimore in 1811 by Hezekiah Niles, who published it until 1836. The *Register* was from week to week and year to year a repository of the documentary and political history of the country, reported with an impartial fidelity which modern journalism may emulate but cannot surpass, and it attained a national circulation, because it supplied, with a degree of fullness not attempted by the local journals, the details of the political progress of the country. *Niles' Register* is now the most frequently quoted periodical in the works of writers upon American history, and its value as a reference record was so well understood at the time that Mr. Niles republished the series in thirty-six volumes. This publication was continued by his son, W. O. Niles, until June 27, 1849, making a series of seventy-six volumes in all. A journal just like the *Register* would not be a successful undertaking in these days, for the functions peculiarly its own have been absorbed by the daily and weekly press, and are by them discharged with the same fidelity. The *Register* finally disappeared, not because its usefulness was ended, but because the service it rendered was discharged by other journals, which also did other service to which it could not attain.

Niles' Register.

Partisanship and personality continued in the American press throughout the entire second era in its history, and continue to-day, constantly breaking out in assaults upon personal character and motives as malignant and disgraceful as anything that degraded the files of the earlier journals. The great mass of the newspapers of the United States continued to be conducted in the interests of one or the other of the existing political parties, and still continue to be so conducted, and they will so continue for an indefinite time to come. It is neither unnatural nor improper that this relationship should exist. The free press is the vehicle through which the public seeks and finds its political expression, and the undue partisanship which is the inevitable result of such close association is largely counteracted by the nearly equal division of the American press in its political associations. As journals grow stronger in their financial basis they come to be conducted as business enterprises of other kinds are conducted. The dependence upon political connection ceases to be essential to existence, and thereafter ceases to work the unfortunate results which undoubtedly attended the first establishment of this relationship.

The partisan press.

With the development of the country other functions of the newspaper began to have at least an equal importance with its partisanship, and so, imperceptibly almost, to modify the character of the journalism of the United States. There came an extraordinary increase of business, and the field of the newspaper expanded correspondingly, its columns being more and more sought as a medium of business communication and announcement. As their numbers increased the newspapers felt the vitalizing

Enlarging field of journalism.

influence of competition and began to rival each other in the promptness and fullness with which they gathered the news of the day. The first daily newspaper made its appearance. This was the *American Daily Advertiser*, of Philadelphia, in 1784. (a) The second daily newspaper, the *New York Daily Advertiser*, appeared in New York the year following. Boston followed with a daily, the *Polar Star and Boston Advertiser*, in 1796, and it failing, with the *Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser* in 1798. The names adopted by these first experiments in daily journalism were significant of an early recognition of the important field for money-getting which lay all undeveloped in the matter of advertising.

Up to this time the advertisements of all existing papers had been a wholly minor feature of their columns. On the other hand, the attention given to maritime and commercial intelligence was slight and fitful; but soon after the revolution advertisements began to be an equal source of revenue with subscriptions, and the prices charged for them increased correspondingly. The development of this feature of American newspapers was so sudden and extensive that British journals commented with surprise upon the comparatively extensive advertising patronage of the journals printed in the large cities of the United States.

It is true of the early publishers that they dedicated their earnings to the improvement of their publications, so that both in typography and in the amount and character of the reading matter published they steadily improved.

RECORD OF THE EARLY PRESS.

It is impossible to trace the growth of newspapers during this second period with anything like statistical accuracy, owing to the failure of the journals of that era to record this development in their columns and of any one else to make record of it. Mr. Thomas, who preserved the greater part of the data we possess regarding the colonial press, brought his record nominally down to the year 1810, in which his *History of Printing* was published. The one hundred and fifty journals of whose existence he was aware in 1800 had increased in these ten years to three hundred and sixty-six, or more than double—a ratio of increase quite as remarkable at that time as the ratio discovered in the last census year, when more papers were established and more died than the whole number in existence in 1810. His list of American journals in 1810 is here reproduced, as the most important contribution that has or can be made to the literature of the journalism of that period. It has been supplemented, so far as possible, with a record of the subsequent history of the journals enumerated by him:

NEW HAMPSHIRE (12 papers).

[f. Federal republican; r. republican, opposed to the federalists; n. neutral; w. weekly; s. w. semi-weekly; t. w. tri-weekly; * published before the revolution.]

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
r. New Hampshire Gazette, *w	Portsmouth	Now published as weekly ed. of Daily Chronicle.
f. Portsmouth Oracle, w	do	Since suspended.
f. Intelligencer, w	do	Do.
n. Sun, w	Dover	Do.
f. Farmers' Museum, w	Walpole	Do.
n. Farmers' Cabinet, w	Amherst	Still published.
f. Dartmouth Gazette, w	Hanover	Since suspended.
f. Concord Gazette, w	Concord	Do.
r. New Hampshire Patriot, w	do	Do.
f. New Hampshire Sentinel, w	Keene	Still published.
f. Coos Courier, w	Haverhill	Since suspended.
f. Constitutionalist, w	Exeter	Do.

