

“THE ART OF PRINTING SHALL ENDURE”:  
JOURNALISM, COMMUNITY, AND IDENTITY IN NEW YORK CITY, 1800-1810

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Master of Arts

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By

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

“THE ART OF PRINTING SHALL ENDURE”:  
JOURNALISM, COMMUNITY, AND IDENTITY IN NEW YORK CITY, 1800-1810

Presented by Steven C. Smith

In candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts

And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Professor Jeffrey L. Pasley

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Professor John L. Bullion

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Professor Betty Houchin Winfield

For Mary Lou Evilsizor and Dorothy Rhoads

And in Loving Memory of

Carl Rhoads  
Emogean Rhoads  
Raymond Smith

May your examples always shine through in me.

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## Introduction

### The Contours of Community

In an address to the New-York Typographical Society in July 1816, Adoniram Chandler praised “the art of PRINTING; an art truly divine.”<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Chandler noted the societal improvements aided by the growth of printing industry in New York, namely the “arts and sciences, and the general diffusion of knowledge; the induction of the rising generation to virtue, and the suppression of vice; the extension of benevolence, and the promotion of harmony,” all of which appeared to be “objects” that would certainly “ensure its permanency.”<sup>2</sup> Reflecting on the brief history of the Society, Chandler reminded his fellow printers of their particular place within the growing city and its literary and political circles, stating that the seventh anniversary of the Society’s founding “affords the greatest satisfaction, when we reflect that its members have so long happily united in endeavoring to promote the objects for which it was intended.”<sup>3</sup>

Chandler echoed the sentiments espoused fourteen years earlier by Thomas Ringwood at a meeting of the society’s predecessor, the Franklin Typographical Association of New York. Praising the efforts of printers such as Thomas and James Swords, George Hopkins, James Oram, and Isaac Collins in creating public dialogue through newspapers, pamphlets, and books, Ringwood declared that “the art of printing will shortly arrive to a degree of eminence in America, equal (at least comparatively) to

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<sup>1</sup> Adoniram Chandler, *An Oration Delivered Before the New-York Typographical Society on Their Seventh Anniversary, July 4, 1816* (New York: Printed for the Society by J. Seymour, 1816), 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 9

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

what it has arisen in Europe,” for after having encountered “many difficulties” in its infancy, printers in Gotham “rendered futile every obstruction opposed” to them which, as result, warranted the Franklin Association “the most sanguine hopes of its durability.”<sup>4</sup>

Printers in New York City understood their importance as essential figures in the transmission of ideas in the early Republic. Indeed, the inherently democratic belief that knowledge was power and that every citizen should possess the ability to partake of that knowledge was especially pervasive after Jefferson’s election in 1800.<sup>5</sup> Print was especially powerful in early nineteenth-century New York City. Contributing to the centrality of the printed word to the social, cultural, political, and economic life in Manhattan were dozens of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders who lined the city’s streets, producing, advertising, and selling newspapers, pamphlets, and books, among others. This thesis, therefore, will demonstrate that a significant number of these artisans and merchants—including the most influential printers and booksellers—resided in a clearly-defined and relatively small geographic area in what is now Lower Manhattan near the East River.

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Ringwood, *An Address Delivered Before the Franklin Typographical Association of New-York, and a Select Company on the Fifth of July, 1802, in Commemoration of the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of American Independence, and of the Third of the Association* (New York: Printed by Southwick and Crooker, 1802), 18, 16.

<sup>5</sup> For studies relating to the dissemination of information following Jefferson’s election, see especially Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power : The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Richard R. John, *Spreading the News : The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jerry W. Knudson, *Jefferson and the Press : Crucible of Liberty* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2006); Jeffrey L. Pasley, *"The Tyranny of Printers" : Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Andrew W. Robertson, *The Language of Democracy : Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790-1900* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Richard J. Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790-1820* (Garland, 1989).

In order to establish such an argument, this thesis will present a modification of Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Habermas examines the rise of a bourgeois public sphere that expanded political participation beyond the state and bureaucracy. Print culture, according to Habermas, was central to the bourgeois public sphere and, in fact, the public sphere developed as a result of literary discussions among "a reading public" that emerged in late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century urban life.<sup>6</sup> The bourgeois reading public, however, shifted their focus from literature to politics and, as Habermas notes, political discussion shifted from the aristocracy to a "forum in which the private people, come together to form a public, readied themselves to compel public authority to legitimate itself before the public opinion."<sup>7</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the Habermasian public sphere is an abstract concept, a person-less realm where only ideas exist as opposed to actual people formulating debate in a public space.<sup>8</sup> As Michael Warner notes, the bourgeois public sphere as a frame of reference "has been structured from the outset by a logic of abstraction that provides a privilege for unmarked identities," namely the negation of

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<sup>6</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989), 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> For more discussion of Habermas, see Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992); J. Corner, *Television Form and Public Address* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995); P. Dahlgren, *Television and the Public Sphere* (London: Sage, 1995); N. Garnham, "The Media and the Public Sphere," in *Communicating Politics*, ed. P. Golding, G. Murdock, and P. Schlesinger (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986); J. McGuigan, *Cultural Populism* (London: Routledge, 1992); O. Neght and A. Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); J. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995).

gendered, racial, and class-based sense of self.<sup>9</sup> Self-abstraction, therefore, is problematic in clarifying the interrelatedness of groups of people within a community.<sup>10</sup> The community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders was not an abstraction at all; rather, it consisted of real people participating in a clearly defined “public space”, and their movements and publications are vital to understanding the political and publishing culture of New York City in the early nineteenth-century. Indeed, similar to Warner’s suggestion that a bourgeois public sphere reduces participants to a self-abstraction, to infer that “print” is the necessary arbiter of rational public discourse is just as reductionist because it negates the identities of the artisans and merchants responsible for disseminating the information that contributes to discussion in taverns, hotels, coffee-houses, street corners, and homes.

Peter Thompson makes a similar argument in his study of tavern life in Revolutionary-era Philadelphia. He explains the subtle distinctions between “public space” versus the Habermasian “public sphere,” in that “the concept of the public sphere invites the reader to consider the emergence and the function within civil society” of a set

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<sup>9</sup> Michael Warner, “The Public and the Mass Subject,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 384. See also Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> In a collection of essays, David Nord places journalism at the heart of American community life. He asserts that the press, coinciding with formal institutions, helps to form different elements of the public sphere, namely religion, political factions, ethnic groups, and cultural interest groups. “Civic journalism (or public journalism, as it is often called) embraces many ideas and practices but at its core is an effort to build community through the forum function of the press” consisting of dialogue, discussion, and conversation. The medium of communication in a community, according to Nord, is print, and people in power—or people grasping for power—have continually sought control of the press. Nord’s theoretical framework of “journalism in American community life” is a rather elusive concept. In the case of New York City in the early nineteenth-century, however, not only did the “community of journalism”—a term this thesis is borrowing and modifying from an abstract concept into an actual community organically connected to the city—contribute to rational public discourse in New York, it existed primarily in a small geographic area which, as a result, was an important frame of reference for Gotham’s development as the epicenter of American journalism. David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 6, 11.

of “relatively inflexible rational-critical discursive assumptions and practices,” whereas “public space,” according to Thompson, indicates a unique “range of changing forms” of behavior; namely, why people “chose to drink in a public house, in preference to the home, workplace, or the city’s streets,” doing so “in order to make particular statements and to enact and assess values that seemed distinctive to them.”<sup>11</sup>

Demographically speaking, the Thompsonian theory of “public space” is applicable in this instance, for New York directories indicate unique settlement patterns that are indicative of conscious decisions by printers, booksellers, and bookbinders to interact with, and react to, their fellow artisans and merchants. Print, and those involved with its production and distribution, as this study poses, can be located in a physical “public space” in addition to a rhetorical “public sphere.” Thus, this thesis will examine when and why a large portion of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders chose to work and live in certain areas of Manhattan, for many unsuccessful artisans and merchants were only able to achieve success by moving into this organic community after having toiled on its outskirts. Granted, the existence of artisan neighborhoods were not uncommon in early America; however, the absence of European-style guilds allowed artisans and merchants the freedom of choice when opening a shop, thus contributing to the notion that printers, booksellers, and bookbinders made conscious decisions—based

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<sup>11</sup> Peter Thompson, *Rum, Punch, and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 17-19. Additionally, Keith Michael Baker notes that “there is a profound ambiguity built into Habermas’s definition,” for the notion that people, public and private, make use of their reason is presented simultaneously in two registers: “as the emergence of a normative ideal of rational public discussion from within the distinctive social formation of bourgeois civil society and as the realization, or rather the fleeting, partial realization, of this ideal within that society.” Baker, “Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 183.

on their awareness of the “public space” associated with their trade—to settle in certain areas of Manhattan.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the notion of physical public space, this thesis asserts that a “community” of separate—but intertwining—artisans and merchants existed in early nineteenth-century New York City. In his influential study titled *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson argues that the development of nationalism is steeped in ways in which people consider space and identity over time. Anderson labels this unique progression as an “imagined community,” which he defines as a community of people with a common identity, either geographically or linguistically. As a result, the maturation of communities stems not from fear or hatred of outsiders, but rather love and respect for the collective group. Moreover, the crux of identity construction in the “imagined community” is the dissemination of information, namely print media. Men and women of the community share identical meanings and create a strong community bond when reading the same newspaper, the same novel, or listening to the same speaker.<sup>13</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, Anderson’s concept of the “imagined community” is an equally important frame of reference in conjunction with the physical public space because the marriage of the two provides a rational theoretical framework for highlighting the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders that existed in Gotham from 1800 to 1810.

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<sup>12</sup> Sam Bass Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983). For a similar approach, see David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture).

Chapter one, therefore, will consider this community in the context of urban and economic growth by presenting data obtained from New York City directories, and then considering the development of trade unions among journeymen printers, booksellers, and, to a lesser extent, master printers that enabled members of this community to construct their identities.<sup>14</sup> A close examination of the city directories published between 1800 and 1810 points out that certain patterns of settlement existed among printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in the first decade of the nineteenth-century, indicating a conscious awareness among these artisans and merchants of their “public space” in relation to New York City. After over one-thousand names, addresses, and occupations of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders were collected from city directories and catalogued into cross-searchable databases, the evidence indicated that a distinct “community” of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders was present in New York in the first decade of the nineteenth-century, with many of the most populated streets either running parallel or intersecting with one another.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, what was even more

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<sup>14</sup> Nord notes that “the transformation of community life in American cities is a subject of intense and increasing interest in historical studies. The idea of community, of course, has always been central to both urban sociology and urban history. Until recently, however, both have tended to treat the concept rather ahistorically. Community traditionally has been discussed as an idea type—sometimes lost, sometimes hoped for, but seldom explored in the intricacies of historical context. Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 109.

<sup>15</sup> This argument contests the assertions of Richard Sennett and Thomas Bender. In *The Fall of Public Man*, Sennett presents a declension argument of public life in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth century as people began interjecting more private, intimate thought processes into the public sphere. “As a result, confusion has arisen between public and intimate life; people are working out in terms of personal feelings such matters which properly can be dealt with only through codes of impersonal meaning.” Although Sennett asserts that community was indeed a public demonstration of “shared personality” based on common traits of intimacy among its members, his contention that the idea of “community” began to erode in the nineteenth-century is contested by the existence of the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in early nineteenth-century New York City. Thomas Bender, on the other hand, asserts that community does not involve geographic proximity but rather is a private matter that is not at all connected with the rhetorical public sphere or physical public spaces. See Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 5, 222-223; Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), 148.



astonishing was the permanence of this area, with many artisans and merchants occupying one or more shops on the same street (or at the same address) for many consecutive years.

Chapters two and three, on the other hand, depart from the macro-approach in favor of the micro, taking a closer look at the form and function of journalism in early New York by *locating* two significant printers and their publications in this community. At the heart of these two chapters is an examination of how journalism impacted the political culture of New York, contributing to the scholarly dialogue that examines the influence of journalism in the early Republic's political realm. Indeed, recent scholarship has demonstrated that founding and maintaining a newspaper was essential for the survival of political factions in the early Republic, but less is known about New York and the ways in which journalists influenced the city's divisive political sphere.<sup>16</sup>

Although the latter two chapters are a departure from the community overview, "community" nonetheless remains an important theme. The newspapers and pamphlets discussed in chapters two and three were constructed with the public in mind, and were purchased, read, and shared in numerous public gathering places such as the above-mentioned taverns, hotels, and coffeehouses in addition to homes. Thus, as scholars have

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<sup>16</sup> For the origin of this dialogue, see Sloan, "The Party Press: The Newspaper Role in National Politics, 1789-1816," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1981), 11; Sloan, "The Early Party Press: The Newspaper Role in American Politics, 1788-1812," *Journalism History* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 23. See also Sloan, "Purse and Pen": Party-Press Relationships, 1789-1816," *American Journalism* VI (1989): 103-127; Gerald Baldasty, "The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson," *Journalism Monographs* 89 (1984): 1-28; Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

noted, it is commonplace to assert that even though newspapers may not have achieved great circulation, newspapers and pamphlets gained large public audiences.<sup>17</sup>

Chapter two will examine the fascinating life of James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen* and the *Republican Watch-Tower*, who began his political career as a radical working-class agitator in reformation societies in Manchester, England. The chapter will explore the ideology of the Manchester societies and their public organ, the *Manchester Herald*, in an effort to evaluate Cheetham's transatlantic influence within New York's publishing community. Lastly, chapter two will consider Cheetham's unique position as public spokesman and organizer for the Clintonian Republicans as well as his considerable influence in New York's immigrant community.<sup>18</sup> As a deposed radical who was forcefully exiled from England in 1794, Cheetham, as a naturalized "American citizen," appealed to immigrants—especially Irish-Americans—by

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<sup>17</sup> See Pasley, "The Tyranny of Printers," 7-8, Thomas C. Leonard, *News for All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); 3-61, Brown, *Knowledge is Power*, 132-59 and 218-96; David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 234-36, 279-80, 304-305, 313; Anthony Smith, *The Newspaper: An International History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 95.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Durey, "Thomas Paine's Apostles: Radical Emigrés and the Triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ser., 44 (1987): 670. This essay summarizes Durey's assertions found in *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997). See also, Nigel Ken Little, "Transoceanic Radical: The Many Identities of William Duane," (Ph.D. diss., Murdoch University—Perth, Western Australia, 2003). Little offers an interesting case study of the shifting transatlantic identities of William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, whose editorial career—while certainly more spectacular and flamboyant—mirrored that of James Cheetham. Little examines Duane's life in the United States while paying particular attention to his earlier—and less studied—time in Ireland, England, and India. Little highlights Duane's shifting sense of self, for Duane was adept at adjusting his identity to fit his current social, political, and economic milieu. Indeed, Duane "changed his identity to suit his political growth from radical whig to Painite to Painite-Jeffersonian," for political change "on a national level drew him into a clear with, or disaffection from, a particular country." Little constructs a clearer picture of Duane's early career in both Ireland and England in the 1780s, which as a result, enabled him to better illustrate his role in early American political journalism. The standard biography of Duane is Kim Tousley Phillips, *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson*, (New York: Garland, 1989). See also Phillips, "William Duane, Philadelphia's Democratic Republicans, and the Origins of Modern Politics," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977): 365-87; and Pasley, "The Tyranny of Printers", 176-195 and 285-319.

confronting the rabid nativism espoused by neighboring newspapers such as William Coleman's *New-York Evening Post*. Thus, utilizing notions of community, identity, and newspaper politics as a useful frame of reference, this chapter will analyze Cheetham's efforts to construct a "community identity" for Irish-Americans in early national New York.

Chapter three is a biographical sketch of Peter Irving during his brief stint as the editor of Aaron Burr's political newspapers, the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Corrector*. Unlike Cheetham, Irving—the older brother of Washington Irving—was a licensed physician with a flair for literary and theatrical criticism who was hand-picked by Burr to edit his daily paper, the *Morning Chronicle*. Scholars have dismissed the *Morning Chronicle* as a mere mercantile and literary miscellany, thus missing the political rhetoric hidden in its many pages from 1802-1807 when its publication was essential for the promotion of Burr's career.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, *The Corrector*, limited to ten publications in March and April 1804 during the height of Burr's campaign to attain the governorship in New York State, further demonstrates the importance of newspapers to the identity of political factions in New York City. Furthermore, historians have overlooked the significance of Irving and his partnership with the notorious Burr, and although scholars

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<sup>19</sup> Scholars who have addressed Peter Irving's career as a Burrite editor have disagreed about his musings in the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Corrector*. Stanley T. Williams, for example, dismisses Peter's reputation for "judicial probity" as somewhat mythical and problematical," whereas Martin Roth disagrees with this position, stating that his contributions to both newspapers were "rational and dignified." Williams, when writing about the *Morning Chronicle*, asserts that it was a political publication and that its "tone under [Peter's] editorship is certainly abusive," while Roth writes that the newspaper was "really a mercantile and cultural miscellany," suggesting that its phraseology was much more subdued than the heightened invective used by the Irving brothers in *The Corrector*. See Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press), I: 35; II: 264; Roth, *Washington Irving's Contributions to "The Corrector"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), pp. 9, 38.

have discussed Burr's "Little Band," none have dealt specifically with Irving and his impact as a partisan journalist.<sup>20</sup>

Asserting that the association of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in a particular physical public space should be considered as a central category of analysis, this thesis will present a complex, multi-layered story that pulls together disparate records such as business settlement patterns, early trade union organization, political associations, and transatlantic ideologies in order to gain a better understanding of journalism and publishing, broadly defined, in early national New York City. This thesis, therefore, is a social history of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders and their publications, first presenting a guided walking tour of New York City's printing and publishing community, then narrowing the expedition by knocking on the historical doors of two important figures from this community.

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<sup>20</sup> See for example Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Charles J. Nolan, Jr., *Aaron Burr and the American Literary Imagination* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Nancy Isenberg, "The 'Little Emperor': Aaron Burr, Dandyism, and the Sexual Politics of Treason," in *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*, Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004): 129-158; Isenberg, *Fallen Founder: The Life of Aaron Burr* (New York: Viking, 2007).

## Chapter One

### Before the Giants Ruled: The Art of Printing in Early National New York

After publishing the *New York Herald* at the corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets for more than twenty years, James Gordon Bennett moved to the corner of Broadway and Ann at the foot of Park Row, known colloquially by contemporaries and scholars alike as “America’s Newspaper Row.”<sup>1</sup> Even though Bennett paid the former tenant Phineas Taylor Barnum \$200,000 for the unexpired lease and \$450,000 for a lot where the American Museum once stood, he relished the opportunity to publish the *Herald* in the city’s busiest financial district alongside other dailies such as the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Times*, the *World*, the *Express*, and the *Daily News*.<sup>2</sup> This small geographic area between Ann Street and Tyron Row was home to more newspapers per capita than anywhere in the United States, or abroad. By the end of the Civil War, New York was fast becoming the cradle of American journalism, and by the conclusion of the nineteenth-century, the city was synonymous with journalism. Indeed, in 1890 Park Row was “the most widely known newspaper area in the nation,” with seventeen papers emanating from the city’s presses in addition to every important news outlet in the United States and Canada having offices nearby.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hy B. Turner, *When Giants Ruled: The Story of Park Row, New York's Great Newspaper Street* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999); Allen Churchill, *Park Row* (New York: Rinehart, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> P. T. Barnum, *The Colossal P.T. Barnum Reader: Nothing Else Like It in the Universe*, ed. James W. Cook (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 53-56; James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 40; Richard O'Connor, *The Scandalous Mr. Bennett* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 15, 43-44, 65, 70, 71, 73, 131, 161, 176, 179, 205, 208, 209, 210, 221, 272, 309, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *When Giants Ruled*, 114.

The symbiotic evolution of New York City and journalism began, according to the prevailing historiography, with the so-called “revolution of 1833” that witnessed the appearance of a “new kind of daily paper” such as Benjamin Day’s *Sun*, Asa Greene’s *Transcript*, and Bennett’s *Herald*.<sup>4</sup> According to David Henkin, newspapers in mid-nineteenth century New York City rendered “new forms of social knowledge visible in the public spaces of the city” in addition to constituting “their own public space, an arena of print exchange where strangers appeared, circulated, browsed, and presented themselves before the urban crowd,” which was a stark contrast to the “staid six-penny commercial journals and political party organs that had dominated the city’s press in the first three decades of the century.”<sup>5</sup>

Henkin dismisses the centrality of the early nineteenth-century press in this transformation by beginning his story in 1833, thus adhering to the mythological

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<sup>4</sup> David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 105, 107. For discussion of the assertion that the “penny press” represented America’s first “mass medium,” see Louis Heren, *The Power of the Press?* (London: Orbis, 1985), esp. 36-39; James L. Crouthamel, “The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860,” *New York History* 45, no. 2 (1964): 91; Helen MacGill Hughes, *News and the Human Interest Story* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960*, 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 215-253; Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 12-60; Andie Tucher, *Froth & Scum : Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). By beginning his study in the 1830s, Schudson ignores important historical and journalistic antecedents that may have aided in his suppositions. As suggestive as the chapter heading is for the Penny Press, Schudson demonstrated an inability to use newspapers in illustrating the multivalent notions of equality and egalitarianism in the age of Jacksonian politics. Instead, Schudson makes his inference that increased circulation, advertising open to anyone, and political independence reflected not “the affairs of an elite in a small trading society,” but the “activities of an increasingly varied, urban, and middle-class society of trade, transportation, and manufacturing.” Using as a frame of reference Ronald P. Formisano’s assertion that “fully developed parties cannot be said to appear in the United States until the late 1830s or early 1840s,” Schudson claims that the “democratization of business and politics in the 1830s suggests a framework for understanding the revolution of journalism,” and as a result, Schudson asserts that he has made the connection “between the middle class and the new journalism.” Ronald P. Formisano, “Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic’s Political Culture, 1789-1840,” *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 474; Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 22-23, 49, 50.

<sup>5</sup> Henkin, *City Reading*, 104-105.

significance of the penny press. Prior to the “revolution of 1833,” and reminiscent of the famed Park Row that dominated the journalism world into the twentieth century, in 1803, for example, newspapers such as the *American Citizen*, the *Commercial Advertiser*, and the *Daily Advertiser* resided on Pearl Street, with the *Mercantile Advertiser* and the *New-York Evening Post* occupying Pine Street, and the *Morning Chronicle* and *Chronicle Express* on William Street near the *New-York Price-Current* on Water Street.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, working alongside Pearl Street printers were ten booksellers and four bookbinders, with six booksellers and three bookbinders on Water Street. Although these printers, booksellers, and bookbinders did not reside on one street, all of these streets were located within a few blocks of one another as demonstrated below in Figure 1.7.

The aim of this chapter is to reconsider the spatial contexts of New York City’s publishing community in the first decade of nineteenth century by first plotting where the city’s printers, booksellers, and bookbinders worked through a close examination of city directories. This chapter, therefore, will demonstrate that before the giants of Park Row ruled, there were distinct patterns of settlement among printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in the first decade of the nineteenth-century. Contrary to the assertion that merchants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century regulated economic space in order to restrict direct competition, this chapter will argue that printers, booksellers, and bookbinders deliberately opened shops in certain public spaces in order to create business as well as foster a “community” identity.<sup>7</sup> Where printers, booksellers, and

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<sup>6</sup> David Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory, for the Twenty-Eighth Year of American Independence* (New-York: D. Longworth, 1803).

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 83. For discussion of community construction based on shared identities, see Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983).

bookbinders operated was shaped by their awareness of the public space associated with their community. As noted in the introduction, this thesis is adopting a theoretical modification of the rhetorical public sphere—the Thompsonian notion of physical public space—in order to demonstrate that printers, booksellers, and bookbinders made deliberate public statements by choosing to live and work near one another. The “range of changing forms” of behavior in this instance highlights the distinctive characteristics of shared identities between printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, indicating why they chose to settle in a particular geographic space over time.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the latter half of this chapter will provide further suggestion of printers’ and booksellers’ awareness of the “public space” associated with the shared values of this community by exploring attempts at collective labor and mercantile organization.

### *Growing City, Growing Community*

Between 1790 and 1810 the population of New York City increased dramatically from thirty-three thousand to ninety-six thousand, as demonstrated by Figure 1.1. For example, in 1790 the population of Manhattan was 33,131, and by 1800 the population nearly doubled to 60,515.<sup>9</sup> By 1810, there were 96,373 residents in Manhattan, and this trend continued through 1820 with the population of the city eclipsing 120,000.<sup>10</sup>

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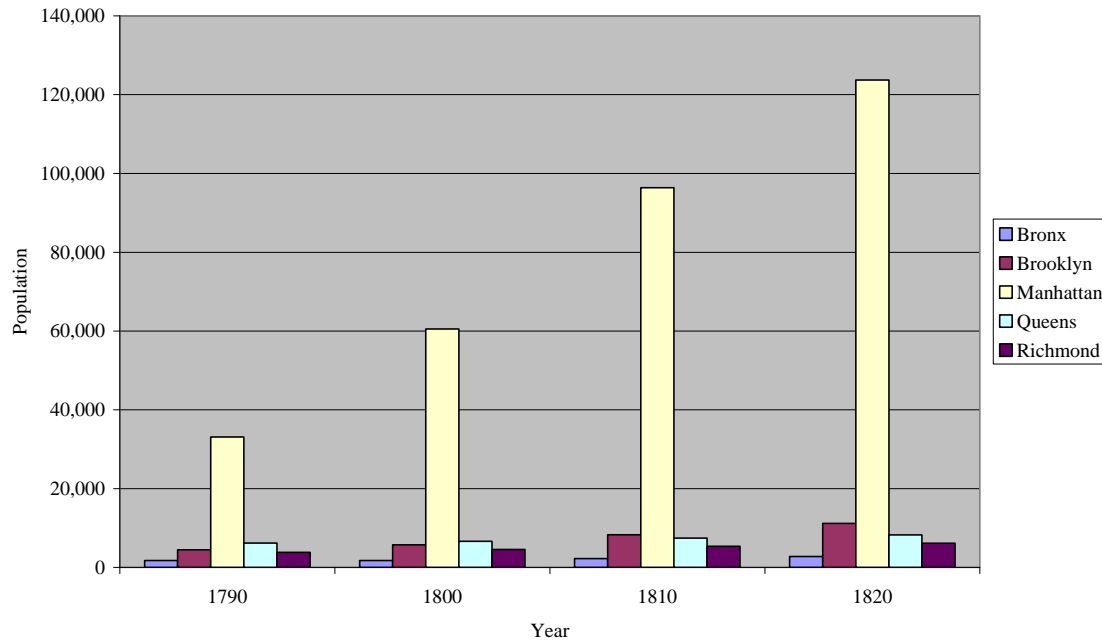
<sup>8</sup> Peter Thompson, *Rum, Punch, and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 17-19.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, “Population and Housing Unit Counts,” CPH-2-1, Table 46. See Michael R. Haines, “Population of cities with at least 100,000 population in 1990: 1790–1990,” in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table Aa832-1033. Ellis Library, University of Missouri <[www.mullibraries.missouri.edu](http://www.mullibraries.missouri.edu)>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* It should be noted that Figure 1.1 includes the population of Queens, Richmond, Brooklyn, and the Bronx in addition to Manhattan to offer a demographic comparison of the growth of New York’s boroughs, even though the Five Boroughs that now make up “New York City” were not consolidated until 1898.



**Figure 1.1: Population of New York City, 1790-1820**



Accordingly, given the steady growth in Manhattan’s population from 1800 to 1810, the city’s wards—with the exception of the Sixth and Seventh Wards—increased in population throughout the decade. Indeed, as Figure 1.2 points out below, the population of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Wards escalated exponentially from 1800 to 1810. For example, in 1800 the population of the First, Second, and Fourth Wards were 4,320, 5,167, and 6,935, respectively, and ten years later each experienced dramatic growth: the First Ward had 7,941 inhabitants, while 8,493 lived and worked in the Second Ward, with 10,226 populating the Fourth Ward.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Todd Gardner, US Bureau of the Census. <[www.demographia.com](http://www.demographia.com)>

**Figure 1.2: Population of Manhattan Wards, 1800-1820**

| <u>Year</u> | <u>First</u> | <u>Second</u> | <u>Third</u> | <u>Fourth</u> | <u>Fifth</u> | <u>Sixth</u> | <u>Seventh</u> | <u>Eighth</u> | <u>Ninth</u> | <u>Tenth</u> |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>1800</b> | 4,320        | 5,167         | 6,449        | 6,935         | 9,148        | 13,076       | 15,394         | --            | --           | --           |
| <b>1810</b> | 7,941        | 8,493         | 7,426        | 10,226        | 14,744       | 11,286       | 12,120         | 9,128         | 4,719        | 10,890       |
| <b>1820</b> | 12,085       | 8,214         | 9,201        | 10,736        | 12,421       | 13,309       | 13,006         | 13,766        | 11,162       | 17,806       |

Alongside the rapid growth in population, the number of practitioners and purveyors of the burgeoning print trade increased in order to meet the demands of an increasingly diverse city, especially in the years following Jefferson’s victory in the presidential election in 1800. In 1786, for example, in the first published city directory there were only five printers, four booksellers, and one bookbinder with offices in Manhattan, and by 1789 only three bookbinders and booksellers owned shops in addition to fourteen printers.<sup>12</sup> By contrast, according to listings in the city directories, in 1800 there were sixty-two printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in New York City, and by the end of the decade, that total increased to one hundred and five.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> David C. Franks, *The New-York City Directory Containing, a Valuable and Well Calculated Almanack;—Tables of the Different Coins, Suitable for Any State, and Digested in Such Order, as to Render an Exchange between Any of the United States Plain and Easy* (New York: Printed by Shepard Kollock, 1786); Franks, *The New-York Directory, Containing 1. Names of Citizens, Their Occupations, and Places of Abode. 2. Officers of the State* (New York: Printed by Samuel and John Loudon, for the editor, 1787); John M’Comb and Cornelius Tiebout, *The New York Directory, and Register, for the Year 1789 Illustrated with an Accurate and Elegant Plan of the City of New-York, and Part of Long-Island, Including the Suburbs, with all the Streets, Lanes, Public Buildings, Wharves, & C. Exactly Laid Down, from the Latest Survey...Price—3 S. 6d. With the Plan of the City* (New York: Printed for Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, and sold at their respective stores, 1789). This data, along with much of the data below, was compiled through my research of city directories. The names of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders are collected in a database I constructed. Those names are listed by year in a simplified form in Appendix Two.

<sup>13</sup> David Longworth and Abraham Shoemaker, *Longworth’s American Almanack, New York Register, and City Directory for the Twenty-Fifth Year of American Independence: Price 5s. Sewed—Halfbound 6s* (New York: Printed and Published by D. Longworth, no. 11 Park, 1800); Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory for the Thirty-Fifth Year of American Independence* (New York: D. Longworth, 1810).

**Figure 1.3: Total Number of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders  
Compared with Total Number of Other Trades in New York City, 1800-1810**

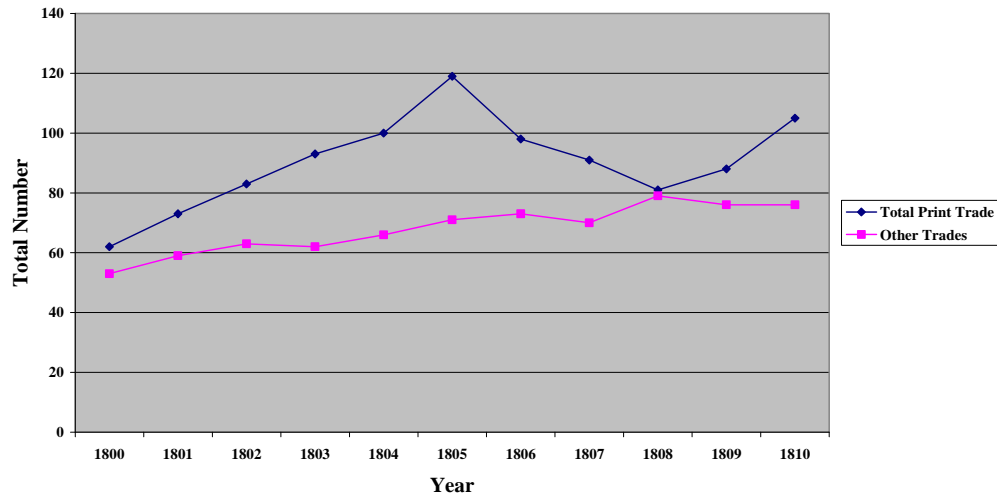
| Year | Printers | Booksellers | Bookbinders | Total | Other Trades |
|------|----------|-------------|-------------|-------|--------------|
| 1800 | 34       | 15          | 13          | 62    | 53           |
| 1801 | 32       | 22          | 19          | 73    | 59           |
| 1802 | 38       | 25          | 20          | 83    | 63           |
| 1803 | 45       | 26          | 22          | 93    | 62           |
| 1804 | 52       | 28          | 20          | 100   | 66           |
| 1805 | 45       | 48          | 26          | 119   | 71           |
| 1806 | 47       | 29          | 22          | 98    | 73           |
| 1807 | 37       | 29          | 25          | 91    | 70           |
| 1808 | 37       | 25          | 19          | 81    | 79           |
| 1809 | 44       | 20          | 24          | 88    | 76           |
| 1810 | 52       | 21          | 32          | 105   | 76           |

Figure 1.3 isolates the three major occupations within the community and outlines the number of listings in the city directories for each year from 1800 to 1810. Growth was fairly consistent among the three occupations, with the most spectacular increase belonging to bookbinders. Moreover, as the table indicates, the growth of the three separate—but intertwining—trades outnumbered the growth of other trades in the city, as Figure 1.4 clearly demonstrates.<sup>14</sup> As noted above, there were only three bookbinders listed in the city directory in 1789—John Bryce of 30 Smith Street, Peter Kirby of 44 Crown Street, and Edward Wier of 52 Maiden-Lane.<sup>15</sup> By 1800, that number had increased to 13, 26 by mid-decade, and 32 by 1810.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Although the numbers for Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders are derived from my own research, the category of “Other Trades” is cited in Mark A. Lause, *Some Degree of Power: From Hired Hand to Union Craftsman in the Preindustrial American Printing Trades, 1778-1815* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), 38. Lause based his numbers on Harry B. Weiss, *The Number of Persons and Firms Connected with the Graphic Arts in New York City, 1633-1820* (New York: New York Public Library, 1946); and George Leslie McKay, *A Register of Artists, Engravers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, Printers, and Publishers in New York City, 1633-1820* (New York: New York public Library, 1942). See also, Ruth Suswein Gottesman, ed., *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1779: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers* (New York: New York Historical Society Quarterly, 1948); Gottesman, ed., *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1949).

<sup>15</sup> M’Comb and Tiebout, *The New York Directory*, (1789). From this point on, I will list only the last name of the directory editor, an abbreviated title, and corresponding year in parentheses, unless a particular directory has not been previously cited, at which time the entire citation will be listed.

**Figure 1.4: Total Number of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders Compared with Other Trades in New York City, 1800-1810**



The book trade emerged alongside merchants who were devoted to one or two goods such as textiles, drugs, and hardware in addition to the traditional all-purpose trader. Between 1800 and 1805, the number of booksellers listed in the city rose from 15 to 48. Curiously, the following year, the number of booksellers decreased dramatically from 48 to 29, and declined steadily for the next four years, with only 21 shops listed in 1810.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, as the eighteenth-century gave way to the nineteenth, the importance of the New York City book trade became increasingly evident by not only the sharp rise in the number of bookbinders and booksellers, but with the formation of the American Company of Booksellers and the New York Association of Text Book Sellers in 1802

<sup>16</sup> Longworth and Shoemaker, *Longworth's American Almanack and New-York Register*, (1800), Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanack, New York Register, City Directory, for the Thirtieth Year of American Independence* (New York: David Longworth, 1805); Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, (1810).

<sup>17</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, (1805), Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory, for the Thirty-First Year of American Independence* (New York: David Longworth, 1806); Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, (1810).

and the first literary fair in United States history.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, as Cathy N. Davidson notes, the emergence of a literate middle class in the early Republic created a market in which the bookbinder and bookseller thrived. “The rising middle class, with its increasingly voracious appetite for books, especially novels,” asserts Davidson, “portended a new mass patronage of books” prompting numerous writers and, subsequently, members of New York’s publishing community, “to earn a living by their pen.”<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, historian Paul Clemens finds that during a “qualitative reading revolution” after 1760, private libraries began to grow as a result of the increased demand for reading material other than religious tracts.<sup>20</sup> Household libraries were diverse, with titles varying from histories, geographies, biographies, encyclopedias, novels, dictionaries, spelling books, almanacs, and poetry collections. “The growing diversity of titles may indicate the increasing piety or intellectual curiosity,” writes Clemens, “yet it

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<sup>18</sup> Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 338; Charlotte Elizabeth Morgan, *The Origin and History of the New York Employing Printers' Association: The Evolution of a Trade Association* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 32.

<sup>19</sup> Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 15. For books and the emergence of American public life, see Jay Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language & the Culture of Performance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993); Christopher Looby, *Voicing America: Language, Literary Form, and the Origins of the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> Paul G.E. Clemens, “The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic, 1760-1820,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 72, no. 4 (2005): 589. For books as commodities, see Elizabeth Carroll Reilly and David D. Hall, “Part 2: Customers and the market for Books,” in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (New York: American Antiquarian Society, 2000), 287-399; William L. Joyce and others, *Printing and Society in Early America* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983). For more general studies of consumer culture in early America, see T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1992).

also suggests that books were very much commodities whose mere possession was of significance to the owner.”<sup>21</sup>

In conjunction with the steady rise of booksellers and bookbinders listed in the city directories from 1800 to 1810, printers in New York City experienced similar growth. In 1800, for example, the city directories listed 34 printers at various addresses in Manhattan, and by 1803 that number had risen to 45 and 52 by the following year.<sup>22</sup> As the decade progressed, there was a dip similar to that of booksellers and bookbinders, with the concurrent resurgence from 1808 to 1810 when the number of printers leveled at 52.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, given initial growth of the printing trade and its increased stability as the decade progressed, the first ten years of the nineteenth-century witnessed a dramatic expansion of the newspaper network in the city.

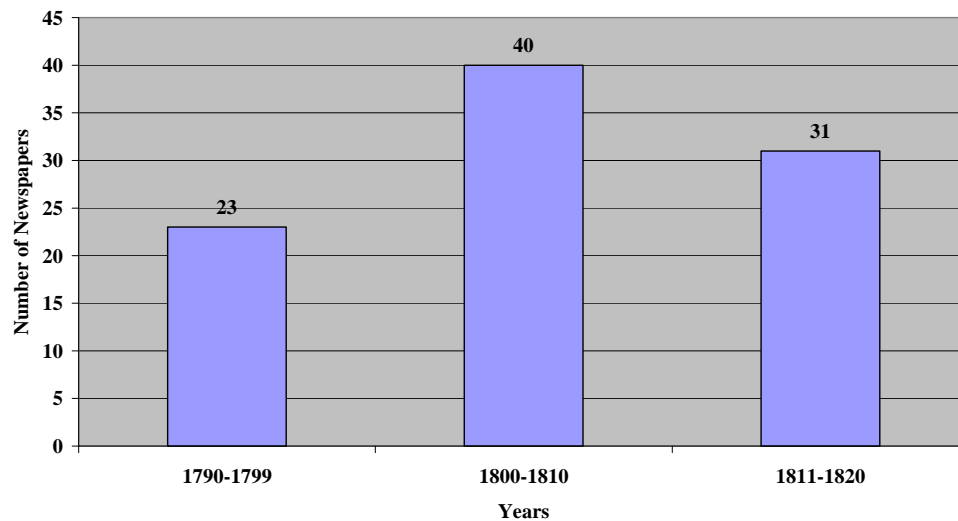
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<sup>21</sup> Clemens, “The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic,” 589. Clemens bases his study on four counties in the mid-Atlantic region: Kent (eastern Maryland), Chester (southeastern Pennsylvania), and Fairfield (southwestern Connecticut) because of their commercial ties to either Philadelphia or New York City, and because of the “mid-eighteenth-century wheat boom that brought substantial prosperity to established households.” Clemens, “The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic,” 579.