MASSACHUSETTS (32 papers).

f. Columbian Centinel, s. w	Boston	These journals all disappeared at various dates in the foundations of the present Boston Daily and Weekly Advertiser.
r. Independent Chronicle, s. w	do	
f. New England Palladium, s. w	do	
r. Boston Patriot, s. w	do	
f. Boston Gazette, s. w	do	
f. Repertory, s. w	do	
n. Fredonian, w	do	
f. Massachusetts Spy, *w	Worcester	Still published daily and weekly.
r. National Ægis, w	do	Now published as weekly ed. of Evening Gazette.
f. Salem Gazette, s. w	Salem	Still published.
r. Essex Register, s. w	do	Do.
f. Newburyport Herald, s. w	Newburyport	Still published daily and weekly.
r. Independent Whig, w	do	Since suspended.
f. Merrimack Intelligencer, w	Haverhill	Do.
f. Hampshire Gazette, w	Northampton	Still published.

a This paper grew out of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, or *General Advertiser*, established in 1771. The *American Advertiser* continued to be published until 1837.

MASSACHUSETTS—Continued.

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>r.</i> Anti-Monarchist, <i>w</i>	Northampton	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Greenfield Gazette, <i>w</i>	Greenfield	Now Gazette and Courier.
<i>f.</i> Hampshire Federalist, <i>w</i>	Springfield	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Farmers' Herald, <i>w</i>	Stockbridge	Do.
<i>r.</i> Sun, <i>w</i>	Pittsfield	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Berkshire Reporter, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Political Recorder, <i>w</i>	Leominster	Do.
<i>f.</i> New Bedford Mercury, <i>w</i>	New Bedford	Still published daily and weekly.
<i>r.</i> Old Colony Gazette, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Portland Gazette, <i>w</i>	Portland (now Maine)	Afterward changed to Advertiser; still published.
<i>r.</i> Eastern Argus, <i>w</i>	do	Still published; now daily, weekly, and tri-weekly.
<i>f.</i> Freeman's Friend, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Gazette of Maine, <i>w</i>	Buckstown (now Maine)	Afterward consolidated with Advertiser.
<i>f.</i> Eagle, <i>w</i>	Castine (now Maine)	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> American Advocate, <i>w</i>	Hallowell (now Maine)	Do.
<i>f.</i> Herald of Liberty, <i>w</i>	Augusta (now Maine)	Do.
<i>r.</i> Weekly Visitor, <i>w</i>	Kennebunk (now Maine)	Do.

RHODE ISLAND (7 papers).

<i>f.</i> Newport Mercury, * <i>w</i>	Newport	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Rhode Island Republican, <i>w</i>	do	Suspended.
<i>f.</i> Providence Gazette, * <i>w</i>	Providence	Do.
<i>r.</i> Columbian Phoenix, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Rhode Island American, <i>s. w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Herald of the United States, <i>w</i>	Warren	Do.
<i>r.</i> Bristol County Register, <i>w</i>	do	Do.

CONNECTICUT (12 papers).

<i>f.</i> Connecticut Gazette, * <i>w</i>	New London	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Connecticut Journal, * <i>w</i>	New Haven	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Connecticut Herald, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Connecticut Courant, * <i>w</i>	Hartford	Still published.
<i>r.</i> American Mercury, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Connecticut Mirror, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>n.</i> Norwich Courier, <i>w</i>	Norwich	Now published as weekly ed. of Morning Bulletin.
<i>f.</i> Connecticut Intelligencer, <i>w</i>	Danbury	Suspended.
<i>f.</i> Windham Herald, <i>w</i>	Windham	Do.
<i>f.</i> Bridgeport Advertiser, <i>w</i>	Bridgeport	
<i>f.</i> Bridgeport Gazette, <i>w</i>	do	
<i>f.</i> Middlesex Gazette, <i>w</i>	Middletown	Since suspended.

VERMONT (15 papers).

<i>f.</i> Vermont Journal, <i>w</i>	Windsor	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Vermont Republican, <i>w</i>	do	Suspended 1834.
<i>f.</i> Washingtonian, <i>w</i>	do	Suspended after 1813.
<i>r.</i> Green Mountain Farmer, <i>w</i>	Bennington	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Reporter, <i>w</i>	Brattleboro'	Merged into the Brattleboro' Messenger in 1826.
<i>f.</i> Vermont Centinel, <i>w</i>	Burlington	Suspended 1880.
<i>f.</i> Vermont Courier, <i>w</i>	Rutland	Suspended May 30, 1810.
<i>r.</i> Rutland Herald, <i>w</i>	do	Still published; now daily and weekly.
<i>f.</i> Green Mountain Patriot, <i>w</i>	Peacham	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> North Star, <i>w</i>	Danville	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Champlain Reporter, <i>w</i>	Saint Albans	Suspended 1811.
<i>f.</i> Watchman, <i>w</i>	Montpelier	Now published as Vermont Watchman and State Journal.
<i>r.</i> Freeman's Press, <i>w</i>	do	Suspended 1816.
<i>r.</i> Weekly Wanderer, <i>w</i>	Randolph	Suspended 1810.
<i>f.</i> Middlebury Mercury, <i>w</i>	Middlebury	Since suspended.