<sup>22</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory, for the Twenty-Eighth Year of American Independence* (New York: D. Longworth, 1803); Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory, for the Twenty-Ninth Year of American Independence* (New York: David Longworth, 1804), Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1805).

<sup>23</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1808, 1809, 1810).

**Figure 1.5: Number of Newspapers Established in New York City per Decade, 1790-1820**



As illustrated by Figure 1.5, between 1790 and 1799 there were twenty-three newspapers established, whereas from 1800 to 1810 an astounding forty newspapers were founded in New York City. For example, papers such as the *American Citizen*, *Forlorn Hope*, *Porcupine's Gazette*, *Prisoner of Hope*, *Republican Watch-Tower*, *Temple of Reason*, the *New-York Evening Post and Herald*, the *Chronicle Express* and *Morning Chronicle*, the *New-York Journal*, the and *Weekly Visitor* began publication during the first three years of the decade. Moreover, the years from 1806 to 1810 saw similar growth with a staggering twenty-five papers such as the *Independent Republican*, the *People's Friend*, the *New-York Spy*, the *Weekly Inspector*, the *New-York Aurora*, the *Public Advertiser*, the *Oracle*, the *Pelican*, the *Observateur Impartial*, the *Columbian*, the *New-York Journal*, the *Observer*, the *Washington Republican*, the *Spirit of '76*, the *New-York Morning Post*, *Morning Star*, *Political Bulletin*, and *The Shamrock; or, Hibernarian Chronicle* originating. Aside from stalwarts such as the *American Citizen* and *Republican Watch-Tower* (1800 to 1810), the *New-York Evening Post* (1801-present), the

*New-York Herald* (1801-1817), the *Morning Chronicle* (1802-1807), the *Weekly Visitor* (1802-1807), the *Public Advertiser* (1807 to 1813), the *Columbian* (1809 to 1820), and *The Shamrock* (1810 to 1817), many of these papers were short-run ventures, often not lasting for more than a few issues and, if fortune prevailed, a year.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the prominence newspapers held in New York’s rhetorical public sphere and physical public space, only a portion of New York printers published newspapers, as indicated by Figure 1.6, whereas many within the trade concentrated on larger, labor-intensive projects such as textbooks, almanacs, academic and scientific dissertations, literature, poetry, drama, religious tracts, political pamphlets, and juvenile pieces, among others. This chapter will demonstrate that the distinction between newspaper and miscellaneous publishing began to emerge in the early years of the nineteenth-century. Newspaper printers concentrated primarily on their dailies, weeklies, and semi-weeklies—with the exception of a random title every now and again—whereas a great number of New York printers such as Thomas and James Swords published only books, sermons, and texts, not newspapers.

**Figure 1.6: Print Shops and Newspapers in New York City, 1800-1810**

| Year | Print Shops<br>(N) | Print Shops Publishing Newspapers<br>(N) | Newspapers in New York City<br>(N) |
|------|--------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1800 | 34                 | 12                                       | 15                                 |
| 1801 | 32                 | 9  | 11                                 |
| 1802 | 38                 | 10                                       | 15                                 |
| 1803 | 45                 | 10                                       | 14                                 |
| 1804 | 52                 | 11                                       | 17                                 |
| 1805 | 45                 | 10                                       | 14                                 |
| 1806 | 47                 | 16                                       | 19                                 |
| 1807 | 37                 | 13                                       | 20                                 |
| 1808 | 37                 | 11                                       | 15                                 |
| 1809 | 44                 | 14                                       | 17                                 |
| 1810 | 52                 | 12                                       | 16                                 |

<sup>24</sup> For a more detailed description of the ebb and flow of founding and decline of newspapers from 1800 to 1810, see Appendix One and Three.



### *Development of a Community in the Old East*

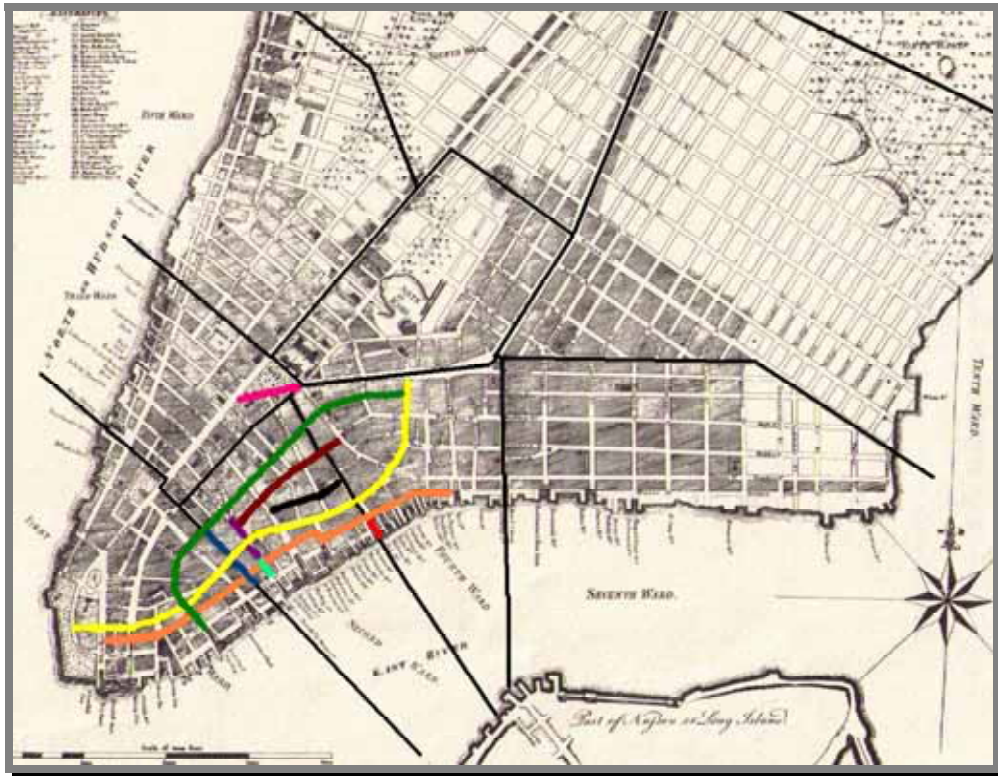
This community, consisting of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, existed primarily on the streets of the Old East Ward near the East River waterfront in what is now Lower Manhattan.<sup>25</sup> This ward, at one time consisting of streets east of William Street between Hanover Square and John Street, dissected the First, Second, and parts of the Fourth Wards that were created in 1791, as shown in Figure 1.7. Moreover, as David Nord points out, in 1790 the Old East was home to a high concentration of artisans on Pearl Street and Water Street, a trend that would continue into the first decade of the nineteenth-century.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" was drafted by New York's colonial governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, and eighteen delegates at the first representative assembly in the sixty year history of the colony. In addition to defining the basic form of government for the colony, "Dongan's Charter" as it came to be known, made New York City into a self-governing organism by dividing the city into five wards: South, Dock, East, West, and North, plus an Out Ward that contained the remainder of Manhattan. For discussion of Dongan's Charter, see Linda Briggs Biemer, *Women and Property in Colonial New York: The Transition from Dutch to English Law 1643-1727* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983); Hendrik Hartog, *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730-1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); Michael G. Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1975); Donna Merwick, "Becoming English: Anglo-Dutch Conflict in the 1670s in Albany, New York," *New York History* 62 (1981); John M. Murrin, "English Rights as Ethnic Aggression: The English Conquest, the Charter of Liberties of 1683, and Leisler's Rebellion in New York," in *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, ed. William Pencak and Conrad Wright (New York: 1988); David E. Narret, "Dutch Customs of Inheritance, Women, and the Law in Colonial New York City," in *Authority and Resistance in Early New York*, ed. William Pencak and Conrad Wright (New York: 1988); Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province : A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

<sup>26</sup> David Paul Nord, "A Republican Literature: A Study of Magazine Reading and Readers in Late Eighteenth-Century New York," *American Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1988): 51, Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 185. Nord estimates through a random sample of 156 artisans in the city directories, that 12.8% resided on Pearl Street, 5.1% on Fair, 4.5% on Water, 3.8% on Chatham (now Park Row), and 3.2% on Ann.

**Figure 1.7: Map of New York City, ca. 1808**



Source: Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979).

Using the original map cited by Rock, I color-coded the streets of this community: Pearl Street (Bright Yellow), William Street (Dark Green), Water Street (Orange), Maiden Lane (Purple), Cliff Street (Black), Fly Market (Light Green), Peck-Slip (Red), Pine Street (Blue), and Chatham Row (Later Park Row, Pink). Also, the ward lines are more clearly marked with black lines.

The most heavily populated streets, as shown above in Figure 1.7, were within the boundaries of the area east of William Street, including Maiden Lane and the Fly Market, Pine Street, Water Street, Gold Street, the Peck-slip, Cliff Street, and Pearl Street.<sup>27</sup>

From 1800 to 1810 the city directories listed 463 printers, 288 booksellers, and 242 bookbinders, and of these listings, 43.4% of the city's printers, 31.8% of bookbinders, and an astonishing 73.6% of booksellers owned shops in the Old East. For example, in 1801 62.5% of the 32 printers listed in the city directories had offices located in the Old

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the development of the business district in the Old East Ward, see Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850*, esp. 44-71.

East, along with 72.7% of the booksellers and 36.8% of the bookbinders.<sup>28</sup> This trend was fairly consistent throughout the decade, as demonstrated by Figure 1.8, which isolates the three occupations in separate tables, outlining the number of occupants of the Old East alongside the total number of occupants in Manhattan with the resulting percentage.

**Figure 1.8: Percentage of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders in the Old East Ward, 1800-1810**

|              | Old East Printers<br>(N) | Manhattan Printers<br>(N) | Old East Printers<br>(%) |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>1800</b>  | 20                       | 34                        | <b>58.8</b>              |
| <b>1801</b>  | 20                       | 32                        | <b>62.5</b>              |
| <b>1802</b>  | 19                       | 38                        | <b>50</b>                |
| <b>1803</b>  | 18                       | 45                        | <b>40</b>                |
| <b>1804</b>  | 23                       | 52                        | <b>44.2</b>              |
| <b>1805</b>  | 25                       | 45                        | <b>55.5</b>              |
| <b>1806</b>  | 17                       | 47                        | <b>36.2</b>              |
| <b>1807</b>  | 14                       | 37                        | <b>37.8</b>              |
| <b>1808</b>  | 12                       | 37                        | <b>32.4</b>              |
| <b>1809</b>  | 16                       | 44                        | <b>36.3</b>              |
| <b>1810</b>  | 17                       | 52                        | <b>32.6</b>              |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>201</b>               | <b>463</b>                | <b>43.4</b>              |

|              | Old East Booksellers<br>(N) | Manhattan Booksellers<br>(N) | Old East Booksellers<br>(%) |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>1800</b>  | 13                          | 15                           | <b>86.6</b>                 |
| <b>1801</b>  | 16                          | 22                           | <b>72.7</b>                 |
| <b>1802</b>  | 20                          | 25                           | <b>80</b>                   |
| <b>1803</b>  | 20                          | 26                           | <b>76.9</b>                 |
| <b>1804</b>  | 20                          | 28                           | <b>71.4</b>                 |
| <b>1805</b>  | 28                          | 48                           | <b>58.3</b>                 |
| <b>1806</b>  | 23                          | 29                           | <b>79.3</b>                 |
| <b>1807</b>  | 25                          | 29                           | <b>86.2</b>                 |
| <b>1808</b>  | 19                          | 25                           | <b>76</b>                   |
| <b>1809</b>  | 15                          | 20                           | <b>75</b>                   |
| <b>1810</b>  | 13                          | 21                           | <b>61.9</b>                 |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>212</b>                  | <b>288</b>                   | <b>73.6</b>                 |

<sup>28</sup> These percentages are derived from a controlled sample of all printers, booksellers, and booksellers listed at Pearl Street, Water Street, William Street, Front Street, Maiden Lane and the Fly Market, Pine Street, Gold Street, Peck-Slip, Cliff Street, and Ann Street, divided by the total number of printers in Manhattan for each year from 1800 to 1810. The sample is pulled from my database of New York printers, booksellers, and booksellers. Source: Longworth, *Longworth's Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

**Figure 1.8 continued**

|              | <b>Old East Bookbinders<br/>(N)</b> | <b>Manhattan<br/>Bookbinders<br/>(N)</b> | <b>Old East<br/>Bookbinders<br/>(%)</b> |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| <b>1800</b>  | 5                                   | 13                                       | <b>38.4</b>                             |
| <b>1801</b>  | 7                                   | 19                                       | <b>36.8</b>                             |
| <b>1802</b>  | 6                                   | 20                                       | <b>30</b>                               |
| <b>1803</b>  | 9                                   | 22                                       | <b>40.9</b>                             |
| <b>1804</b>  | 7                                   | 20                                       | <b>35</b>                               |
| <b>1805</b>  | 7                                   | 26                                       | <b>26.9</b>                             |
| <b>1806</b>  | 7                                   | 22                                       | <b>31.8</b>                             |
| <b>1807</b>  | 9                                   | 25                                       | <b>36</b>                               |
| <b>1808</b>  | 6                                   | 19                                       | <b>31.5</b>                             |
| <b>1809</b>  | 4                                   | 24                                       | <b>16.6</b>                             |
| <b>1810</b>  | 10                                  | 32                                       | <b>31.2</b>                             |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>77</b>                           | <b>242</b>                               | <b>31.8</b>                             |

Of the streets listed above, Water Street and Pearl Street were the most densely populated with printers, booksellers, and bookbinders. Indeed, between 1800 and 1810, an astounding 228 printers, booksellers, and bookbinders maintained a business on Pearl Street, whereas 112 published and bound print material at Water Street addresses.<sup>29</sup> During this time, 79 printers, 114 booksellers, and 35 bookbinders were listed in the city directories with Pearl Street addresses while 44 printers, 50 booksellers, and 18 bookbinders had Water Street addresses.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, 36 booksellers, 9 printers, and 4 bookbinders worked on Maiden Lane and the Fly Market, while 14 printers, 2 booksellers, and 10 bookbinders had William Street addresses, in addition to the 22 listed printers listed as Pine Street occupants.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, as Figure 1.9 indicates below, of the nineteen shops headed by Master Printers listed in the 1805 directory, only four labored

<sup>29</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

<sup>30</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

<sup>31</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

outside of the boundary of the old East Ward: Lewis Nichols of 308 Broadway, Caleb Pierson of 102 Chamber Street, Aaron Forman at the corner of Dey and Broadway, and Stephen Gould & Co. at the corner of Wall Street and Broadway, and only one of these firms—Gould & Co.—published newspapers. Accordingly, 31.5% of the Master Printers had Pearl Street shops, while an additional 42.1% of those listed in 1805 operated on Pine, Water, and William Streets collectively.<sup>32</sup>

**Figure 1.9: Master Printers in New York City, 1805**

| <u>Last Name</u>   | <u>First Name</u>     | <u>Street Number</u> | <u>Street Name</u> | <u>Newspaper(s)</u>   |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---|
| Nichols            | Lewis                 | 308                  | Broadway           | ---   |
| Pierson            | Caleb                 | 102                  | Chamber            | ---   |
| Forman             | Aaron                 |                      | Dey c. Broadway    | ---   |
| Collins & Perkins  |                       | 189                  | Pearl              | ---   |
| Hopkins<br>Seymour | George F.<br>Jonathan | 118                  | Pearl              | <i>Commercial Advertiser</i><br><i>Minerva</i><br><i>The Spectator</i><br><i>The Weekly Inspector</i> |
| Lang               | John                  | 116                  | Pearl              | <i>New-York Gazette</i>   |
| Sage & Clough      |                       | 149                  | Pearl              | ---   |
| Swords             | T.&J.                 | 160                  | Pearl              | ---   |
| Swaine             | John                  | 49                   | Pearl              | <i>Bowery Republican</i><br><i>Independent Republican</i>   |
| Burnham            | Michael               | 40                   | Pine               | <i>New-York Evening Post</i><br><i>New-York Herald</i>  |
| Crookes            | John                  | 68                   | Pine               | <i>Mercantile Advertiser</i><br><i>The Diary; or, Loudon's Register</i>                               |
| Jones              | Louis                 | 55                   | Pine               | <i>Daily Advertiser</i>   |
| Gould & Co.        | S.                    |                      | Wall c. Broad      | <i>The Corrector</i><br><i>The Shamrock</i>   |
| Forman             | George                | 64                   | Water              | ---   |
| Jones              | Louis, Jr.            | 99                   | Water              | <i>Le Bulletin</i>  |
| Ming & Young       |                       | 102                  | Water              | <i>Daily Items, For Merchants</i><br><i>Weekly Visitor</i>  |
| Davis              | William A.            | 39                   | William            | <i>Morning Chronicle</i><br><i>Chronicle Express</i>  |
| Deane & Andrews    |                       | 71                   | William c. Maiden  | <i>Moniteur Francais</i>  |

Moreover, as indicated by Figure 1.10, a majority of Manhattan's newspapers published between 1800 and 1810 were indeed printed on neighboring streets in the Old East Ward. For example, in 1800 there were 15 newspapers circulating throughout New York, and only 46.6% originated in the Old East. However, by 1803 all 14 of the city's

<sup>32</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, 1805. Curiously, the 1805 Directory is the only one in the series between 1800 and 1810 to distinguish "Master Printer" from that of "Printer," even though Longworth appeared to neglect listing journeymen printers in his directories.

newspapers originated in the Old East, including James Cheetham’s *American Citizen* and *Republican Watch-Tower* (136 Pearl Street), William Coleman’s *New-York Evening Post* and *New-York Herald* (40 Pine Street), the *Commercial Advertiser* and the *Spectator* published by Joseph Mills (131 Pearl), John Lang’s *New-York Gazette* (116 Pearl), the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Chronicle Express* published by William A. Davis for the editor Peter Irving (39 William Street), and the *Daily Advertiser* published by Jonathan Seymour (118 Pearl).<sup>33</sup>

**Figure 1.10: Percentage of Newspapers Published in the Old East, 1800-1810**

| Year | Newspapers in New York City (N) | Republican Newspapers (N) | Federalist Newspapers (N) | Newspapers in the Old East (%) |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1800 | 15                              | 7                         | 6                         | 46.6                           |
| 1801 | 11                              | 4                         | 6                         | 81.8                           |
| 1802 | 15                              | 6                         | 7                         | 60                             |
| 1803 | 14                              | 5                         | 8                         | 100                            |
| 1804 | 17                              | 8                         | 7                         | 88.2                           |
| 1805 | 14                              | 5                         | 7                         | 85.7                           |
| 1806 | 19                              | 6                         | 10                        | 73.6                           |
| 1807 | 20                              | 5                         | 12                        | 70                             |
| 1808 | 15                              | 3                         | 7                         | 66.7                           |
| 1809 | 17                              | 3                         | 9                         | 82.3                           |
| 1810 | 16                              | 6                         | 7                         | 62.5                           |

Furthermore, with the exception of 1800 and 1804, Federalist newspapers such as the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Daily Advertiser*, the *New-York Evening Post*, and the *Mercantile Advertiser* outnumbered Republican papers such as Cheetham’s *American Citizen* on a yearly basis.<sup>34</sup> Also, as indicated below, this trend remained consistent

<sup>33</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Register and New York Almanac*, (1803).

<sup>34</sup> The broadly defined categories of “Republican” and “Federalist” are employed here so as to avoid diluting the issue. Donald Stewart and David Fischer use labels such as “moderately Federalist,” “independently Federalist,” and “Federalist, though not extensively so” to assign partisanship. This confuses the issue, therefore I chose to assign either “Republican” or “Federalist.” The annotated appendices in both Stewart and Fischer—alongside Milton W. Hamilton—were absolutely essential in helping to determine which papers sided with what party. See David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785-1830*, 2d ed. (Port

throughout the decade with the city's most influential Republican and Federalist newspapers lining the streets of the Old East Ward. The following pages will break down several streets of this community to better demonstrate this phenomenon.

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However, prior to categorizing the demographics of this community, it is necessary to consider why such a large group of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders would exist in a particular geographic space over time. First, it is essential to think of the printer as a working-class tradesman with an "inclination for books" as Benjamin Franklin astutely observed in his autobiography.<sup>35</sup> Despite being a trade that contributed to rational public discourse, it was, as one scholar notes, "a dirty, smelly, physically demanding job" that required "as many as sixteen hours setting type" in order to produce a four-page newspaper.<sup>36</sup> The completed pamphlet, bound book, or newspaper may not exhibit such a laborious process in its final form; however, producing a document as simple as a daily paper demanded a certain amount of aptitude at operating complex machinery and following the correct steps in order create the final product. The paper, for example had to be properly dampened; the carefully placed type was forcefully beaten with heavy balls soaked in homemade ink often brewed in-house by an apprentice or

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Washington, N.Y.: I.J. Friedman, 1964); Donald Henderson Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969).

<sup>35</sup> Benjamin Franklin. *The Life of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Written by Himself* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1794), 23.

<sup>36</sup> Pasley, "The Tyranny of Printers," 25. See also Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer*; W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice : From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Rollo G. Silver, *Typefounding in America, 1787-1825* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1965); Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer, 1787-1825* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1967); Rollo G. Silver, *The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825* (New York: New York Public Library, 1953); Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Charlottesville, Va.: Dominion Books, 1964).

journeyman; finally, the heavy wooden press was forcefully lowered onto the wet paper in order to impress the text. Thus, a small, weekly newspaper, “with a barely adequate circulation of only 500 or 600, required a day and most of a night of unremitting labor to produce.”<sup>37</sup> Therefore, given the intense labor invested in producing newspapers, books, pamphlets, and broadsheets, it is reasonable to assert that printers—despite often having differing ideological leanings, as will be demonstrated below—purposely congregated near one another because of their shared artisan identities.

Also, printers relied on one another for buying and selling essential items for their shops. For example, George and David Bruce advertised in the *Mercantile Advertiser* and the *Public Advertiser* that they had received from Philadelphia “BOOK INK of the best quality” to be sold for 45 cents and “NEWSPAPER INK, superior in colour to any offered for sale before, at 37 cents.”<sup>38</sup> The Bruce brothers maintained that the ink for sale at their Pearl Street shop would be “preferred by every printer who wishes to make good work,” and that they would be the exclusive supplier of the Philadelphia ink.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, it is logical to conclude that a printer specializing in book production would open a shop near a bookbinder because he could transport his work to the latter with greater ease. Indeed, as Rollo G. Silver points out, printers and booksellers had close ties with one another, with printers often times printing various titles for the local bookstore.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Pasley, “*The Tyranny of Printers*,” 26.

<sup>38</sup> “Printing Ink,” *Mercantile Advertiser* and *Public Advertiser*, 21 November 1809. See also *Columbian* and *New-York Evening Post*, 23 December 1809.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Silver, *The American Printer*, 71.



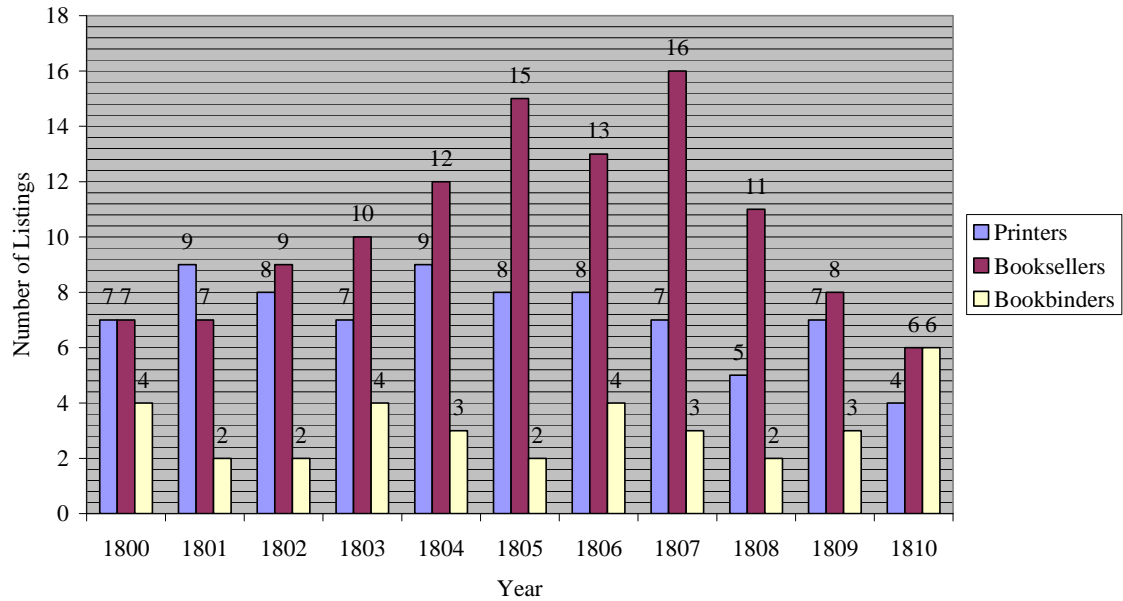
### *Pearl Street*

Pearl Street, with its location near the eastside docks, was bustling with commercial activity in the early nineteenth century and proved to be an ideal environment in which the publishing community could thrive. Pearl Street was crawling with bankers, brokers, insurance men, accountants, and lawyers going to and from various offices, rubbing elbows with printers, booksellers, and bookbinders amidst the noisiness of wagons, carts, and carriages. Moreover, most leading Pearl Street merchants were specialized wholesalers and jobbers who catered to the wants and needs of the local economy.<sup>41</sup> Thus, Pearl Street was a natural destination to not only purchase printed goods, but to make and sell them as well. Figure 1.11, seen below, illustrates the number of these shops on a yearly basis.

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<sup>41</sup> On Pearl Street, see Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850*, 23, 82-84; Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Jennie Barnes Pope, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1939), 43, 63, 280; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78-83, 86; Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 18-19; John Atlee Kouwenhoven, *The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York; an Essay in Graphic History in Honor of the Tricentennial of New York City and the Bicentennial of Columbia University* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953), 132; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War against Slavery* (Cleveland,: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), esp. 41-77.

**Figure 1.11: Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders Listed at Pearl Street Addresses, 1800-1810**



What is most compelling about the demographics of Pearl Street printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, however, is the dispersal of the addresses listed in the city directories from 1800 to 1810. Pearl Street snaked through what is now Lower Manhattan, intersecting with Wall Street and Maiden Lane, dissecting the First, Second, and Fourth Wards, coming to an end at Chatham Street (now Park Row)—a major thoroughfare that connects Broadway and Bowery Lane. Despite its length, printers, booksellers, and bookbinders seemed to operate within relatively short distances from one another on Pearl Street, lending credence to the existence of a spatially-developed community in early nineteenth-century New York City. As Figure 1.12 illustrates below, a majority of the printers, booksellers, and bookbinders listed as Pearl Street occupants had street numbers ranging from 102 to 189. For example, in 1800 57.1% of printers and booksellers resided between 102 and 189 Pearl Street along with 50% of the street’s

bookbinders. Moreover, in 1803, these numbers increased to 85.7%, 80%, and 100% for the three occupations, respectively, and by 1809, 85.7% of Pearl Street printers, 87.5% of the booksellers, and 66.7% of the bookbinders resided between 102 and 189 Pearl Street.<sup>42</sup>

**Figure 1.12: Percentage of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders Residing Between 102 and 189 Pearl Street, 1800-1810**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Printers (%)</b> | <b>Booksellers (%)</b> | <b>Bookbinders (%)</b> | <b>Total (%)</b> |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <b>1800</b> | 57.1                | 57.1                   | 50.0                   | <b>55.5</b>      |
| <b>1801</b> | 88.9                | 85.7                   | 50.0                   | <b>83.3</b>      |
| <b>1802</b> | 75.0                | 88.8                   | 100                    | <b>84.2</b>      |
| <b>1803</b> | 85.7                | 80.0                   | 100                    | <b>85.7</b>      |
| <b>1804</b> | 66.7                | 91.7                   | 50.0                   | <b>75.0</b>      |
| <b>1805</b> | 75.0                | 86.7                   | 50.0                   | <b>80.0</b>      |
| <b>1806</b> | 75.0                | 84.6                   | 25.0                   | <b>72.0</b>      |
| <b>1807</b> | 57.1                | 81.2                   | 66.7                   | <b>73.0</b>      |
| <b>1808</b> | 80.0                | 72.7                   | 0.0                    | <b>66.7</b>      |
| <b>1809</b> | 85.7                | 87.5                   | 66.7                   | <b>83.3</b>      |
| <b>1810</b> | 50.0                | 100                    | 50.0                   | <b>68.7</b>      |

As a result of its centrality to New York’s growing economy, many Pearl Street occupants were listed for several years in the city directories with Pearl Street addresses. James Cheetham, the editor of the *American Citizen* and its country version the *Republican Watch-Tower*, published his work at various Pearl Street addresses from 1803 to 1809.<sup>43</sup> Cheetham was a deposed English radical who arrived in New York in 1794 following his acquittal from treason charges stemming from his involvement in several reformation societies in Manchester. Trained in the family business of hat manufacturing, he honed his printing skills working as a pressman for the radical

<sup>42</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810)

<sup>43</sup> From 1801 to 1810, Cheetham and the *American Citizen* operated out of the following addresses: 22 William Street (1801), 13 Bridge Street (1802), 136 Pearl Street (1803), 81 Pearl Street (1804, 1805), 86 Pearl Street, (1806, 1807, 1808, 1809), 129 Water Street (1810). See Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

newspaper the *Manchester Herald* in the early 1790s. After arriving in New York, Cheetham toiled for several years as a hatter, popping up occasionally as the author of an editorial or pamphlet. He emerged from the immigrant community in 1801 as the editor of the *American Citizen*, becoming one of the most influential Republican journalists in the early Republic until his untimely death from malaria in 1810.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Cheetham's career was indicative of specialization among New York printers in the early nineteenth-century. Although he did author the occasional political polemic from 1800 to 1810—all of which he personally published—Cheetham concentrated primarily on editing and printing his two Republican newspapers.<sup>45</sup>

John Lang, who printed the long-standing *New York Gazette*, operated a shop at 116 Pearl Street from 1800 to 1810 after moving from Philadelphia in 1797. Prior to

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<sup>44</sup> For Cheetham, see chapter two. See also Evan Cornog, *The Birth of Empire: Dewitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769-1828* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); John W. Francis, "Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New York," *The International Magazine of Literature, Art, and Science* 5, no. 2 (1852); Lawrence M. Lasher, "James Cheetham: Journalist and Muckraker" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland-College Park, 1965); Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany; the Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971); Jeffrey L. Pasley, *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Richard J. Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790-1820* (Garland, 1989).

<sup>45</sup> See for example James Cheetham, *Remarks on the Merchant's Bank* (New-York Printed by James Cheetham, 1804); Cheetham, *A Reply to Aristides* (New-York: Printed by James Cheetham, 1804); Cheetham, *Letters on Our Affairs with Spain* (New-York: Printed by the Author, 1804); Cheetham, *Nine Letters on the Subject of Aaron Burr's Political Defection with an Appendix* (New York: Printed by Denniston & Cheetham, 1803); Cheetham, *A Letter to a Friend on the Conduct of the Adherents to Mr. Burr* (New York: Printed by James Cheetham, 1803); Cheetham, *A Letter Concerning the Ten Pound Court in the City of New-York Addressed to the State Legislature* (New York: Printed by Denniston and Cheetham, 1803); Cheetham, *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq., Vice-President of the United States* (New-York: Printed by Dennison & Cheetham, 1802); Cheetham, *A Narrative of the Suppression by Col. Burr, of the History of the Administration of John Adams, Late President of the United States, Written by John Wood ... To Which Is Added, a Biography of Thomas Jefferson ... And of General Hamilton: With Strictures on the Conduct of John Adams, and on the Character of General C. C. Pinckney. Extracted Verbatim from the Suppressed History* (New-York, Printed by James Cheetham, 1802); Cheetham, *Annals of the Corporation, Relative to the Late Contested Elections with Strictures Upon the Conduct of the Majority* (New York: Printed by Denniston and Cheetham, 1802); Cheetham, *A Dissertation Concerning Political Equality, and the Corporation of New-York* (New-York: Printed by D. Denniston, 1800); Cheetham, *The New Crisis*. New-York: Printed by the author, 1810).

printing the *Gazette*—which he began co-publishing with Archibald M’Lean in January 1797 until M’Lean’s death one year later—Lang printed a variety of bound material, specializing in several genres including political treatises, religious tracts, and, to a lesser extent, books intended for women, including William Alexander’s *The History of Women*, *Letters to Married Women* by Hugh Smith, and a children’s book by an anonymous female author titled *Amusement Hall*.<sup>46</sup>

George F. Hopkins, a Master Printer who partnered with Noah Webster in the publication of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Minerva*, and *The Spectator*—all decidedly Federalist papers—owned various shops along Pearl Street from 1800 to 1807. Hopkins printed the *Minerva* from 1796 to 1797, the *Commercial Advertiser* from 1797 to 1799, the paper that succeeded the aforementioned *Minerva*, and *The Spectator*—the semi-weekly edition of the *Commercial Advertiser*—from 1797 to 1799.<sup>47</sup> Given his political sentimentality, Hopkins was the printer of choice to publish Federalist treatises. In 1804, for example, William Coleman—editor of the Federalist daily *New-York Evening Post*—hand-picked Hopkins and his partner Jonathan Seymour to publish his scathing indictment of Aaron Burr following the vice-president’s famous duel with Alexander Hamilton.<sup>48</sup> In addition to Coleman’s pamphlet, Hopkins and Seymour published John

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<sup>46</sup> “Lady,” *Amusement Hall; or, An Easy Introduction to the Attainment of Useful Knowledge. By a Lady* (Philadelphia: Printed by Lang and Ustick, 1796); Hugh Smith, *Letters to Married Women, On Nursing and the Management of Children. By the Late Hugh Smith, M.D.*, (Philadelphia: Printed for Matthew Carey, by Lang and Ustick, 1796); William Alexander, *The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity, to the Present Time; Giving an Account of Almost Every Interesting Particular Concerning that Sex, Among all Nations, Ancient and Modern. With a Complete index. By William Alexander, M.D.*, (Philadelphia: Published by J.H. Dobelbower for John Lang, 1796).

<sup>47</sup> *Minerva*, 2 May 1796, 15 May and 30 September 1797, *The Spectator*, 4 October 1797. Hopkins dissolved his *Spectator* partnership with Webster in 1799. See *The Spectator*, 3 July 1799. For more on the dissolution of this partnership, see the *Commercial Advertiser*, 1 July 1799.

<sup>48</sup> William Coleman, *A Collection of the Facts and Documents Relative to the Death of Major General Alexander Hamilton, with Comments Together with the Various Orations, Sermons, and Eulogies that*

M. Mason's commemoration of Hamilton titled *An Oration, Commemorative of the late Major-General Alexander Hamilton*.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, in 1806 Hopkins and Seymour printed *The Weekly Inspector*, a paper edited by Thomas Green Fessenden from their shop at 118 Pearl Street. In the "Prospectus" of *The Weekly Inspector*, Fessenden announced the political sentiments of those involved with the paper. "In making a profession of our political tenets," he noted, "we would observe that we are FEDERALISTS, and wish to be instrumental in healing the wounds of party."<sup>50</sup> Singling out rival editors such as Cheetham, *The Weekly Inspector* asserted "as respects our conduct towards the Editors of newspapers, we shall merely observe, that falsehood and sophistry will be the objects of our animadversion."<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, even though Seymour eventually dissolved his six-year partnership with George Hopkins and opened his own shop, he did not move his business very far away from his former partner, relocating in 1808 to 110 Pearl Street and moving to 118 Pearl Street in 1809, the same shop he once shared with Hopkins. Commenting on his experience as a journeyman printer in Seymour's shop, a young Thurlow Weed wrote that

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*Have Been Published or Written on his Life and Character by the editor of the Evening Post* (New York: Printed by Hopkins and Seymour, 1804). For more on the duel and the public backlash in print, see Steven C. Smith, "'Printers, Called Republican in This City': The Power of the Political Press in Early National New York," in *The Image of Power: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery*, Will Wright and Steven Kaplan eds. (Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado State University, 2006): 264-271.

<sup>49</sup> John Mitchell Mason, *An Oration, Commemorative of the late Major-General Alexander Hamilton, Pronounced before the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati, on Tuesday, the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1804* by J.M. Mason (New-York: Printed by Hopkins and Seymour, 1804).

<sup>50</sup> "Prospectus of *The Weekly Inspector*, 30 August 1806. For a discussion of the significance of the prospectus in the early Republic, see Sloan, "The Early Party Press: The Newspaper Role in American Politics, 1788-1812." *Journalism History* 9, no. 1 (1982): 18-24.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* The "Prospectus" also promised abstracts of foreign and domestic news as well as a litany of literary and scientific articles.

My situation at the office of Mr. Seymour was a very pleasant one. We were employed upon a quarto edition of “Scott’s Family Bible,” and worked with a will, earning from twelve to fifteen dollars a week. We were at the office in the morning as soon as it was light, doing, in the summer months, a third of our day’s work before breakfast. It was a well-regulated office and most of the journeymen were intelligent and temperate. Mr. Seymour himself was a kind-hearted man, who had an encouraging word for us all, and it afforded him evident pleasure to find his journeymen coming to him on Saturday nights to receive their wages, especially if their bills were large ones.<sup>52</sup>

Thomas and James Swords, who operated their bookstore and print shop at 160 Pearl Street from 1803 to 1810 after having moved from 99 Pearl Street, present an interesting case study. The Swords brothers rose to prominence in 1790 as the publishers of the *New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository*, an eclectic monthly that varied in its coverage of topics, ranging from politics, religion, science, morality, public virtue, domestic issues, humor, literature and poetry, as well as marriage and death notices. Historian David Nord estimates that the Swords brothers devoted 46.8% of the *New-York Magazine* to “manners and morals,” a nebulous category that included “sentimental stories of love lost or found, seduction resisted or embraced,” as well as “simple expositions on virtue—with titles such as ‘Vanity,’ ‘Avarice,’ ‘On Idleness,’ ‘The Benefits of Temperance,’ or simply ‘On Virtue.’”<sup>53</sup>

Although the *New-York Magazine* had a fairly elite base of readers—President George Washington, Vice-President John Adams, Chief Justice John Jay, and New York mayor Richard Varick were subscribers—the Swords brothers distributed their monthly

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<sup>52</sup> Thurlow Weed, *Life of Thurlow Weed Including His Autobiography and a Memoir.*, 2 vols. (New York,: Da Capo Press, 1970), I: 57. For more on Thurlow Weed, see Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed, Wizard of the Lobby* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969).

<sup>53</sup> David Paul Nord, “A Republican Literature,” 52-53, Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 186-187. In addition to “manners and morals,” Nord also estimates coverage on several other categories of content: politics and government (15.3%), religion (4.9%), science and health (3.9%), household advice (1.0%), humor (4.2%), commentary on art, music, and letters (3.9%), poetry (3.9%), news briefs (3.6%), and marriages, deaths, and other vital statistics (12.6%).

publication to many of the city's artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, professionals, and non-skilled laborers, and among the subscribers to the *New-York Magazine* were printers (who made up 9.5% of the readership), booksellers, and bookbinders.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the Swords brothers professed in April 1790 their devotion to the republican notion of "equal liberty" for all classes of society, especially concerning the dissemination of knowledge in the community, asserting that

A well conducted magazine, we conceive must, from its nature, contribute greatly to diffuse knowledge throughout a community, and to create in that community a taste for literature. The universality of the subjects which it treats of will give to every profession, and every occupation, some information, while its variety holds out to every taste some gratification. From its conciseness, it will not require more time for its perusal than the most busy can well spare; and its cheapness brings with it the convenient purchase of every class of society.<sup>55</sup>

Alongside their concern for the dissemination of knowledge and a concentration on "public virtue" such as "justice, truth, benevolence, modesty, humility, mildness, and temperance," the Swords brothers published numerous essays and stories aimed primarily

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<sup>54</sup> In Appendix B, "Occupation List of Subscribers," Nord differentiates the varying occupations of subscribers to the *New-York Magazine*. Professionals: attorney, benevolent society, clerk, college, federal government official, local government official, military officer, minister, physician, college student, and teacher. Merchant: banker, broker, insurer, and merchant. Shopkeeper: boardinghouse, bookstore, grocer, ironmonger, jewelry store, livery stable, paint and glass store, porterhouse, ship chandler, store or shopkeeper, tavern, tobacco store, vendue master. Artisan: baker, barber, bookbinder, brewer, butcher, cabinetmaker, carpenter, carver and gilder, chair maker, chandler, clock/watchmaker, coach painter, cooper, copperplate printer, coppersmith, cutler, dancing master, distiller, furrier, glover, gold/silversmith, hatter, mason, mathematical instrument maker, nail maker, pewterer, pilot, printer, saddler, sail maker, sea captain, ship carpenter, ship joiner, shoemaker, tailor or mantua maker, tanner or currier, type founder, upholsterer, weaver, and whitesmith. Non-skilled: gardener, nurseryman, washer, and widow. See Nord, "A Republican Literature," 50, 60-61, Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 183, 194.