NEW YORK (67 papers).

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>f.</i> New York Gazette and General Advertiser, daily	New York	Suspended 1840.
<i>f.</i> New York Evening Post, daily	do	Still published.
<i>f.</i> New York Herald, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>n.</i> American Citizen, daily	do	Established 1806; suspended 1810.
<i>n.</i> Republican Watch Tower, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Established 1806; since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Commercial Advertiser, daily	do	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Spectator, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Established 1798; suspended.
<i>r.</i> Public Advertiser, daily	do	Established 1807; suspended 1812.
<i>r.</i> New York Journal, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Established 1810; suspended.
<i>r.</i> Columbian, daily	do	Established 1810; since suspended.
Columbian, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>n.</i> Mercantile Advertiser, daily	do	Established 1809; suspended.
Price Current, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Washington Republican, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Albany Gazette, <i>s. w.</i>	Albany	Established 1782; suspended 1845.
<i>r.</i> Albany Register	do	Established 1788; suspended 1817.
<i>f.</i> Balance and New York State Journal, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Established 1808; suspended 1811.
<i>r.</i> Suffolk Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Sag Harbor	Established in 1791 as Long Island Herald; suspended 1811.
<i>r.</i> Long Island Star, <i>w.</i>	Brooklyn	Established 1809; suspended after 1850.
Saratoga Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Saratoga	Suspended 1816.
American Eagle, <i>w.</i>	Watertown	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Westchester Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Peekskill	Do.
<i>f.</i> Somers Museum, <i>w.</i>	Somers	Do.
<i>r.</i> Orange County Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Goshen	In 1813 changed to Independent Republican; still published.
<i>f.</i> Spirit of Seventy-Six and Patriot, <i>w.</i>	do	Now published as Goshen Democrat.
<i>r.</i> Political Index, <i>w.</i>	Newburgh	Suspended after 1850.
<i>f.</i> Ulster Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Kingston	Established 1798; since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Plebeian, <i>w.</i>	do	Established 1805; since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Political Barometer, <i>w.</i>	Poughkeepsie	Established 1802; since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Poughkeepsie Journal, <i>w.</i>	do	Now called Poughkeepsie Eagle, daily and weekly.
<i>f.</i> Northern Whig, <i>w.</i>	Hudson	Suspended 1824.
<i>r.</i> Bee, <i>w.</i>	do	United with Columbia Republican in 1822.
<i>f.</i> American Eagle, <i>w.</i>	Catskill	Suspended 1810.
<i>r.</i> Catskill Recorder, <i>w.</i>	do	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Lansingburgh Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Lansingburgh	Do.
<i>f.</i> Troy Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Troy	Suspended before 1818.
<i>r.</i> Farmers' Register, <i>w.</i>	do	Suspended 1832.
<i>n.</i> Northern Budget, <i>w.</i>	do	Still published as a Sunday paper.
<i>f.</i> Northern Post, <i>w.</i>	Salem	Suspended after 1850.
<i>r.</i> Washington Register, <i>w.</i>	do	Established in 1802 and published several years.
<i>r.</i> American Monitor, <i>w.</i>	Plattsburgh	Established in 1807 and published a short time.
<i>f.</i> Waterford Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Waterford	Suspended 1816.
<i>r.</i> Advertiser, <i>w.</i>	Ballston	Established 1804; suspended 1815.
<i>f.</i> Independent American, <i>w.</i>	do	Now called Ballston Journal.
<i>f.</i> Mohawk Advertiser, <i>w.</i>	Schenectady	Published only in 1810.
<i>r.</i> Cabinet, <i>w.</i>	do	Suspended 1857.
<i>f.</i> Montgomery Republican, <i>w.</i>	Johnstown	Established 1806; suspended 1836.
<i>r.</i> Montgomery Monitor, <i>w.</i>	do	Established 1808; removed.
<i>r.</i> Bunker Hill, <i>w.</i>	Herkimer	Established 1810; suspended 1812.
<i>f.</i> American, <i>w.</i>	do	Grew out of above; suspended 1813.
<i>f.</i> Utica Patriot, <i>w.</i>	Utica	{ Still published; now Utica Morning Herald and
<i>r.</i> Columbian Gazette, <i>w.</i>	do	Gazette.
Chenango Patriot, <i>w.</i>	Oxford	Established 1807; suspended 1811.
Hemisphere, <i>w.</i>	Watertown	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Pilot, <i>w.</i>	Cazenovia	Established 1808; suspended 1823.
<i>f.</i> Freholder, <i>w.</i>	Peterborough	Established 1808; suspended 1813.
<i>f.</i> Manlius Times, <i>w.</i>	Manlius	Established 1808; suspended 1820.
<i>f.</i> Ontario Repository, <i>w.</i>	Canandaigua	Established 1803; suspended 1856. Afterward revived, and still published as Repository and Messenger.
<i>r.</i> Genesee Messenger, <i>w.</i>	do	Established 1806; consolidated with Repository January, 1862.
<i>r.</i> Cornucopia, <i>w.</i>	Batavia	Suspended 1811.
<i>f.</i> Geneva Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Geneva	Established 1797; suspended 1836. Revived in 1845, and still published.
<i>r.</i> Otsego Herald, <i>w.</i>	Otsego	Established 1795; suspended 1821.
<i>f.</i> Cooperstown Federalist, <i>w.</i>	Cooperstown	Established in 1808 as Observer; still published as Freeman's Journal.
<i>n.</i> American Farmer, <i>w.</i>	Owego	Now called Owego Gazette.
<i>f.</i> True American, <i>w.</i>	Schoharie	Established 1809; suspended 1812.
<i>r.</i> American Herald, <i>w.</i>	do	Suspended soon after 1812.
<i>r.</i> Republican Messenger, <i>w.</i>	Sherburne	Since suspended.