<sup>55</sup> *New York Magazine; or, Literary Repository* 1 (New York: Thomas and James Swords, April 1790): 197. For sketches of the *New-York Magazine*, see Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1930), 114-116; William Loring Andrews, "The First Illustrated Magazine Published in New York," in *The Old Booksellers of New York, and Other Papers* (New York: William Loring Andrews, 1895); Kenneth Scott and Kristin L. Gibbons, eds., *The New-York Magazine Marriages and Deaths, 1790-1797* (New Orleans: Polyauthors, 1975); Mary Rives Bowman, "Dunlap and 'The Theatrical Register' of the *New-York Magazine*," *Studies in Philology* 24 (July 1927): 413-25.



at women.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, Nord estimates that 11% of the articles in the 1790 editions “either had a woman as the main character or had a clearly identifiable female author, and many more were obviously aimed at and probably written by women.”<sup>57</sup> Echoing the conventional gendered expectations of the time, Thomas and James Swords anticipated that New York women would submit “many a poetic wreath,” simply because poetry “seems peculiarly the province of that sex, whose sweetest ornament is the mild tear that trembles in the eye of sensibility.”<sup>58</sup> Despite the seemingly trivial nature of the *New-York Magazine*’s gendered pieces—“On the Choice of a Husband,” or “On the Virtue of Acorn Coffee,” for instance—publications such as the *New-York Magazine* encouraged women to take on a more prominent role within the home, emphasizing an active family life that including managing a household and educating children.<sup>59</sup>

Aside from publishing the *New-York Magazine*, the Swords brothers printed a wide variety of genres including almanacs, eulogies, textbooks, and juvenile literature; however, evidence indicates that they specialized in subjects such as religion, literature, politics, and academic titles.<sup>60</sup> For example, from 1790 to 1800 the Swords brothers

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<sup>56</sup> *New-York Magazine* 1 (August 1790): 442.

<sup>57</sup> Nord, “A Republican Literature,” 55, Nord, *Communities of Journalism*, 189.

<sup>58</sup> *New-York Magazine* 1 (April 1790): 198. See Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 235-36

<sup>59</sup> See Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), 246-250; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 11-12; Kerber, “The Republican Ideology of the Revolutionary Generation,” *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 484-485; Susan Branson, *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 15, 23-32, 52, 102.

<sup>60</sup> These categories are derived from my own understanding of the titles published by Thomas and James Swords and are by no means binding. The totals mentioned above are derived from my own rudimentary cataloguing of titles printed by Thomas and James Swords retrieved from electronic lists generated by the Merlin System, Ellis Library, University of Missouri. <[www.mulibraries.missouri.edu](http://www.mulibraries.missouri.edu)>

published 39 religious tracts (mainly sermons and devotionals) such as John Stanford's *A Lecture on the Excellence of the Gospel of Christ* and *An Essay on the Law of God*, 23 political or public works, 25 dramatic, literary, and poetic pieces including John O'Keefe's *Wild Oats; or, the Strolling Gentleman. A Comedy in Five Acts*, and 33 academic titles authored by students graduating from Columbia College.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, prominent Manhattan doctors such as David Hosack and Peter Irving—the physician turned printer whose brief editorial career will be examined in chapter three—had their work published by Thomas and James Swords, the official “printers to the faculty of physic of Columbia College.”<sup>62</sup>

In addition to printers, booksellers were also prominent figures in the Pearl Street economy. Samuel Campbell, a bookseller listed at 124 Pearl Street, ran his successful shop for not only the entirety of the first decade of the nineteenth century, but for several years before and after, and was one of the most successful print merchants in the city. Initially an occupant of Hanover Square on the Corner of the Old Slip from 1787 to 1794, Campbell relocated to a location at 124 Pearl Street that was ideal for an educated

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<sup>61</sup> John O'Keefe, *Wild Oats; or, The Strolling Gentleman. A Comedy, in five acts. By John O'Keefe, Esquire, as performed at the theatre, New-York. By the Old American Company* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, for John Reid, bookseller and stationer, 1793); John Stanford, *A lecture on the excellence of the Gospel of Christ, and its particular influence in supporting the mind under the sufferings of human life. Delivered as introductory to a course of lectures commenced August 7, 1791, under the patronage of a select number of gentlemen in the city of New-York. By John Stanford, M.A.* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1791); Stanford, *An essay on the law of God. By John Stanford, M.A. [Two lines of Scripture text]* (New-York: Printed by Thomas and James Swords, 1791).

<sup>62</sup> See David Hosack, *An Enquiry into the Causes of Suspended Animation from Drowning; with the Means of Restoring Life. By David Hosack, M.D.* (New-York: Printed by Thomas and James Swords, 1792); Peter Irving, *An inaugural dissertation on the influenza. Submitted to the public examination of the faculty of physic, under the authority of the trustees of Columbia College, in the state of New-York, William Samuel Johnson, LL.D. president; for the degree of Doctor of Physic, on the sixth day of May, 1794. By Peter Irving, citizen of the state of New-York. [One line from Horace]* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, printers to the faculty of physic of Columbia College, 1794).

clientele—“directly opposite of the Bank of New York.”<sup>63</sup> Concerned with attracting customers to his book and stationary store, Campbell occasionally published catalogues of the books on his shelves, which were unique in their description of books and authors, whereas previous catalogues were concerned more with the title and size of the book.<sup>64</sup> Another bookseller, Thomas Arden—whose shop was located at 186 Pearl Street from 1800 to 1805—sold numerous educational titles such as Dilworth’s *The Schoolmaster’s Assistant* and Scott’s *Lessons in Elocution*.<sup>65</sup> Evert Duyckink owned and operated a book and stationary store at 110 Pearl Street from 1800 to 1810, selling various almanacs and

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<sup>63</sup> See Samuel Campbell, *Samuel Campbell’s Sale Catalogue of Books, for 1794 Comprehending Above Fifty Thousand Volumes, in Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Forming a General Assortment of the Principal Authors, Ancient and Modern* (New York: Published by Samuel Campbell, 1794).

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, Samuel Campbell, *Samuel Campbell’s Sale Catalogue for 1787 Containing Ten Thousand Volumes, Being a Choice Assortment of Books in Every Branch of Science and Literature* (New York: Catalogues delivered by Samuel Campbell, 1787); Campbell, *Samuel Campbell’s Catalogue of Books for 1789 Comprehending Above Twenty Thousand Volumes in Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature, Forming a General Assortment of the Principal Authors Ancient and Modern* (New York: Published by Samuel Campbell, 1789); Campbell, *Samuel Campbell’s Sale Catalogue of Books, for 1794 Comprehending above Fifty Thousand Volumes, in Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Forming a General Assortment of the Principal Authors, Ancient and Modern* (New York: Published by Samuel Campbell, 1794); Campbell, *Samuel Campbell’s Sale Catalogue of Books, for 1798 & 1799 Comprehending above Twenty Thousand Volumes, in Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; Forming a General Assortment of the Principal Authors, Ancient and Modern* (New York: Published by Samuel Campbell, 1798).

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, Thomas Dilworth, *The Schoolmaster’s Assistant Being a Compendium of Arithmetic, Both Practical and Theoretical to Which Is Prefixt, an Essay on the Education of Youth ...* By Thomas Dilworth (New York: Printed by Lewis Nichols for Thomas S. Arden, 1802); William Scott, *Lessons in Elocution, or, a Selection of Pieces, in Prose and Verse, for the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking* (New-York: Printed for T.S. Arden by Heard and Foreman, 1802); Samuel Davies, *Sermons on Important Subjects by Samuel Davies to Which Are Now Added, Three Occasional Sermons, Not Included in the Former Editions, Memoirs and Character of the Author and Two Sermons on Occasion of His Death by the Rev. Drs. Gibbons and Finley* (New York: Printed for T.S. Arden, 1802); Edward I. Ball, *Duties Payable on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, Imported into the United States of America, from and after the 30th June, 1804 the Duties of Tonnage, Rates of Fees, Drawbacks, &C., with the Necessary Forms for the Direction of Merchants, Masters of Vessels, and Others Doing Business at the Custom-House* (New-York: Printed for Thomas S. Arden); Mathurin Cordier and James Hardie, *Corderii Colloquia, or, Cordery’s Colloquies with a Translation of the First Forty : To Which Is Added, a Vocabulary of All the Words Which Occur in the Book, Wherein the Primitives of Compound and Derivative Words Are Minutely Traced, and the Irregularities of Anomalous Nouns and Verbs Are Particularly Mentioned* (New York: Printed for T.S. Arden); Mungo Park, *Travels and Recent Discoveries in the Interior Districts of Africa, in the Year 1796 & '97* (New York: Printed for T.S. Arden).

religious tracts in addition to J. Hamilton Moore's *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor*, a title printed by John Tiebout of Pearl Street for fellow booksellers Robert MacGill and Naphali Judah of Maiden Lane, John Reid of 106 Water and Brown & Stansbury of 114 Water, Cornelius Davis of 7 Peck-Slip, and T.B. Jansen, Stephen Stephens, and Thomas Arden of Pearl Street.<sup>66</sup>

### *Water Street*

Formerly known as Little Dock Street, Water Street began near the old Battery in Manhattan's First Ward running parallel to Pearl Street, intersecting with Wall Street, Maiden Lane, and the Peck-Slip, ending at St. James Street in the Fourth Ward. In addition to Pearl Street, Water Street was at the heart of Manhattan's business district in the early nineteenth-century, especially near the Tontine Coffee House, which served as the epicenter of transactions between Manhattan merchants.<sup>67</sup> The Coffee House, erected in the early 1790s and located on the northwest corner of Wall and Water, was organized and operated by a number of shareholders who owned among themselves 203 shares.<sup>68</sup> Overseeing the general function of the Coffee House—in addition to the shareholders—

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<sup>66</sup> See J. Hamilton Moore, *The Young gentleman and lady's monitor, and English teacher's assistant; being a collection of select pieces from our best modern writers: calculated to eradicate vulgar prejudices and rusticity of manners; improve the understanding; rectify the will; purify the passions; direct the minds of youth to the pursuit of proper objects; and to facilitate their reading, writing, and speaking the English language, with elegance and propriety. Particularly adapted for the use of our eminent schools ...* By J. Hamilton Moore. Author of the *Practical navigator, and Seaman's new daily assistant* (New York: Printed by John Tiebout, no. 358 Pearl-Street, for R. Macgill, J. Reid, J. Harrisson, E. Duyckinck, C. Davis, Brown and Stansbury, T.B. Jansen, S. Stevens, N. Judah, T. Arden, A. Summervill, Bell and Smith., 1799); Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800).

<sup>67</sup> See, for example, John J. Skidmore and Wilmot Oakley. *For Sale, at Public Auction, on the First Day of March Next, at the Tontine Coffee-House, in the City of New-York, If Not Previously Disposed of at Private Sale That Very Valuable Farm, Mansion House, and out Houses, the Late Country Seat of the Rev. Abraham Keteltas Deceased* (New York: Printed by John Tiebout, No. 358 Pearl-Street, 1799); Gordon Saltonstall Mumford, *The Memorial of Ship-Owners and Others Interested in Foreign Commerce, Convened ... At the Tontine Coffee House in the City of New-York the 17th January 1817* (Washington, D.C.: s.n., 1817).

<sup>68</sup> *The Constitution and Nominations of the Subscribers to the Tontine Coffee-House* (New York [s.n.], 1796), 1.

was a committee of five trustees, the original appointments being John Brome, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, William Laight, and John Watts.<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, among the numerous merchants and gentlemen who owned shares, Francis Childs—editor of the *New York Daily Advertiser* from 1785-1796—owned one share in the Coffee House.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, the Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures—known colloquially among contemporaries as the New York Manufacturing Society—was formed by a committee of prominent local businessmen at Rawson’s Tavern on Water Street, just a few blocks from the Tontine Coffee House, and was headed by Chatham Street brewer White Matlock and Melancthon Smith, a merchant-politician who was highly recognized in Manhattan’s business district.<sup>71</sup>

Although not as densely populated with printers, booksellers, and bookbinders as Pearl Street, Water Street was nonetheless a similar hub for members of this community to thrive for many years. From 1800 to 1810 the city directories listed 44 printers, 50 booksellers, and 18 bookbinders, nearly doubling the total number of listings for the next most populated street.<sup>72</sup> As Figure 1.13 illustrates below, the ebb and flow of growth and subtle decline on Water Street resembled Pearl Street, as seen above in Figure 1.12. For

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas E.V. Smith, *The City of New York in the Year of Washington’s Inauguration, 1789* (Riverside, Conn.: Chatham Press, 1973), 108; Sidney Irving Pomerantz, *New York, An American City, 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life* (Port Washington, NY: I.J. Friedman, 1965), 197. Both Matlock and Smith were subscribers to Thomas and James Swords’ *New-York Magazine*. See Preface to *New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository* 1 (New York: Thomas and James Swords, 1790), viii.

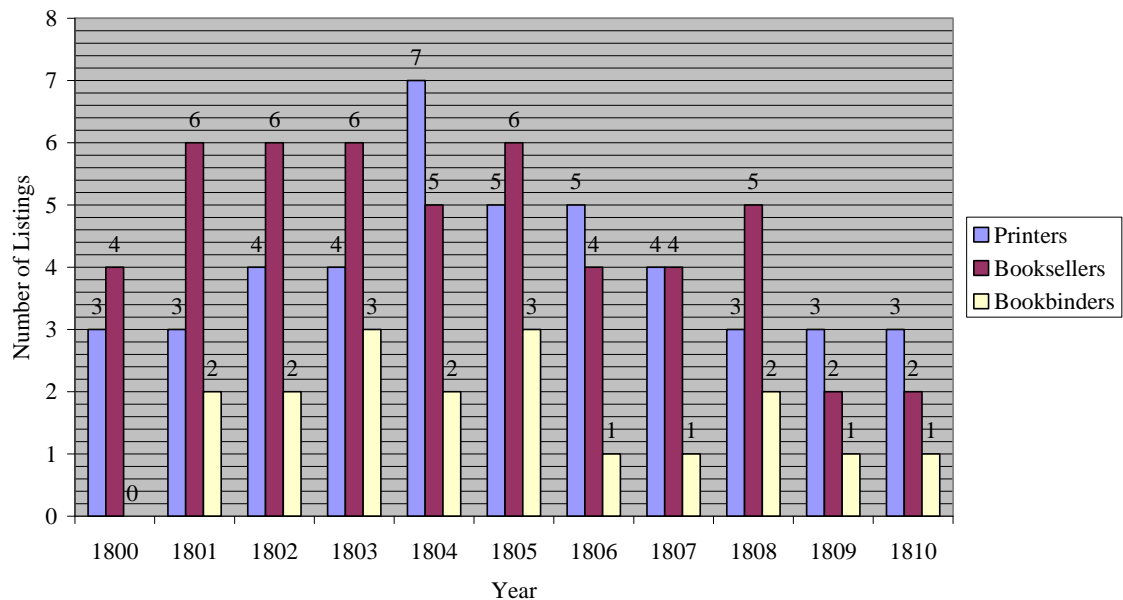
<sup>72</sup> Total Number of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders Listed at Water Street Addresses, 1800-1810.

| <i>Street Name</i> | <i>Printers</i> | <i>Booksellers</i> | <i>Bookbinders</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <b>Water</b>       | 44              | 50                 | 18                 | 112          |

Source: Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

example, in 1800, there were only 3 printers and 4 booksellers listed with Water Street addresses and by 1804 the number of printers and booksellers increased to 7 and 5 respectively, as well as the addition of 2 bookbinders.<sup>73</sup> This trend leveled off somewhat after 1804, however, as only 5 printers, 4 booksellers, and 1 bookbinder worked on Water Street in 1806 and by 1810 only 3 printers, 2 booksellers, and 1 bookbinder owned shops on Water Street.<sup>74</sup>

**Figure 1.13: Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders Listed at Water Street Addresses, 1800-1810**



Similar to the pattern discussed above regarding Pearl Street occupants, many printers, booksellers, and bookbinders were listed in the city directories with Water Street addresses for several years. Monteath M’Farlane, a printer who resided at 290 Water Street from 1801 to 1805, published the *Columbian Gazette*, a Federalist weekly paper

<sup>73</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800 and 1804).

<sup>74</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1804, 1805, 1806, 1810).

edited by J. M. Williams. Bookseller John Reid operated out of his 106 Water Street shop for the entirety of the first decade of the nineteenth-century, selling titles such as John Remney's *An Account of the Present State of Egypt* and Constantin-François Volney's *The Ruins: or, A Survey of the Revolutions of Empires*.<sup>75</sup> James Oram, a printer and bookseller, published the *New-York Price-Current* and the *Ladies' Weekly Museum* from his print and stationary store on 102 and later 114 Water Street.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to Oram, the long-standing *New-York Price-Current*—one of the city's first business newspapers—was also published by Alexander Ming and William Young from 1804 to 1805.<sup>77</sup> Ming and Young moved into Oram's old printing office at 102 Water Street after Oram relocated to 114 Water. Together, Ming and Young published the *Weekly Visitor* in 1802 before relinquishing their duties to John Clough. Although his wife and Young died in 1804 and 1805, respectively, Ming—who had been a printer in New York since 1796—continued to publish newspapers such the *Price-Current* until

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<sup>75</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810). John Remney, *An account of the present state of Egypt. Containing: its situation, extent and divisions; rivers, bays, harbours and capes; climate, diseases, air, soil and productions; chief towns, population, manners, customs, and a description of the various inhabitants ... Compiled by John Remmey, with occasional notes. To which is added, an appendix, containing an authentic and impartial account of the naval action in the road of Aboukir ... The whole illustrated by a map of Egypt and part of Syria, from the latest and best authorities* (New-York: Printed for John Reid, no. 106 Water Street, by M.L. & W.A. Davis, 1799); Constantin-François Volney, *The ruins: or A survey of the revolutions of empires. By M. Volney, one of the deputies of the National Assembly of 1789, and author of Travels into Syria and Egypt. Translated from the French. [Six lines from Volney]* (New-York: Printed by William A. Davis, for E. Duyckink & Co. T. & J. Swords, N. Judah, Rogers & Berry, Fellows & Adam, J. Reid, J. Harrison, D. Dunham, T. Allen, P.A. Mesier, and B. Gomez, booksellers, 1796).

<sup>76</sup> Oram is listed as a printer and bookseller at 102 Water Street from 1800 to 1803, and later at 114 Water Street in 1807 and 1808. Oram printed the *New York Price Current* in 1796 and the short-lived *Ladies' Weekly Museum* in 1817. See, Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1804, 1807, 1808).

<sup>77</sup> Because its publication continually changed hands, the *New-York Price-Current* carried, at one time or another, several unique mastheads, including *The New-York Prices Current* (1797), *Oram's New-York Price-Current*, and *Marine Register* (1797-1799), *Ming & Young's New-York Price Current* (1804-1805), *Ming's New-York Price-Current* (1805-1817), and *Dickinson's (Formerly) Ming's New-York Price-Current* (1813).

1813 and *Daily Items, For Merchants* from 1815 to 1816.<sup>78</sup> In 1804, the pair advertised in their newspaper the availability of “a general assortment of stationary, seaman’s articles” as well as “blank books, best english letter paper, quills, wafers, sealing wax, ink-powder, and lead pencils” at their 102 Water Street office.<sup>79</sup> In 1806, Ming—in addition to printing the *Price-Current*—began publishing various local and national almanacs. Initially, Ming printed and sold *Hutchins Improved: Being an Almanack and Ephemeris* by John Nathan Hutchins alongside his own *Ming’s New-York Pocket Almanac* and *Ming’s United States Register*.<sup>80</sup> However, by 1818 Ming consolidated his *United States Register* with *Hutchins Improved*, the result being *Mings’ Hutchins’ Improved; Being an Almanac and Ephemeris*.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, between 1806 and 1819, Alexander Ming published at least 30 almanacs and registers, and only rarely did he stray

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<sup>78</sup> For the announcement of his wife’s death, see *Columbian Centinel*, 22 August 1804. David Longworth, Abraham Shoemaker, and Elkanah Tisdale, *The American Almanack, New-York Register, and City Directory, for the Twenty-First Year of American Independence Containing Most Things Useful in a Work of the Kind and Embellished with an Accurate Map of the City, and a Perspective of the Tontine City Tavern* (New-York: Printed for the editor, by T. & J. Swords, no. 99 Pearl-Street). For discussion of Alexander Ming, see Mark A. Lause, “The ‘Unwashed Infidelity’: Thomas Paine and Early New York City Labor History,” *Labor History* 27, no. 3 (1986): 394; Lause, *Some Degree of Power*, 135, 222 n. 11; Gilbert Vale, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: Gilbert Vale, 1841), 159; Alfred Lorenz, *Hugh Gaine: A Colonial Printer-Editor’s Odyssey to Loyalism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), 141-142; Walter Edward Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen’s Movement, 1829-1837* (Paolo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1967), 90.

<sup>79</sup> *Ming & Young’s New-York Price-Current*, 13 October 1804.

<sup>80</sup> John Nathan Hutchins, *Hutchins improved: being an almanack and ephemeris ... for the year of our Lord 1807 ... By John Nathan Hutchins, philom* (New-York: Printed and sold by Alexander Ming, no. 102 Water Street, 1806); Alexander Ming, *Ming’s New-York pocket almanac, for the year 1806 ... Calculated for this and the neighboring states. ... By Abr’m. Shoemaker, philo* (New-York: Printed by Alex. Ming, 102 Water Street, 1805); Alexander Ming, *Ming’s United States register, and New-York pocket almanac, for the year 1807 ... Calculated for this and the neighboring states. ... By Abr’m. Shoemaker, philo*. (New-York: Printed by Alex. Ming, 102 Water Street, 1806).

<sup>81</sup> Alexander Ming, *Mings’ Hutchins’ Improved; being an Almanac and Ephemeris...for the Year of our Lord 1819* (New-York: Printed and published by Alexander Ming, 1818).



from this pattern and print other genres.<sup>82</sup> John Tiebout, another printer/bookseller, conducted business from various Water Street addresses: 246 Water from 1800 to 1803, and 238 Water from 1804 to 1809, and along with Thomas Burling, published the short-lived *New-York Tablet* from 1797 to 1798.<sup>83</sup>

### *Maiden Lane and the Fly Market*

Printers, booksellers, and bookbinders owned shops on several other streets in the Old East. Maiden Lane, for example, connects Broadway, which runs northeast from the Old Battery, with Pearl Street. In the early nineteenth-century, Maiden Lane was part of a burgeoning retail district consisting of unique specialty shops that also lined Broadway and William Street, continuing a trend that began in the early eighteenth-century. When New York was a proprietary British colony, Maiden Lane was one of the major commercial streets near the East River waterfront, housing, by 1728, one of the five municipal marketplaces where colonists shopped for food and other provisions. Moreover, by the beginning of the nineteenth-century, “the city-run system of public markets was flourishing.”<sup>84</sup> The oldest market in the city, the Fly Market, at the

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<sup>82</sup> For example, in 1806 Ming published *The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: together with the psalter, or, Psalms of David* (New-York: Printed by Alexander Ming, no. 102 Water-Street, 1806), and in 1815 he sold B.T. Onderdonk’s *Observations on a late pamphlet, containing strictures on Bishop Hobart’s pastoral letter, on the subject of Bible and Common prayer book societies* (New-York: Published by D. Longworth, no. 11 Park, 1815). Also, Ming printed one theatrical piece by Michael Kelly titled *Cinderella, or, The little glass slipper: a grand pantomimic spectacle, as got up at the New-York Theatre, under the direction of Mr. Twaits with entire new scenery, machinery, dresses and decorations* (New-York: Printed by Alexander Ming, 1808).

<sup>83</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809).

<sup>84</sup> Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 354. For Maiden lane, see also, pp. 30, 54, 88, 125, 159, 304, 340, 354, 437, 439, 597, 651.

southeastern tip of Maiden Lane at the intersection of Front Street, consisted of several market houses that sold meat, produce, and fish.<sup>85</sup>

Given Maiden Lane's history of being more of a marketplace for goods and less of an area for transactions between merchants, traders, and businessmen, there were considerably fewer printers and bookbinders. For example, only three print shops were listed between 1800 and 1810 with Maiden Lane addresses in the city directories. The print shop and stationary store owned by brothers George and Robert Waite, on the other hand, was fairly successful. Indeed, their two shops—which published the weekly newspaper *The Remembrancer* from 1804 to 1806 and the *Weekly Messenger* from 1811 to 1813—were listed at two different Maiden Lane addresses from 1800 to 1810: 64 Maiden Lane from 1801 to 1804 and 38 Maiden Lane from 1806 to 1810, although *The Remembrancer* indicates that the Waite brothers operated both shops in 1805.<sup>86</sup>

*The Remembrancer*, despite containing bits and pieces of local and international news, was concerned primarily with advertising items sold at George and Robert Waite's book stores and print shops at 38 and 64 Maiden Lane. For example, the Waite brothers asserted that their printing services were “executed in a superior stile of elegance, and on more reasonable terms than can possibly be done at any other office” in New York City, claiming to possess “an additional assortment of FANCY, & ORNAMENTAL TYPE.”<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> According to Burrows and Wallace, the mayor of the city served as the overseer of the market. He, along with the city council, “regulated deputy clerks, markers and sealers of weights and measures, inspectors, porters, packers, and cullers, and city prohibited forestalling, engrossing, and regrating and paid close attention to sanitary conditions (oysters could not be sold between June 1 and September 30). As a result, the quality of food sold in New York City was generally good.” Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 354.

<sup>86</sup> *The Remembrancer*, 1 July 1805. Although *The Remembrancer* was published from 1804 to 1806, this is the only existing edition available for historians.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

In addition to numerous “VALUABLE AND ENTERTAINING BOOKS,” George and Robert Waite offered a selection of unique items for public consumption.<sup>88</sup> For instance, the Waites stocked lozenges “for effectually destroying worms in children and grown persons,” pills for the “cure of Outward and Inward Piles,” lotion from Scotland for “the ITCH,” eye salve, as well as a wide variety of “genuine patent medicines” designed to ameliorate various every-day maladies such as nervous disorders, toothaches, hoarseness, headaches, and rheumatism.<sup>89</sup>

In addition to the book and stationary stores owned by George and Robert Waite, several competing booksellers owned shops on Maiden Lane and at the Fly Market. Robert Macgill, for example, owned a book and stationary store at 24 Maiden Lane from 1800 to 1802, and in 1803 he relocated down the street to 118 Fly Market, where he operated a successful store for the remainder of the decade, selling various textbooks ranging from Noah Webster’s *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking*, John Ash’s *Grammatical Institutes, or an Easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth’s English Grammar*, and Thomas Dilworth’s *The Schoolmaster’s Assistant*, which was printed for Macgill by George and Robert Waite.<sup>90</sup> William Durell owned a shop at 106

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810). See Noah Webster, *An American selection of lessons in reading and speaking. Calculated to improve the minds and refine the taste of youth. To which are prefixed rules in elocution, and directions for expressing the principal passions of the mind. Being the third part of A grammatical institute of the English language. By Noah Webster, Jun. Author of "Dissertations of the English language," "Collection of essays and fugitive writings," "The prompter," etc.* (New-York: Printed for E. Duychink, R. Macgill, N. Judah, P.A. Mesier, C. Davis, J. Harrison, and B. Gomez, 1799); John Ash, *Grammatical institutes, or An easy introduction to Dr. Lowth’s English grammar: designed for the use of schools, and to lead young gentlemen and ladies into the knowledge of the first principles of the English language. By John Ash, LL.D. With an appendix, containing, I. The declension of irregular and defective verbs. II. The application of the grammatical institutes. III. Some useful observations on the ellipsis. IV. Exercises of bad English. V. Lessons on the English language. To which are added, select lessons, to instil*

Maiden Lane from 1801 to 1806, at which time he moved to Vernick Street in 1807, Vanicle in 1808, and finally to 19 Magazine in 1809 and then 91 Magazine in 1810.<sup>91</sup> William Falconer appeared to be a bookseller who could not compete with more prominent shops and, as a result, was frequently on the move from place to place, selling a “select assortment of BOOKS, Classical, Scientific and Miscellaneous” in addition to “various articles of Stationary.”<sup>92</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, he owned a shop at 94 Water Street for two years before moving to 112 Pearl Street in 1802, 106 Maiden Lane in 1803, finally ending up back at 112 Pearl Street from 1804 to 1805 amidst competition from booksellers such as Thomas and James Swords and Samuel Campbell.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, Maiden Lane was home to many occupants such William Barlas who was only able to own a Maiden Lane shop for one year, the certain casualty of a highly competitive market, especially given that advertisements promoting Barlas’s

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*just sentiments of virtue into youth, and a collections of books, proper for young gentlemen and ladies, to shorten the path of knowledge.* (New-York: Printed by J. Buel for E. Duyckinck & Co. Robert Macgill & Peter A. Messier, 1798); Thomas Dilworth, *The schoolmaster's assistant; being a compendium of arithmetic both practical and theoretical. In five parts. ... The whole being delivered in the most familiar way of question and answer ... To which is prefixed, an essay on the education of youth humbly offered to the consideration of parents. By Thomas Dilworth, author of the New guide to the English tongue, &c.* (New-York: Printed by G. and R. Waite, for T.S. Arden, T.B. Jansen and Co., J. Tiebout, C. Davis, J. Harris, S. Stephens, P.A. Messier, B. Gomez, W. Falconer, R. Macgill, Bell and Smith, 1800).

<sup>91</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809).

<sup>92</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 24 July 1804. a 1799 advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* boasted a “large variety of other valuable works” in divinity, history, biography, travel, law, physics, surgery, anatomy, chemistry, botany, arts and sciences, geography, poetry and drama, novels and romances, as well as various text books. *New-York Daily Advertiser*, 9 November 1799.

<sup>93</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809).

store only listed “books suiting a library” such as classic Latin and Greek texts in addition to advanced biblical, scientific, and medicinal titles.<sup>94</sup>

### *Pine Street*

Curiously, from 1800 to 1810 the city directories do not list either booksellers or bookbinders on Pine Street, whereas 22 printers and editors worked on Pine Street. Located near the large enclave of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders on Pearl, Water, and Maiden Lane, Pine Street began at Broadway, cutting southeast across lower Manhattan, running parallel to Wall Street and intersecting Pearl, Water, and Front Streets, concluding at the East River docks in addition to serving as the dividing line between the First and Second Wards shown above in Figure 1.7. Furthermore, the actual name of “Pine Street” is a curiosity in and of itself. Part of the city’s attempt to re-make its identity in the wake of the American Revolution, in 1794 the streets formerly known as King, Little Queen, Prince, Princess, Queen, and Duke were renamed as Liberty, Pine, Cedar, Rose, Beaver, Pearl, and Stone, respectively.<sup>95</sup>

One of the most prominent printing partnerships in early nineteenth-century New York was located at 40 Pine Street. Founded in November 1801 through the considerable financial influence of Robert Troup and Alexander Hamilton, the *New-York Evening Post* was published by Master Printer Michael Burnham for the editor William Coleman,

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<sup>94</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 19 December 1801. One year occupants on Maiden Lane: Charles Smith, 52 Maiden Lane (1800); William Barlas, 114 Maiden Lane (1802); David Bliss, 56 Maiden Lane (1805); J. Flanagan, 110 Maiden Lane (1807); Thomas Kirk, 48 Maiden Lane (1805); Alexander Ming, 102 Maiden Lane (1806). See Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810).

<sup>95</sup> Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 363. The renaming of Pine Street was part of a general overhaul that witnessed several streets named after Revolutionary War heroes, including: Broome, Clinton, Duane, Franklin, Gansevoort, Greene, Horatio (Gates), King, Lafayette, Madison, Mercer, MacDougal (street and alley), Willet, and Wooster.

hand-picked by Hamilton who, after raising over \$10,000, was able to pay the editor a \$2,000 salary in addition to purchasing the handsome brick building on Pine Street and supplying it with four new typographical fonts and a generous store of premium white paper, elements which set the *Evening Post* apart from other newspapers in the city that relied on blue paper and worn-out type face.<sup>96</sup>

Historians have noted that Hamilton established the *Evening Post* “as his personal organ,” and was known to have periodically authored anonymous essays for the paper.<sup>97</sup> The editor proclaimed in his “Prospectus” that “though we openly profess our attachment to that system of politics denominated FEDERAL, because we think it the most conducive to the welfare of the community,” Coleman wanted the *Evening Post* to “be equally free to all parties,” stating rather timidly that “the cause of Federalism has received as much injury from the indiscreet contentions.”<sup>98</sup> Despite such lofty expectations, the *Evening Post* would ultimately become—alongside Cheetham’s *American Citizen* and Peter Irving’s *Morning Chronicle* and short-lived *Corrector*—one of the most viciously partisan dailies in early nineteenth-century New York. Accordingly, one of Coleman’s co-sponsors in the venture noted the partisanship of the young Federalist attorney. “Coleman is very jealous and devoted to the federal cause,”

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<sup>96</sup> Pasley, “*The Tyranny of Printers*,” 237-238. For Coleman, see also Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), 17 ff., 19-20; Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism*, 137, 166, 186, 309, 319, 351.

<sup>97</sup> “Hamilton on the Louisiana Purchase: A Newly Identified Editorial from the *New York Evening Post*,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 12 (April 1955): 271. This edition of the *Quarterly* was devoted entirely to Alexander Hamilton. See also John Kyle Day, “The Federalist Press and Slavery in the Age of Jefferson,” *The Historian* 65, no.6 (2003): 1314.

<sup>98</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 17 November 1801. For discussion of the zeal in which the *American Citizen*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *The Corrector* attacked political opponents, see chapters two and three.

wrote Robert Troup in a letter to fellow Federalist Rufus King, “but his paper is that of the scholar and the gentleman.”<sup>99</sup>

Coleman’s long year career as editor of the *Evening Post* was precarious and often times perilous. Indeed, given his tendency to inflame the passions of his rivals in both the Republican Party and New York’s publishing community, Coleman often found himself at the wrong end of a dispute, nearly dying in one instance as a result of a severe beating which permanently affected his health.<sup>100</sup> Coleman, however, was not afraid to put down his pen and roll up his sleeves for a good brawl. Political tensions were so charged between Coleman and James Cheetham that, after learning of a challenge to a duel emanated from the *American Citizen’s* Pearl Street office, Coleman instead fought with a Republican harbormaster named Thompson, in which the unfortunate Thompson was shot and killed by the editor of the *Evening Post*.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Robert Troup to Rufus King, 6 June 1802, in Charles King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King; Comprising His Letters, Private and Official, His Public Documents, and His Speeches* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1894), IV: 136.

<sup>100</sup> Nevins, *The Evening Post*, 49. See also Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), 69. Accosting a newspaper editor was not uncommon in the early Republic. For example, Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane, editors of the Philadelphia *Aurora* were the targets of numerous assaults, especially Duane, who was beaten so severely in 1799 by a band of Federalists that he very nearly died. James Thomson Callendar was assaulted by an incensed reader in 1803. In June 1812 an angry mob destroyed the office of the Baltimore *Federal Republican*, forcing the paper to suspend publication for five weeks. Alexander C. Hanson, the editor of the *Federal Republican*, died as a result of the attack in addition to two Revolutionary War soldiers, General Henry Lee and General James M. Lingan, who tried in vain to protect the office. See John C. Nerone, *Violence against the Press: Policing the Public Sphere in U.S. History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Kim T. Phillips, “William Duane, Philadelphia’s Democratic Republicans, and the Origins of Modern Politics,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101, no. 3 (1977); Kim Tousley Phillips, *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: Garland Pub., 1989); Jeffery Alan Smith, *Franklin and Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); James Tagg, *Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Philadelphia Aurora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

<sup>101</sup> Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism*, 186; Charles H. Levermore, “The Rise of Metropolitan Journalism, 1800-1840,” *The American Historical Review* 6, no. 3 (1901), 449. For more on the tumultuous and often times unique relationship between Cheetham and Coleman, see Smith, “Printers, Called Republican in This City,” 264-271.

### *Organization and Identity Among Printers and Booksellers*

Journeyman printers in New York City, often dissatisfied with working conditions in shops, utilized their capacity to communicate in order to not only organize themselves into powerful political units, but to create a community identity. Their unique ability to create printed material for public consumption placed them well ahead of fellow artisan labor societies regarding the announcement of proposals, the keeping of records, public notices of meetings, as well as the infrastructure to foster internal, community-based growth. Indeed, commonality and mutually-shared interests spread through public discourse, according to Benedict Anderson, set the stage for the development of a community identity.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, New York booksellers—led by Pearl Street shopkeepers—were active in organizing trade associations and book fairs aimed at producing American editions that could compete in domestic and international marketplaces.

In 1801, New York booksellers Thomas and James Swords, as well as Hugh Gaine, were appointed by the American Company of Booksellers to arrange the first literary fair to be held in the city in June 1802. Gaine, along with several of his contemporaries, “entertained the guests of the Literary Fair in Boardin’s Long Room at the Coffee House in Beaver Street,” and the success of the fair in New York that it led to similar ventures in Philadelphia the following year and again in Gotham in 1804.<sup>103</sup> At the 1804 fair, a new constitution for the American Company of Booksellers was adopted, providing for a Board of Directors representing Boston, New York, Philadelphia,

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<sup>102</sup> Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983), 6.

<sup>103</sup> Morgan, *The New York Employing Printers*, 30-31. See also Adolf Growoll, *Book-Trade Bibliography in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dibdin Club, 1898).



Baltimore, Troy, and Albany that could “impose rules concerning transactions of the company and the awarding of premiums,” in addition to determining “the price and quality of books exhibited at the Fair.”<sup>104</sup> Representing New York on the Board of Directors was James Swords of 160 Pearl Street and John T. Hopkins of 118 Pearl Street.<sup>105</sup> Consequently, the fairs organized by the American Company of Booksellers did not extend beyond 1805 as a result of a Yellow Fever epidemic that swept through New York in 1805. Despite its relatively short existence, the American Company of Booksellers fostered a sense of importance for American printers by urging consumers to purchase domestically-printed newspapers, pamphlets, and books, as well as urging the U.S. Congress to legislate a protective tariff to ward off competition from European printers. Indeed, as Thomas Ringwood noted in his address to the Franklin Typographical Association of New York,

Formerly the extent of the business carried on in our line went not beyond the daily news-papers, and a few of the lower order of books for use of schools. Now we not only supply the market with editions of the useful, but with almost all the elegant works; numbers of which are executed in a style equal to any from Europe, particularly those from the presses of Messrs. Swords, Hopkins, Oram, Collins, Heard, and others in this city...It is also a subject of congratulation to us, that the efforts of the associated printers and booksellers have been so far successful as to produce American Editions of several classical works of considerable magnitude, which would not have been otherwise undertaken.<sup>106</sup>

Stemming from the initial success of the American Company of Booksellers, in 1802 the New York Association of Text Book Sellers was founded. Professing to publish “correct American editions of such elementary works as are in general use in our schools,

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<sup>104</sup> Morgan, *The New York Employing Printers*, 31.