NEW JERSEY (8 papers).

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>f.</i> Trenton Federalist, <i>w</i>	Trenton	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> True American, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> New Jersey Journal, <i>w</i>	Elizabethtown	Now published as weekly edition of Daily Journal, Elizabethtown.
<i>f.</i> Guardian, or New Brunswick Advertiser, <i>w</i>	New Brunswick	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Republican Herald, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Palladium of Liberty, <i>w</i>	Morristown	Do.
<i>f.</i> Genius of Liberty, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Centinel of Freedom, <i>w</i>	Newark	Now published as weekly edition of Daily Advertiser.

PENNSYLVANIA (73 papers).

<i>f.</i> Pennsylvania Gazette,* <i>w</i>	Philadelphia	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> American Daily Advertiser, daily	do	Now published as North American, d. and t. w.
<i>f.</i> True American and Commercial Advertiser, daily	do	Consolidated with North American.
<i>f.</i> Gazette of the United States, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Gazette of the United States (for the country), <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Philadelphia Gazette, daily	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Aurora, daily	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Aurora (for the country), <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Political and Commercial Register, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Freeman's Journal, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Freeman's Journal (for the country), <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Democratic Press, daily	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Democratic Press (for the country), <i>t. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Democratic Press (for the country), <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Pennsylvania Democrat, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Evening Star, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Amerikanischer Beobachter, German, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
Hope's Philadelphia Price Current, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
Literary Reporter, occasionally	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Another German Paper, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
Der Wahre Amerikaner, German, <i>w</i>	Lancaster	Do.
<i>f.</i> Der Volksfreund, German, <i>w</i>	do	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Lancaster Journal, <i>w</i>	do	In 1830 merged in the Intelligencer.
<i>r.</i> Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser, <i>w</i>	do	Still published as Intelligencer, daily and weekly.
<i>f.</i> Pennsylvania Correspondent, <i>w</i>	Doylestown	Now published as Bucks County Intelligencer.
<i>f.</i> Luzerne Federalist, <i>w</i>	Wilkesbarre	Suspended 1818.
<i>r.</i> Susquehanna Democrat, <i>w</i>	do	Suspended about 1835.
<i>n.</i> Cumberland Register, <i>w</i>	Carlisle	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Carlisle Herald, <i>w</i>	do	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Carlisle Gazette, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Unparteiische Amerikaner, German, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Pittsburgh Gazette, <i>w</i>	Pittsburgh	Now published as Commercial Gazette, d. and w.
<i>f.</i> Tree of Liberty, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Commonwealth, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Western Star, <i>w</i>	Lewistown	Now published as Gazette.
<i>f.</i> Der Standhafte Patriot, German, <i>w</i>	Reading	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Weekly Advertiser, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Readinger Adler, German, <i>w</i>	do	Still published; oldest German newspaper.
<i>r.</i> Reading Eagle, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Genius of Liberty, <i>w</i>	Union	Still published.
<i>f.</i> Chester and Delaware Federalist, <i>w</i>	West Chester	Still published daily and weekly.
<i>r.</i> American Republican, <i>w</i>	Downingtown	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Bedford Gazette, <i>w</i>	Bedford	Still published.
<i>n.</i> People's Instructor, German and English	Easton	Do.
<i>f.</i> Der Northampton Correspondent, German, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Pennsylvania Herald, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Northampton Farmer <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Mirror	Pocono Isle	Do.
<i>r.</i> Dauphin Guardian, <i>w</i>	Harrisburg	Do.
<i>f.</i> Oracle of Dauphin, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>n.</i> The Times, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
Harrisburger Zeitung, German, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Norristown Herald, <i>w</i>	Norristown	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Weekly Register, <i>w</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Centinel, <i>w</i>	Gettysburg	Still published; now Star and Sentinel.
<i>f.</i> Gettysburg Gazette, <i>w</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Brownsville Gazette, <i>w</i>	Brownsville	Do.
<i>n.</i> Western Repository, <i>w</i>	do	Do.

PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>f.</i> York Recorder, <i>w</i>	York.....	Now published as Republican.
<i>r.</i> Expositor, <i>w</i>	do.....	do.....
Farmers' Register, <i>w</i>	Greensburg.....	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Crawford Weekly Messenger, <i>w</i>	Meadville.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Franklin Repository, <i>w</i>	Chambersburg.....	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Republican, <i>w</i>	do.....	Suspended 1828.
Minerva, <i>w</i>	Beavertown.....	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Eagle, <i>w</i>	Huntingdon.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Huntingdon Gazette, <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Republican Argus, <i>w</i>	Northumberland.....	Suspended in 1816 or 1817.
<i>f.</i> Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, <i>w</i>	do.....	Suspended 1819.
<i>f.</i> Western Corrector, <i>w</i>	Washington.....	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Western Telegraph, <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Reporter, <i>w</i>	do.....	Now published as weekly edition of Daily Reporter.
<i>r.</i> Weekly Messenger, <i>w</i>	Frankford.....	Since suspended.

DELAWARE (3 papers).

<i>r.</i> American Watchman, <i>s. w</i>	Wilmington.....	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Delaware Gazette, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Still published; now daily and weekly.
Delaware Freeman, <i>w</i>	do.....	Since suspended.

MARYLAND (21 papers).

<i>f.</i> Maryland Gazette,* <i>w</i>	Annapolis.....	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Maryland Republican, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser, daily.....	Baltimore.....	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser (for the country), <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Whig, daily.....	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Whig (for the country), <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette, daily.....	do.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette (for the country), <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Evening Post, daily.....	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Evening Post (for the country), <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> American and Commercial Advertiser, daily.....	do.....	Still published daily and weekly.
<i>r.</i> American and Commercial Advertiser (for the country), <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Not now published.
Recorder, <i>w</i>	do.....	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Frederickstown Herald, <i>w</i>	Frederickstown.....	do.....
<i>r.</i> Republican Gazette, <i>w</i>	do.....	do.....
<i>r.</i> Hornet, or Republican Advocate, <i>w</i>	do.....	do.....
<i>f.</i> Der Westliche Correspondent, German, <i>w</i>	Hagerstown.....	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Hagerstown Gazette, <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Maryland Herald, etc., <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Republican Star, <i>w</i>	Easton.....	Still published.
<i>f.</i> People's Monitor, <i>w</i>	do.....	Since suspended.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (6 papers).

<i>r.</i> National Intelligencer, <i>t. w</i>	Washington.....	Suspended.
<i>r.</i> Universal Gazette, <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Monitor, <i>t. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>n.</i> Spirit of Seventy-Six, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Independent American, <i>t. w</i>	Georgetown.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Alexandria Daily Advertiser, daily.....	Alexandria.....	Now published as Gazette, d. & t. w.

VIRGINIA (28 papers).

<i>f.</i> Virginia Patriot, <i>s. w</i>	Richmond.....	Suspended.
<i>r.</i> Enquirer, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Virginia Argus, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Norfolk Gazette, <i>t. w</i>	Norfolk.....	Do.
<i>n.</i> Norfolk Herald, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Petersburg Intelligencer, <i>s. w</i>	Petersburg.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Republican, <i>s. w</i>	do.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Virginia Herald, <i>w</i>	Fredericksburg.....	Do.
<i>r.</i> Republican Constitution, <i>w</i>	Winchester.....	Do.
<i>f.</i> Centinel, <i>w</i>	do.....	Do.

VIRGINIA—Continued.

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>f.</i> Winchester Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Winchester	Suspended.
<i>r.</i> Democratic Lamp, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Lynchburg Star, <i>w.</i>	Lynchburg	Do.
<i>r.</i> Lynchburg Press, <i>w.</i>	do	In 1818 changed to Virginian; still published.
<i>r.</i> Staunton Eagle, <i>w.</i>	Staunton	Suspended.
<i>r.</i> Republican Farmer, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Washingtonian, <i>w.</i>	Leesburg	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Republican Press, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Republican Luminary, <i>w.</i>	Wythe C. H.	Do.
<i>r.</i> Holstein Intelligencer, <i>w.</i>	Abingdon	Do.
<i>f.</i> Virginia Telegraph, <i>w.</i>	Lexington	Now published as Gazette.
<i>r.</i> Monongalia Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Morgantown	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Farmers' Register, <i>w.</i>	Charlestown	Do.