<sup>105</sup> Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, 1804.

<sup>106</sup> Ringwood, *An Address, Delivered Before the Franklin Typographical Association of New York*, 18.

academies, and colleges” as well as for “the publication of such other books as may be interesting to the community or conducive to the advancement of general knowledge,” members of the New York Association of Text Book Sellers were active in the American Company of Booksellers, yet sought more localized reform.<sup>107</sup> What is noteworthy about members such as Thomas and James Swords (160 Pearl Street), George F. Hopkins (118 Pearl), Peter Messier (107 Pearl Street), Thomas S. Arden (186 Pearl Street), William Falconer (112 Pearl Street), Evert Duychink (110 Pearl), Isaac Collins & Co. (189 Pearl Street), and T.B. Jansen & Co. (248 Pearl Street), is that each bookseller—except James Oram, who resided nearby at 114 Water Street—owned either a print shop, bookstore, or both with a Pearl Street address.<sup>108</sup>

Numerous members of the community were also involved with efforts to set price lists and wages for journeymen printers. The earliest attempt to regulate prices for printers in the city was by Thomas Greenleaf, editor of the *Argus* who, in 1791 encouraged “a more universal Circulation” of the Laws of the State of New York by reprinting and distributing for “only THREE DOLLARS”—when the previous price was five dollars—a revised edition to be “printed on a small Type, in a convenient octavo form,” compiled in “two Volumes of between 4 and 500 Pages each.”<sup>109</sup> In 1795 Greenleaf was again involved, along with several other members of the community, in issuing a price list for items such as items printed in various languages, cards, handbills,

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<sup>107</sup> Morgan, *The New York Employing Printers*, 32.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-33. Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register*, 1802.

<sup>109</sup> Thomas Greenleaf, *To the Public: The Just Observation, That a Greater Proportion of Harmony and Good Will Always Subsist in That Community, Whose Inhabitants Have Acquired a General Knowledge of Its Laws, Together with the Rapid Increase of the Inhabitants of This State, Evince the Necessity of a Further Distribution of the Laws of This State ... Proposals for Re-Printing, by Subscription, a Correct Edition of the Revised Laws of the State of New-York* (New York: Printed by Thomas Greenleaf, 1791).

“common-work...of which 1000 copies are printed,” as well as indicating that “the person employing the printer” shall “furnish paper.”<sup>110</sup> This interesting handbill lists the signatures of several prominent New York City master printers, including George Forman, Archibald M’Lean, John Buel, Thomas and James Swords, George Bunce & Co., William A. Davis, and John Tiebout. Wages were regulated so strictly by the printers listed on the handbill that if any journeyman printer did “work at a less rate than is here established, we will forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be appropriated as a majority of shall think proper.”<sup>111</sup>

In response to the efforts of shop-owners to regulate the wage scale, journeymen printers began to organize trade unions, the first of which appeared in 1794 and was known only as the Typographical Society. The first meeting, according to the *Diary, or Evening Register*, was to be “held, agreeable to the constitution, on Saturday evening next at Mr. Stillwell’s, near the ferry stairs, Fly Market—at which time and place the members are requested punctually to attend.”<sup>112</sup> Despite its brief existence—three and a half years—the society succeeded in gaining an increase in wages for journeymen as well as distributing the 1795 price list discussed above.<sup>113</sup>

Soon after the dissolution of the first typographical union, New York journeymen printers founded the Franklin Typographical Association in 1799, although printers in the

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<sup>110</sup> *New-York, May 18, 1795. The Following Are the Established Prices of Printing, Done at the Respective Offices of the Subscribers* (New York: s.n., 1795).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Diary, or Evening Register*, 3 July 1794.

<sup>113</sup> Silver, *The American Printer*, 15; George A. Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6; Study of a Modern Trade Union and Its Predecessors* (Albany: J. B. Lyon company, state printers, 1913), 36; George E. Barnett, “The Printers: A Study in American Trade Unionism,” *American Economic Association Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1909): 3; Ethelbert Stewart, “A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers,” *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* 61 (1905), 863.

city began advertising the possibility of forming a union as early as November 1798. A notice that appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* signed by “A number of journeymen” requested that “all the journeymen printers in this city are particularly requested to attend a meeting, to be held at the house of A.B. Martling, corner of George and Nassau streets...on business of the utmost importance.”<sup>114</sup> The constitution that was signed by fifty members in 1799 stated that the association was to promote “harmony among journeymen” and seek out philanthropic opportunities in the community.<sup>115</sup>

Despite the lofty language of the society’s constitution, the primary focus of the Franklin Typographical Association was to fix a scale of prices for the city’s journeymen. The lack of a price scale for printers in the city made public and private life difficult. Indeed, journeymen were “in financial straits so frequently that the ownership of an office was hard to determine,” because “a journeyman one month was an employer the next, and frequently two or three journeymen would pool their cash and then dissolve partnership.”<sup>116</sup> These business patterns explain the frequency of not only print shops that appeared for only one year in the directories, but the permanence of several printers in the community, given their ties to long-standing newspapers who, according to R. H. Cressingham, “had the best situations.”<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, the Franklin Typographical Association succeeded in inaugurating “the first complete wage scale ever adopted by New York City printers,” aided by a strike in 1800 by journeymen printers that brought

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<sup>114</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 24 November 1798. For the political implications of meeting at Martling’s Tavern, see Cornog, *The Birth of Empire*, 76, 96, 109, 113, 116, 183; Mushkat, *Tammany*, 30, 34, 41-42, 38-40, 44.

<sup>115</sup> Silver, *The American Printer*, 15; Stevens, *New York Typographical Union*, 37. According to Silver, the Constitution of the Franklin Typographical Association has been lost.

<sup>116</sup> R.H. Cressingham, *Official Annual of Typographical Union No. 6*. (March 1892)

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

forth its enforcement.<sup>118</sup> George A. Stevens notes that the members of the Association demanded at least “\$7 per week in book and job offices and \$8 a week on newspapers.”<sup>119</sup>

George and David Bruce were “two of the most diligent members of members of the organization,” who would eventually become “prominently identified with the business life of New York.”<sup>120</sup> David Bruce was elected as the association’s first vice-president and his brother David as secretary, the result of “the substantial standing which already he had attained in his craft.”<sup>121</sup>

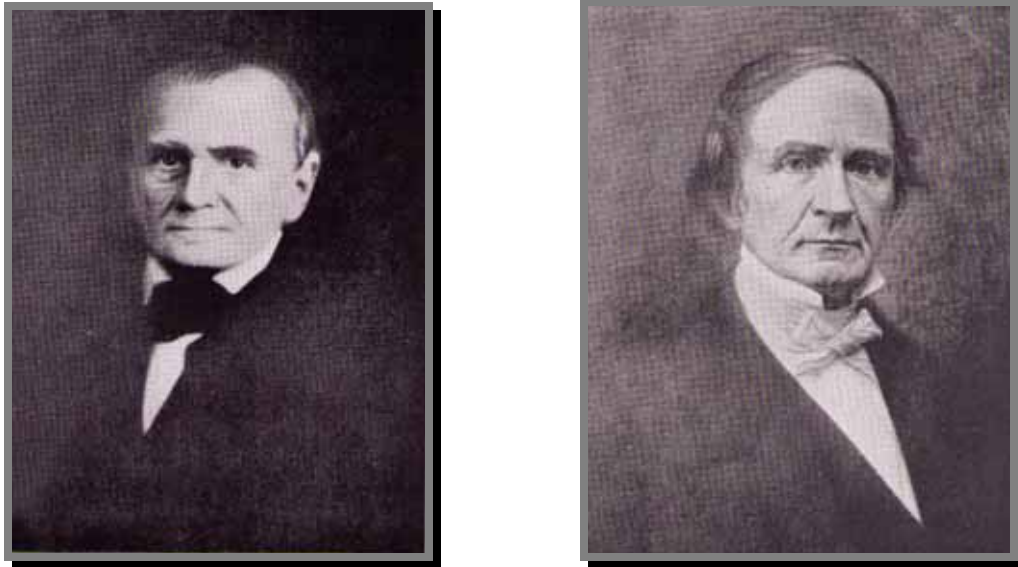


Figure 1.14: David and George Bruce, ca. 1799.  
George A Stevens, *New York Typographical Union Number Six*  
(Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, 1913), 37-38.

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<sup>118</sup> Stewart, “A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers,” 860, 863; Silver, *The American Printer*, 15.

<sup>119</sup> Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 39.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>121</sup> Lyman Horace Weeks, *Book of Bruce; Ancestors and Descendants of King Robert of Scotland. Being an Historical and Genealogical Survey of the Kingly and Noble Scottish House of Bruce and a Full Account of Its Principal Collateral Families. With Special Reference to the Bruces of Clackmannan, Culmalindie, Caithness, and the Shetland Islands, and Their American Descendants.* (New York: The Americana Society, 1907), 322.

Arriving in Manhattan in 1799 by way of Scotland in 1793, Philadelphia in 1798, and Albany in 1799, the Bruce brothers immediately distinguished themselves among New York printers. While in Philadelphia, the Bruce brothers mingled with Thomas Paine, whose influence impacted later movements by New York journeymen printers to unionize.<sup>122</sup> Indeed, David Bruce “had frequent opportunities of seeing Mr. Paine at the printing office in which he was engaged,” and it was Paine’s “usual custom” to invite Bruce and his fellow printers “to partake of a supper and refreshments which he had ordered at a hotel in the vicinity.”<sup>123</sup> The members of this “Universal Society” connected with the mind of Paine worked to ameliorate the rights and claims dispossessed workers as “a right, and not a charity.”<sup>124</sup>

For the Bruce brothers, life in New York’s community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, while certainly fulfilling regarding their activity within the trade union, was fairly dull, offering little by way of immediate financial success. Initially, George Bruce worked as a compositor for James Chevalier’s *Mercantile Advertiser* on 68 Pine Street while David worked as a pressman. Soon thereafter, George moved from shop to shop doing miscellaneous work for Isaac Collins at 189 Pearl Street and John Woods on Chapel Street.<sup>125</sup> In 1802, George went to work for Robert Wilson at the *Daily Advertiser*, assuming publication of the paper from 1803 to 1805, at which time he

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<sup>122</sup> See Lause, “The ‘Unwashed Infidelity.’” According to Lause, the free-thought ideas of Thomas Paine influenced the craftsmen of New York City in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, providing the radical ideological mindset in order to unionize.

<sup>123</sup> David Bruce, J., “Reminisces of Thomas Paine,” *The Truth Seeker* 6 (February 8, 1879): 87.

<sup>124</sup> Philip Fonder, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Citadel Press, 1945); 617, 433-39; Lause, “The ‘Unwashed Infidelity,’” 402.

<sup>125</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register*, (1800, 1801, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1808).

relinquished those duties to James and Samuel Bayard in favor of entering into a partnership with his brother at 156 Pearl Street. By 1809, George Bruce's decision to forego his career as printer of the *Daily Advertiser*—a risky venture considering that it brought constant work—proved to be fortuitous, for he and David eventually built “the largest printing office in new York,” that included “nine double-pull wooden hand presses.”<sup>126</sup> Indeed, an 1809 advertisement in the *American Citizen* for “two or three PRESSMEN” who were promised “constant employment” were encouraged to apply to “D. & G. BRUCE, 156 Pearl Street.”<sup>127</sup> One year later, the brothers were again in need of help, placing an advertisement in the *Columbian* for “Ten Compositors and Four Pressmen.”<sup>128</sup>

Two published addresses given before the Franklin Typographical Association provide a glimpse into how printers created a unique community identity. Indeed, despite the lofty rhetorical overtones of John Clough and Thomas Ringwood's speeches, their publication—after having been delivered to separate banquets of the Association—indicate how and why New York printers sought to distinguish themselves and their community, highlighting their importance in the growing city. Delivered on the Fourth of July, 1801, John Clough—President of the society<sup>129</sup>—began his speech by remembering “the illustrious WASHINGTON,” who was “the founder of our Republic—our defence in war, and our guide in peace,” an interesting inclusion given that George F.

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<sup>126</sup> Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 38.

<sup>127</sup> “To Printers,” *American Citizen*, 20 June 1809.

<sup>128</sup> *Columbian*, 26 May 1810.

<sup>129</sup> Stevens notes that Clough was chosen as the society's first President in 1799, and he is subsequently listed as the President of the society in Longworth's directory several times. See Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 37; Longworth, *Longworth's American Almanac and New York Register*, (1800, 1801, 1803).

Hopkins—a printer popular in Federalist circles, as noted above—was charged by George Bruce to publish Clough’s address.<sup>130</sup>

A significant portion of Clough’s speech, though, addressed the importance of printing to the dissemination of information and free-thought not only in New York, but the early Republic more generally. Having “banished baleful superstition from the world,” Clough declared, “the Art of Printing” placed “in its stead reason and philosophy,” which “have found sanctuary in the mind of man.”<sup>131</sup> “The productions of the Press opens a wide field to the contemplative mind,” continued Clough, ranging from an “investigation of the philosophical researches of the great *Newton*,” to the “sublime effusions of a *Milton*, a *Shakespeare*, and an *Addison*.”<sup>132</sup> This is an interesting statement, given that several prominent printers such as the Bruce brothers and Alexander Ming dabbled in deism. According to historian Mark Lause, “such men not only found Deism to be a practical religious faith, but could also draw upon it for a political and social ideology.”<sup>133</sup> Clough intimated that the aim of the society went beyond the “sole purpose of demanding a greater emolument for our labor,” praising how “the Art of Printing in this city” rose to a “state of perfection hitherto unprecedented” with the efforts Isaac Collins, James Oram, Thomas and James Swords, and George F. Hopkins, to name

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<sup>130</sup> John Clough, *An Address, Delivered on the Fourth of July, 1801 before the Franklin Typographical Association of New-York, and a Select Company* (New-York: Printed by George F. Hopkins, 1801), 6, 7. Bruce notes that “At a special Meeting of the Franklin Typographical Association of New York, Resolved: that the Vice-President present the Thanks of this Association to Mr. Clough, for preparing and delivering an Address, in Commemoration of the twenty-sixth Anniversary of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, and likewise request a copy for Publication.” *Ibid.*, n.p.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>133</sup> Lause, “The ‘Unwashed Infidelity,’” 400.



only a few.<sup>134</sup> At the conclusion of Clough's address, the society drank sixteen toasts ranging from celebratory bursts for the twenty-sixth anniversary of the American Revolution, Washington, Benjamin Franklin, the Constitution, Thomas Jefferson, the Booksellers' Association of New York whose "well-meant and laudable exertions" prevented "the vast importation of European books," as well as printing—"an art which has been so essentially instrumental in promoting the Independence of our Country"—and the continued freedom of the Press.<sup>135</sup> It is not surprising that the most cheers were reserved for the latter two toasts.

Printers in New York did not limit their efforts to helping journeymen in Manhattan; rather, a working relationship with their fellow practitioners in Philadelphia blossomed in the first decade of the nineteenth-century. In 1802, the Franklin Typographical Association invited the newly-formed Philadelphia Typographical Society to work towards a joint proposal to Congress "for laying an additional duty on imported European works."<sup>136</sup> The common identity shared by printers in the two cities was evident during an 1803 epidemic of yellow fever in New York City when the Philadelphia society of printers came to the aid of their brethren in Manhattan. Addressed to "journeymen printers distressed by the calamity," the Philadelphia Typographical Society contributed \$83.50 for "the relief of [New York printers] as may

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<sup>134</sup> Clough, *An Address Before the Franklin Typographical Association*, 12.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16. For the significance of toasts as public and political statements, see David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture); Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

<sup>136</sup> Lause, *Some Degree of Power*, 67.

be distressed in consequence of the prevailing epidemic.”<sup>137</sup> Although scholars link the yellow fever epidemic to the dissolution of the Franklin Typographical Association—it was last mentioned in May 1804 in the *Daily Advertiser*—the disaster did not seem to curb the increase of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in the city.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, as Figure 1.3 curiously notes, the number of printers rose from 45 in 1803 to 52 in 1804, with booksellers experiencing a smaller increase from 26 to 28.<sup>139</sup> The disease did, however, limit the number of newspapers founded in years in which it devastated the city. For instance, the only two years from 1800 to 1810 in which no newspapers were founded were 1803 and 1805, respectively.<sup>140</sup>

Even though the Franklin Typographical Association had already corroded, it was nonetheless influential in prompting the Philadelphia Typographical Society to petition Congress for a general tariff on imported books. Competition from abroad threatened the prosperity of the local and national print trade, and the Philadelphia society sought to strengthen the domestic book trade by petitioning Congress to legislate a protective tariff on European books, thereby strengthening ties between local printers and booksellers. The Philadelphia petition was presented to the House Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, and Jacob Crowninshield—a Republican merchant from Salem, Massachusetts—presented a report concerning the society’s grievances to the House of

<sup>137</sup> Silver, *The American Printer*, 15, Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 40.

<sup>138</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 8 May 1804. The president of the society, Jacob Frank, requested members to “attend a special meeting at their hall this evening at 8 o’clock on the business of importance.”

<sup>139</sup> Number of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders in 1803 and 1804

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Printers</b> | <b>Booksellers</b> | <b>Bookbinders</b> |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1803        | 45              | 26                 | 22                 |
| 1804        | 52              | 28                 | 20                 |

Source: Longworth, *Longworth’s Almanac and New York Register* (1803 and 1804).

<sup>140</sup> For more on the number of newspapers founded in New York, see Appendix One Appendix Three.

Representatives.<sup>141</sup> Citing the “great expenses which must necessarily attend the importation of European books into this country” that would certainly “give a decided advantage to the American bookseller,” Crowninshield asserted that he and the Committee saw “no reason why the price should be increased by additional duties,” maintaining that “the art of printing” was already sufficiently protected.<sup>142</sup> Indeed, in order to convince domestic printers and booksellers that they would not be undersold by European competitors, Crowninshield and the Committee praised the development of printing in the early Republic.

It must be confessed that the Art of Printing has progressed more rapidly in the United States, than almost any other branch of machinery. This is a truth acknowledged by the petitioners, and assented to, with much pleasure, by the Committee; where, then, can the danger that the English bookseller will be able to undersell the American in his own market?<sup>143</sup>

The dissolution of the Franklin Typographical Association created a political and economic vacuum, for without a society devoted to enforcing the price scale of 1800, journeymen printers had little or no leverage with shop owners who were unwilling to pay according to contemporary standards. As a consequence, several craftsmen met with David H. Reins at his home on 49 Barclay Street in June 1809 to discuss reorganizing a

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<sup>141</sup> Jacob Crowninshield was a representative from Massachusetts. Born in Salem, Mass., Crowninshield engaged in mercantile pursuits, and was an unsuccessful candidate for election in 1798 to the Sixth Congress. He became a member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1801 and eventually became Secretary of the Navy during Jefferson’s first term, even though he never fulfilled his duties because of ill health. In 1803, after having fully recovered, he was elected to three consecutive Congresses and served until his death in April 18. See John H. Reinoehl, ed., “Some Remarks on the American Trade: Jacob Crowninshield to James Madison, 1806,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 16 (January 1959): 83-118. See also “Jacob Crowninshield,” *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-2005* (House Document: 108<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, No. 108-222), 899.

<sup>142</sup> Jacob Crowninshield, “Protecting Duties: Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 22, 1805,” House Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, 8<sup>th</sup> Congress, Second Session. *American State Papers 010*, (Finance Vol. 2, no. 227), p. 118. Ellis Library, University of Missouri <[www.mullibraries.missouri.edu](http://www.mullibraries.missouri.edu)>

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

benevolent society similar to the Franklin Typographical Association. Soon thereafter in early July 1809, a hastily-organized meeting of forty-nine local journeymen convened, becoming the New York Typographical Society after adopting a lengthy constitution. Journeyman John H. Sherman was elected president and Sydney W. Andrews—a shop owner at 48 Elm Street—as vice-president.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, on 3 July, a Board of Directors consisting of several new shop owners who had relocated to more remote areas of the city was chosen by the society: Walter W. Hyer of 7 Burling-Slip, Henry H. Gird of 30 Roosevelt, Edward Innet, George H. Lincke, Thomas Thompson, Thomas O’Neill of 8 Magazine, Daniel Fanshaw, J.W. Palmer, John Forbes, George Asbridge, Nathaniel Gray of 51 Cliff Street, and David H. Reins of 49 Barclay Street, who also served as the first secretary.<sup>145</sup> With the exception of Nathaniel Gray and Walter W. Hyer, all of the former journeyman printers who were able to open their own shops, moved away from the powerful master printers in the Old East, perhaps in order to create their own solidarity as a society and to distance themselves from their former masters. Barclay Street, for example, intersects both Chapel and Church Streets on the northwest side of Broadway and is much closer to the Hudson River waterfront. Roosevelt and Magazine, however, are somewhat closer. Beginning at Chatham Street, Roosevelt Street cuts a southern line through the middle of the Fourth Ward intersecting with Baucker, Oak, and Cherry streets, and is just outside the imagined boundaries of the journalism community. Magazine Street forms a natural triangle with Chatham Street and Broadway in the Sixth Ward.

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<sup>144</sup> Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1809).

<sup>145</sup> Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 41-42, Silver, *The American Printer*, 16-18, Barnett, “The Printers,” 4-5, 12; Stewart, “A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers,” 942-45; Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac and New York Register* (1809).

Containing twenty-one articles, the Constitution of the New York Typographical Society conveyed the organization's aim to regulate prices in hope of ameliorating the distress of journeymen printers who were being shut out of work by employing printers undercutting the 1800 price scale. Indeed, after outlining how the society would function from within, Article 17 illustrates their benevolent purposes of providing monetary relief for distressed journeymen printers.

When the funds of the society shall have amounted to \$100 the Board of Directors may award such sum to sickly and distressed members, their widows and children as to them may seem meet and proper. Provided, that such sum shall not exceed \$3 per week. And in every case wherein a member may be thrown out of employ by reason of his refusing to take less than the established prices they shall advance, if required on his own security, at their discretion, such a sum per week as is sufficient to defray his ordinary expenses. And if such member, by sickness or otherwise, shall be rendered unable to refund the amount, or part of the sum so advanced, the board may levy a tax upon every member of the society, which shall be sufficient, or in part sufficient to defray the amount advanced as aforesaid.<sup>146</sup>

Moreover, a series of sixteen by-laws were added to the original constitution in August 1811. Most were of little significance to the larger aims of the society and were concerned only with providing procedural rules for overseeing the monthly meetings.<sup>147</sup>

Soon after the implementation of the constitution, members of the New York Typographical Society pushed for a new regulation of prices. The Board of Directors appointed a committee to draft a scale of prices in August 1809, and this list was eventually delivered to the city's master printers. In October 1809 Pearl Street printers James Swords, John Crookes and, ironically, George Bruce—once a journeyman

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<sup>146</sup> Article 17, Constitution of the New York Typographical Society, July 1809, in Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 42-45.

<sup>147</sup> See Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 45-47.

himself—offered a counter proposal to the New York Typographical Society on behalf of the city’s employing printers.

The master printers of the city of New York; having convened on the 25<sup>th</sup> instant, by public notice, to deliberate upon certain propositions which had been made to them by the journeymen for an increase of wagers, unanimously (except in two or three trifling instances) adopted the subsequent resolutions. In presenting them to the consideration of the Typographical Society, they think it proper to remark, that, although no circumstances have come to their knowledge which would justify on the part of the journeymen a demand for more than the customary wages; yet, desirous of meeting them in the spirit of conciliation and harmony, and to remove every obstacle that might have a tendency to interrupt a mutual good understanding, the master printers have made considerable advances on the prices hitherto given, and to as great an extent as the present state of the printing business would admit. The scale which is now offered may, therefore, be considered as a *maximum*, beyond which it would be highly injurious, if not ruinous, to the interests of the trade to venture.<sup>148</sup>

The wage scale of 1809, which was adopted by master printers and the New York Typographical Society after a strike by journeymen printers, classified prices for many types of work.<sup>149</sup> For example, the price scale allocated certain prices for composition jobs in foreign languages, mathematics, and newspapers. Indeed, work “done in a different language from the English” would be paid a higher sum, whereas “works done partly in figures and partly plain, such as arithmetical works” would “be paid in proportion to the trouble; and that rule and figure work be paid double.”<sup>150</sup> Moreover, the scale outlined press-work charges for bookwork, cards, broadsides, wood engravings, and newspaper work.<sup>151</sup> The price scale was so comprehensive that wholesale revision was

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<sup>148</sup> James Swords, John Crookes, and George Bruce, “Counter Proposal of the New York Master Printers to the New York Typographical Society,” New-York Historical Society, SY1809, no. 29.

<sup>149</sup> Silver, *The American Printer*, 16-17.

<sup>150</sup> Composition, Articles 3 and 6, “Price Scale for Printers 1809,” New-York Historical Society, SY1809, no. 29.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, Press-Work, Articles 1, 3, 4, and 9.

not considered until 1815, and the New York Typographical Society encouraged members to adhere to the wages adopted in 1809. Indeed, Article 13 of the 1811 by-laws asserted that “no member of this society shall work for less than the wages which may be established,” and that “neither shall he engage or continue in any office where there is a journeyman working for less than the established prices.”<sup>152</sup>

### *Conclusion*

For their annual celebration on 4 July 1811, journeymen printers of the New York Typographical Society congregated at 10 Fair Street and enjoyed “an appropriate and excellent oration on the art of printing pronounced by Mr. George Asbridge,” followed by a series of “toasts, odes, etc., prepared for the occasion” that were “dispatched with a hilarity and joy only equaled by the harmony which sweetened them.”<sup>153</sup> The poet Samuel Woodworth composed two odes vocalized at the celebration. The second, titled “Printing and Independence,” was performed by Asbridge:

Hail, Freedom! hail, celestial guest!  
O never from thy sons depart;  
Thine be the empire of the West,  
Thy temple every freeman’s heart;  
The Art of Printing gave thee birth,  
And brightens still thy reign over earth.

Arise, ye favor’d sons of light,  
Professors of our Heaven-born art,  
And in the chorus all unite,  
While joy expands each throbbing heart;  
“THE ART OF PRINTING SHALL ENDURE,  
And Independence be secure.”<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Article 13, By-laws of the Constitution of the New York Typographical Society, 7 August 1811, in Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 47.

<sup>153</sup> *New York Columbian*, 9 July 1811.

<sup>154</sup> Samuel Woodworth, “Printing and Independence,” in Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 88-89. Regarding Woodworth’s \$10 medal, Stevens notes that “apparently the committee that had been selected to purchase a medal for the successful candidate displayed laxity, for the minutes of the general

Woodworth's poem provided a rhetorical springboard that launched printing and publishing into the second decade of the nineteenth-century. When considering the progression of the printing and publishing industry and New York, the "ART OF PRINTING" did indeed endure; moreover, it expanded to the point that New York City, in the latter-half of the nineteenth-century, would be home to a street dubbed America's "newspaper row." As this chapter has suggested, a distinct "community" consisting of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders existed in early nineteenth-century Manhattan that greatly influenced rational—and irrational—public discourse in the first decade of the nineteenth-century. The offices of the city's leading Republican and Federalist papers were only a few steps away from one another, and such close proximity fostered conflict in the rhetorical public sphere and physical public space as printers and their editors jockeyed for political position with one another on the pages of their dailies and in the street. Thus, by pulling together the disparate records of the city's yearly directories, a unique community that otherwise has gone unnoticed by historians, begins to reemerge. Although it has not attained the mythological status of the famed Park Row that James Gordon Bennett patrolled on a daily basis, it is certainly intriguing to imagine life among competing and conniving printers, booksellers, and bookbinders within a relatively small geographic area.<sup>155</sup> Therefore, despite the heated rhetorical exchanges between

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meeting of February 1, 1812, show that the members comprising it were 'requested to exhibit it at the next general meeting of the society, if possible.'" The medal, however, was never delivered, and Woodworth was given \$10 in order to procure a medal of his liking. Stevens, *New York Typographical Union No. 6*, 89-90.

<sup>155</sup> Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 440-441. See also, Albion and Pope, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860*; Gunther Paul Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Charles Henry Brown, *William Cullen Bryant* (New York: Scribner, 1971); Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper: A Unique Publishing Partnership and its Impact Upon the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Hellmut



newspapers—examples of which will be examined in the following two chapters—and heightened competition for readership, printers, booksellers, and bookbinders made conscious decisions to open their shops in certain areas of Manhattan as a result of their common identities. Distinct patterns of settlement led to competition, competition led to business, and business led to permanence.

By 1810, the print trade in the United States was certainly formidable, producing newspapers, books, and magazines that rivaled European editions. Indeed, Albert Gallatin noted in his report on American manufacturing that printing had finally gained a stable footing, asserting that “printing is carried on to an extent commensurate with the demand,” and that “the numerous newspapers, which alone form a considerable item in value, all the books for which is an adequate number of purchasers, are printed in the United States.”<sup>156</sup> The growth of New York City’s publishing industry began to extend beyond Gotham’s city limits, and by 1820 print shops were scattered across the entire state.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, there are certain shortcomings by focusing only on the first decade of the nineteenth-century, namely the bridge between this quite literal community and the journalism and publishing “revolution” that overwhelmed Manhattan in the mid-1830s is not entirely complete and will thus have to wait for a future study that this author hopes

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Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States* (New York: Bowker, 1952); Mushkat, *Tammany*; Allan Richard Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

<sup>156</sup> Albert Gallatin, “American Manufactures,” *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States: with an Appendix Containing Important State papers and Public Documents, and all the Laws of a Public Nature; with a Copious Index; Compiled from Authentic Materials*, Eleventh Congress (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1853), col. 2231.

<sup>157</sup> Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785-1830* (Port Washington, NY: I.J. Friedman, 1964), 89.

to undertake in the next year or two. However, gauging from the compelling evidence—both statistical and anecdotal—presented in this chapter, it is reasonable to conclude that the historical seeds for the *transformation* of American journalism from an artisan trade to an industrialized industry were planted much sooner than has been heretofore assumed.

Lastly, this chapter builds on John C. Nerone’s critique of journalism historiography. Nerone is correct in asserting that historians should reconsider the mythology of the Penny Press as a “stage in the evolution of journalism.”<sup>158</sup> However, in addition to historical paradigms Nerone considers essential for advancing journalism history such as readership and technology, the association of printing and public space should also be taken into account, especially as an important precursor in New York City’s evolution as the cradle of American journalism. Moreover, as Nerone points out, historians have been much too willing to draw an imaginary line in the historiographical sand that pinpoints a clear delineation between the mythological influence of the Penny Press on the development of modern American journalism and what existed in the earlier years of the nineteenth-century. Rather, scholars need to consider that there was an organic transition from the early nineteenth-century New York to the Penny Press of the 1830s which, consequently, influenced Gotham’s maturation as the capital of American journalism and publishing.

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<sup>158</sup> John C. Nerone, “The Mythology of the Penny Press,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4, no. 4 (1987): 403.

## Chapter Two

### **Working-Class Hero: James Cheetham, the Rise of Republican Journalism, and the Making of Transatlantic Identities**

Speaking before the New-York Typographical Society in January 1852, Dr. John Francis reminisced about the careers of several noteworthy printers, namely William Coleman, Charles Holt, Nathaniel Carter, Dr. Peter Irving, and James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen and Republican Watch-Tower*. According to Francis, Cheetham was an imposing man: he was “tall, athletic, [and had a] marital bearing in his walk, a forehead of great breadth and dimensions, and penetrating gray eyes,” and a man who seemed to be “authoritative wherever he might be.”<sup>1</sup> As a radical émigré from Manchester, England, he would be known as a champion of Jeffersonian Republicanism and as a staunch supporter of New York Republicans George Clinton and his nephew, DeWitt.<sup>2</sup>

As a deposed radical, James Cheetham brought his “strong and discriminating mind,” his enthusiastic admiration of freedom, as well as his dissenting inclinations from England to New York, imposing his skill for partisan invective in New York’s publishing

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Francis, “Reminisces of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New York,” *The International Magazine of Literature, Art, and Science*, 5, no. 2 (1852): 253.

<sup>2</sup> For studies that discuss Cheetham, see Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997); “Thomas Paine’s Apostles: Radical Emigres and the Triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 44, no. 4 (1987): 661-688. See also Richard J. Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790-1820*, (New York: Gardland, 1989). Cheetham is also noted by Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), but only for his connection to DeWitt Clinton and the Tammany Society. The only lengthy study is Lawrence M. Lasher, “James Cheetham: Journalist and Muckraker,” Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland-College Park, 1965.

community after merging with the Clintonian faction.<sup>3</sup> After toiling for several years as a hat manufacturer, Cheetham emerged from the immigrant community as a powerful Republican journalist in the early nineteenth-century after entering into a partnership with David Denniston. Initially, Cheetham depended on the \$3,000 state-printing contract secured through his service as DeWitt Clinton's public mouthpiece.<sup>4</sup> Contemporaries, therefore, associated Cheetham's political identity with the Clintonians and, as a result, the *American Citizen* was viewed as an unofficial outlet for the interests of the Irish community, given Clinton's ties to influential United Irishmen in New York.

Cheetham, however, distanced himself from DeWitt Clinton's patronage after the latter used the editor as a scapegoat for his political missteps. Cheetham militantly opposed President Thomas Jefferson's embargo and the nomination of James Madison as Jefferson's successor, positions that put him at odds with the Clintonian faction in New York. Although prominent United Irishmen such as Thomas Addis Emmet, James MacNeven, and David Bryson continued toeing the Clintonian party-line, the editor of the *American Citizen* remained a powerful force in the Irish community. Cheetham appealed to the lower-class Irish by confronting the rabid nativism of conservative Federalists who characterized Irish-Americans as "polluted contents," as well as "outcasts and vagabonds."<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Cheetham questioned whether a man can be an alien, asserting that if so, "he is universally told that, being an alien, he has no right to speak,

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<sup>3</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 9 September 1810.

<sup>4</sup> For Cheetham's patronage, see Noble E. Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture), 254-255.

<sup>5</sup> "To the Citizens of New-York," *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 8 April 1807; *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 16 April 1807. For a brief study of nativism in New York City, see Harvey Strum, "Federalist Hibernophobes in New York, 1807," *Éire-Ireland*, 16 (1981): 7-13.

much less to write, on our political concerns,” maintaining that the Irish “are always considered, and by *all* parties treated, as *foreigners*.”<sup>6</sup>

This chapter will consider the political career of James Cheetham, editor of the New York *American Citizen* and *Republican Watch-Tower*, and his promulgation of the “strongest doctrines in behalf of the widest democracy” that included Irish-Americans in New York City from 1800 to 1810.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, this chapter will focus initially on the radical newspaper, the *Manchester Herald*, in an effort to evaluate the transatlantic ideology Cheetham exerted in New York’s publishing community. Even though Cheetham is a somewhat elusive character, his career as a partisan journalist will be examined in several historical contexts, namely his role as a radical foot-soldier in Manchester; the wave of Irish immigration to New York City; his association with and subsequent exile from the Clintonian Republicans; and the rampant nativism espoused by Federalists.

Chapter one examined movements of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, maintaining that artisans and merchants associated with New York’s printing and publishing industry deliberately chose where to open their shops based on economics, politics, and shared common identities associated with their community. The following two chapters, on the other hand, will take a closer look at two significant members of this community and their publications. James Cheetham and Peter Irving were part of this unique community and were active participants in the rhetorical public sphere and the

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<sup>6</sup> James Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine, author of Common sense, The crisis, Rights of man, &c. &c.* (New York, Southwick and Pelsue: 1809), 122-23, 127.

<sup>7</sup> Francis, *Old New York, or, Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years: Being an Enlarged and Revised Edition of the anniversary Discourse Delivered Before the New York Historical Society*, (New York: C. Roe, 1858), 335.

physical public space. James Cheetham merits an intensive case-study given his status as the editor of the leading Republican newspapers in a community dominated by Federalist sympathies, as noted in Chapter one.

Moreover, this chapter will demonstrate how radical journalism developed in spatial contexts over time. When viewed from a transatlantic perspective, journalism in early nineteenth-century New York City transcended place in the form of Cheetham as he relocated from Manchester to the United States. His association with reformation societies in England, his ties to the weekly newspaper in Manchester, as well as his affinity for Paineite and Lockean political philosophy prepared young Cheetham for his editorial career in New York. After being tried—and subsequently acquitted—for conspiring to overthrow the English government in 1794, Cheetham fled to the United States in the wake of heightened pressure from English authorities wishing to silence dissenters. Thus, when Cheetham’s talents conflated with the ideology and interests of the Clintonians, the militant republicanism and devotion to governmental reform he developed in Manchester was imposed on New York’s rhetorical public sphere. Indeed, this sense of place and spatial expansion will aid in understanding the divisive political culture that developed in early nineteenth-century New York City.

### *Friends of Peace and Good Order*

Born in Manchester, England in 1772, James Cheetham was trained in hat manufacturing, a business he labored at with his two brothers.<sup>8</sup> During his formative

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<sup>8</sup> Cheetham is mentioned as a hat manufacturer in several sources. See Thomas Walker, *The Whole Proceedings on the Trial of Indictment Against Thomas Walker of Manchester, Merchant, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearsal, Benjamin Booth, and Joseph Collier; For a Conspiracy to Overthrow the Constitution and Government, and to Aid and Assist the French (being the King’s Enemies) in Case They Should Invade This Kingdom*, (Manchester, UK: Printed for T. Boden and J. Debrett, 1794), xiv; John Wood, *A Full Exposition of the Clintonian Faction, and the Society of the Columbian Illuminati; with an Account of the Writer of the Narrative, and the Character of his Certificate Men, as also remarks on*

years he witnessed civil and political unrest in Manchester over abolition of the African slave trade and the dissatisfaction with Parliamentary representation.<sup>9</sup> Manchester was, for the most part, a conservative town; however, by the late 1780s the city was bustling with anti-slavery activity spearheaded by Thomas Walker and Thomas Cooper.<sup>10</sup> Walker was a member of the General Chamber of Manufacturers, which allowed him to pursue his anti-slavery mission. He was successful in defeating a tax on cotton in 1785 and was, according to historian Christopher L. Brown, hailed as a hero upon his return to Manchester in 1786.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Walker and Cooper obtained 10,639 signatures for an anti-slavery petition—part of a national campaign—which consisted of nearly twenty percent of Manchester’s population.<sup>12</sup>

Walker coalesced the radical movement into the Manchester Constitutional Society in October 1790, an organization that sought to “effect a reform” of the “very inadequate, and corrupt state of the Representation of the People.”<sup>13</sup> Historians estimate

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Warren’s *Pamphlet*, (Newark, NJ: 1802), 10; and Francis, “Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, Etc. in New York,” 259.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of Manchester radicalism in the 1790s, see Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution*, (London: Hutchinson, 1979); James Walvin, “English Democratic Societies and Popular Radicalism, 1791-1800,” Ph.D. diss., University of York, 1969; Pauline Handforth, “Manchester Radical Politics, 1789-1794,” *Transactions of the Lancashire and Chesire Antiquarian Society* 66 (1956): 87-106; Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929); Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 23-25, 31-36.

<sup>10</sup> For Thomas Walker, see especially Frida Knight, *The Strange Case of Thomas Walker: Ten Years in the Life of a Manchester Radical*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957).

<sup>11</sup> Christopher L. Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006; published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture), 447.

<sup>12</sup> James Walvin, “The Rise of British Popular Sentiment for Abolition, 1787-1832,” in Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher, eds., *Anti-Slavery, Religion, and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey*, (Folkstone, 1980), 151.

<sup>13</sup> *Manchester Herald*, 5 April 1792.

that at its height, the Society numbered approximately fifty to one hundred members with an annual subscription of half a guinea.<sup>14</sup> The Society maintained that governmental power should be derived from the people, asserting that they would be satisfied only when the House of Commons truly represented the voice of the nation. The radicals in Manchester, consistent with similar movements throughout England, were enthusiastic readers of Thomas Paine, especially his caustic rebuttal of Edmund Burke's criticisms of the French Revolution. Indeed, the Manchester Constitutional Society gave a ringing endorsement of Paine's *Rights of Man* at the Bull's-Head tavern. It was a "work of the highest importance to EVERY NATION UNDER HEAVEN," for its "*strenuous exertions* to accomplish a complete reform in the *present inadequate* state of the REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE" in England.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, at a meeting held at the Freemason's Tavern, the Society of the Friends of the People asserted that "*the great plans of public benefit, which Mr. Paine has so powerfully recommended, will speedily be carried into effect.*"<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the London Society for Constitutional Information resolved in June 1792 to open a subscription "for the benefit of MR. THOMAS PAINE, Author of the "Rights of Man."<sup>17</sup> A similar group in Sheffield declared that the "principle of government is laid down in [*Rights of Man*], in a manner

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<sup>14</sup> A.V. Mitchell, "Radicalism and Repression in the North of England, 1791-1797," M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1958, p. 55; Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty*, 147.