NORTH CAROLINA (10 papers).

<i>f.</i> Wilmington Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Wilmington	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Raleigh Minerva, <i>w.</i>	Raleigh	Do.
<i>n.</i> Star, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Raleigh Register, etc., <i>w.</i>	do	Suspended after 1856.
<i>f.</i> Carolina Federal Republican, <i>w.</i>	New Berne	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> True Republican, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Edenton Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Edenton	Do.
<i>n.</i> North Carolina Journal, <i>w.</i>	Halifax	Do.
<i>f.</i> Fayetteville Intelligencer, <i>w.</i>	Fayetteville	Do.
<i>r.</i> Elizabeth City Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Elizabeth City	Do.

SOUTH CAROLINA (10 papers).

<i>r.</i> City Gazette, daily	Charleston	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Carolina Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Georgetown	Do.
<i>f.</i> Times, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Charleston Courier, daily	Charleston	Now published as News and Courier, d., t. w., & w.
<i>f.</i> Carolina Messenger, <i>w.</i>	do	Suspended.
<i>n.</i> Strength of the People, <i>s. w.</i>	Georgetown	Do.
<i>n.</i> Brazen Face, <i>w.</i>	Charleston	Do.
<i>f.</i> Georgetown Gazette, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> South Carolina State Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Columbia	Do.
<i>r.</i> Miller's Weekly Messenger, <i>w.</i>	Pendleton	Do.

GEORGIA (13 papers).

<i>f.</i> Columbian Museum, <i>s. w.</i>	Savannah	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Republican and Savannah Ledger, <i>t. w.</i>	do	Suspended after 1829.
<i>r.</i> Public Intelligencer, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
Mirror of the Times, <i>w.</i>	Augusta	Do.
<i>f.</i> Augusta Herald, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
Columbian Centinel, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Augusta Chronicle, <i>w.</i>	do	Now published as Chronicle and Constitutionalist, d., t. w., and w.
<i>r.</i> Louisville Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Louisville	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Georgia Argus, <i>w.</i>	Milledgeville	Do.
<i>r.</i> Georgia Journal, <i>w.</i>	do	Afterward removed to Macon.
Milledgeville Intelligencer, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Monitor, <i>w.</i>	Washington	Suspended after 1820.
<i>r.</i> Georgia Express, <i>w.</i>	Athens	Since suspended.

KENTUCKY (17 papers).

<i>r.</i> Kentucky Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Lexington	Published nearly 75 years.
<i>r.</i> Lexington Reporter, <i>w.</i>	do	Consolidated with Observer in 1832
<i>f.</i> Western World, <i>w.</i>	Frankfort	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Guardian of Freedom, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Argus of Western America, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Palladium, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Candid Review, <i>w.</i>	Bardstown	Do.
<i>r.</i> Globe, <i>w.</i>	Richmond	Do.
<i>r.</i> Auxiliary, <i>w.</i>	Washington	Do.
<i>r.</i> Dove, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Farmers' Library, <i>w.</i>	Louisville	Do.

KENTUCKY—Continued.

Titles.	Towns.	Subsequent history.
<i>f.</i> Louisville Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Louisville	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Farmers' Friend, <i>w.</i>	Russellville	Do.
<i>r.</i> Mirror, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
Political Theater, <i>w.</i>	Lancaster	Do.
<i>r.</i> Western Citizen, <i>w.</i>	Paris	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Informant, <i>w.</i>	Danville	Suspended.

TENNESSEE (6 papers).

<i>r.</i> Knoxville Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Knoxville	Suspended.
<i>f.</i> Western Centinel, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Tennessee Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Nashville	Do.
<i>r.</i> Review, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Carthage Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Carthage	Do.
<i>r.</i> United States Herald, <i>w.</i>	Clarksville	Now published as Chronicle.

OHIO (14 papers).

<i>f.</i> Supporter, <i>w.</i>	Chillicothe	Since suspended.
<i>f.</i> Scioto Gazette, <i>w.</i>	do	Still published.
<i>r.</i> Fredonian, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Independent Republican, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Whig, <i>w.</i>	Cincinnati	Do.
<i>r.</i> Liberty Hall, <i>w.</i>	do	Now published as Gazette, d., s. w., and w.
<i>n.</i> Advertiser, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Muskingum Messenger, <i>w.</i>	Zanesville	Do.
<i>r.</i> Ohio Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Marietta	Now published as Marietta Register.
<i>f.</i> Commentator, <i>w.</i>	do	Since suspended.
Ohio Patriot, <i>w.</i>	Lisbon	Still published (now New Lisbon).
Western Herald, <i>w.</i>	Steubenville	Still published daily and weekly.
<i>r.</i> Impartial Expositor, <i>w.</i>	Saint Clairsville	Since suspended.
<i>r.</i> Western Star, <i>w.</i>	Lebanon	Still published.