<sup>15</sup> "Resolution of the Manchester Constitutional Society for March 13, 1792," *Manchester Herald*, 31 March 1792. See also "Resolutions of Mary 3, 1791," *Manchester Chronicle*, 7 May 1791.

<sup>16</sup> "Minutes of the Society of the Friends of the People, Associated for the Purpose of Obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, on Saturday May 12, 1792," *The Manchester Herald*, 26 May 1792.

<sup>17</sup> "Resolution of the Society for Constitutional Information, London—June 15, 1792, in *Manchester Herald*, 23 June 1792.



so clear and irresistibly convincing, that this Society do hereby resolve to give their thanks to Mr. Paine.”<sup>18</sup>

However, to analyze the impact of transatlantic radicalism from a purely Paineite perspective is to limit the scope of the reform movements in England.<sup>19</sup> While Paine’s ideas certainly served as a unifying force for the English radicals, the interests, ideas, and goals of the societies were steeped in deep economic and social grievances, namely political inequalities that were the result of defects in the English political system. Indeed, rather than creating a movement, Paineite radicalism was “transformed into a pervasive critique of the entire organization of English society.”<sup>20</sup> Soon after the formation of the Manchester Constitutional and Reformation Societies—of which Cheetham and his brothers were active participants—the radicals established their own public organ, the *Manchester Herald*, which sought to be neither “MINISTERIAL nor ANTI-MINISTERIAL,” but rather the “PAPER OF THE PEOPLE,” without incurring the “lash of the law by indulging unnecessary freedom.”<sup>21</sup> In its brief existence from March 1792 to March 1793, the *Manchester Herald* was the central mode of communication for the community of agitators in the city hoping to effect parliamentary reform and the abolition of the slave trade.

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<sup>18</sup> “Resolution of the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information,” *Manchester Herald*, 14 April 1792.

<sup>19</sup> See Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 31-26 and “Thomas Paine’s Apostles”; Lasher, “James Cheetham,” esp. chapters 4 and 5 and Twomey, “Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radical Ideology, 1790-1810,” in Margaret C. Jacob and James R. Jacob, eds., *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*, (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1991): 313-328.

<sup>20</sup> Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005—Updated with a new preface), 228.

<sup>21</sup> *Manchester Herald*, 31 March 1792.

Even though Cheetham was not a trained printer, he did serve as an apprentice for the *Manchester Herald* as a “letter-press printer.”<sup>22</sup> Evidence indicates that he may have been involved with the *Manchester Herald* as early as September 1792 when the editors began soliciting interest for several “good and steady” journeymen printers.<sup>23</sup> Even though his role with the weekly paper cannot be explicitly defined, what is most salient in this instance is to place Cheetham in the midst of the Manchester reform movements, setting type, making ink, and pressing words to the page alongside the publishers of the *Herald*, images which will allow a better understanding of how his political socialization in the 1790s would transition to New York.

Published by Matthew Falkner and Samuel Birch, the *Manchester Herald* printed the platforms and proclamations of the Manchester Constitutional Society, the London Corresponding Society, the Manchester Reformation Society, the Manchester Patriotic Society, Friends of the People, the Society for Constitutional Reform, and the Society for Constitutional Information. The editors celebrated the successes of the French Revolution, while damning its opponents, namely Edmund Burke.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the *Manchester Herald* viewed the success of the French Revolution as a liberating beacon for ordinary Europeans, for “through the success of French liberty, the state of MAN over all the continent may be raised,” and that through the “industry of peasants and

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<sup>22</sup> William Leary, “History of the Manchester Periodical Press,” ca. 1897. Manchester Public Library, MS. F. 052 L161, 79.

<sup>23</sup> “To Journeymen Printers,” *Manchester Herald*, 22 September, 29 September, and 6 October 1792.

<sup>24</sup> “Edmund Burke to the Swinish Multitude,” *Manchester Herald*, 22 September 1792.

manufacturers” the internal peace of countries “will not much longer depend upon the ignorance of their inhabitants.”<sup>25</sup>

Evidence does indicate, however, that Cheetham was directly involved with the Manchester Reformation Society, which appeared in June 1792 in order to allow a more diverse voice that may have been excluded from the Constitutional Society due to the high-cost of membership.<sup>26</sup> This society asserted that although they did not “wish to overturn any part of the British Constitution,” they sought “Parliamentary REFORM” that consisted of correcting the “present inadequate and corrupt System of Parliamentary Representation,” namely the continuation of “rotten boroughs.”<sup>27</sup>

When the will of the people shall be fairly expressed in the House of Commons of Great Britain, by means of Representatives equally elected, and under the DUE controul of the Electors—when no doubt can reasonably remain but that a Vote of the House of Commons shall be the voice of the Nation—then, and not till then, will the Manchester Societies be satisfied—then, and not till then, will they relax their efforts in this Public Cause...The Manchester Societies do therefore exhort their fellow Citizens to meet peaceably, but firmly on every convenient Opportunity, for the purpose of investigating the Principles, the Advantages, the Defects, and the Abuses of the Constitution under which they live; that Public Ignorance and Ancient Prejudice, may no longer stand in the way of salutary Reformation; and that every friend to the Rights of the People, may be fully instructed upon those Questions, which may hereafter require his suffrage and support.”<sup>28</sup>

In March 1793 Cheetham chaired a meeting of the Reformation Society that continued to espouse discourse aimed at constitutional reform, all while continually reasserting that

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<sup>25</sup> *Manchester Herald*, 14 July 1792.

<sup>26</sup> L.S. Marshall, *The Development of Public Opinion in Manchester, 1780-1820*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946), 113.

<sup>27</sup> “Proclamations of the Constitutional, Reformation, and Patriotic Societies of Manchester,” *Manchester Herald*, 22 December 1792.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

they were “*friends of Peace and good Order.*”<sup>29</sup> Cheetham sought individuals who would fight for “Liberty and Happiness of his Country” and “universal suffrage” that would enable Englishmen to be free from parliamentary despotism.<sup>30</sup>

The *Manchester Herald* links the reform movements in Lancashire with the United Irishmen, which helps to explain Cheetham’s later association with Irish-Americans in New York. Historians have noted the connection between the radical movements in England and the United Irishmen, with United Irishmen communicating with the London Corresponding Society and working alongside reformers in Manchester.<sup>31</sup> The *Manchester Herald* printed resolutions and letters from prominent United Irishmen. For example, the paper printed a document critical of the House of Lords that resulted in the imprisonment of Samuel Butler and Oliver Bond. Butler and Bond were compelled to “warn the public mind” at the violations of this secret group.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the proceedings of a banquet held in Belfast celebrating the “great principle of Gallic emancipation” were reprinted for the people of Manchester.<sup>33</sup> Addressing the people of Ireland and England, the celebrants in Belfast toasted Tom Paine, *The Rights of*

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<sup>29</sup> “Resolutions of the Manchester Reformation Society, March 18, 1793,” *Manchester Herald*, 23 March 1793.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 155. Wilson, regarding the United Irishmen movement, writes that “to strengthen the revolutionary movement in England, the United Irishmen in the capital linked up with the militant wing of the popular radical London Corresponding Society, forming the United Britons.” Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 27.

<sup>32</sup> “Copy of a Paper for which the Honourable SAMUEL BUTLER, and Mr. OLIVER BOND, were ordered to be fined 500l. and imprisoned six months, United Irishmen of Dublin,” *Manchester Herald*, 16 March 1793.

<sup>33</sup> “Belfast Commemoration of the Demolition of the Bastille, the Birth-Day of Liberty in France, July 14, 1792,” *Manchester Herald*, 28 July 1792.

*Man*, the promotion of liberty, peace, virtue, and happiness among men in the free nations of the world, George Washington, unanimity of Irishmen, as well as promising to “persevere in the pursuit of that great remedy for all our political evils, a Parliamentary Reform.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that Cheetham was interacting with the United Irishmen prior to his departure for New York.

According to Pauline Handforth, radicalism in Manchester peaked in 1792 after the establishment of the *Manchester Herald*.<sup>35</sup> Cooper and James Watt attempted to create a liaison with the Revolutionaries in France, considering themselves as representatives for the Manchester reform movement. Indeed, the *Manchester Herald* reprinted a translation of Cooper and Watts’ address to the Parisian Jacobin Club in April 1792. Cooper and Watts consider the Jacobins “not merely friends of the Constitution of France, but also under the still more-respectable title of friends of the human race,” and as a result of this admiration, they requested an “amicable communication and correspondence with them.”<sup>36</sup> However, the Manchester radicals began to receive backlash from local loyalists and British authorities, who succeeded in banning the societies from meeting in taverns and inns by threatening to strip innkeepers of their licenses if they allowed meetings to be held at their establishments. Reactionary groups such as the Society for Preserving Liberty against Republicans and Levellers and the Association for Preserving Constitutional Order formed the backbone of the conservative counterattack against the radicals which, according to Handforth, “finally brought about

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Pauline Handforth, “Manchester Radical Politics, 1789-1794,” *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 66 (1956): 95.

<sup>36</sup> “Translation of the Address presented by the Deputies of the Constitutional Society of Manchester, to the Society of Friends of the Constitution, sitting at the Jacobins in Paris, April 13, 1792,” *Manchester Herald*, 12 May 1792.

their repression.”<sup>37</sup> Six sedition and libel suits were brought against the editors of the *Manchester Herald* and, as a result, Falkner and Birch declared that their weekly was “in general neatly executed” in March 1793, and the two printers fled the country.<sup>38</sup>

Cheetham and several other prominent Manchester radicals were arrested in July 1793 on charges of conspiring to overthrow the English government.<sup>39</sup> Cheetham, described as a “pernicious, seditious and ill-disposed person,” was accused of “*damning the King, and wishing he was guillotined.*”<sup>40</sup> He was detained on July 23<sup>rd</sup> at the New Baily Prison “on the oath of Thomas Dunn”—who was later convicted of perjury for falsifying his testimony against the Manchester radicals.<sup>41</sup> He was then held for three weeks in Lancaster Castle after having been removed from New Baily “at one o’clock in the morning,” and was forced to “either sleep on upon the floor, or in the same bed with the common hangman.”<sup>42</sup> He was “*honourably acquitted*” of the charges against him in April of 1794, and he departed for New York—with his brothers—soon thereafter.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Handforth, “Manchester Radical Politics,” 99.

<sup>38</sup> *Manchester Herald*, 23 March 1793; Marshal, *Development of Public Opinion in Manchester*, 114.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Walker, *The whole proceedings on the trial of indictment against Thomas Walker of Manchester, merchant, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearsal, Benjamin Booth, and Joseph Collier; for a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution and government, and to aid and assist the French, (being the King's enemies) in case they should invade this kingdom; tried at the Assizes at Lancaster, April 2, 1794, before the Hon. Mr. Justice Heath, one of the judges of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas. Taken in short-hand by Joseph Gurney,* (Manchester, UK: Printed for T. Boden and J. Debrett, 1794), 125.

<sup>40</sup> “Copy of Indictment against James Cheetham, late of Salford in the county of Lancashire,” *The Whole Proceedings*, xi, 103.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. xiv.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

*Fashionable Trimmings, Universal Empire, and a Dissertation on Equality*

James Cheetham arrived in New York in September 1794 after a tumultuous journey from England.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the *New-York Daily Gazette* noted that Cheetham had been “struck and otherwise ill-treated by the Captain” during the voyage, and his hardships were compensated by a New York court in the sum of thirty pounds.<sup>45</sup>

Although he is not registered in the city directories until 1797, his brothers Benjamin and John are listed as hat manufacturers at 259 Broadway in 1795, with John relocating to 35 Murray Street in 1796 and Benjamin setting up at 18 Warren Street, all within short walking distance.<sup>46</sup> There is, however, a “J. & B. Cheetham, hat manufactory” on 110 Water Street in 1797, and it appears that James shifted his business ventures over one street to 18 Warren in a partnership with John in 1799.<sup>47</sup> James and Benjamin, for instance, advertised their “great variety of the most fashionable Trimmings” throughout 1797 in the *New York Diary, or Loudon’s Register*.<sup>48</sup> Cheetham appears to have been a

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<sup>44</sup> *American Citizen*, 24 July 1801.

<sup>45</sup> *New-York Daily Gazette*, 6 December 1794.

<sup>46</sup> William Duncan, *The New-York Directory, and Register, for the Year 1795. Illustrated with a New and Accurate Plan*, (New York: Printed for the Editor by T. and J. Swords, 99 Pearl Street, 1795); John Low, *The New-York directory, and register, for the year 1796. Illustrated with a plan of the city and part of Long-Island, laid down agreeably to the latest survey. : Containing the names, occupations, and places of abode of the citizens arranged in alphabetical order; a register of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates of the United States, and the state of New-York; the officers, both civil and military, of the city and county of New-York. Also, an account of the different societies, literary and charitable institutions in this city; with the names of their officers. : To which is added the names of the inhabitants of Brooklyn, together with an alphabetical account of the streets, lanes, wharves and slips of this city*, (New York: Printed by John Buel, corner of Water-Street and Fly-Market, and John Bull, 115 Cherry-Street, 1796).

<sup>47</sup> David Longworth, *Longworth’s American almanack, New-York register, and city directory, for the twenty-fourth year of American independence. Price 5s. stitched—half bound 6s.*, (New York: Printed by John C. Totten and Co., 66 Nassau-Street, 1799).

<sup>48</sup> “J. and B. Cheetham, Hat Manufacturers, 110 Water Street,” *The Diary, or Loudon’s Register*, 18 February 1797. The add ran continuously until July 1797.

successful businessman, for in 1800 he is listed as the sole-owner of a hat store at 191 Water Street, whereas his brothers were still cataloged as hat manufacturers.<sup>49</sup>

Cheetham's initial foray into New York's publishing community was a series of essays printed in *The Diary, or Loudon's Register* that were highly critical of the British government. Indeed, these essays offer an early glimpse into his political philosophy steeped in a Lockean tradition of individual agency and responsible, republican government. "The most prominent trait in the character of the present king of England and his royal predecessors," wrote Cheetham, was an "unextinguishable thirst for universal empire."<sup>50</sup> The English people, "once famed for the fruition of liberty," became enslaved by a corrupt House of Commons once so "zealously idolized by Englishmen as the grand palladium of their sacred rights."<sup>51</sup> Englishmen were coaxed into believing their beloved House of Commons was the "conservator of their rights and privileges"; rather, the majority of the commons owed their seats in Parliament "to the combined influence of the lords and the treasury department."<sup>52</sup>

After publishing his criticisms of English politics, Cheetham—echoing the message of the Manchester radicals—called for wholesale Parliamentary reform. "Nothing is more evident than that the present wretched condition of the people of

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<sup>49</sup> David Longworth, *Longworth's American almanack, New-York register, and city directory, for the twenty-fifth year of American independence. Price 5s. sewed—halfbound 6s.*, (New York: Printed and Published by D. Longworth, 11 Park, 1800).

<sup>50</sup> See "On the English Government, no. One," *Diary, or Loudon's Register*, 17, 20, 24 February and 1 and 3 March 1797.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*



England calls aloud for a thorough reformation of the government.”<sup>53</sup> The people, according to Cheetham, sought to remedy the “infinite defects in the government,” namely rotten boroughs and a “national debt of four hundred million of pounds sterling.”<sup>54</sup>

Cheetham’s call for a restoration of rights and liberties for Englishmen occurred in the wake of his earlier criticisms of the Jay Treaty, a highly unpopular document that was seen as a repudiation of the revolutionary alliance of 1778 between France and the United States.<sup>55</sup> The agreement granted England most-favored nation status and implicitly endorsed English rights to retain tariffs on American exports. In exchange, the English government agreed to abide by the original agreements in the Treaty of Paris and evacuate British troops from western outposts. Cheetham considered the Jay Treaty to be a repudiation of the American Revolution.

But for the United States to now acknowledge [English Parliamentary] jurisdiction—for them to be impelled by emphatical representatives of the marital power of Britain, to adopt implicitly, what her ministers, in their career of despotism, think proper to draw up and present to them, has something in it novel and extraordinary indeed.<sup>56</sup>

Indeed, Cheetham asserted that by relinquishing to English demands, the United States faced the possibilities of being placed, once again, under the yolk of British imperialism, for “when the treaty was in agitation in the house of representatives,” the desires of

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<sup>53</sup> “On the English Government, no. Four,” *The Diary, or Loudon’s Register*, 10 April 1797.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> For the Jay Treaty, see Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Jay’s Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); Jerald A. Combs, *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Stanley M. Elkins and Eric L. McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 375-450.

<sup>56</sup> “On Contraband Goods, no. Four,” *The Diary, or Loudon’s Register*, 24 February 1797.

Federalists allowed for the chance of “again bringing this country under the tyrannical government of England.”<sup>57</sup>

Cheetham, by declaring that the United States broke its treaty with France in favor of England, came under fire in New York which was, at that time, still controlled by the Federalists. An anonymous author countered Cheetham’s assertions by stating that the 1778 agreement with France was made “in the midst of a war,” asking whether or not the United States could have made a similar treaty “when the United States should become at peace and the other powers in a state of war.”<sup>58</sup> Perhaps it is no coincidence, then, that shortly after his essays appeared in *The Diary* his business nearly burned as a result of a fire that “originated from coals placed between boxes evidently with an intention of burning the house.”<sup>59</sup> The fire, however, was extinguished before Cheetham and his brothers lost their shop; the culprit, though, was never identified.

Soon after the *Diary* essays and the establishment of his hat store, Cheetham further demonstrated his political talents with arguably his finest polemic. Indeed, *A Dissertation Concerning Political Equality, and the Corporation of New-York* not only established Cheetham as a legitimate political thinker by reaching a wider audience than his *Diary* essays, it brought him into a working relationship with David Denniston, who printed the pamphlet. Denniston, a cousin of the prominent New York Republican

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> “To the Printers of *The Diary*,” *The Diary, or Loudon’s Register*, 23 February 1797. See also 3 March 1797.

<sup>59</sup> *New-York Daily Advertiser*, 23 March 1797. See also *The Diary, or Loudon’s Register* 23 March 1797 and the *Register of the Times, A Gazette for the Country*, 24 March 1797

DeWitt Clinton, was the proprietor of the only Republican daily in the city, the *American Citizen, and General Advertiser*.<sup>60</sup>

Aside from the long-term implications of the partnership between Cheetham and Denniston, *A Dissertation Concerning Political Equality* was first and foremost a two-part treatise steeped in Lockean natural rights philosophy. It argued that the Mayor of New York should be elected through a popular election rather than appointed by a Council of Appointments consisting of the governor and one senator from each district. He asserted in his second chapter that the “present mode of appointing the Chief Magistrate of the city is unjust,” and that it was essential for the Mayor to be “elected by the citizens over whom he presides,” for in politics there was “no maxim clearer than this, that the people, for whom a Government is intended, have the exclusive right of choosing their own governors.”<sup>61</sup>

Cheetham’s experience in the Manchester reform movement led him to believe that a government not chosen by the people was a fundamental violation of the rights of man. Indeed, this view manifests itself in *A Dissertation* in a passage that explicitly compares the mayoral appointment system of New York with the ways in which colonial governors were appointed under George II.

The appointment of the mayor by the council is a faithful transcript, implicitly taken, but existing under dissimilar circumstances, of that established in the charter of George II. At that era England held dominion over these states, and it was consonant with her usual policy towards them to suffer the citizens to enjoy a few unimportant privileges, such as

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<sup>60</sup> Regarding the bloodline of Denniston, Mary-Jo Kline explains that “James Cheetham described his partner ‘as nearly related by blood’ to George Clinton, but he was not the governor’s nephew. George Clinton’s mother was a Denniston, and if, as seems likely, David Denniston was a fairly young man in 1802, it appears that his father and the governor were first cousins.” Kline, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 730, no. 3.

<sup>61</sup> James Cheetham, *A Dissertation Concerning Political Equality, and the Corporation of New-York*, (New-York: Printed by D. Denniston, 1800), 40.

electing aldermen, constables and so on; but to take especial care that with respect to important offices such as mayor, recorder, sheriff, & c. they should be appointed by the governor, who was appointed by the king. The better to keep the citizens in vassalage, and at the same time pleasingly to reconcile them to that gloomy state, they were suffered to enjoy those petty privileges. Like a cunning conqueror who, to perpetuate his conquest and to reconcile the conquered to the conqueror, the king was *graciously pleased* to allow the citizens to enjoy privileges from the exercise of which, it was conceived, no injury to his domination could result.<sup>62</sup>

Such a system, he wrote, was antithetical to the “political improvement of America” because the citizens of New York possessed the right to “regulate their own business.”<sup>63</sup> He concluded the pamphlet by urging the state legislature to “give the city the right of electing its Chief Magistrate,” for such a radical change to the system would be “a *permanent good*” for not only the city, but the state as well.<sup>64</sup>

The Lockean influence on Cheetham’s earliest writing is clear, and this discourse focused on the rejection of repressive aristocratic government. As discussed above, the basic political doctrine at the heart of the Manchester reform movement migrated with Cheetham from England to New York. Indeed, early in his editorial career he attributed his ideological underpinnings to his experiences in Manchester. “At an early age I imbibed opinions hostile to despotism,” he wrote, “whether represented by a king or personified by Mr. Adams—whether decked in the habitments of royalty or the subtle and imposition exterior of federalism, it is equally an object of my abhorrence, equally a power with which I am always ready to contend.”<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 43-44.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 45, 49.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 49-50.

<sup>65</sup> *American Citizen*, 2 July 1801.

Part one of the *Dissertation* is heavily influenced by Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* and is, for the most part, an undiluted summary of Locke's main philosophical principles. Locke maintained that civil government was the "proper remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature," and this government, he wrote, was designed to protect rights of the individual.<sup>66</sup> Echoing the Lockean position, Cheetham asserted that "good government is alone competent to correct the evils to which every man is exposed in a state of nature," even though a "state of nature would be preferable to that of a civil state, if in it men could be secure from those injuries of which the civil state takes cognizance." However, "they cannot, and as it is necessary for the safety of mankind that crimes should not go unpunished, civil government founded upon universal justice, is the proper and only corrective."<sup>67</sup> Thus, for Cheetham—as stated in Locke's *Second Treatise*—government was designed to protect the rights of man. "Legislative, executive and judiciary powers, are all founded upon the reasonable presumption that offences against the well-being of society will be committed," he wrote, "and the necessity, for the end of general protection, that provision should be made for their rightful punishment."<sup>68</sup>

Cheetham emphasized the centrality of "the people" in constructing and instituting government. "It is evidence that all just government emanate strictly from the people," he maintained, that "from their universal equality and consent" national compacts are born and were, therefore, "the property of the people [and] are to be

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<sup>66</sup> See John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1952), par. 13.

<sup>67</sup> Cheetham, *A Dissertation Concerning Political Equality*, 22.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

considered at all times revocable by them.”<sup>69</sup> Cheetham’s *Dissertation*—similar to his later writings—demonstrated his firmly-held belief that a government was responsible for the well-being of the people. Indeed, throughout his ten-year career as a prominent journalist in New York City, he employed his Lockean sympathies to combat what he considered to be despotism. For instance, he objected to suffrage laws in 1802; he argued for the retention of a small claims court in 1803 that would protect the rights of lower-class New Yorkers; and he opposed the charter of a New York Merchant’s Bank in 1804 and 1806 which, he maintained, was in the best interest of the wealthy and not of the people.<sup>70</sup>

### *A Partnership with Mr. Denniston*

With his skills as a polemicist firmly established in New York City as a result of the *Diary* essays and *A Dissertation Concerning Equality*, in May 1801 James Cheetham entered into a partnership with David Denniston, the aforementioned printer and cousin of DeWitt Clinton, to assume the role of editor of Denniston’s fledgling Republican paper. Cheetham, however, claimed to have clandestinely edited the paper for up to a year before the onset of the partnership. “For nearly a year before my partnership connection with Mr. Dennison,” he wrote, “I gratuitously edited the paper, as far as it was edited.”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, James Cheetham, *Annals of the Corporation, Relative to the Late Contested Elections with Strictures Upon the Conduct of the Majority* (New York: Printed by Denniston and Cheetham); James Cheetham, *A Letter Concerning the Ten Pound Court in the City of New-York Addressed to the State Legislature* (New York: Printed for Denniston and Cheetham); James Cheetham, *Remarks on the Merchant's Bank* (New York: Printed by James Cheetham); James Cheetham, *An Impartial Enquiry into Certain Parts of the Conduct of Governor Lewis and of a Portion of the Legislature, Particularly in Relation to the Merchant's Bank in a Letter to the Republicans of the State of New York : With an Appendix Containing Important Documents* (New-York: Printed by James Cheetham).

Cheetham's involvement with the *American Citizen* could not have been more fortuitous. Denniston purchased the paper from Ann Greenleaf, the widow of Thomas Greenleaf, the former editor and proprietor of *The Argus, or Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser*, in March 1800 and re-christened the paper the *American Citizen and General Advertiser*. Greenleaf's *Argus*, according to the historian Frank Luther Mott, had been a part of the "bitter partisan disputes of the time," as it was "affiliated with the Republicans" in criticizing the administration of John Adams, "though much of its sharpest invective was borrowed from the *Aurora*."<sup>72</sup> Denniston, however, proved to be not only an incompetent businessman, but a substandard editor as well, and despite having invested nearly \$3,000.00 into the *American Citizen*, the circulation of his paper fell to 270.<sup>73</sup> The layout of the *American Citizen* was typical of newspapers in the early nineteenth century. It consisted of two leaves with the outside pages devoted entirely to advertisements, with the inside sheets outlining news both foreign and domestic, essays, poetry, and invariably and inevitably, Cheetham's editorials.

There are several conflicting versions of how James Cheetham entered into the partnership with David Denniston. For instance, in a letter to President Thomas Jefferson, Cheetham confessed that Vice-President Aaron Burr sent for Cheetham and advised him to begin editing an entirely new paper "under [Burr's] patronage" rather than becoming partners with Denniston, all based on Burr's promise of "one thousand

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<sup>71</sup> *American Citizen*, 25 May 1809.

<sup>72</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism; a History, 1690-1960*, 3d ed. (New York.: Macmillan, 1962), 134.

<sup>73</sup> Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism*, (Dubuque, Iowa: 1969), 123. Denniston was not a novice in the field of print journalism. According to Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, Denniston had been the editor of the *Newburgh Packet* from 12 May 1796 to 10 January 1797. See Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, I: 708.

Subscribers.”<sup>74</sup> Cheetham, however, declined the offer, and entered into the partnership with Denniston. Denniston, in a pamphlet authored by Cheetham, agreed with this version of the story.

Sometime after Mr. Cheetham and myself had agreed on the preliminaries of a co-partnership in the publication of the *American Citizen*, Mr. Cheetham informed me that Mr. Burr wished to see us both at his house...At the hour appointed, Mr. Cheetham and myself waited on the Vice-President. When seated a conversation commenced relative to our intended connection...Mr. Burr said that the [*American Citizen*] was so badly managed that he could not recommend it to his friends for their patronage...and that he would advise Mr. Cheetham to have nothing to do with it. He [Burr] wished to patronize a paper, and said that if Mr. Cheetham was inclined to publish one, he ought to establish a new paper, and not encumber himself with the *American Citizen*. Mr. Cheetham declared his intention to fulfill his verbal agreement with me, and added that he had no idea of establishing a new paper.<sup>75</sup>

On the other hand, Matthew Livingston Davis—Burr’s chief henchman and most trusted political ally—claimed in his private notebook that Cheetham demanded a bribe of \$1,500 to \$2,000 to publicly defend Burr in the *American Citizen* against the onslaught from the Clintonians. Indeed, Davis lamented that “if Cheetham had been purchased, I have no doubt the future destiny of Mr. Burr would have been different through life.”<sup>76</sup> As a consequence of his actions (or lack thereof), Davis would later regret events he could have prevented. “Under these attacks” from Cheetham, wrote Davis, Burr “fell

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<sup>74</sup> James Cheetham to Thomas Jefferson, 10 December 1801, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1: General Correspondence, Library of Congress (Washington, DC).

<sup>75</sup> James Cheetham, *An Antidote to John Wood’s Poison. By Warren*, (New York: Denniston and Cheetham, 1802), 60.

<sup>76</sup> Matthew Livingston Davis Memorandum Book, Rufus King Papers, Vol. 57, New-York Historical Society, 34. For a discussion of Davis’s Memorandum Book and its historical significance, see Jeffrey L. Pasley, “Matthew Livingston Davis’s Notes from the Political Underground: The Conflict of Political Values in the Early American Republic,” (Columbia: University of Missouri, 2000) <<http://jeff.pasleybrothers.com/writings/davisv2.htm>>. For Matthew Davis, see Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany; the Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971); Jerome Mushkat, “Matthew Livingston Davis and the Political Legacy of Aaron Burr,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1975); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic : The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979).



from the proud eminence he once enjoyed to a condition more mortifying and more prostrate than any distinguished man has ever experienced in the United States.”<sup>77</sup>

Davis’s admission contradicted Cheetham’s note to Jefferson, and although it is intriguing to consider that Davis turned down Cheetham’s offer, it is *also* reasonable to argue that Burr approached Cheetham rather than Davis declining an offer made by the editor of the *American Citizen*.<sup>78</sup> Yet another account implied that Cheetham had, up until his partnership with Denniston, been under the political auspices of Burr, and that through Burr’s influence—and Denniston’s inability to produce a sound republican newspaper—Cheetham was able to attain editorship of the *American Citizen*.<sup>79</sup>

Regardless of how James Cheetham and David Denniston entered into their business agreement in 1801, Cheetham approached his new role as editor of the *American Citizen* with zeal. For example, only three days after the public announcement of the partnership between Denniston and Cheetham, an editorial attacking the Federalist *Commercial Advertiser* was published, and was demonstrative of Cheetham’s vindictive style. Claiming that the *Commercial Advertiser* was “a polluted vehicle for the great portion of filth produced by the anti-governmentalists in this city,” Cheetham caustically chided Ebenezer Belden and George F. Hopkins for their Federalist sentiments.<sup>80</sup> In

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<sup>77</sup> Matthew L. Davis, ed., *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, 2 vols., (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers 1837), II: 99.

<sup>78</sup> Several letters to Jefferson from Cheetham demonstrate Cheetham’s distrust of Aaron Burr, which would explain why he would turn down employment from the Burrrites. See Cheetham to Jefferson, 10 December 1801, 29 December 1801, and 25 July 1804, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>79</sup> John Wood, *A Correct Statement of the Various Sources from Which the History of the Administration of John Adams Was Compiled and the Motives for Its Suppression by Col. Burr: With some Observations on a Narrative, by a Citizen of New-York*, (New York: Printed and sold for the author by G.F. Hopkins, 1802), 41.

<sup>80</sup> *American Citizen*, 4 May 1801. As noted in chapter one, Hopkins was regarded by the publishing community as a printer with deeply-rooted Federalist sympathies.

addition to publishing a daily newspaper and the semi-weekly country edition, the *Republican Watch-Tower*, Cheetham became a prominent figure in republican political circles through his participation in the Tammany Society.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, as shown in Figure 2.1, Cheetham was one of only six printers—along with his partner David Denniston, as well as Matthew Livingston Davis, printer of the *Time Piece*—who were initiated as braves in the Tammany Society between 1797 and 1801.<sup>82</sup>

**Figure 2.1: Occupational Status of New Members of Tammany Society, 1797-1801**

| <i>Occupation</i>    | <i>Number</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Artisans             | 57            |
| Tavern/Hotel owners  | 10            |
| Lawyers              | 7             |
| Cartmen              | 7             |
| Printers             | 6             |
| Merchants            | 4             |
| Miscellaneous        | 3             |
| Doctors              | 2             |
| Government Officials | 2             |
| Unknown              | 14            |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>112</b>    |

Cheetham’s ascension to the position of editor of the sole Republican paper in New York City not only brought him good political fortune through membership in the Tammany Society, it brought him considerable governmental patronage. Indeed, Cheetham was, at various times from 1801 to 1810, the “printer for the U. States, for the state of New York, and for the corporation of this city.”<sup>83</sup> According to the minutes of

<sup>81</sup> Cheetham was initiated into the Tammany Society on 9 June 1800. See “Minutes of the Tammany or Columbian Order,” New York Public Library. For Cheetham’s role in the Tammany Society, see Mushkat, *Tammany*, 25-26, 28, 32-38.

<sup>82</sup> This table is drawn from Jerome Mushkat’s inquiry of the social origins of new Tammany members. See Mushkat, *Tammany*, 25.

<sup>83</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 15 October 1806. Henry Stanley—the editor who replaced Dr. Peter Irving, who is discussed in chapter three—went onto say that “by virtue of the first, he published the laws of the Union; of the second the laws and public documents of the state; and of the third, the edicts of his worship, the bye-

the Common Council of New York, Cheetham was appointed as printer for the “Laws, Ordinances, and public resolutions” of New York City several times from 1801 to 1810, including 1802, 1803, and 1804.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, according to the *Washington Monitor*, Cheetham received \$3,000 per year as the printer for the state, with the sum being as high as “eight or nine thousand dollars a year of public money.”<sup>85</sup>

Curiously, much of Cheetham’s early career as the editor of the *American Citizen* was a departure from his role as a defender of the common man. Rather, he devoted much of his writing to invective aimed at DeWitt Clinton’s chief political enemy, Aaron Burr.<sup>86</sup> Given Burr’s somewhat unorthodox electioneering during the 1800 Presidential campaign, the Clintonians became suspicious of the newly-elected Vice-President.<sup>87</sup> Sensing that Burr threatened their political dominance, the Clintonians turned against him, and a bitter “pamphlet war” began. In May 1802, Cheetham warned readers about Burr.

Shall we then, be compelled to expose the Vice-President? Are his minions determined to compel us to break silence, and to uncover a character incapable of bearing the light of day? Shame, shame, citizens,

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laws and public proceedings of the common council, the reports of the city inspector, of the board of healthy, and numberless other offices and officers.”

<sup>84</sup> *Minutes of the Common Council of New York, 1784-1831*, (New York, 1917), see especially minutes for 22 July 1802, 31 January 1803, and 10 December 1804.

<sup>85</sup> *Washington Monitor*, 27 May 1809; *Morning Chronicle*, 4 October 1806.

<sup>86</sup> For a discussion of Cheetham’s attacks against Burr, see Steven C. Smith, “Printers, Called Republican in This City: The Power of the Political Press in Early National New York,” in *The Image of Power: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery*, ed. Will Wright and Steven Kaplan (Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado State University, 2006), 264-271.

<sup>87</sup> Mushkat, “Matthew Livingston Davis and the Political Legacy of Aaron Burr,” 127. Mushkat argues that because “Burr gradually emerged as the party’s strongman, his relations with its traditionally dominant factions, the Clintonians and the Livingstonians, grew strained.” See also Mary-Jo Kline, “Editorial Note: The New York Elections of 1800,” “The Republican Vice Presidential Nomination,” and “Electioneering in New England,” *Papers of Aaron Burr*, I: 419-426; 430-435; 443-446. Milton Lomask, *Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756-1805*, (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Girous, 1979): 231-267; Nathan Schachner, *Aaron Burr*, (New York, NY: A.S. Bares & Company, 1937): 167-187.

the Vice-President thanks ye for not exciting investigation of matters over which his superior *cunning* would throw a veil. Were he here he would chide you for these impolitic steps.<sup>88</sup>

The immediate cause of the “pamphlet war” was a rumor that Burr planned to suppress the publication of a book that criticized John Adams’ presidency. Accused of being a Federalist sympathizer, Burr defended himself by arguing the book “was calculated to do the republican party more injury than good.”<sup>89</sup>

In *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq.*, Cheetham claimed to have learned the “true character” of Burr, contending that “from his *Debut* in political life, he [Burr] has been ascending the ladder of fame and power by means on which no honest man can reflect with satisfaction,” and that he could cause harm to the young nation from his position of power.<sup>90</sup> Cheetham attempted to stain Burr’s entire political career, arguing that he appeared to be politically isolated, belonging to neither the Republican nor Federalist party. “With the eyes of a lynx,” Burr appeared to be a man without a sense of association.<sup>91</sup> Cheetham asserted:

While therefore he was distrusted by the Federalists, he was suspected by his own party. He was known to mingle with the opposite party in the Legislature, and frequently to manifest a double front. His tersgiversating conduct on many important points, furnished abundant reason to suspect the purity of his views, and the sincerity of his political professions. He

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<sup>88</sup> *American Citizen*, 20 May 1802.

<sup>89</sup> Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II: 85. The book referred to in the above discussion was John Wood, *History of the Administration of John Adams, esq. Late President of the United States*. Lomask noted the 500 page pamphlet “had been prepared in the Republican interest,” and Burr found it to be “a pastiche.” Furthermore, it consisted for the most part of attacks on Adams and his friends, culled from the Republican Press and interspersed with other matter, including ‘thirty pages of high eulogium’ on Burr himself. Seeing that these ‘low scurrilities’ would do the Republican cause more harm than good, Burr advised the publishers, Barlas and Ward, that the book was loaded with libel, some of it actionable.” Lomask, *Aaron Burr*, I: 314.

<sup>90</sup> James Cheetham, *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr, Esq., Vice-President of the United States*, (New-York: Printed by Denniston & Cheetham, 1802), 5.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 25

frequently exhibited solicitude for the success of federal measures in the house, by a wary avoidance of opposition to them.<sup>92</sup>

Cheetham focused on the botched presidential election of 1800. He perceived Burr's eye "steadily fixed upon the grand object of his ambition, and his body and mind moving, as a *serpent*, heedless of the means by which he might attain it."<sup>93</sup> Moreover, the editor claimed that Burr and his friends schemed and intrigued to secure the Vice-Presidential nomination.<sup>94</sup> Cheetham also lashed out against a southern author named "Rice Planter," whom he believed to be Burr's son-in-law, Joseph Alston. "Rice Planter" proclaimed Burr to be ranked "among the defenders of American Independence," arguing that he possessed a "rigid and inflexible republicanism" and was "endowed with a mind vast, liberal, and comprehensive."<sup>95</sup>

Cheetham accused Burr of scheming to attain the Presidency in order to settle his monetary debts because the salary of the Vice-Presidency was considerably lower than what he desired.

Five thousand dollars per annum, the salary of the Vice President, are known to be inadequate to the payment of interest of his debts. He had fixed his basilisk eyes on the Presidency; and, in the fulness of his sanguine disposition, he entertained a hope, that, by able management, he might fill that office before Mr. Jefferson, to whom it was exclusively

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>94</sup> Cheetham contended that "he certainly did, for the first time since he *turned* to the *Republican* party, display great zeal and alacrity in favour of the city ticket. He did what was the duty of every good citizen; he exerted himself *in favour of* that party who have hitherto upheld the freedom of the Union." HOWEVER, Cheetham shot back by writing "did not every Republican heart palpitate in favour of the cause? Did not every Republican rally around the standard of freedom at that time with more than common ardour and solicitude?" Ibid., 38; 40.

<sup>95</sup> "Biographical Sketch of Aaron Burr, by a *Rice Planter* of South Carolina," *Albany Register*, 9 January 1801; Cheetham fired back at the anonymous author by refuting that Burr had "*revolutionized* New-York and Rhode Island," and that "to every man acquainted with these States, such misrepresentations to deceive persons at a distance, must appear as the offspring of the most inordinate vanity, or the most unprincipled ambition." Cheetham, *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr*, 41-42.

allotted by the people. Hence, the moment he was nominated, he put into operation *a most extensive, complicated, and wicked system of intrigue*, to place *himself* in the presidential chair.<sup>96</sup>

Furthermore, Cheetham maintained that Burr conspired with Federalists to undermine the election of Jefferson.<sup>97</sup> Confident in his assertions, James Cheetham closed his discussion by writing “it is not necessary to dwell on the struggle which took place in the House of Representatives in choosing the President. The alarming impressions it made on every mind, can hardly be thus early effaced. We leave it, therefore, to some future historian to draw the picture. The issue is known.”<sup>98</sup> He concluded by writing that:

Perhaps so eminent an office never was bestowed upon a man of less merit, and none ever requited the benevolence with greater and more numerous evils. Above all other men it was incumbent on him, by his future good conduct, to merit the confidence and affections of his constituents. He was sensible, no man could be more so, that his past political life was exceedingly liable to yield to the touch of rigorous examination. It was therefore emphatically for him to avoid every thing that might excite an investigation; the natural course of which must issue in his disgrace...Too boundless in his views, ambitions, and disregard of the people, by grasping at every thing, he will lose the office he now holds, and alas! His fancied political reputation.<sup>99</sup>

Cheetham’s salvo sent political shock-waves throughout New York and the young nation, resulting in widespread discussion. Indeed, the *Connecticut Republican Magazine* printed excerpts from *A View*, along with numerous other newspapers.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Cheetham, *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr*, 42.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 57. Cheetham continued by writing that “the leading federalists openly declared themselves in favor of the Vice-President, who was instantaneously transformed into the idol of the party.” *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 75. For a discussion of the electoral controversy of 1800, see See Freeman, *Affairs of Honor*, 199-261; See also Daniel Sisson, *The American Revolution of 1800*, (New York, NY: Knopf, 1974); Bernard A. Weisberger, *America Afire : Jefferson, Adams, and the revolutionary election of 1800*, (New York, NY : William Morrow, 2000); John S. Pancake, “Aaron Burr: Would-Be Usurper,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1951): 204-213.

<sup>99</sup> Cheetham, *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr*, 119-120.

Curiously, Burr supporters remained optimistic. “Every man should wish for a Cheetham,” wrote Thomas Law.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, Burr, in a letter to his son-in-law Joseph Alston, vented his disgust of Cheetham’s publication.

You will herewith receive the second book. The malice and the motives are in this so obvious, that it will tend to discredit the whole. The charges which are of any moment will be shown to be mere fabrications. But there seems at present to be no medium of communication. The printers, called republican in this city, are devoted to the Clintons, one of them being nephew of the governor, and of course, cousin to Dewitt... You will shortly receive an explanation of this controversy, but not from me.<sup>102</sup>

In an obvious display of contempt, Burr lashed out against the numerous accusations, but he also made two interesting points worth mentioning. Indeed, he complained about the “the printers, called republican in this city,” referring to the *American Citizen*, the only Republican paper in the city, sponsored by the Clintonians. Soon thereafter, Burr established a newspaper partial to his cause, the *New-York Morning Chronicle*, a topic that will be discussed in chapter three.

### ***United Irish Exiles and the Irish Community in New York***

As the previous section demonstrates, the first several years of Cheetham’s editorial career were spent attacking the opponents of the Clintonians. It was not until a controversy within New York’s Irish community that Cheetham regained his affinity for standing up for the afflicted, in this case the “little Irish community” that formed in early nineteenth-century New York by “ties of friendship and marriage,” a community that enjoyed “the blessings of liberty and property that fate had denied them” in Ireland.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> See Luther Pratt, ed., *Connecticut Republican Magazine* 3, no. 1(1803): 81-89; *Connecticut Republican Magazine* 4, no. 1(1803): 121-130.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Law to Aaron Burr, 23 December 1803, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 811.

<sup>102</sup> Aaron Burr to Joseph Alston, 19 July 1802, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 730.

Consisting primarily of middle-class businessmen, lawyers, and professionals, the newly-arrived Irish attempted, according to the historian Paul Gilje, “to mold the Irish American community in their own image,” all while assimilating into the “mainstream of society while retaining some elements of their Irish identity.”<sup>104</sup> As Kerby A. Miller notes, most Irish immigrants between 1783 and 1814 were “substantial farmers and artisans—weavers, millwrights, tanners—in middling circumstances,” as well as “a significant minority” of merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, school masters, and physicians.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, Irish emigrants to the newly founded American republic—in contrast to those who came before them—paid their own ways and often times traveled in family units.

Many Irish émigrés were members of the Society of United Irishmen, a group of reformers that originated in Dublin and Belfast in the early 1790s. The United Irishmen, according to Miller, “at first merely agitated for parliamentary reform, protective tariffs, and total repeal of the Penal Laws but which eventually conspired for complete independence and the establishment of an Irish republic based on universal suffrage.”<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Martin Burke, “Piecing Together a Shattered Past: The Historical Writings of the United Irish Exiles in America,” in *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism, and Rebellion*, ed. David Dickson, Dâaire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1993), 297; Richard Robert Madden, *The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times*, 7 vols. (London: J. Madden, 1842), II: 190-194.

<sup>104</sup> Paul Gilje, “The Development of an Irish American Community in New York City before the Great Migration,” in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 71.

<sup>105</sup> Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 170. Miller explains that “a large proportion of these emigrants commanded capital, skills, and education; many were well-to-do farmers’ sons who were excluded from inheriting family holdings and who recognized that other opportunities in even a relatively prosperous Ireland were far less prevalent and potentially lucrative than those in the new American Republic.” *Ibid.*, 172. See also David Noel Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760-1820* (Dublin: The Mercier Press for The Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland, 1981).



Adopting rhetoric from the American and French Revolutions, the United Irishmen appealed to a middle-class audience. Their movement, however, ultimately failed, and many of the middle and upper-class leaders of the movement—including Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Macneven, William Sampson, and John Daly Burk—sought refuge in the United States after the failed rebellion in 1798, and became leaders among the New York Irish.<sup>107</sup> Almost immediately after their arrival, they secured patronage from Republican politicians who were “eager to enlist the exiles’ aid in mobilizing the Irish vote.”<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the former leaders of the United Irishmen became prominent members in the Hibernarian Provident Society, a relief organization established in 1802 that sought to “guide New York’s new Irish immigrants and to protect and promote their interests,” as well as construct Irish-American identity.<sup>109</sup>

As Irish émigrés continued to arrive in New York between 1783 and 1814, distinct Irish communities began to form in certain areas of the city. The Irish often settled near Bancker and Harmon Streets, not far from the docks of the East River. In the early nineteenth century, however, their numbers expanded not only in population but spatially, and they eventually would occupy the Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Wards. Gilje,

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<sup>106</sup> Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 182-183. For more on the Society of United Irishmen, see Michael Durey, “The Dublin Society of United Irishmen and the Politics of the Carey-Drennan Dispute, 1792-1794,” *The Historical Journal* 37, no. 1 (1994).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 185. Regarding the social status of the 1798 exiles, Miller writes that “the majority of emigrating United Irishmen were probably like the poor farmers and artisans in one vessel bound for New York: a set of Steerage Passengers ripe for every Species of Disorder particularly while their Whiskey lasted.” However, a large proportion of the Protestants especially came from middle-and even upper-class backgrounds. The rebellion crushed and their property confiscated, they were “literally transported from his Britanic Majesty’s Dominions under the sentence of a Court Martial, or obliged to fly to avoid instant death by military execution.”” Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 185.

<sup>108</sup> Kerby A. Miller and others, eds., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan : Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 609.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 617.

through analysis of tax records, jury lists, census lists, and other sources, found large pockets of Irish “in and above Greenwich Village,” as well as “Ferry, Rose, and Hague Streets in the Fourth Ward; Lombardy, Bancker, and Henry Streets in the Seventh Ward; and Elizabeth, Mulberry, Orange, Greenwich, and Prince Street in the Eighth Ward.”<sup>110</sup> Only in the Sixth Ward, however, did the Irish—according to Gilje—break their patterns of settlement and dominate an entire neighborhood.

Clannishness among the Irish, while seen as objectionable to native-born New Yorkers, aided not only the development of their communities, but helped foster solidarity in the political sphere as well. Indeed, as historian Alfred F. Young explains, Republican leaders seized on the publicity surrounding the beating of two Irish ferrymen at the hands of Federalist magistrate, making it a *cause célèbre* that would galvanize the city’s Republican and Irish base to oust the Federalists in 1800, in the wake of the Alien and Sedition fiasco.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, from that point on into the nineteenth-century, Republican politicians—with the aid of James Cheetham—could control the Irish vote in New York. As a consequence, though, intense nativism began seeping through Federalist channels, especially in the pages of Alexander Hamilton’s *New-York Evening Post*, edited by his political confidant William Coleman, who continually refused to see a parallel between the Irish and American Revolutions, a political union commonly celebrated by Irish-Americans, and by Cheetham on the sheets of the *American Citizen*.

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<sup>110</sup> Gilje, “The Development of an Irish American Community in New York City,” 75. For further discussion of Irish settlement patterns in New York, see Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy*, 127-28, 142, 161; Carole Groneman Pernicone, “The Bloody Ould Sixth: A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1973).

<sup>111</sup> Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763-1797*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture), 486-495.

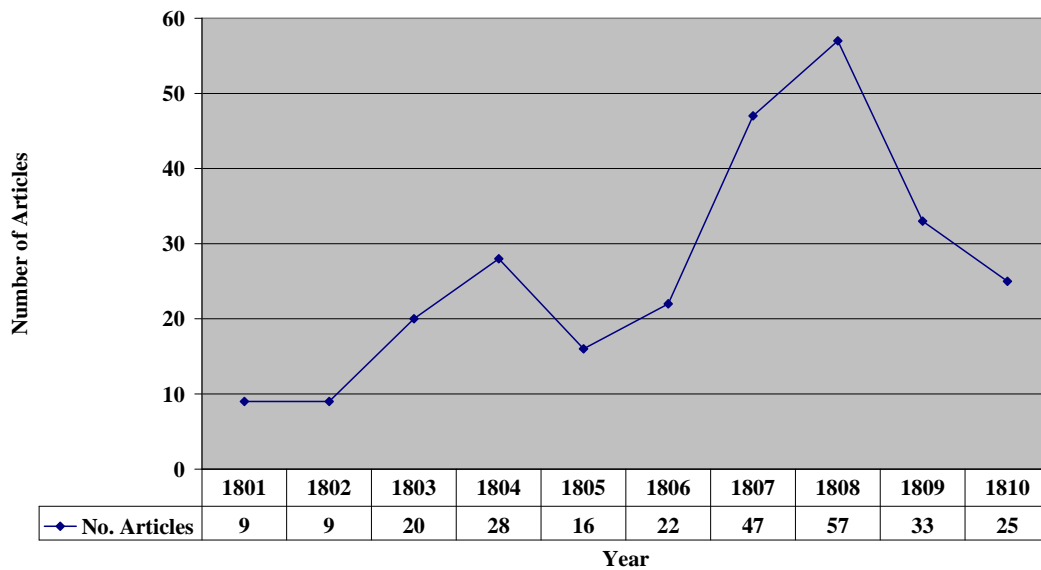
### *The American Citizen and the Shaping of Irish Identity in New York*

As discussed above, Cheetham spent much of the first few years of the nineteenth-century attacking opponents hostile to Clintonian politics, leaving little time for his Lockean sympathies that predated his rise to prominence as the editor of the *American Citizen*. A controversy surrounding Federalist politician Rufus King, however, drastically re-shaped the remainder of his editorial career. Prior to the King incident Cheetham had, for the most part, provided room in his paper for issues relating to the Irish community in New York, but the Irish and their concerns did not often contribute to his often acerbic editorial style. As Figure 2.2 indicates, the *American Citizen* printed an average of seventeen pieces related to Irish-Americans, with twenty-eight in 1804. Indeed, the New York Irish often complained of the lack of editorial concern for the Irish and their native country offered in the city's newspapers. For example, in a letter to Dr. Robert Simms of Belfast, John Chambers complained that "the News Papers have taken no interest in the affairs of our little country & insert (rarely) anything respecting it."<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> John Chambers, New York City, to Mr. Robert Simms, Belfast, 9 May 1806, United Irishmen Letters, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. 1759/3B/6. See, for example, "Speech of Sir Francis Burdett," *American Citizen*, 31 July 1802.

**Figure 2.2: Number of Irish-related pieces in the American Citizen, 1801-1810**



Although Cheetham printed Irish-related news in the *American Citizen* sporadically from 1801 to 1806, he attempted to foster a community identity for the Irish in New York, as well as naming their detractors. For instance, Cheetham wrote in 1802 that “at a time when it has become fashionable...to vilify and revile men of *Irish Birth*,” it was necessary to remind the public that the Irish had “adopted” the United States “as their country, and are daily becoming naturalized Citizens.”<sup>113</sup> Indeed, Cheetham considered the “*meritorious* Irish” to be “useful citizens,” “good Americans,” and “faithful supporters of the People,” criticizing Federalist opponents for chastising Irish-Americans.

And what sort of men are they, Americans that are in the practice of calumniating the Natives of Ireland? What are they, that have derided the National Character of the Irish, exulted over their sufferings, stigmatized them with the most odious and illiberal Epithets, and striven to repel from our shores, those hapless Fugitives from “*Poverty*,” and “from Oppression,” who, as our Forefathers did seek an “Asylum in this Land?”

<sup>113</sup> *American Citizen*, 8 November 1802.

They are your *Otis's*, your *Harpers*, your *Dayton's*, and your *Bayards*. *Such* are the characters, who, in order to gratify a silly ambition, and in the hope of accomplishing mad and delusive projects beyond their reach, would sacrifice the interests and the honor of their country...Such is the characteristic traits of *modern Federalism!*<sup>114</sup>

In addition to Cheetham's objections to terms such as "renegade," "foreigner," and "vagrant" when used against Irish-Americans, he continually defended his own status as a naturalized American citizen. Indeed, after arriving in September 1794, Cheetham, although reveling in relative obscurity as a hat manufacturer, demonstrated that he was a "man of good moral character attached to the Constitution of the United States," and as a result he was naturalized on 25 November 1797 at the Common Pleas Court of New York, with one Edward Smith—himself a hatter—serving as his sponsor.<sup>115</sup> Cheetham, realizing the difficulty of attaining citizenship in the wake of the Alien and Sedition Laws, was protective of his status as a naturalized American, objecting to being characterized as a "*turbulent and officious alien*," encouraging "any person desirous of ascertaining" his citizenship to examine his naturalization certificate, which he kept at his Pearl Street office.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, Irish-Americans in New York were keenly aware of the difficulties associated with attaining naturalization. For example, when discussing naturalization in a letter to Robert Simms, John Caldwell wrote that "no country under heaven, throws more obstacles in the way" of men hoping to attain citizenship than the United States, even though much is promised to "emigrants of every description, provided they are industrious & well conducted."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Kenneth Scott, ed., *Early New York Naturalizations: Abstracts of Naturalization Records from Federal State, and Local Courts, 1792-1840* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 9.

<sup>116</sup> *American Citizen*, 10 and 24 July 1801.

Cheetham's publication of yearly toasts by the Hibernarian Provident Society contributed greatly to the development of Irish-American identity.<sup>118</sup> As David Waldstreicher notes, "toasts possessed the dialogic character often found in early modern literature," in that these momentous occasions offered daily in the local tavern, "toasts were often the centerpiece of festive dinners."<sup>119</sup> Toasts were indeed acts of symbolic political loyalty, and these bold public proclamations, often under the influence of strong drinks at a local tavern, were diligently recorded and published in newspapers. "Taverns were far more than places to imbibe," writes Waldstreicher, and "men repaired there to read the newspapers and discuss politics: they were ideal sites for these public acts of affiliation."<sup>120</sup> Toasts re-printed in local newspapers, according to Waldstreicher, were part of an expressive "imagined community" based on newspapers serving as "documentary windows onto the scenes and symbols" of political discourse in the early republic.<sup>121</sup>

In this instance, by publishing the public toasts of the Hibernarian Provident Society in addition to patriotic songs and poems, the *American Citizen* gave Irish-

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<sup>117</sup> John Caldwell to Robert Simms, 18 October 1802, United Irishmen Letters.

<sup>118</sup> For the Hibernarian Provident Society, see Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, Miller, et. al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 617.

<sup>119</sup> David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes : The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture). See also Simon P. Newman, *Parades and Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983).

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 11. For the origin of the term "imagined community," see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. Waldstreicher draws heavily from Anderson's theory for his discussion of celebrations, festivals, newspapers, and literature of early America in order to illustrate the development of American "nationalism."

Americans in New York a sense of importance within the larger community. For example, in 1801 members of the society toasted the “memory of those brave and patriotic Irishmen, whose lives have been...sacrificed” in an unsuccessful attempt to emancipate their “country from British tyranny,” as well as “the people of America, the freest and consequently the happiest on earth.”<sup>122</sup> Moreover, the toasts of 1802 reminded the Republican Irish residing in New York that they were “indebted to the American people for an asylum from oppression,” and that they should make it their duty to advance the “happiness and honor of their adopted country.”<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, Cheetham reprinted poetry by Irish-Americans that offered a nostalgic glimpse for “true Sons of Erin” to remember the “blood of our brothers,” who fought valiantly against English tyrants.<sup>124</sup> Another poem that celebrated the life of Bartholemew Teeling, a United Irishmen who advocated the “the principles of Liberty and the equal rights of man,” and who was subsequently convicted of high treason for his role in the failed rebellion of 1798, appeared in the pages of the *American Citizen*.<sup>125</sup>

When bloated Britain’s bloody train,  
 The scourge of half a groaning world,  
 Shall sleep beneath our green domain,  
 Or from our craggy coast he hurl’d;  
 Then *Teeling* o’er thy lowly grave  
 Erin’s warm sons shall sorrowing bend;  
 Shall say, here rests the truly brave,  
 The tyrant’s foe, the people’s friend.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> “Toasts of the Hibernarian Provident Society,” *American Citizen*, 20 March 1801. The members also toasted “the President of the United States,” as well as a call for a revision of the Alien and Sedition laws.

<sup>123</sup> “Toasts of Hibernarian Provident Society,” *American Citizen*, 19 March 1802. For more Hibernarian Toasts, see *American Citizen*, 22 March 1803,

<sup>124</sup> “A New Song by the Irish Patriot,” *American Citizen*, 22 March 1802.

<sup>125</sup> *American Citizen*, 18 April 1803.

<sup>126</sup> Anonymous, “To the Memory of *Bartholemew Teeling*,” *American Citizen*, 18 April 1803.

Thus, by conflating the memory of Ireland with that of the United States, Irish poets and the Hibernarian Provident Society presented a distinct Irish-American identity for recently arrived émigrés.

### ***Rufus King and the Election of 1807***

The controversy surrounding Rufus King's candidacy for a seat in the State Assembly of New York in 1807—an incident that catapulted Irish-Americans to the forefront of public debate in New York City—originated in the devastation of the failed Irish rebellion of 1798. Thomas Addis Emmet, one of Ireland's premier barristers, was the legal adviser of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen.<sup>127</sup> Shortly after the United Irishmen were outlawed, Emmet became a prominent leader within the organization and was, by mid-1797, the leader of the movement in southern Ireland, even serving as editor of Dublin's leading opposition newspaper, *The Press*. Emmet sought political equality for all Irishmen, declaring publicly that the goals of the United Irishmen movement were “an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in Parliament,” and a “union of power” among the Irish.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, Emmet used his political ties to solicit military

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<sup>127</sup> For Thomas Addis Emmet and the United Irishmen in New York, see Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Jennie Barnes Pope, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1939); Nancy J. Curtin, *The United Irishmen : Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791-1798* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); David Dickson, Dâaire Keogh, and Kevin Whelan, *The United Irishmen : Republicanism, Radicalism, and Rebellion* (Dublin, Ireland: The Lilliput Press, 1993); Solomon Nadler, “Federal Patronage and New York Politics: 1801-1830” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973); Thomas P. Robinson, “The Life of Thomas Addis Emmet” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1955); Richard J. Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States, 1790-1820* (New York: Garland, 1989); David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States : Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998).

<sup>128</sup> Macneven and Emmet, *Pieces of Irish History*, 255-279; Haines, *Memoir of Emmet*, 40-73; Madden, *United Irishmen*, V: 255-279. Emmet's goal for the rebellion was, according to Miller, “an equality of rights, not of property; and he believed that both elite leadership and the presence of a disciplined French army were essential to prevent insurrection from degenerating into “acts of outrage and cruelty” that “would give the nation lasting causes of grief and shame.” Miller, et. al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 610-611.



aid from Revolutionary France for a rebellion.<sup>129</sup> Emmet was confident that the union between the French mercenaries and the United Irishmen would “take place,” doing much to ameliorate the “condition of the poor, in abolishing tythes, in establishing a national system of education, and in correcting the ‘bloody nature’ of the criminal code.”<sup>130</sup> The rebellion, however, was crushed, and Emmet—along with his compatriots William James Macneven and William Sampson—struck a deal with Charles Cornwallis, the first Marquis Cornwallis and lord lieutenant of Ireland, that allowed the rebel leaders to seek exile in the United States in exchange for agreeing to “disclose the outlines of their conspiracy (without divulging names).”<sup>131</sup> Emmet, according to historian Richard Twomey, was “appointed spokesman to negotiate a general amnesty on behalf of all state prisoners then lodged in Dublin’s prisons,” and as a result of his efforts, on 21 October

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<sup>129</sup> Miller, et. al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 610-611. See also Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 101.

<sup>130</sup> Rosamond Jacob, *The Rise of the United Irishmen, 1791-1794*, (London, 1937), 43; Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 37.

<sup>131</sup> Miller, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 611. William Macneven was a doctor educated in Vienna, and a close associate with Emmet and William Sampson within the Directory of the United Irishmen. He arrived in America following his release from prison in 1804. William Sampson, was a Trinity College of Dublin trained lawyer who became an active defender of the United Irishmen in both the court and in the pages of *The Press*, helping to draft the “Belfast Resolutions” that called for wholesale Parliamentary reform. Charged with high treason for his radical disposition, he was released from prison in 1799, and after having spent some time in Spain, France, and Germany, arrived in the United States in 1805. See Madden, *United Irishmen*; William James MacNeven and Thomas Addis Emmet, *Pieces of Irish History Illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen, and of Their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government* (New-York: Printed for Bernard Dornin); Michael J. O'Brien, *In Old New York: The Irish Dead in Trinity and St. Paul's Churchyards* (New York: 1928); Deasmumhan O Raghallaigh, "William James Macneven," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 30 (1941). Charles Cornwallis, the first marquis and second earl Cornwallis, was the commander of British forces in the southern colonies during the American Revolution following Clinton's return to New York in 1780. After his surrender at Yorktown, Cornwallis served the crown as the governor-general of India from 1786-1793 and later as the lord lieutenant of Ireland during the rebellion (1798-1801), enjoying far greater success at suppressing the rebels than he did in the former North American colonies. For studies of Cornwallis, see W. S. Seton-Karr, *The Marquess Cornwallis* (Oxford,: Clarendon press, 1890); Franklin B. Wickwire and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The American Adventure* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970); Franklin B. Wickwire and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis and the War of Independence* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

1798 “the prisoners were granted permission to retire to a neutral country on the condition that none of them return to Europe.”<sup>132</sup>

Emmet and his fellow Irish rebels thought their immediate emigration to the United States was explicit in their agreement with Lord Cornwallis. That was not the case, however, as the British government rescinded their agreement on 22 October 1798, in part, they would later allege, because of Rufus King, the U.S. ambassador to Britain and arch-Federalist from New York. King used his considerable diplomatic influence to ensure that “all prisoners *except*” Emmet, Macneven, and others “would be allowed to emigrate.”<sup>133</sup> Incensed, Emmet demanded to know why King would prevent “avowed republicans” from immigrating to the United States.<sup>134</sup>

Although Emmet knew the United States offered the opportunity to resume his life following the failure of 1798, he knew it was rife with “disadvantages,” namely the activity of Federalists who opposed his emigration.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, King expressed to fellow Federalist Alexander Hamilton in a private letter that if United Irishmen attempted to immigrate to the United States, “our government will have the power and inclination to exclude these disaffected characters, who will be suffered to seek an asylum among us.”<sup>136</sup> Moreover, he explained his motivation in preventing the emigration of Emmet

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<sup>132</sup> Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 43.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>134</sup> William James MacNeven and Thomas Addis Emmet, *Pieces of Irish History Illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen, and of Their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government*, (New York: Printed for Bernard Dornin, 1807), i-xi. See also Charles Glidden Haines, *Memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet*, (New York, 1829), 68-82 and Samuel Neilson, *Brief Statement of a Negotiation between Certain United Irishmen and the Irish Government, in July, 1798*, (New York, 1802), 6, 38-39.

<sup>135</sup> Thomas Addis Emmet to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, 8 July 1802, in Madden, *United Irishmen*, VI: 59-60.

and Macneven that radical Irishmen had, upon reaching the United States, sided with “the *malcontents*”—“especially in our middle states.”<sup>137</sup>

Consequently, many prominent self-described republican leaders of the United Irishmen were prevented from entering American ports through the efforts of King, forcing them to linger for many years in the dungeons of English prisons. When they did arrive, however, they received heroic welcomes from their countrymen in New York, as well as considerable attention from James Cheetham, who published lengthy notices of their arrivals as a political gesture to not only Irish-Americans, but to the Federalists as well. For example, in July 1805 Cheetham wrote that “we have great pleasure in stating the arrival in this City of Doctor Mac Neven, late an eminent Physician of the City of Dublin,” a gentleman who “distinguished himself in the Irish cause of 1798” that unsuccessfully attempted to “shake off English domination.”<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, Cheetham announced the arrival of William Sampson, “the Irish Barrister, whose great exertions in defense of his suff-ring countrymen, have exposed him to so much persecution.”<sup>139</sup> Cheetham considered Sampson to be a “gentleman” of “various accomplishments” that would “entitle him to high rank among men of learning and genius,” thus making him an “agreeable acquisition to society” in New York.<sup>140</sup>

The King ordeal exploded in 1807 after Emmet and his fellow United Irishmen had firmly settled into the New York political sphere as adjuncts to the Clintonian

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<sup>136</sup> Twomey, *Jacobins and Jeffersonians*, 43.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>138</sup> *American Citizen*, 15 July 1805.

<sup>139</sup> *American Citizen*, 7 July 1806.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

Republicans. Emmet, in order to unify the city's large Irish population attached his name and considerable public influence to DeWitt Clinton, who, in return, offered political protection. Such a union was politically disastrous for New York Federalists. Following the national and state elections in 1800 and 1801, Federalist power declined rapidly in the United States, especially in New York. Indeed, by 1806, the Federalists controlled only nineteen of the 112 State Assembly seats.<sup>141</sup> Federalists attributed this political declension in part to the insurgence of Irish-Americans in New York. "This city," lamented David B. Ogden in a letter to William Meredith, "is completely ruled by Irishmen."<sup>142</sup> Moreover, editors in-league with the Federalist Party railed against the influence of these "serpents," who would "befall America" with their "dreadful evils, moral and political."<sup>143</sup> Further, Federalists accused the Clintonian Republicans of abusing naturalization laws, allowing Irish-Americans to become naturalized citizens in about "half the time" as required by the law.<sup>144</sup>

Initially, the Federalists tried to capitalize on the large Irish-American community by nominating Andrew Morris—an Irish-American—for a seat in the State Assembly in 1807. This maneuver backfired, however, as the Hibernarian Provident Society declared that any member who voted for the Federalist ticket would be permanently expelled from their ranks.<sup>145</sup> Soon after the failure to lure Irish-Americans away from the Clintonian

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<sup>141</sup> Strum, "Federalist Hibernophobes in New York," 7.

<sup>142</sup> David B. Ogden to William Meredith, 6 May 1807, William Meredith Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>143</sup> *New York Evening Post*, 4-6 September 1804; *New York Gazette*, 5 May 1806.

<sup>144</sup> *New York People's Friend*, 4 May 1807.

Republicans, Cheetham published a scathing public letter from Emmet to Rufus King, who was on the same ticket as Morris as a candidate for the state assembly. Emmet wrote that prior to engaging in a discussion of King's candidacy, he wanted to make a "few general observations" regarding King's efforts to prevent "our being permitted to emigrate to America."<sup>146</sup> Emmet asserted that the "misfortunes" of having the negotiations between Great Britain and the United Irishmen absolved were "incalculable," with Emmet and his compatriots wasting "four of the best years of our lives in prison."<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, Emmet maintained that neither President John Adams nor King were "warranted to prevent our touching these shores," even though Adams could have deported the United Irishmen "if he had reason to think we were plotting anything against the United States."<sup>148</sup> In a demonstration of support for Emmet and the Irish community—with pecuniary gains in mind—Cheetham ran advertisements for a "second edition of the *Citizen*," of 9 April "containing Mr. Emmet's letter to Rufus King...is ready for sale at this office."<sup>149</sup>

King scoffed at Cheetham's audacity in publishing Emmet's letter. Reacting to the 9 April 1807 issue of the *American Citizen*, King deflected the charges in a letter to a

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<sup>145</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 4 April 1807. See also John D. Crimmins, *St. Patrick's Day: Its Celebration in New York and Other Places, 1737-1845*, (New York, 1902), 309-310; Strum, "Federalist Hibernophobes in New York," 9.

<sup>146</sup> Thomas Addis Emmet, "To Rufus King, Esq.," *American Citizen*, 9 April 1807. See also "To Rufus King, Esq.," *American Citizen*, 6 April 1807. Throughout the election of 1807, Coleman continually attacked Emmet in the pages of the *New-York Evening Post*. See, for example, 4, 11, 13, 15 April 1807. For example, Coleman proclaimed to his audience that he would "prove that *Thomas Addis Emmet* in his late letter to Mr. King, was guilty of a falsehood in an assertion material to his defence against the crimes with hath he stood charged." *New-York Evening Post*, 14 April 1807.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> "Mr. Emmet's Letter," *American Citizen*, 10 April 1807.

close friend. Writing that his candidacy “has awakened old animosities and brought up others of a more recent and malignant nature against me,” King characterized Emmet as a man “full of insolence, vanity and malignity” who, on a daily basis, was “assailed with the lowest and coarsest ribaldy,” haranguing Irish-Americans “on the subject of Irish oppression,” making light of “having interfered with their being permitted to come to this country.”<sup>150</sup> Moreover, in an unpublished address endorsed by King, Emmet’s attack was viewed as an “unworthy attempt to excite discord and hatred between the new and old citizens,” arguing that King acted in the best interested of the United States, which was embroiled in an undeclared war with France.<sup>151</sup>

Cheetham did not shy away from such a controversial topic. Using Emmet as a symbolic figurehead, Cheetham appealed to Irish-Americans by conflating their failed rebellion of 1798 with the American Revolution, maintaining that to vote for Federalists was a demonstration of loyalty to British tyrants. For example, Cheetham asserted that “the same principles, the same love of liberty, the same ardor to resist the tyrannical oppressions of Britain which animated the bosoms of Washington, of Jefferson, of Clinton, and a thousand other worthies of our revolution, glowed in the soul of Emmet.”<sup>152</sup> Indeed, Cheetham argued that the “cause of Ireland was the cause of the

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<sup>150</sup> Rufus King to Mr. Gore, 10 April 1807, in Charles King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King; Comprising His Letters, Private and Official, His Public Documents, and His Speeches* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s sons, 1894), v. 5: 23-24. King’s published papers, which number six large volumes, was published in the late-nineteenth century by his grandson, Charles. Charles King vehemently denounced both Emmet’s and Cheetham’s criticisms of his grandfather, writing that “the history of Mr. King’s agency relative to the prevention of the emigration of the Irish State Prisoners has been so clearly given in the body of this work, that it would seem unnecessary to introduce any further proof of the falsity of the charges brought against him.” King, ed., *Correspondence of Rufus King*, v. 5: 23. See also King, ed., *Correspondence of Rufus King*, v. 2: 635-648.

<sup>151</sup> “Endorsed by R.K. Dft. Of an address to the Pub. Respecting my interference to prevent the Exile of the Ir. Stat. Prisrs. to the U.S.,” King, ed., *Correspondence of Rufus King*, v. 5: 24, 25, 27.

<sup>152</sup> *American Citizen*, 14 April 1807.

United States—the cause of mankind—the cause of the world,” and “if resistance to tyranny *must* be termed *rebellion*, against the British government, and so did the United States.<sup>153</sup> Accordingly, Cheetham considered King’s refusal to allow Irish emigration to be “unauthorized and cruel conduct.”

Alas! Mr. King denied this ASSYLUM TO THE OPPRESSED, and although the British government, less cruel than him, had given permission to the unaccused—untried—but imprisoned patriots to emigrate to “America,” yet Mr. king stepped in, in violation of the constitution of his country, to stop their emigration and to keep them immuted in dungeons! But the patriotic Congress of ’76, and the sage convention of ’87 could not foresee this—no, it was not in the heart of man to conceive that a minister of the United States, rebelling against the principles of the revolution, and transgressing the laws of his country and of God, could have been guilty of an offense so enormous. Irishmen—men of all nations—all ye in whom the spark of ’76 is not extinct, read this paper—reflect—and act.<sup>154</sup>

Furthermore, Cheetham accused King of succumbing to “aristocratic pride,” becoming a “DUPE AND TOOL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,” a “base instrument of the oppression and cruelty of the British government,” a government, Cheetham maintained, that destroyed Ireland “with fire and sword.”<sup>155</sup> As a result of his “interposition between the British cabinet and the Irish state prisoners,” wrote Cheetham, King “forfeited whatever claims...to the esteem and confidence” of New Yorkers.<sup>156</sup> Federalists, on the

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<sup>153</sup> *American Citizen*, 6 April 1807. Cheetham goes on to write that “the savage plunderings, burnings, and massacres committed by the British troops in the “Colonies,” thus eloquently described by Congress, were reiterated upon the people of Ireland with ten fold aggravation and effect. For Ireland, British genius was exhausted in inventing tortures—in inflicting pain and death...

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.* See also *American Citizen*, 8, 10, 11, 13, 20, 23, 25, 28 April 1807.

<sup>155</sup> *American Citizen*, 11, 13, 20 April 1807.

<sup>156</sup> *American Citizen*, 13 April 1807.

other hand, argued that there was no connection—social or political—between the American and Irish rebellions.<sup>157</sup>

Moreover, sensing a larger concern at stake in the Emmet-King affair, Cheetham seized the opportunity to argue on behalf of Irish immigrants, asserting that recently arrived foreigners were equal to native-born Americans. “The native citizen cannot with impunity traduce the alien,” he wrote, “nor can the alien, exempt from liability to the laws, calumniate the native citizen,” for in “respect to the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press the native and the alien have equal rights.”<sup>158</sup>

As the 1807 election drew closer, the Federalists—sensing their support dwindling and the strength of the Republican-Irish alignment growing through Cheetham’s considerable influence—re-named their ticket after unsuccessfully trying to lure Irish-Americans into their fold with the Morris candidacy. As a consequence of Cheetham’s barrage against Rufus King and fellow hibernophobic Federalists, the “American Party” was created in order to appeal to native-born New Yorkers, especially mechanics and laborers. The “American Ticket” was opposed not necessarily to “foreigners as such,” but rather to that “restless, disorganizing set of unprincipled demagogues,” the Clintonians.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, William Coleman portrayed Federalists on the “American Ticket” as a group that knew “no other distinctions between foreign and native citizens,” mentioning—much to the dismay of Cheetham, as outlined above—“that the name of a foreigner, and an Irishman, ANDREW MORRIS, has now been placed on

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<sup>157</sup> See, for example, “Letter III,” *New-York Evening Post*, 7 April 1807, “Letter IV,” *New-York Evening Post*, 16 April 1807, “Letter VII,” *New-York Evening Post*, 17 April 1807

<sup>158</sup> *American Citizen*, 13 April 1807.

<sup>159</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 4 April 1807.



our Assembly ticket.”<sup>160</sup> Despite such proclamations, however, Coleman could not resist attacking the Irish-Americans, asserting that the “*Provident Hibernarian Society*, which was corporated for charitable purposes, has now been wickedly converted into an electioneering engine,” with men who were “yet an alien in our country” delivering “the most inflammatory” speeches.<sup>161</sup>

Federalists considered the political activity of Irish-Americans to be a threat to their liberty. For example, at a meeting held at Gilbert’s Long Room, Federalists resolved that “officious interference by foreigners and aliens with our elections,” was an act that could not “long be submitted to without endangering our liberties, and is therefore calculated to awaken the apprehensions, and rouse the indignation of every American.”<sup>162</sup> Indeed, Federalists considered the criticisms offered by Emmet and Cheetham regarding Rufus King’s ministerial activities in the late-eighteenth century to be “impudent” and “intermeddling with our concerns, and an outrage upon all propriety and decorum,” urging New York voters to use their “best exertions to promote the success of the AMERICAN TICKET.”<sup>163</sup> Just as Republicans tried to capitalize on loosely connecting the Irish and American rebellions, Coleman and the Federalists attempted to conflate Emmet with the controversial former Girondin, Citizen Genet, who married into the Clinton family.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 8 April 1807.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. For further examples of such resolutions enacted by other wards in the city, see *New-York American Citizen*, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22 April 1807.

<sup>164</sup> “Emmet and Genet,” *New-York Evening Post*, 14 April 1807.

As the election neared, Coleman and Cheetham continued to jeer at one another, pleading with readers to support their political platforms. For Coleman, the outcome of the election would finally determine the course of the early republic, namely whether or not the United States would take on the character of Revolutionary France—which, by that time, had dwindled into Napoleonic dictatorship. Indeed, the question was whether the “followers and disciples of WASHINGTON,” (in other words, *true* Americans), or those who supported the politics of “*Genet, Emmet, and Tom Paine.*”<sup>165</sup> Coleman urged New Yorkers to vote for the “AMERICAN TICKET” that consisted of “*Patriotic Americans,*” hoping to block Emmet and DeWitt Clinton.<sup>166</sup> “*No Dictators, no Jacobins,*” but “AMERICANISM, and our Country *Forever.*”<sup>167</sup> Indeed, Coleman seemed confident heading into the election, writing that “victory already hovers over us.”<sup>168</sup> Cheetham, on the other hand, asked how Irish-Americans could cast votes for “a *single* man upon” the American ticket, especially after Federalist newspapers published several “insolent paragraphs” that accused Irish-Americans of brawling, drunkenness, and clannishness.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, Cheetham pleaded with the Irish to “rise in your might and strength, and put down by your votes the BRITISH PARTY,” in other words, the Federalists.<sup>170</sup> In order to secure Irish-American participation in the election, Cheetham

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<sup>165</sup> “The Question Stated,” *New-York Evening Post*, 27 April 1807.

<sup>166</sup> “American Ticket,” *New-York Evening Post*, 28 April 1807. See also *New-York Evening Post*, 29 April 1807.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *American Citizen*, 29 April 1807. See, for example, *Morning Chronicle*, 28 April 1807. See also *New York Mercantile Chronicle*, 28-30 April 1807.

<sup>170</sup> *American Citizen*, 30 April 1807.

reminded Irish-Americans that Federalists were the “base tool of the British government.”

Irishmen! Catholics! In opposing the BRITISH PARTY, you support the cause of republicanism—of Religion and of God. Come then to the polls, my friends—bring up your neighbors, and down with the BRITISH FACTION.<sup>171</sup>

Federalists, according to historian Harvey Strum, were confident following the election that they had tapped into the anti-Irish nativism in the city in order to regain their political authority. Indeed, according to one Federalist, “the conduct of the Irish and French raised [the part] beyond all former example.”<sup>172</sup> Such bravado, however, proved to be false and unwarranted, for the so-called “American Ticket” was universally rejected by residents of New York—city and state—with Republicans gaining a majority of State Assembly seats and ousting Morgan Lewis from the Governor’s mansion. Moreover, as a result of their victory, Irish-Americans “marched past the homes of the major Federalist Assembly candidates in New York City, including Rufus King and Andrew Morris,” shouting, howling, and hissing at the American Party’s candidates, all while “cheering for Thomas Emmet.”<sup>173</sup>

The 1807 election and the Rufus King controversy were turning points for Cheetham and the Irish community. Indeed, King was a lasting issue for Cheetham, for the editor was still asserting in 1809 that King, rather than being an “*honourable man*, the Minister of an independent nation,” was instead the “abject tool of the British

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> William Van Ness to Ebenezer Foote, 11 April 1807, Ebenezer Foote Papers, New York State Library.