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN (1 paper).

Michigan Essay, <i>w.</i>	Detroit	Established 1809; published but a short time.
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INDIANA TERRITORY (1 paper).

Western Sun, <i>w.</i>	Saint Vincennes	Still published; now daily and weekly.
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MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY (4 papers).

<i>f.</i> Weekly Chronicle, <i>w.</i>	Natchez	Suspended.
Mississippi Messenger, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Natchez Gazette, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
Mississippian, <i>w.</i>	do	Do.

TERRITORY OF ORLEANS (10 papers).

<i>f.</i> Orleans Gazette, English and French, daily	New Orleans	Suspended.
<i>f.</i> Orleans Gazette (for the country), <i>w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Louisiana Gazette, daily	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Louisiana Gazette (for the country), <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>r.</i> Louisiana Courier, English and French, <i>t. w.</i>	do	Do.
Telegraphe, English and French, <i>t. w.</i>	do	Do.
<i>f.</i> Friend of the Laws, English and French, <i>t. w.</i>	do	Do.
Moniteur de la Louisiane, French, <i>t. w.</i>	do	Do.
El Mississippi, Spanish, <i>s. w.</i>	do	Do.
The Messenger	do	Do.

LOUISIANA (1 paper).

Missouri Gazette, <i>w.</i>	Saint Louis	Suspended.
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GENERAL STATEMENT FOR 1810.

States.	Daily.	Tri-weekly.	Semi-weekly.	Weekly.	Total.	No. of copies circulated annually.
Connecticut.....				12	12	657,800
District of Columbia.....	1	3	1	1	6	41,600
Delaware.....			2	1	3	166,400
Georgia.....		1	2	10	13	707,200
Kentucky.....				17	17	618,800
Massachusetts.....			9	23	32	2,873,000
Maryland.....	5	5	1	10	21	1,903,200
New York.....	7		8	51	*67	4,139,200
New Jersey.....				8	8	332,800
New Hampshire.....				12	12	624,000
North Carolina.....				10	10	416,000
Ohio.....				14	14	473,200
Pennsylvania.....	9	1	3	57	†73	4,542,200
Rhode Island.....			1	6	7	3,332,800
South Carolina.....	3		2	5	10	842,400
Tennessee.....				6	6	171,600
Virginia.....		1	0	16	17	1,289,600
Vermont.....				15	15	582,400
TERRITORIES.						
Indiana.....				1	1	15,600
Michigan.....				1	1	
Mississippi.....				4	4	83,200
Orleans.....	2	4	2	1	*10	748,800
Louisiana.....				1	1	15,600
Total.....	27	15	37	282	366	24,577,400

* 1 period of issue not given included in total.
 † 1 occasionally and 2 period of issue not given included in total.

The untrustworthiness of these figures for circulation in 1810 will be seen from an analysis of New York. There were seven dailies printed in that city in that year, and if we assign to them the entire 4,139,200 given the state as an annual circulation we reduce their average daily issue for 310 times a year to 1,907 and leave not a sheet for the sixty other papers then printed, of which eight were semi-weekly. Indiana is given one paper, with 15,000 issues, which means, apparently, 288 papers a week for fifty-two weeks.

This list omits, of course, a large number of periodicals which were established in the interval since the close of the war, and which had ceased to exist in 1810. Of this class of journals there were quite as many, in proportion to the whole number, as there have since been at any period. Quite a large list of them might be given, but inasmuch as it must be incomplete the effort has not been made. Dailies, weeklies, semi-weeklies, and tri-weeklies were constantly being started, especially in cities like New York and Philadelphia, during this period. Leaving out of the account all that failed or were absorbed by more successful enterprises, we find that there were in 1810 seven dailies in New York city, nine in Philadelphia, five in Baltimore, two in Charleston and one in Georgetown, South Carolina, two in New Orleans, and one in Alexandria, making twenty-seven dailies then published. We can trace through other sources the upward progress of the daily press in New York city in the years immediately subsequent, and the figures given below indicate the proportions of circulation to population, not only for that city, but with comparative accuracy for each of the other large cities of the United States. They are obtained from the *Newspaper Record*, compiled by Lay & Brother, of Philadelphia, with the assistance of W. T. Coggeshall, then state librarian of Ohio, in 1856, a work which is not only valuable as supplying the only connecting link with Thomas' history, but noteworthy also as being the first attempt to publish a complete newspaper directory of the United States:

Daily press of 1810.

Daily press of New York city in 1816, 1820, and 1832.

NEW YORK CITY DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN 1860.