<sup>173</sup> Strum, “Federalist Hibernophobes in New York,” 12.

government.”<sup>174</sup> The election demonstrated latent Federalist hostility to Irish immigrants, and Federalists would again blame the Irish-American community for their failure to elect their ticket in 1808, criticizing the Republicans for catering to a “tribe fresh from the bogs of Ireland.”<sup>175</sup> Moreover, the election catapulted Cheetham’s *American Citizen* to the forefront of Irish-American politics, beginning his drift away from the Clintonian Fold as he asserted his political influence and independence. No longer were the Irish cursory individuals in his newspapers; rather, the Irish-American community received considerably more attention following the election of 1807, with Cheetham taking their interests seriously, opening his newspapers for Irish grievances.

### ***Reconstructing Irish Transatlantic Identity***

Following the election of 1807, Cheetham, according to historian Michael Durey, began “showing dangerous signs of political independence,” especially given the increasingly fractured relationship between Cheetham and DeWitt Clinton. Indeed, Cheetham was a useful scapegoat in the wake of Clinton’s continuous political somersaults. As a result of his growing sense of duty to defend the common man—as well as his disdain for continually serving as Clinton’s political aegis—Cheetham opened the pages of the *American Citizen* to Irish-Americans, becoming the unofficial public organ for the community of Green Republicans.

Cheetham’s championing of Irish-Americans occurred in the midst of his active campaign against the presidential nomination of James Madison, as well as his opposition to Jefferson’s Embargo, a policy Cheetham considered to a “complicated act of national

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<sup>174</sup> *American Citizen*, 25 April 1809.

<sup>175</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 28 April 1808.

folly and atrocious suicide.”<sup>176</sup> Although the embargo was wildly unpopular among the city’s merchants, New York Republicans stood behind Jefferson’s policy.<sup>177</sup> Cheetham, however, argued that opposing the embargo was a “great, sacred and imperious duty,” one that was “infinitely superior to the party disputes of party men.”<sup>178</sup> In a blithe political maneuver, Clinton cast the editor of the *American Citizen* adrift when, upon his ascension to the state Senate, he toed the party line of supporting the embargo, even though he had previously chaired an anti-embargo meeting. Consequently, in late February 1809, the Republican Party, after accusing Cheetham of being a “base libeler, a political assassin, an enemy to the government of our country, a secret foe to the republican cause, [and] an insidious factionist,” purged the editor from their ranks and him of his membership in the Tammany Society.<sup>179</sup> Soon thereafter, the state Senate, with Clinton’s blessing, dismissed Cheetham as a state printer, thus ending the often-

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<sup>176</sup> *American Citizen*, 31 December 1807. For Cheetham’s opposition to Madison, see *American Citizen*, 27 July 1808. After a Republican caucus chose Madison as the presidential candidate for the party, Cheetham was infuriated, calling the caucus “an assemblage of intriguers, privately convened to plot their own elevation, upon the ruin, not unfrequently, of better men.” See Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, (New York, 1809), iv.

<sup>177</sup> Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New-York*, I: 263.

<sup>178</sup> Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine*, 153. For discussion of the embargo, see Louis Martin Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*, (New York, Octagon Books: 1966); Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York*.

<sup>179</sup> *American Citizen*, 1 March 1809. See also *Public Advertiser*, 30 January 1809, 9, 11, 22 February 1809; *New-York Evening Post*, 6, 23 February 1809. The Martlingites, a group of pro-Madison Burrrites and Livingstonians who gained control of the party, initially wanted to oust DeWitt Clinton. The Martlingites were angered by Clinton’s apparent opposition to the Embargo, and used the election of 1808 as a test of loyalty to Madison and the party. Forcing a meeting of the party’s General Committee at Marling’s Tavern in New York City, the Burrrites and Livingstonians gained control of the city, leaving DeWitt Clinton in control of the countryside. Sensing a shift in the political sphere, Clinton decided to ally himself with the Martlingites in order to protect his own political career. As a result, Cheetham became expendable. See Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 270-173; Mushkat, *Tammany*, 32-39; Cornog, *The Birth of Empire*, 76, 96, 109, 113, 116, 183; Siry, *DeWitt Clinton and the American Political Economy*, 142-146.

tenuous relationship between party boss and editor. Clinton, who chaired the committee in the Senate that decided Cheetham's fate, voted "with the majority."<sup>180</sup>

In the midst of this constant political turmoil, the Irish-Americans were a constant concern for Cheetham. Asserting that the *American Citizen* was the only newspaper in New York City that allowed Irish-Americans a voice in the community, Cheetham continued his campaign to foster an identity for New York's Irish. Cheetham continued to counter Coleman's denunciations, writing that "the abuse constantly accumulated upon the Irish character" induced him to "mention the historical fact, which is so honourable to the soldiers of that nation who fought and bled for our Independence."<sup>181</sup> When such "want of attachment to the country is wantonly flung in their faces," he asserted, "and the city is wounded by the thrusts which they receive, he who could refuse to render them justice, having it in his power, would do them wrong."<sup>182</sup>

Cheetham, continuing his crusade to craft an Irish-American identity, chronicled the persecution of Irish patriots, a tactic that cleverly appealed to their sense of political isolation in New York at not only being underrepresented on committees within the Republican Party, but the denial of admission into the Tammany Society as well. "Wherever they go," lamented Cheetham, persecution seemed "to be the lot of the Irish patriots."<sup>183</sup> Beginning with the failed rebellion of 1798, Cheetham recounted the hardships Irish-Americans faced, especially the destruction of the radical newspaper *The Press*. "Types, presses, cases, and all the apparatus of the enlightening art, were thrown

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<sup>180</sup> "And You too, Brutus," *American Citizen*, 4 April 1809.

<sup>181</sup> *American Citizen*, 10 May 1808.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> "Persecution of the Irish Patriots," *American Citizen*, 23 September 1808. For more examples, see also *American Citizen*, 19 and 25 March 1808, 22 April 1808, 12 August 1808, and 14 December 1808.

into the streets and entirely destroyed by the ruffian bands of a mercenary soldiery.”<sup>184</sup> With the press silenced in Ireland, the patriots escaped to the United States, only to be confronted with “extreme persecution” at the hands of “the federal party,” who executed their xenophobic campaign with “unrelenting rigor.”<sup>185</sup> Irish-Americans, according to Cheetham, received limited political salvation following the election of 1800 that saw the Republican Party sweep into power, only to see the party fracture into numerous competing factions. Abraham Stagg—a Madisonian-Martlingite—asserted that he was “*determined to exert himself to put down the IRISH,*” claiming that they were a “*turbulent set of beings,*” vowing to “*blackball every one of them who might*” attempt to gain admission to the Tammany Society.<sup>186</sup> Cheetham considered Stagg’s proclamation to be an “inflammatory declaration” that was “accompanied with remarks intended to degrade the Irish nation.”<sup>187</sup>

Irish-Americans sought Cheetham’s help in order to assert their political identity. For example, William Murphy of 54 Front Street, after having received an invitation from the Secretary of New York’s First Ward to attend a Federalist meeting at the Tontine Coffee House, wrote to Cheetham. Murphy, proclaiming himself to be an Irishman, asserted that he was “strenuously opposed” to casting a vote for Federalists.<sup>188</sup> “For my part, Mr. Editor,” wrote Murphy, “I cannot conceive what those federalists mean, unless they expect to purchase Irish votes for a half a pint of whiskey, as they often

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<sup>184</sup> *American Citizen*, 23 September 1808.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> “A Specimen of Madisonian Conduct,” *American Citizen*, 21 September 1808.

<sup>187</sup> “Persecution of the Irish Patriots,” *American Citizen*, 23 September 1808.

<sup>188</sup> “William Murphy to James Cheetham,” *American Citizen*, 26 April 1808.

boasted they can.”<sup>189</sup> Murphy concluded his letter by asking Cheetham to warn Irishman of the dangers posed by Federalists, a party more than willing to ignore their own nativist prejudices in order to gain political power. Moreover, an Irishman calling himself “Sarsfield” wrote to Cheetham in October 1808 regarding a story published in the Federalist *Public Advertiser*. In the piece, George White and Jacob Frank maintained that because of Cheetham’s English heritage, he was secretly opposed to Irish participation in the Republican Party.<sup>190</sup> “Sarsfield,” however, wrote “I have been in this city nearly five years, and during that period have scarcely ever missed a day without perusing [the *American Citizen*], and I must confess...I never beheld therein during that period a single assertion, insinuation or expression that could possibly be construed into an item derogatory to the fame or character of an Irishman.”<sup>191</sup>

Accordingly, Cheetham appealed to the Irish community regarding their lack of representation on committees within the Republican Party. For example, Cheetham aligned himself with the Adopted Republican Citizens, a group of immigrants devoted to Republican political principles, yet considered themselves as having been “*denominated FOREIGNERS and treated as SLAVES.*”<sup>192</sup> Asserting that immigrants—especially Irish-Americans—were “*systematically excluded from the Republican committee of nomination, now assembled to name representatives to govern you,*” Archibald Taylor and former United Irishman Dr. Stephen Dempsey urged voters to “abstain from the

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 28 October 1808.

<sup>191</sup> “Sarsfield to James Cheetham,” *American Citizen*, 31 October 1808. Sarsfield also asks “has this been the case with the *Public Advertiser* or its proprietors” Frank and White? “No, sir, the *Public Advertiser* has grossly insulted, in the most public point of view, the honest, virtuous, industrious Irish republican.” *American Citizen*, 31 October 1808.

<sup>192</sup> “Address to the Adopted Republican Citizens of New York,” *American Citizen*, 15 April 1809.



polls” in order to “teach your *would be masters*” that “resisting tyranny wherever you find it or from whatever quarter it may come,” that naturalized Americans would be respected in the political sphere.<sup>193</sup> Indeed, the Adopted Republican Citizens resolved to “not support a ticket” in which they were “excluded from any participation,” as well as unanimously deciding to print their resolutions in the *American Citizen*.<sup>194</sup> The “Address” and “Resolutions” were reprinted two days later—with “EQUAL RIGHTS” as its headline—because of “the very numerous and unsatisfied applications which were made at [the office of the *American Citizen*],” as well as “the great sensibility which it has excited in many and the admiration of all.”<sup>195</sup> Furthermore, Adopted Republican Citizens congregated in separate meetings in the Sixth and Ninth Wards, concluding that Cheetham should re-print their resolutions. The Ninth Ward, for instance, asserted that even though they were “sincerely and serious attached to the Republican cause,” they would not “permit ourselves to be reduced to the odious condition of *slaves*, in a country boasting of its freedom,” thus refusing to support the Republican Party in the election of 1809.<sup>196</sup> Lastly, Cheetham made his office the political focal point of the Adopted

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid. The address goes on to say that “it is said that you are FOREIGNERS! Yes, you who have complied with all the requisites of the constitution and the laws, and are of right and in fact and to all intents and purposes *citizens*, are banished, by men calling themselves republicans, from public confidence! Countrymen of...Emmett...what say you to this? If all self respect and national recollection be not extinct—if you are not the [illegible] descendants of [illegible] ancestors—if all remembrance of the tyranny which you yourselves have suffered, and the toils and perils which you have encountered to escape from its deadly grasp, be not removed from the seat of memory—if your feeling [illegible] blunted by faction—if your hearts are susceptible of a pant, you will *resist* [the efforts] to reduce you to the vile condition of slave.” “Minutes of the Adopted Republican Citizens, *American Citizen*, 15 April 1809.

<sup>194</sup> “Resolutions of the Adopted Republican Citizens of New York,” *American Citizen*, 15 April 1809.

<sup>195</sup> *American Citizen*, 17 April 1809.

<sup>196</sup> “Resolutions of Adopted Republican Citizens of the Ninth Ward,” *American Citizen*, 20 April 1809.

Republican Citizens by announcing that anyone could obtain copies of the “Address from his Pearl Street office.”<sup>197</sup>

The actions of Cheetham and the Adopted Republican Citizens became a divisive issue within the Irish-American community, resulting in a hastily-convened meeting of the Hibernarian Provident Society in which United Irishmen pleaded with the dissenters that “*no distinction is made by Republicans between the native and foreign descendents of the fathers of this country.*”<sup>198</sup> Cheetham, however, argued that “the men who composed that meeting” of the Hibernarians, were “ambitious and designing men [forever] masked by a false exterior.”<sup>199</sup> Comparing the leaders of the Hibernarian Provident Society to the “*Orangemen of Ireland,*” Cheetham maintained that the Adopted Republicans had liberties that were being withheld from them.

The people of Ireland had a constitutional liberty, but it was withheld from them. Is not this precisely our own case here? We are free by the constitution and the laws, but we are not in practice very slaves. But let the Orangemen of the Hibernarian Provident Society do what they please; let them go on, let them abet a system of tyranny which has no parallel. *Verily they may have their reward.* We will however persevere. Our rights *shall* be respected. In defense of these we have suffered persecution before, and we can sustain it again. Finally we must triumph.<sup>200</sup>

Referring to the Hibernarian Provident Society as “Orangemen” was a symbolic gesture to not only the former United Irishmen, but to ordinary Irish-Americans in New York as well, for the Loyal Orange Order was organized by Irish Protestants in reaction to the Society of United Irishmen, helping to suppress the 1798 Rebellion with savage

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<sup>197</sup> *American Citizen*, 20 April 1809.

<sup>198</sup> “To the Republican Adopted Citizens,” *American Citizen*, 22 April 1809.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* For the Hibernarian Provident Society and the Orangemen, see also *American Citizen*, 24 April 1809.

ferocity.<sup>201</sup> Indeed, Stephen Dempsey, a leader of the Adopted Republican movement, publicly dissolved his association with the Hibernarian Provident Society, stating that he despised the “threats of any men actuated by the same motives as the said acting committee of the Hibernarian Provident Society, and do therefore take this public method of desiring them to have my name struck off their books and no longer considered a member of that society.”<sup>202</sup>

Prior to the April state assembly elections in 1809, the *American Citizen* and the Adopted Republicans pleaded with the New York Irish to withhold their votes for the Republican Party which, as a consequence, was an action that drew influence away from the Hibernarian Provident Society. One noteworthy example was composed by one of Cheetham’s correspondents with the pen-name “Sarsfield.” “Republican Irishmen, most of us have contended against monarchy,” wrote Sarsfield, “and all of us against federalism,” unite against the Republicans so that “*we will not be their slaves, nor shall they be our masters.*”<sup>203</sup> Indeed, Sarsfield asserted that the Republican Party, “when an election is over, and the victory won by our votes, treat us with contempt, and join with their political opponents in *laughing us to scorn.*”<sup>204</sup> Moreover, “An Irishman” wrote

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<sup>201</sup> For the Loyal Orange Order, see Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 69, 87-88, 118, 184-85, 189-91, 230-234, 245, 248, 258, 266, 323, 353, 377-80, 422-423, 443-445, 450, 453, 494, 550, 552; Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 22, 48, 61, 62, 74, 76, 95, 119, 157, 176. See also Michael Gordon, *The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition, and Control* (London ; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2000); Ruth Dudley Edwards, *The Faithful Tribe : An Intimate Portrait of the Loyal Institutions* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999); Tony Gray, *The Orange Order* (London: Bodley Head, 1972); Donald M. MacRaild, *Faith, Fraternity and Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, C. 1850-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005); Hereward Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain, 1795-1836* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1966).

<sup>202</sup> *American Citizen*, 24 April 1809.

<sup>203</sup> *American Citizen*, 24 April 1809.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

that even though Irishmen were called the “ragged regiment” amongst numerous other epithets, they would “not be shaken from [their] purpose” in combating American oppression at the hands of Federalists and conservative Republicans.<sup>205</sup>

Although Cheetham and the Adopted Republicans ultimately failed to oust the Republican “Throat Cutters” in 1809, they did, however, greatly succeed in reducing the Republican stronghold in the city assembly by convincing roughly 600 Irishmen to withhold their vote.<sup>206</sup> The outcome of the election infuriated leadership within the Republican Party, and a decision was made at haphazard meeting that a committee was to be appointed in order to “enquire and report to the people *what causes have produced the late unexpected and unexampled decline of our Republican majority.*”<sup>207</sup> Cheetham, though, scoffed at such a notion.

What? Is the government too as well as the republican party to disgraced by these proscribing and guinary acts? Upon what is the government to decide? What is it to do? To oppress and to punish republicans *because they had too much virtue and good sense to vote for men who are ever guilty of fresh violations of the principles of liberty?* They have gone to such an extreme of insolence and iniquity that every friend of freedom is alarmed. I have long foreseen this state of things and warned the community against it—But, alas! we are rapidly losing our independence and with it, I fear, our republican principles.<sup>208</sup>

### ***Sinister Motivations of a Political Nature***

During his brief—yet poignant—editorial career, James Cheetham garnered as many detractors as he did supporters, and these critics were especially apt at pointing to his shortcomings and various vices. For example, Thomas Barritt, a Poughkeepsie

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid. See also “Fitzgerald,” *American Citizen*, 24 April 1809.

<sup>206</sup> *American Citizen*, 1 May 1809.

<sup>207</sup> “Republicans Attend!” *American Citizen*, 3 May 1809.

<sup>208</sup> *American Citizen*, 3 May 1809.

resident derided Cheetham in a letter to Robert Hunter as “a consumit egotist” who was “a tyrant in every sense of the word, austere, proud and sordid.”<sup>209</sup> Stephen C. Carpenter and Lazarus Beach wrote in the *The People’s Friend & Daily Advertiser* that Cheetham patronized “outcasts,” maintaining that he loved faction above his adopted country.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, Samuel and James Bayard—after taking over editorial control of *The People’s Friend & Daily Advertiser*—called Cheetham a “liar” who was determined to “deceive” unsuspecting readers.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, the *Washington Republican; Or, True American*, a weekly Federalist paper edited by Thomas Hardastle—whose brother, John, edited the Federalist semi-weekly *Spirit of ’76*—considered Cheetham’s daily observations to be “too *whining*,” asserting that he was “in the habit of carrying a dagger” and was always ready for a political assassination.<sup>212</sup> Lastly, John B. Colvin—editor of the tri-weekly *Washington Monitor*—wrote that Cheetham possessed a “quickness of perception, a rapidity in the association of images, a retentive memory, and a vivid imagination.” Colvin, however, concluded that “the very faculty which makes him witty and agreeable, renders him incapable of correct decisions upon the subjects of his contemplation,” the result of his obsession with money, which was “the leading object of Mr. Cheetham.”<sup>213</sup>

As far as money was concerned, Cheetham’s opponents in New York delighted in pointing out the editor’s finances. In an attempt to demonstrate that Cheetham was a

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<sup>209</sup> Thomas Barritt to Robert Hunter, 1 October 1810. Robert Hunter Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>210</sup> *The People’s Friend & Daily Advertiser*, 17 November 1806.

<sup>211</sup> “To the Roman Catholics,” *The People’s Friend & Daily Advertiser*, 27 April 1807.

<sup>212</sup> *Washington Republican; Or, True American*, 4 November 1809.

<sup>213</sup> *Washington Monitor*, 27 May 1809.

political mercenary, editors such as Jacob Frank, George White, Charles Holt, and Henry Stanley mocked Cheetham's supposed financial success. In the *Public Advertiser*, Frank and White derided Cheetham's "stately mansion," writing that he "rears a numerous family, and is able to educate them in a style equal to the wealthiest of the native citizens."<sup>214</sup> Moreover, Holt accused Cheetham in the *Columbian* with "living in splendor," whereas Stanley claimed in August 1806 that Cheetham had accumulated property worth roughly sixteen thousand dollars in two years.<sup>215</sup> Nevertheless, Cheetham lost a bulk of the small fortune he accumulated through his Clintonian patronage as a consequence of at least thirty libel suits brought against him.<sup>216</sup>

Controversy seemed to continually swirl around Cheetham's Pearl Street office as he sought to either expose dishonesty or remedy political and social ills aimed at those less fortunate. Initially buoyed by the promise of Republicanism in the United States, eventually disillusioned by the failure of Jefferson and Madison to apply such principles, and finally betrayed by his patron and political ally DeWitt Clinton, Cheetham spent the last months of his career railing against the ideas he espoused during his early life in Manchester and throughout his career as one of the leading Republican editors in the United States. In a last-ditch effort to vindicate his name and chastise those who had wronged him, Cheetham published his vituperative *Life of Thomas Paine*, a diatribe

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<sup>214</sup> *New-York Public Advertiser*, 8 January 1810.

<sup>215</sup> *New York Columbian*, 29 November 1809, *Morning Chronicle*, 4 August 1806.

<sup>216</sup> *American Citizen*, 4 August 1806, 14 May 1807, 27 July 1807, 9 September 1807. Most of the libel suits brought against Cheetham were initiated by Morgan Lewis, who served as Governor of New York from 1804 to 1808, and his son-in-law, Maturin Livingston, New York City's Recorder. Between them, they sued Cheetham for libel over twenty times, and juries often times ruled against Cheetham, awarding damages as high as \$1,000.00 for one suit. See, for example, *The Trial of Maturin Livingston, Esq.: Against James Cheetham, for a Libel: Held at Sittings on the Twenty Eighth of Nov. 1807, before the Hon. Judge Spender* (New York: S. Gould, 1807)

aimed not only at Paine—whom he once idolized as a spry youth in Manchester—but Republican government in the United States.

Dismayed by his own failures, Cheetham lashed out against the political system he had once viewed as a beacon of hope for the rest of the world. Indeed, Cheetham became so disillusioned by his dismissal from the Republican Party and the Tammany Society that he rebuked his own defense of Naturalized Citizens in his biography of Paine. “Naturalized Citizens are to the Americans what the Helots are to the Grecians. There can be no greater slavery—no greater punishment for human pride and presumption.”<sup>217</sup>

Observers, both friendly and critical, viewed the biography as an attempt by Cheetham to gain favor with the British government in hopes of returning to England. Dr. John Francis, an acquaintance of Cheetham during his later years in New York, had suspected the editor had “sinister motives of a political nature” for composing the biography, while Gilbert Vale cited a claim by Charles Christian—a contemporary of Cheetham—in his biography of Paine that Cheetham hoped to capitalize on his machinations against Paine to secure a “passport to the British treasury.”<sup>218</sup>

Whether or not Cheetham hoped to return to England was never realized. Fourteen months following the desperate publication of *The Life of Thomas Paine*, Cheetham contracted malaria after moving his family to a residence three miles outside of the city. Soon thereafter in September 1810, according to Francis, Cheetham was

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<sup>217</sup> James Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense, the Crisis, Rights of Man, & C. & C.* (New York: Printed by Southwick and Pelsue, 1809), 124.

<sup>218</sup> Francis, *Old New York, or, Reminsices of the Past Sixty Years*, 142; Gilbert Vale, *The Life of Thomas Paine, author of “Common Sense,” “Rights of Man,” “Age of Reason,” etc., etc. With Critical and Explanatory Observations on His Writings* (Boston: Printed and Published at the Boston Investigator Office, by J.P. Mendum, 1863), 3.

“struck with a complication of ills—fever, congestion of the brain, and great cerebral distress.”<sup>219</sup> Francis continues by writing that

On the second day of his sickness, his fever raging higher, he betrayed a disturbed intellect. On the night of the third day raving mania set in. Incoherently he called his family around him, and addressed his sons as to their peculiar avocations for life, giving advice to one ever to be temperate of all things, and to another urging the importance of knowledge. After midnight he became much worse, and was ungovernable. With Herculean strength he now raised himself from his pillow; with eyes of meteoric fierceness, he grasped his bed covering, and in a most vehement but rapid articulation, explained to his sons, “Boys! study Bolingbroke for style, and Locke for sentiment.” He spoke no more. In a moment life had departed. His funeral was a solemn mourning of his political friends.<sup>220</sup>

Francis, who was familiar with numerous printers in early nineteenth-century New York, considered Cheetham to be “the ablest writer we have had in our public journals,” a “great reader” who “possessed a magnificent library.”<sup>221</sup>

As this chapter has demonstrated, James Cheetham’s legacy consists of more than his political ties to DeWitt Clinton and the biography of Thomas Paine. Rather, Cheetham was the consummate reformer stemming from his days in Manchester through his political career in New York City that witnessed the publication of more than a dozen pamphlets and two newspapers. He was—until the last months of his life—a man who championed society’s downtrodden. He advocated social justice and political rights for recently-arrived Irish-Americans and sought protection for the poor from greedy justices of the peace. Indeed, when arguing for the retention of the small claims court in New York, Cheetham wrote that

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<sup>219</sup> Francis, “Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New York,” 260.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 259. For notices of Cheetham’s death, see *American Citizen* and *New-York Evening Post*, 20 September 1810, *New York Herald*, 22 September 1810.



I am a poor, plain man, but thank God I can feel for the miseries of my species. I am hurt by the blows they receive, I can “joy with their joy, and sorrow with their sorrows.” I therefore tremble at the thought of so rash a deed as that which, without remorse, would destroy the court that, in a great measure, protects me from the craft and rapaciousness of men, appointed to administer the laws, needy, perhaps, unprincipled, doubtless without literary acquirements, who sully the reputation of the state, and of whom every poor man has cause to live in dread. God preserve me from such justices!<sup>222</sup>

Cheetham’s political prose was highly rhetorical, often times ridiculously so, and could, at times, be used in vindictive political assassinations. Despite his venomous tendencies, Cheetham drew from his knowledge of Lockean political theory to reach out to those less fortunate, rising above the fray of partisan politics to illustrate with eloquence and conviction social and political ills that existed first in Manchester and later in New York City. The lowly hat manufacturer who fled persecution in England eventually rose to the pinnacle of New York’s political sphere only to come crashing down, his public life cut short by DeWitt Clinton and his private life by a mosquito.

Yet, despite his fall from grace and his untimely death, James Cheetham’s career as an editor and polemist cast a lasting shadow on the New York political scene, especially in the Irish-American community. When drinking to the continued freedom of the press, Irish-Americans publicly thanked Cheetham for his “exertions to protect our national character against the unjust and illiberal prejudices of [our] federal opponents.”<sup>223</sup> Cheetham was described as a “printer, whose press always vindicated and defended [the Irish] when abused,” and as a result of his falling out with Clinton, was

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<sup>222</sup> See James Cheetham, *A Letter Concerning the Ten Pound Court in the City of New-York Addressed to the State Legislature* (New York: Printed for Denniston and Cheetham, 1803.), 38.

<sup>223</sup> “Toasts of Hibernarian Provident Society,” *American Citizen*, 22 March 1803 and 10 March 1807, “St. Patrick’s Day Toasts,” *American Citizen*, 19 March 1808. See also *American Citizen*, 14 December 1808, 22 April 1808.

“sacrificed to appease the disorganizing faction which rules this city, thereby attempting to put down the only public print through which your complaints and your wrongs could be made known to the people.”<sup>224</sup>

Consequently, historians have failed to correlate Cheetham’s considerable influence in the Irish-American community with the appearance of an Irish newspaper in the early nineteenth-century, “both of which strived to shape the identity of the community,” according to historian Paul Gilje, “asserting Irish nationalism, adhering to republican principles, and expressing a concern for new immigrants.”<sup>225</sup> Cheetham’s death in September 1810 created a void for Irish-Americans in the rhetorical public sphere once occupied by the *American Citizen*. Soon thereafter, a weekly paper printed initially by George Largin and Thomas Thompson for the editor Edward Gillespy titled *The Shamrock; or, Hibernarian Chronicle*, appeared on 15 December 1810, nearly three months after Cheetham’s death. There were subtle differences between the two publications. Whereas Cheetham opened his columns to middle-class Irish-Americans—namely, United Irishman exiles such as Thomas Addis Emmett—he also appealed to lower class readers, especially recently-arrived immigrants, by conflating Irish and American nationalism into a unique Irish-American identity, all while adhering to his own Republican sentiments. Conversely, Gillespy targeted middle-class émigrés by focusing on issues such as chastising the sectarian violence of Protestant Orangemen and freedom of religion for Protestants and Catholics in Ireland.<sup>226</sup> As the paper changed

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<sup>224</sup> *American Citizen*, 24 April 1809.

<sup>225</sup> Gilje, “The Development of an Irish American Community in New York City,” 73.

<sup>226</sup> On Orangeism, see *The Shamrock; or, Hibernarian Chronicle*, 22 December 1810. For Catholic emancipation, see 15 January 1811.

hands from Gillespy to T.O. O'Connor in 1816, the editorial focus of *The Shamrock* shifted to aiding recently-arrived Irish immigrants.<sup>227</sup>

There is little that is unique about *The Shamrock; or, Hibernarian Chronicle* when compared with Cheetham's *American Citizen*. Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, among his numerous attempts to aid New York's downtrodden was his mission to create for Irish-Americans a unique identity by conflating Irish and American nationalism, an aim scoffed at by most other editors in New York City. Thus, Cheetham's career in New York City stemmed greatly from his early involvement with the Manchester Reformation Society and the *Manchester Herald*. By constructing a transatlantic identity for a downtrodden group of people, Cheetham was also shaping his own identity that connected two cities and spanned an ocean, and this is perhaps his greatest legacy.

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<sup>227</sup> On immigration, see *The Shamrock*, 27 January 1816 and 5 July 1816. Gillespy often printed lists of Irish immigrants. See, for example, *The Shamrock*, 15 January 1811 and 23 March 1811. Largin and Thompson printed *The Shamrock* from 1810 to 1812, at which times those duties were transferred to Pelsue and Stephen Gould. The life of the paper experienced numerous ebbs and flows. It was suspended twice, first in June 1813 and then again in January 1815. The printing duties were passed on to T.O. O'Connor in September 1815, who relinquished duties to Henry Clayton and Daniel Fanshaw in June 1816. After a third suspension in August 1816, it was revived again by O'Connor who, in addition to printing the paper, became the editor. Clayton and Fanshaw printed the paper briefly in January 1817, and Peter Van Pelt and Benjamin Riley printed the paper until August 1817.

## Chapter Three

### **“A Man of Education and Talents”: The Strange Career of Dr. Peter Irving, Editor of the *New-York Morning Chronicle***

In 1812, during his second tour of Europe, Peter Irving—the former editor of the *New York Morning Chronicle* and *The Corrector*—bumped into an old ally in London at the home of Jeremy Bentham. The topic of conversation between the two was not philosophy, but rather old New York. Indeed, Irving and his former patron Aaron Burr—himself on a self-imposed European exile—reminisced about their experiences in the city’s divisive political sphere. The two men had not seen one another since perhaps 1807 when Irving boarded the packet *Thomas*, en route to Nantes. Irving, however, departed London rather abruptly, prompting Burr to speculate as to why his old friend left so suddenly. In the journal he kept while in Europe, Burr wrote that “he left town without having called on me again or offering me the least service,” leaving only an “apology that letters just received from the United States obliged him to leave town suddenly and unexpectedly.”<sup>1</sup> Irving, however, would voluntarily remain in Europe for the next twenty-four years, and made no mention of the encounter in his own travel diary.<sup>2</sup>

This awkward encounter in London typified the relationship between Irving and Burr. Both were ambitious men who would act spontaneously for their own personal

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<sup>1</sup> Aaron Burr, *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr, During his Residence of Four Years in Europe; with Selections from his Correspondence*, Matthew L. Davis, ed., 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1837), II: 275.

<sup>2</sup> See Peter Irving, *Peter Irving’s Journals, Edited from Manuscripts in the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, the Miriam Litcher Stark Library, University of Texas & the New York Public Library*, Leonard B. Beach, Theodore Hornberger, and Wyllis E. Wright, eds., (New York: New York Public Library, 1943).

benefit, and although Burr is generally considered one of the most ambitious men in American history, his former newspaper editor was also a political opportunist. As historian Jerome Mushkat notes, politics to Burr and his associates “was less the art of government than an avenue for immediate personal gain.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Irving agreed to edit Burr’s newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle*, in 1802—which he co-founded with Nathaniel Paulding—hoping to further his own political career in New York, and when that door was closed, he retired, only to accompany Burr down the Ohio River on his purported mission to separate the Western states from the Union. When that alleged plan was uncovered and Burr faced prosecution for treason, the opportunistic Irving jumped at the chance to sail for Europe, and when the downtrodden Burr demonstrated to his former editor that he had little to offer politically in London, Irving departed yet again.

This chapter is an attempt to provide a sketch of Peter Irving’s strange career as the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Corrector* within New York’s rhetorical public sphere and the methods he used to craft a political identity for himself, Burr, and his supporters as an alternative Republican faction opposed to the Clintonians.<sup>4</sup> When

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<sup>3</sup> Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 51.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of Peter Irving’s career as a Burrite editor, see Stanley T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press); Martin Roth, *Washington Irving’s Contributions to “The Corrector”* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), 3-40; Wayne R. Kime, “Pierre M. Irving’s Account of Peter Irving, Washington Irving, and *The Corrector*,” *American Literature* 43 (March 1971): 108-114. See also Kime, ed., *The Miscellaneous Writings of Washington Irving* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), I: xv-xxiii. For discussions of the Burrites, see Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Charles J. Nolan, Jr., *Aaron Burr and the American Literary Imagination* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Nancy Isenberg, “The ‘Little Emperor’: Aaron Burr, Dandyism, and the Sexual Politics of Treason,” in *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*, Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004): 129-158.

juxtaposed with James Cheetham, Irving is a stark contrast to the prickly editor of the *American Citizen*. The political socialization of James Cheetham occurred in dark Manchester taverns amidst fellow working-class radicals and at the foot of the *Manchester Herald's* wooden press. Peter Irving, on the other hand, was a licensed physician whose study titled *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Influenza* was published by Thomas and James Swords in 1794.<sup>5</sup> Even though he would evolve into an editor capable of slinging political insults at Cheetham, William Coleman, DeWitt Clinton, Alexander Hamilton, or anyone else opposed to Aaron Burr, Irving was an unlikely choice to handle the editorial duties of a daily political newspaper. Nevertheless, Irving was hand-picked by Burr to oversee publication of the *Morning Chronicle*, a decision that resembled Alexander Hamilton's selection of the young, talented Federalist lawyer, William Coleman, to edit the *New-York Evening Post*.

Even though Irving—a Columbia graduate, an aspiring doctor and politician, and leader in New York City's literary scene alongside his brother Washington—relinquished his duties as editor in December 1805, the *Morning Chronicle* continued publication until 1807 when it finally succumbed to the burdens of debt. The harsh political realities of New York forced Burr and his supporters to establish a political organ and, consequently, the *Morning Chronicle* was considered to be vital for the survival of Burrism. Irving, his newspapers, and Burr's "little band," therefore, are an example of the newspaper-based party system that developed in the nascent Republic, and the war of words between the

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Irving, *An Inaugural Dissertation on the Influenza. Submitted to the public examination of the faculty of physic, under the authority of the trustees of Columbia College, in the state of New-York, William Samuel Johnson, LL.D. president; for the degree of Doctor of Physic, on the sixth day of May, 1794. By Peter Irving, citizen of the state of New-York. [One line from Horace]* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, printers to the faculty of physic of Columbia College, 1794).

*Morning Chronicle*, *The Corrector* and other New York editors such as the radical émigré James Cheetham are demonstrative of the image of power struggles and the making of identity in the early republic.<sup>6</sup>

### *No Medium of Communication*

Why did Aaron Burr and his “Little Band” consider the establishment of a political newspaper essential for the success of their faction? Burr’s role (or lack thereof) in the disastrous Presidential election of 1800 provoked numerous attacks by his political enemies, and during this controversy Burr was accused of undermining the people’s will by attempting to steal the Presidency from Thomas Jefferson. Contemporaries accused him of aspiring to be “either Caesar or nobody,” and that “his ambitious mind is a Pandora’s box from whence proceed jealousy, hatred, revenge, desperation, and all the wicked passions that torment and perplex mankind.”<sup>7</sup> Realizing that he was an immediate threat to their political hegemony in New York, the Clintonian faction declared a war of words on their former ally and his “little band.”<sup>8</sup> DeWitt Clinton refused to appoint supporters of Burr to positions in the state government, and James Cheetham, the transplanted English radical and public mouthpiece of Clinton’s group,

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<sup>6</sup> For the newspaper-based party, see Pasley, “*The Tyranny of Printers*”. See also Wm. David Sloan, “The Party Press”; Sloan, “The Early Party Press”; Sloan, “Scurrility and the Party Press”; Sloan, “Purse and Pen”; Gerald Baldasty, “The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson,” *Journalism Monographs* 89 (1984): 1-28.

<sup>7</sup> “Brutus,” *Republican Watch-Tower*, 11 January 1804.

<sup>8</sup> Jerome Mushkat argues that because “Burr gradually emerged as the party’s strongman, his relations with its traditionally dominant factions, the Clintonians and the Livingstonians, grew strained.” Mushkat, “Matthew Livingston Davis and the Political Legacy of Aaron Burr,” *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1975): 127. See also Mary-Jo Kline, “Editorial Note: The New York Elections of 1800,” “The Republican Vice Presidential Nomination,” and “Electioneering in New England,” *The Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr*, 2 vols., Kline, et. al, eds. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), I: 419-426; 430-435; 443-446. Milton Lomask, *Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756-1805*, (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Girous, 1979): 231-267; Nathan Schachner, *Aaron Burr*, (New York, NY: A.S. Bares & Company, 1937): 167-187.

began a ruthless pamphlet war in July 1802 that has, according to historian Dixon Ryan Fox, not been “surpassed in all the annals of American campaigns.”<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Cheetham warned his readers about Burr. “Shall we then, be compelled to expose the Vice-President,” he asked. “Are his minions determined to compel us to break silence, and to uncover a character incapable of bearing the light of day?”<sup>10</sup> Thomas Jefferson’s election to the presidency, rather than unifying the young nation, instead fractured his party in New York, and the once-powerful alliance between the Clintonians and the Burrrites was now splintered into two warring factions.<sup>11</sup>

In July 1802 Burr hinted to Pierpont Edwards that a “knot of Knaves” was preparing a pamphlet certain to outline “imaginary intrigues of mine.”<sup>12</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>9</sup> Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of the Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*, Robert V. Remini, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 58. See also See Jabez D. Hammond, *A History of Political Parties in the State of New York* (Albany: C. Van Benthyson, 1842), I: 170-184. For DeWitt Clinton, see Evan Cornog, *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769-1828* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Dorothee de Bear Bobbé, *DeWitt Clinton* (Monton, Balch, & Company, 1933); Steven E. Siry, *DeWitt Clinton and the American Political Economy: Sectionalism, Politics, and Republican Ideology, 1787-1828* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990); Craig Hanyan with Mary Hanyan, *DeWitt Clinton and the Rise of the People’s Men* (Buffalo: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996); Craig Hanyan, “DeWitt Clinton: Years of Molding, 1769-1807,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964; Michael P. Lagana, “DeWitt Clinton, Politician Toward a New Political Order, 1769-1802,” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972; and Kenneth R. Nodyne, “The Role of DeWitt Clinton and the Municipal Government in the Development of Cultural Organizations in New York City, 1803-1817,” Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1969

<sup>10</sup> *American Citizen*, 20 May 1802.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview of the political history of early New York, see Alvin Kass, *Politics in New York State, 1800-1830* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965); David Maldwyn Ellis, *New York State and City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979); David Maldwyn Ellis, et. al., *A History of New York State* (Ithaca: Published in Cooperation with the New York State Historical Society and Cornell University Press, 1967); Mushkat, *Tammany*; Howard Lee McBain, *DeWitt Clinton and the Origin of the Spoils System in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907); Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987—Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760-1790* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Fox, *The Decline of the Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*; Hammond, *The History of the Political Parties in the State of New York*.