	Circulation.
Mercantile Advertiser.....	2,000
Gazette.....	1,750
Evening Post.....	1,600
Commercial Advertiser.....	1,200
Courier.....	920
Columbian.....	825
National Advocate.....	875
Total.....	9,170

THE NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PRESS.

NEW YORK CITY DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN 1820.

	Circulation.
Mercantile Advertiser	1,000
Gazette	1,500
Evening Post	2,000
Commercial Advertiser	2,000
Columbian	800
National Advocate	1,200
Daily Advertiser	1,300
American	1,000
Total	10,800

NEWSPAPERS IN NEW YORK STATE IN 1832.

	Number.	Number of copies.	Issued annually.
Daily	13	18,200	5,032,800
Semi-weekly	12	19,200	1,996,800
Weekly	33	50,000	2,912,000
Semi-monthly	3	3,000	72,000
Monthly	3	2,000	24,000
Total in New York city	64	98,400	10,037,600
Out of the city	194	* 5,400,000
Total in the state	258	15,437,600

* Estimated.

NEWSPAPERS IN NEW YORK STATE IN 1850.

	New York city.	Other places.	Total.
Daily	14	42	56
Semi- and tri-weekly	7	8	15
Weekly	58	263	326
Sunday	8	1	9
Semi-monthly	5	8	13
Monthly	14	11	25
Total	106	338	444

At the date when these figures begin there were undoubtedly more daily newspapers circulated in London than in New York city, but the difference closed up rapidly with the lapse of years, until in 1850 the number printed and sold in New York had grown to be nearly double the number in London.

New York and London daily press.

While the daily press of the large cities was thus developing the weekly newspaper was pushing itself throughout the country wherever the stalwart enterprise of the period blocked out new villages and settlements. (a)

These weekly newspapers partook largely of the characteristics of the earlier weekly papers of the metropolis, and were modeled after them in appearance and contents. The first newspaper in the Mississippi territory had appeared in 1779. In 1793 the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory* was started in Cincinnati by William Maxwell, the first newspaper and the first printing office beyond the Ohio river. Nathaniel Willis, a Boston printer, established the *Scioto Gazette* in Chillicothe in 1796, and in 1799 the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* was issued. The first periodical publication in Indiana territory appeared at Vincennes in 1808, and in the same year the *Missouri Republican* was founded at Saint Louis, then a small trading-post. Kentucky had seen her first newspaper in 1787 at Lexington, under the auspices of John Bradford, and in 1809 Michigan had a small paper, published half in English and half in French, at Detroit. The record of the establishment of these and other pioneer papers is given in detail, so far as obtainable, in the appendix to this report, containing a summary statement of the development of the press in the several states of the United States. The daily newspaper began to make its appearance in the larger provincial towns between 1815 and 1830, the Albany *Daily Advertiser* being founded in 1815, and the Rochester *Daily Advertiser* in 1826. In 1832 there were in New York state, outside of the metropolis, but seven daily papers, (b) three of which were printed in Albany,

Development of the provincial press.

^a The publication of this paper commenced within less than thirty months after the first blow was struck in laying out our village of Moscow. The place was then a thicket of wood, without a human habitation. At present we have a flourishing settlement, in which many useful arts and professions are exercised, and three schools established, at which the number of scholars is nearly eighty.—*Genesee (N. Y.) Farmer*, 1817.

^b Coggeshall in *Newspaper Record*, 1856.

two in Troy, and two in Rochester. In 1824 there were eleven daily papers in Philadelphia and twelve in New York, with a circulation varying from 1,000 to 4,000 copies. In 1828 the whole number of the American press had increased to 863, with a yearly issue of 68,117,798 copies. In 1830 the number was estimated at 1,000, while the census of 1840 returned 1,403 newspapers and periodicals, with a yearly issue of 195,838,673 copies. The following table, also compiled by Mr. Coggeshall, conveys at a glance the progress of the American press from 1776 to 1840, at which latter date the third era of journalism in this country may be said to have been well under way:

States.	1776.	1810.	1828.	1840.
Maine			20	30
Massachusetts	7	32	78	91
New Hampshire	1	12	17	27
Vermont		14	21	30
Rhode Island	2	7	24	16
Connecticut	4	11	33	33
New York	4	66	161	245
New Jersey		8	22	33
Pennsylvania	9	72	185	187
Delaware		2	4	6
Maryland	2	21	37	45
District of Columbia		6	9	14
Virginia	2	23	34	51
North Carolina	2	10	20	27
South Carolina	3	10	16	17
Georgia	1	13	18	34
Florida		1	2	10
Alabama			10	28
Mississippi		4	6	30
Louisiana		10	9	34
Tennessee		6	8	46
Kentucky		17	23	38
Ohio		14	66	123
Indiana			17	73
Michigan			2	32
Illinois			4	43
Missouri			5	35
Arkansas			1	9
Wisconsin				6
Iowa				4
Total	37	359	861	1,403