Cheetham boasted that a “person is now engaged in writing a view of Mr. Burr’s *political* life, which will be put to press in a few days.”<sup>13</sup> Cheetham portrayed Burr and his “Little Band” as ruthless, scheming political opportunists, and his monopoly of the Republican press in the city forced the Burrrites to establish their own newspaper. Indeed, Burr—in a rare display of contempt—sneered at the partisanship of the New York press in a letter to his son-in-law Joseph Alston. “There seems at present to be no medium of communication,” he wrote, “the printers, called republican in this city, are devoted to the Clintons.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, as a consequence of the frustration at having no public voice, Burr established the *Morning Chronicle*—with aid from Irving and Nathaniel Paulding—in 1802 as an attempt to craft a political identity in New York’s Republican circles that had been, up that point, dominated by James Cheetham.

### ***Manly Freedom and Genuine Republican Principles***

Publication of the *Morning Chronicle* began on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1802 at the height of Cheetham’s pamphlet war. Irving promised that the *Morning Chronicle* would “advocate with manly freedom genuine REPUBLICAN principles,” and that these intentions “shall be prosecuted with decision and perseverance,” and with “decency and decorum.”<sup>15</sup> Irving asserted that his newspaper, “in the fair field of honorable competition,” would be “ever ready to meet its adversaries,” all while not descending to “unworthy practices” that would threaten a man’s “private character.”<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, aside from promoting

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<sup>12</sup> Aaron Burr to Pierpont Edwards, 15 July 1802, in *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 728.

<sup>13</sup> *American Citizen*, 29 June 1802.

<sup>14</sup> Aaron Burr to Joseph Alston, 19 July 1802, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 730.

<sup>15</sup> “Prospectus of the *Morning Chronicle*,” *Morning Chronicle*, 1, 2 October 1802. For an analysis on the importance of a newspaper’s “prospectus,” see Sloan, “The Early Party Press,” 18-24.

political, commercial, and literary interests, the *Morning Chronicle* sought a more leisurely audience. “To aid in affecting these purposes,” wrote Irving, “an invitation is given to all persons of leisure and literary taste,” for the “sportive effusions of wit and humor, as well as the more serious productions of erudition, will receive a welcome and grateful insertion in THE MORNING CHRONICLE,” while “malignancy, detraction, [and] scurrilous abuse,” that filled the pages of the *American Citizen*, for example, “shall never be permitted to stain its pages.”<sup>17</sup>

Irving’s gesture to a more learned audience is one of the more striking—and perhaps contradictory—aspects of his career as a partisan journalist. Irving was *not* a transplanted European radical as many editors in the early Republic were, including his adversary James Cheetham.<sup>18</sup> He was a trained physician who initially aspired to practice law. As a patron of the arts, Irving “converted his doctor’s office at 208 Broadway into a ‘resort for the Muses’” and mingled with fellow literati in the “Lads of Kilkenny” club that congregated regularly at a coffeehouse in Lower Manhattan near the Park Theatre.<sup>19</sup> In 1796 with the aid of William Dunlap, Irving helped found the genre of American

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> *Morning Chronicle*. 1, 2 October 1802.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter two. For more discussion on transatlantic radicalism, see Michael Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997); “With the Hammer of Truth”: James Thomson Callender and America’s Early National Heroes (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990); “Thomas Paine’s Apostles: Radical Emigres and the Triumph of Jeffersonian Republicanism,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1987): 661-688. See also Nigel Ken Little, “Transoceanic Radical: The Many Identities of William Duane,” Ph.D. diss., Murdoch University—Perth, Western Australia, 2003; Kim Tousley, Phillips, “William Duane, Philadelphia’s Democratic Republicans, and the Origins of Modern Politics,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1997): 365-87; Phillips, *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1989; Pasley, “*The Tyranny of Printers*”, especially 176-195.

<sup>19</sup> Beach, ed., “Introduction,” *Peter Irving’s Journals*, 8-9; Stanley Thomas Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), 23, 25-26, 35-36, and Nancy Isenberg, *Fallen Founder: The Life of Aaron Burr* (New York: Viking, 2007), 247-248.

theatrical criticism. Lastly, he had been elected to the state legislature prior to becoming editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. This early part of his career should be taken into consideration when analyzing his career as a partisan editor. Burr considered him to be “a man of education & talents & merits Esteem & respect” and he was, according to his chief, a “decided republican, but not of the persecuting intolerant sort.”<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, Irving toed the Burr line by choosing William A. Davis as his printer. Davis, whose brother Matthew L. Davis published the *Time Piece* in the late 1790s with the Irish radical John Daily Burk, was Burr’s most trusted political confidant. Thus, a close reading of Irving’s publications reveals a heightened sensibility, and one could argue that Irving’s contributions to the *Morning Chronicle* were indeed quasi-genteel, which of course was consonant with Burr’s political socialization. Irving’s *Morning Chronicle*, therefore, took an almost Chesterfieldian indifference towards New York’s partisan political culture, expecting readers to recognize a “correctness of sentiment” that would differentiate their publication from the baseness of Cheetham’s *American Citizen*.<sup>21</sup>

Regarding Irving’s background, Nathan Schachner asserts that Burr “erred” in appointing the “cultured, kindly gentleman, Dr. Irving” as the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, for he was “unfit for the knock down and drag-out methods” of political journalism in New York City.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, historian Craig Hanyan considers the “genteel” Irving “little suited” to political polemics, and as a consequence, he was

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<sup>20</sup> Burr to Charles Biddle, 7 December 1802, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 743.

<sup>21</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 6 August 1804.

<sup>22</sup> Schachner, *Aaron Burr*, 231.

“unable to flay about with the pen as were Clinton’s apologists.”<sup>23</sup> Further, in a recent essay, Nancy Isenberg discusses the gendered and sexually explicit language utilized by Cheetham to deride Irving and the *Morning Chronicle*. Isenberg explores the relationship between sexuality and politics, asserting that Burr’s “dramatic career” reveals for scholars the “powerful role of gendered, sexualized discourses in constructing public identities and demolishing political reputations.”<sup>24</sup> While certainly providing a unique perspective on Burr, Isenberg’s interpretation of Irving’s political career misses the mark. By stating that Cheetham used such gendered invective to cast Irving, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the “Little Band” in a negative light, she fails to clearly analyze the reasons behind Cheetham’s motives.

When such harsh criticisms of Irving and the Burrrites are viewed in light of the discussion of Cheetham’s career and political socialization in chapter two, they can be interpreted as the reactions of a working-class agitator devoted to republican sympathies, rather than as gendered characterizations. Cheetham, the working class hero who sought to ameliorate societal injustice perpetuated by corrupt, aristocratic politicians first in England and then in New York City, viewed Irving as a political opportunist who masked his own gentrified sentimentalities with the premise of promoting a democratic alternative to the Clintonian faction. Irving, therefore, represented to Cheetham an inadequate republican, and Cheetham’s concept of manliness, therefore, was diametrically opposed to Irving’s which, as a consequence, caused an immediate conflict in the publishing community.

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<sup>23</sup> Craig Hanyan, “DeWitt Clinton: Years of Molding, 1769-1807,” (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1964), 232.

<sup>24</sup> Nancy Isenberg, “The ‘Little Emperor’: Aaron Burr, Dandyism, and the Sexual Politics of Treason,” in Pasley, et. al., *Beyond the Founders*, 130.

### *Resentments of a Cruel Faction*

As has been demonstrated, the Burrrites—because of Cheetham’s stranglehold on the Republican press—determined that the *Morning Chronicle* was essential in order to promote the career of their leader, even though scholars have considered it as nothing more than a “mercantile and cultural miscellany.”<sup>25</sup> First, it needs to be understood that this assessment of the *Morning Chronicle* is incorrect. A close reading of Irving’s writings—as well as the contributions of numerous pseudonymous authors, who were presumably Burrrites—demonstrates that the *Morning Chronicle*, while not necessarily as flamboyant or vitriolic as Cheetham’s *American Citizen* or *Republican Watch-Tower*, interacted with opponents in its columns in an attempt to legitimize the political identity of Burr and his “Little Band.” This was due in part to *Morning Chronicle* subscribers insisting that Irving join the fray and assert his political voice in publishing community. For example, an anonymous reader chastised Irving for his “gentleman-like manner” in abstaining from a “vigorous attack upon the bull-dogs of opposition,” asserting that “no, sir—scurrility is the true Attic salt that gives relish to the daily dish,” that the “rest may not, perhaps, be offensive to the palate, but they are mere chips in your porridge.”<sup>26</sup> Irving would indeed take notice of this advice, for the significance of the *Morning Chronicle*’s appearance in New York City as an alternative Republican daily can be seen in the pages of Federalist newspapers as they harangued Cheetham for losing his monopoly.<sup>27</sup> “We have not for some time been amused with a more curious and laughable article than that in which the *Citizen* hero advances to the combat against the

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<sup>25</sup> See Roth, *Washington Irving’s Contributions to “The Corrector,”* 10.

<sup>26</sup> “A Disappointed Subscriber,” *Morning Chronicle*, 2 October 1802.

<sup>27</sup> Kline, “Editorial Note: The Pamphlet War,” *The Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 727.

*Morning Chronicle*,” wrote William Coleman, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, mocking Cheetham’s supposed “open declaration of war” against Irving.<sup>28</sup>

At first Cheetham considered the *Morning Chronicle* to be of little consequence in New York, writing to Thomas Jefferson that there was “little of party Spirit” in the City, asserting that the Burrrites, “although few in number, are exceedingly rancorous: they cannot, however, do us essential injury.”<sup>29</sup> Two years earlier DeWitt Clinton expressed the same opinion, maintaining that “no serious evil” could result from the “designs” of Burr’s “little faction,” for it was “governed by no principle” and was devoted entirely to the “aggrandisement” of Burr’s career.<sup>30</sup> Shortly after the appearance of the *Morning Chronicle*, Cheetham described its editor as a “man of handsome talents, and of good reputation,” though he implored Irving to engage “in a better cause, urging the young doctor to “*reflect* before he comes to a final conclusion,” for he may have “much more to contend with than he expects.”<sup>31</sup>

Initially, Irving used the *Morning Chronicle* to counter Cheetham’s pamphlet war, which he and his fellow Burrrites considered to be “unprecedented in the annals of perfidy and ambition.”<sup>32</sup> Cheetham’s *A View of the Political Conduct of Aaron Burr*—discussed in chapter two—contained, according to Irving, “many vague conjectures and surmises, together with a variety of loose and injurious assertions,” maintaining that “in many

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<sup>28</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 7 October 1802.

<sup>29</sup> James Cheetham to Thomas Jefferson, 30 May 1803, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas Jefferson to James Cheetham, facsimile of a letter from DeWitt Clinton to Jefferson, ca. 10 December 1801, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, New-York Historical Society.

<sup>31</sup> *American Citizen*, 16 August 1802.

<sup>32</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 29 November 1803

instances, without any idea of even substantiating them.”<sup>33</sup> He accused the “worthless” Cheetham of circulating falsehoods “with the most active industry” in order to “excite a spirit of dissension among men united in the same cause.”<sup>34</sup> This last statement reflects of Irving’s opening proclamation to not engage in partisan squabbling; indeed, it can be interpreted as an attempt to blame the divisions in New York City on the Clintons rather than Burr by reminding readers that had it not been for Cheetham and the Clintons, the two groups would still be united.

Burr’s other supporters—aside from Irving’s efforts as the faction’s public mouthpiece—were ready at moment’s notice to take up either pistol or pen to defend the reputation of their charismatic chief against his enemies. Commenting on New York’s divisive political community, the *New York Spectator*, a Federalist semi-weekly, considered the language of the *American Citizen* to be potentially “dangerous,” and that if the “avowed sentiments of this restless, cruel faction” was not somehow subdued, New Yorkers “may bid farewell to the boasted peace and tranquility” of the community because the “bloody scenes of revolutionary France [would be] performed [in America].”<sup>35</sup>

The intra-party squabble had the potential for violence. For example, Burrite John Swartwout exchanged rounds with DeWitt Clinton in an 1802 duel. Swartwout considered the Clintonian opposition to Burr’s career, according to historian Evan Cornog, to be “basely motivated,” founded only on DeWitt Clinton’s “own ambitions.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 30 June 1803.

<sup>34</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 24 February 1803. For more on the Burr’s defense by his supporters, see for example the *Morning Chronicle*, 28, 29, 30 June; 7, 15, 22 July 1803.

<sup>35</sup> *New York Spectator*, 25 January 1804.

Clinton countered by accusing Swartwout of being a “liar, a scoundrel, and a villain.”<sup>37</sup> After several shots were fired with Swartwout sustaining two injuries, Clinton sneered at his antagonist that he did not “want to hurt him [Swartwout], but I wish I had the *principal* [Burr] here—I will meet him when he pleases.”<sup>38</sup> Such an encounter between Clinton and Burr, however, never occurred. Instead, Cheetham sought to create tension between Burr and Alexander Hamilton in the columns of the *American Citizen*, attempting to pit the two men against one another, an affair which did finally occur on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1804 at Weehawken, New Jersey.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Matthew Livingston Davis—a man Cheetham considered to be the “little, sneaking *tool* of Mr. Burr”—is known to have prowled the streets of Lower Manhattan, pistol in hand, vowing to gun down Cheetham if the two men crossed paths.<sup>40</sup>

William P. Van Ness—the New York lawyer who served as the “second” in the duel with Hamilton—was often asked to pick up his pen to defend Burr’s reputation. In *An Examination of the Various Charges Exhibited Against Aaron Burr, Esq.*, Van Ness discussed the divisiveness of early American political culture, contending that New York,

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<sup>36</sup> Cornog, *The Birth of Empire*, 43. See also Lomask, *Aaron Burr*, I: 252, 287; Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, I: 186; Siry, *DeWitt Clinton and the American Political Economy*, 67; Bobbé, *DeWitt Clinton*, 89; Isenberg, *Fallen Founder*, esp. 223-270.

<sup>37</sup> Cornog, *The Birth of Empire*, 43.

<sup>38</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 9 August 1802.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, *American Citizen*, 3 August 1803, 6 January 1804; *Republican Watch-Tower*, 8 January 1804. For discussion of the build-up to the duel in newspapers, see Steven C. Smith, “‘Printers, Called Republican in This City’: The Power of the Political Press in Early National New York,” in *The Image of Power: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery*, Will Wright and Steven Kaplan eds. (Colorado Springs: Colorado State University, 2006): 264-271.

<sup>40</sup> *American Citizen*, 21 January 1803; for Davis on the prowl, see Charles Levermore, “The Rise of Metropolitan Journalism, 1800-1840,” *The American Historical Review* 6 (1901): 449.



more than any other state had been “agitated by the efforts of contending parties.”<sup>41</sup> He condemned the campaign to smear Burr’s reputation as a cowardly diversion by the Clintonians. “Conscious of the impurity of their motives,” he wrote, “and the iniquity of their designs, in darkness they have meditated [Burr’s] destruction, and like cowards, sought to blast his reputation.”<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Van Ness revealed his xenophobic prejudices, lashing out against “desperate and licentious foreigners” such as Cheetham who sought control of the press, writing that “all the local dissensions of a political nature” have been caused by “men of this description.”<sup>43</sup> By associating the transplanted English radical with the Clintonians, Van Ness portrayed their faction as “manifestly hostile” to republican government in the United States, intimating—“without the fear of contradiction”—that if the Clintonian hegemony in New York persisted unchecked, “they will not only impede the operations of the government, but soon involve us in all the horrors of intestine war.”<sup>44</sup>

President Thomas Jefferson was aware of the Clintonian’s attacks on Burr, the result of his avid consumption of newspapers that included Cheetham’s *American Citizen*.<sup>45</sup> He alluded to Burr’s conflict with the Clintonians in the *Anas*, yet refused to

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<sup>41</sup> William P. Van Ness, *An Examination of the Various Charges Exhibited Against Aaron Burr, Esq., Vice-President of the United States; and a Development of the Characters and Views of his Political Opponents. A New Edition; Revised and Corrected, with Additions. By Aristides.* (New York, NY: 1804), 2, 3. Milton Lomask considers Van Ness to be a “far better writer than the editor of the *Citizen*,” and that he “brushed off Cheetham’s censures of the Vice President as though they were so many dead flies. He named Burr’s enemies and laced them up one side and down the other.” Lomask, *Aaron Burr*, I: 321-322.

<sup>42</sup> Van Ness, *An Examination*, 9.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Jefferson to James Cheetham, 23 April 1802, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Regarding the arrangement between Jefferson and Cheetham, Milton Lomask argues that “one gets the

intervene, indicating that he had no intention of silencing Burr's critics in New York, the consequence of Jefferson refusing to trust Burr after the debacle in 1800.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, Jefferson refused to retain Burr as his Vice-Presidential candidate in 1804, which of course, according to Irving, was the result of the Clintonian's "efforts of defamation."<sup>47</sup> Facing certain political oblivion, Burr threw his name into the 1804 New York gubernatorial race, and the *Morning Chronicle* immediately began promoting Burr's candidacy. It should be noted, however, that Irving—ever the political opportunist—held a stake in Burr's candidacy, for he was on Burr's ticket as a candidate for the New York state assembly.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it was in Irving's best interest to fiercely promote Burr's candidacy, for his own career as a politician in New York was intimately intertwined with the lame-duck Vice-President.

Burr was, according to Irving, "eminently entitled" to the state's chief magistracy because of his "political talents" and his "republican integrity."<sup>49</sup> Burr possessed a "comprehensive and decisive mind," he held "correct views of government," and was a patriot who had been "assailed in the most malignant manner by the men whose success was the result of his talents and exertions," for the power, influence, wealth, and intrigues

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impression that Jefferson knew that a scriptorial blast at Burr was in the offing." Lomask, *Aaron Burr*, I: 316.

<sup>46</sup> "Conversations with Aaron Burr," 26 January 1804, *Anas*, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, Merrill D. Peterson, ed., (New York, NY: Library of America, 1984), 691. Jefferson stated that "I answered by recapitulating to him what had been my conduct previous to the election of 1800. That I had never interfered directly or indirectly with my friends or any others, to influence the election either for him or myself; that I considered it my duty to be merely passive except that, in Virginia I had taken some measures to procure for him the unanimous vote of that state, because I thought any failure there might be imputed to me."

<sup>47</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 21 February 1804.

<sup>48</sup> Washington Irving, *The Complete Works of Washington Irving: Letters, 1802-1823*, Ralph M. Alderman, Herbert L. Kleinfield, Jenifer S. Banks, eds., (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), I: 50.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

of the Clintonians “point[ed] to the ruin” of Burr’s career.<sup>50</sup> In order to prevent the Burrites from winning the election, numerous attacks appeared in newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets that described Burr as a man “destitute of moral virtue,” whose well-known “political perfidiousness and intrigues,” would lead to despotism if he were elected.<sup>51</sup>

The “broadsides” published during the New York election further damaged Burr’s reputation. For instance, the hand-bill titled *The Conduct of Aaron Burr, Towards a Poor German Family* accused the Vice-President of embezzling money from a deceased German immigrant to pay his debts. “His notes [were] remaining unpaid in the bank,” and because of his dishonesty, Burr gained a “sum amounting from 17,000 to 20,000 dollars.”<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, *THE LIAR Caught in his own Toils* charged that Burr stole Behren’s money, claiming that “*Burr* was deeply involved in debt,” and that he illegally obtained the inheritance.<sup>53</sup> The hand-bill concluded that Burr was a dishonest intriguer and that he was unfit to hold the highest office in New York. The authors of these hand-bills, therefore, established a pattern of hostility in order to undermine the political identity of Burr and his supporters.

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<sup>50</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 22 February 1804; 13 March 1804. For more on Burr’s candidacy in the *Morning Chronicle*, see for example 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 23 April 1804.

<sup>51</sup> *THE LIAR: Caught in his own Toils—or Aaron Burr Convicted by his own Witnesses* (New York, 1804), *Aaron Burr! The Following Hand-bill was circulated in the year 1801, by the Federalist Party. It is now re-published for the Gratification of those Federal Gentlemen who are now Supporting “this Catiline.”* (New York, 1804).

<sup>52</sup> *Conduct of Aaron Burr, Towards a Poor German Family—a Relation Founded in Fact*, (New York, 1804). For a discussion of the Behren’s case see Fleming, *Duel*, 217-218. For a discussion of the aforementioned procuring of Federalist support, see Lomask, *Aaron Burr*, I: 336-344; Schachner, *Aaron Burr*, 241-245; Fleming, *Duel*, 205-220.

<sup>53</sup> *THE LIAR Caught in his own Toils—or Aaron Burr Convicted by his own Witnesses!* (New York, 1804).

Irving considered the transaction between Burr and Behrens to be “perfectly correct and honorable” and that the accusations were “base misrepresentations.”<sup>54</sup> Irving and the Burrites, therefore, attempted to indicate that they were friends to immigrants, and that targeting them for pecuniary gain was inconceivable. “The [German] inhabitants of this city are men of proud and generous spirits,” stated the *Morning Chronicle*, “and we do not know one that is not warmly the friend of Mr. Burr.”<sup>55</sup> Such a defense was necessary if Burr was going gain support from New York City’s diverse population, especially considering that the Clintonians controlled the Irish vote through the activity of James Cheetham, who was considered to be their unofficial spokesman, as demonstrated in chapter two.

Irving, contrary to scholarly perceptions, did not refrain from engaging in the heated debates during Burr’s push for the chief magistracy in New York. Indeed, during the campaign, Irving wrote that “among the arts employed by aristocratic party,” the most prominent were their “unceasing slanders against Col. Burr,” as well as against “persons who come forward and boldly and actively in his favor.”<sup>56</sup> Burr’s opponent, Morgan Lewis, “is to be supported by all the force of the family coalition,” whereas Burr “appears before us unsupported by the force of proud aristocracy.”<sup>57</sup> Further, Irving asserted that “men who endeavor to gain an election by misrepresentation,” with hand-bills, newspapers, and false statements “by traducing the character of the rival candidate, must

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<sup>54</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 14 April 1804. See also *Morning Chronicle*, 16, 17, 18, 23, 25 April 1804; *The Corrector*, 14 April 1804.

<sup>55</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 18 April 1804.

<sup>56</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 31 March 1804. See also *Morning Chronicle*, 26 March 1804.

<sup>57</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 25 April 1804.

be unworthy of aid from republicans.”<sup>58</sup> In this instance, therefore, the Burrrites attempted to characterize the Clintonians as opportunistic aristocrats unfit for political office, while portraying themselves as honest men who did not stoop the levels of malicious attacks in order to gain the public’s trust.

Irving’s publication of *The Corrector* from March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1804 to April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1804 during the New York election, however, provides the best example of his ability to engage in partisan political journalism. *The Corrector* is demonstrative of Irving’s desire to promote the Burrrites, for his own career in politics rested on Burr’s candidacy for governor. Irving, however, refrained from staining the pages of the *Morning Chronicle* with bitter partisan rhetoric, which would have gone against his bold proclamation two years earlier to remain above the fray of scurrilous journalism, even though he used the *Morning Chronicle* for this purpose. Moreover, in order to mask his identity as the editor of *The Corrector*—he used the pseudonym “Toby Tickler”—Irving went beyond the physical boundary of the Old East community of printers and his ties with William A. Davis, choosing instead Stephen Gould & Co.—whose office was located on the corner of Broadway and Wall street—to publish the paper. This was a clever political maneuver because it disguised the newspaper’s sympathies, allowing he and his fellow Burrrites Matthew L. Davis, William P. Van Ness, and his younger brother Washington to write for the paper anonymously.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 18 April 1804.

<sup>59</sup> Literary scholars have examined *The Corrector* in order to discuss Washington Irving’s contributions. See Roth, *Washington Irving’s Contributions to the Corrector*; Wayne R. Kime, “Pierre M. Irving’s Account of Peter Irving, Washington Irving, and *The Corrector*,” *American Literature* 43 (March 1971): 108-114; Kime, *Miscellaneous Writings of Washington Irving*, I: xv-xcvi. David Longworth, *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory, for the Twenty-Ninth Year of American Independence* (New-York: D. Longworth, 1804).

Irving promised to “unmask a set of villains as unprincipled as ever disgraced any nation on earth—a mercenary, haughty, aristocratic faction,” who sought to “betray the people, and to rob them of their most inestimable privileges” utilizing Republicanism as a useful aegis for their malignant designs.<sup>60</sup> The Clintons, according to Irving, had monopolized the “licentiousness of the press” in order to perpetuate their political dominance.<sup>61</sup> Irving continually promised to meet Burr’s enemies “at every point,” and vowed to “unfold the annals of corruption” with the “proofs of villainy in [his] hand.”<sup>62</sup> Nothing was more repugnant to the “nature of a Republican constitution” than the “predominance of an overweening married Aristocracy in the administration of its government,” asserting that despotism was preferable to the rule of the Clintons.<sup>63</sup> If elected, asserted an anonymous contributor to *The Corrector*, Burr was “determined to break the chains of the tyrants.”<sup>64</sup>

Despite the tireless efforts of Irving and the Burrrites to paint Morgan Lewis as a devotee “to the interests of the ruling party,” Burr lost the election by a wide margin.<sup>65</sup> “The election is lost by a great majority,” Burr wrote to his daughter Theodosia, “*tant mieux*.”<sup>66</sup> The campaign against Burr demonstrated the divisiveness of New York politics and these publications—as base as they may have been—ultimately determined

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<sup>60</sup> *The Corrector*, 28 March 1804.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *The Corrector*, 31 March 1804.

<sup>63</sup> *The Corrector*, 4 April 1804.

<sup>64</sup> *The Corrector*, 26 April 1804.

<sup>65</sup> *The Corrector*, 18 April 1804.

<sup>66</sup> Aaron Burr to Theodosia Burr Alston, 1 May 1804, *Correspondence of Aaron Burr and his Daughter Theodosia*, Mark Van Doren, ed., (New York: S.A. Jacobs, 1929), 161. “*Tant Mieux*” translates as “just as well.”

Burr's defeat in the gubernatorial election. Cheetham and the Clintonians—in an attempt to maintain their hegemony in New York politics—were the primary detractors of Burr's candidacy. Indeed, Matthew Livingston Davis later recalled that Burr's opponents attacked him “with libels of the most atrocious character,” for the Clintonian's opposition dealt Burr's chances of victory a concerted blow.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, Davis implicated the prejudices held by Burr's enemies by asserting that his friend had witnessed “slanders, countenanced and circulated in whispers by men high in authority,” until his integrity “was so far ruined as to render any defence, on his part or on the part of his friends, useless and unavailing.”<sup>68</sup>

### *Dueling Politicians, Dueling Editors*

More than any event, the duel in 1804 between Burr and Hamilton that resulted in the latter's death can be considered a turning point in Irving's brief political career.<sup>69</sup> Although writing for opposing factions, Cheetham and William Coleman became strange bedfellows by combining their talents against Burr after the duel, and as a result, helped one another in their own power struggle by ridding the Republicans and Federalists of a challenger in New York City. Cheetham and Coleman accused Burr of pre-conceiving Hamilton's murder; that he practiced shooting at a mark; that the Burrrites had formed a

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<sup>67</sup> Davis, *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II: 293.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>69</sup> For discussion of the duel, see J. Lee and Conalee Levine-Schneidman, “Suicide or Murder? The Burr-Hamilton Duel.” *JPH* 8, no. 2 (1980): 159-181; W.J. Rorabaugh, “The Political Duel in the Early Republic,” *JER*, 15 (Spring 1995): 1-23. Joanne B. Freeman, “Dueling as Politics: Reinterpreting the Burr-Hamilton Duel.” *WMQ* 53, no. 2 (1996): 289-318; Joseph J. Ellis, “The Duel,” in *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2000): 20-47; Arnold A. Rogow, *A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr*, (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1998); Thomas Fleming, *Duel: Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr and the Future of America* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999); Isenberg, *Fallen Founder*, esp. 223-271, and Roger G. Kennedy, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson: A Study in Character*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Samuel Engle Burr, Jr., *The Burr-Hamilton Duel and Related Matters*, 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed., (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company, 1971); Merrill Lindsay, “Pistols Shed Light on Famed Duel,” in *Smithsonian* 7, no. 8 (1976).

“Society of Duelists” to rid Burr of political enemies; and that he wore a special vest that would have prevented an injury.<sup>70</sup> Irving, treading on shaky political ground, needed to mount an able public defense if he hoped to salvage what remained of Burr’s tattered reputation. Recent scholarship contends that the *Morning Chronicle* “leaped to the defense of its patron” Aaron Burr, yet Irving remained conspicuously silent until August 6<sup>th</sup>—nearly a month after Hamilton’s death—which can hardly be considered a “leap.”<sup>71</sup> Consequently, Irving committed political suicide for his newspaper by waiting, losing any remaining credibility among his peers in the community.

Cheetham, aside from his attacks on Burr, established himself in New York by targeting Alexander Hamilton; yet, even he breached partisan lines by lauding Hamilton after the duel. “Hamilton, I believe,” Cheetham wrote, “entertained political opinions at variance with mine,” but that since his death, he considered it presumptuously arrogant to “pursue him to the grave for *opinions* HONESTLY entertained,” leaving it instead, “to a species of party rancor which I disclaim.”<sup>72</sup> Cheetham’s sudden humility sharply contrasted his previous contempt for Hamilton, a man he once called the “spoiled child of the federal party.”<sup>73</sup> This was to the delight of Coleman, the editor of Hamilton’s newspaper, the *New-York Evening Post*. Indeed, Coleman took “melancholy pleasure” in observing Cheetham “uniting with [Hamilton’s] friends, in one common sentiment of

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<sup>70</sup> See, for example, *American Citizen* 20, 21, 23, 26 July 1804; *Republican Watch-Tower*, 21, 25, 28, July 1804; *Evening Post*, 23, 30 July, 3 August 1804. Jerry W. Knudson maintains that “not until about the beginning of August did newspapers begin commenting on the vice president’s role in the affair,” but evidence clearly indicates that Cheetham—soon to be followed by Coleman—began attacking Burr in his columns well before August 1804. See Knudson, *Jefferson and the Press: Crucible of Liberty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 122.

<sup>71</sup> Knudson, *Jefferson and the Press*, 116.

<sup>72</sup> *American Citizen*, 20 July 1804; *Republican Watch-Tower*, 20 July 1804.

<sup>73</sup> Cheetham, *A View*, 13.



esteem” for Hamilton.<sup>74</sup> Cheetham, however, deliberately exonerated Hamilton to vilify Burr, just as the Vice-President suspected. Writing to Charles Biddle, Burr vented at this apparent transformation by the English radical. “You will remark that all our intemperate and unprincipled Jacobins who have been for Years reviling H[amilton] as a disgrace to the Country and a pest to Society are now the most Vehement in his praise,” he wrote, “and you will readily perceive that their Motive is, not to respect him but, Malice to me.”<sup>75</sup> Although Cheetham was criticized by Republican editors for extolling Hamilton, the duel did not force Cheetham’s defection from the Republican Party as one scholar has recently claimed; rather, his break did not occur until 1809 when he was driven from the Tammany Society and stripped of his state printing contracts by his former Clintonian allies, as pointed out in chapter two.<sup>76</sup>

The *Morning Chronicle* identified the true source of political poison following the duel—the Clintonians and their mouthpiece James Cheetham. “It is by officious intermeddlers, who have neither the feelings of gentlemen nor the hearts of men, that this subject has been handled.”<sup>77</sup> The Burrrites charged Cheetham, whom they described as “the arch fiend who directs this demonic warfare” with printing numerous accusations that ran counter to the decorum of politics.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, the *Morning Chronicle* condemned the “apparent sympathy” Cheetham showed Hamilton and accused him of

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<sup>74</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, 20 July 1804.

<sup>75</sup> Aaron Burr to Charles Biddle, 18 July 1804, *Papers of Aaron Burr*, II: 887.

<sup>76</sup> Knudson, *Jefferson and the Press*, 123-124. See also Durey, *Transatlantic Radicals*, 271-273, Mushkat, *Tammany*, 37-38.

<sup>77</sup> “Vindex, no. 1,” *Morning Chronicle*, 6 August 1804.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

hypocrisy.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, the Burrrites blamed the *American Citizen* for pitting the two men against one another, arguing that “the late unfortunate contest appears to have been for many months a favorite object of pursuit.”<sup>80</sup>

Cheetham, however, dismissed all contrary versions of the affair.<sup>81</sup> He questioned Irving’s timing, writing that “had the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* come forward in due season,” Burr would have been given a proper hearing, “but, at this late date, any attempt is as improper as it is unavailing.”<sup>82</sup> He maintained that Irving’s silence was an evasion of the Coroner’s Inquest, which concluded that Burr callously murdered Hamilton.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, he mocked the high-browed, indifferent tone of the *Morning Chronicle*, sardonically writing that Burr murdered Hamilton “in a style of ease and politeness so superior to any thing on record, that we have cause to admire rather

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> “Vindex, no. 2,” *Morning Chronicle*, 8 August 1804. See also Smith, “Printers, Called Republican in This City.”

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> *American Citizen*, 9 August 1804.

<sup>83</sup> For the Coroner’s Inquest, see “Coroner’s Inquest on the Death of Alexander Hamilton,” *Interview in Weehawken: The Burr-Hamilton Duel as Told in the Original Documents*, Harold C. Syrett and Jean G. Cooke, eds., (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1960), 156-159. The inquest stated that “good and lawful men of the said City and County of New York, duly chosen and Who being then and there duly sworn and Charged to enquire for the People of the State of New York, When Where how and by What means the said, Alexander Hamilton, Came to his death, do Upon their Oath say that Aaron Burr, late of the Eight Ward of the said City in the said County Esquire and Vice President of the United States, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the devil, on the eleventh day of July in the year last aforesaid, with force and Arms, in the county of Bergen and State of New Jersey in and upon the Said Alexander Hamilton in the peace of God and of the people, of the Said State of New Jersey, then and there being, feloniously Wilfully and of his Malice aforethought, did make an Assault, and that the Said Aaron Burr, a Certain Pistol of the Value of One Dollar Charged and loaded with Gun powder and a leaden bullet which he the said Aaron Burr, then and there had and held in his right hand, to, at, and against the right-side of the Belly of the Said Alexander Hamilton did then and there shoot off and discharge, by means Whereof he the Said Aaron Burr feloniously and Wilfully and of his Malice Aforethought, did then and there give Unto him the Said Alexander Hamilton, With the leaden bullet aforesaid so as aforesaid Shot off and discharged out of the Pistol aforesaid by the force of the Gun powder aforesaid upon the right side of the belly of him the said Alexander Hamilton. “Coroner’s Inquest, *Interview in Weehawken*, 156-7.

than to censure the humanity & blandishments of the perpetrator!”<sup>84</sup> Lastly, he asserted that Irving, “after having peeped, and dodged, and remained for some time *in cog.* in evasion of the law, has returned to her occupation,” resuming “the guardianship of the *honor* of Aaron Burr,” committing an “outrage on the virtue and good sense of the community.”<sup>85</sup>

Irving, realizing the limited effect of the *Morning Chronicle* in countering Cheetham and Coleman’s charges, concluded that a pamphlet would be needed to defend the Vice-President’s reputation. Van Ness, writing under the pseudonym “Lysander,” criticized the Coroner’s Inquest, asking the men who wrote the report to verify their assertion that Burr murdered Hamilton in cold blood, implying their conclusions were incorrect. Moreover, he attacked editors in New York who, since the death of Hamilton, attempted to excite public passions by accusing Burr of murder and destroying his character. He mocked Coleman as “the *virtuous* editor of the Evening Post,” and accused his “*immaculate* coadjutor and new aid-de-camp,” James Cheetham, of propagating “the grossest falsehoods” without the “least regard to truth.”<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, Van Ness did not refrain from blaming powerful New York politicians, namely DeWitt Clinton and his counterparts, whose “poisonous patronage” employed the radical editor James Cheetham.<sup>87</sup> “There is a certain class of men so obdurate in vice, and so hardened in slander,” he wrote, “that they never hesitate to use any means, however vile, in order to

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<sup>84</sup> *American Citizen*, 8 August 1808; *Republican Watch-Tower*, 11 August 1804.

<sup>85</sup> *American Citizen*, 8 August 1808; *Republican Watch-Tower*, 11 August 1804; *American Citizen* 9 August 1804.

<sup>86</sup> Van Ness, “A Candid Examination of the Whole Affair, in a Letter to a Friend,” in *A Correct Statement of the Late Melancholy Affair of Honor, Between General Hamilton and Col. Burr*, (New York, NY: published by G. & R. Waite, 1804), 62.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

injure, and if possible, to destroy the character and reputation of the Vice President.”<sup>88</sup>

Van Ness continued by asserting that even though the Clintonians “appear to lament” the loss of Hamilton “with crocodile tears” in order to “impress the public mind with the horrid idea” that he was murdered, they “inwardly rejoiced” after his death.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, Van Ness repeatedly asserted that Cheetham feigned his remorse *only* to trample on Burr, arguing that he “propagated the vilest slanders” and the “most unjust and cruel aspersions.”<sup>90</sup>

Van Ness’s pamphlet, which was published by George and Robert Waite, presented a feeble case, failing to convince the public of Burr’s innocence. Cheetham considered the pamphlet “desperate,” writing that it was “time to prostrate forever the miserable advocates of an impotent chief,” mockingly calling the Burrrites “Lilliputian assailants.”<sup>91</sup> Consequently, the Burrrite defense was overshadowed by Cheetham and Coleman, and as a result, the writing of Irving and Van Ness became historically obscure.

### *Uninfluential Atoms*

Contemporaries, especially the Clintonian faction, found it easy to exonerate Hamilton in order to vilify Burr, and as a result of the outrage of editors and the inquest that charged him with murder, the Vice-President fled New York. Without a chief to promote or defend, the *Morning Chronicle* was suddenly confronted with an identity crisis and, as a consequence, had little remaining influence in New York City. Indeed, without Burr as a unifying force, the *Morning Chronicle* lost its political identity, and the

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>91</sup> *American Citizen*, 20 August 1804.

faction began to splinter, despite Irving's confidence following the humiliating loss to Lewis in 1804 that the Burrrites had "become both numerous and formidable."<sup>92</sup>

Although his brother Washington vowed to "promote the interests of Peter's paper" wherever he traveled in order to counter the "rancorous height [of] political animosities" in New York, the Burrrites faced grim political prospects and, as a result, Peter Irving sold his share of the newspaper in December 1805 with little fanfare and turned over the editorial duties to Henry Stanley.<sup>93</sup> Stanley—despite the many setbacks that stripped the Burrrites of their political agency—continued publishing the *Morning Chronicle* until June 1807 when it finally succumbed to the burdens of debt. This was to the great dismay of Matthew Livingston Davis, who considered the *Morning Chronicle* as an essential element for the survival of Burr's faction. He wrote that "the instant the Chronicle ceased to exist, *the Burrrites would become 'uninfluential atoms,'* there would be *no rallying point,*" and Burr, along with his associates, would be considered to be so impotent as to be "*incapable any longer of supporting a press.*"<sup>94</sup> This was indeed a concerted blow to the relevancy of the Burrrites, for in the early American Republic—especially New York City—an active newspaper was essential for the survival of political parties.

By placing his political destiny in the hands of the shifty Burr, Peter Irving ventured down an uncertain path, his own identity intimately connected with the

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<sup>92</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 27 April 1804

<sup>93</sup> Washington Irving to William Irving, Jr., 1 August 1804 and 20 September 1804, *Letters of Washington Irving*, I: 43, 105. Knudson asserts that the *Morning Chronicle* "waned after Hamilton's death and expired in the summer of 1805, when it was absorbed by the *Poughkeepsie Journal*." This, however, is incorrect, as evidenced by Stanley's activities as editor of the paper until June 1807. See Knudson, *Jefferson and the Press*, 116.

<sup>94</sup> Matthew Livingston Davis to William P. Van Ness, 15 August, 28 August 1805, 1 August 1809, in Pasley, "*Tyranny of Printers*," p. 216-217, p. 442, n. 36.

enigmatic New Yorker. The tone of his vernacular attempted to portray Burr as a virtuous Republican, whereas he strove to paint Clinton and his satellites as aristocrats who threatened to undermine the will of the people. Although he would later play a leading role in the negotiations with the Clintonians for a brief reconciliation that revolved around access to the Clinton-owned Manhattan Bank—a maneuver that was roundly criticized by Stanley in the *Morning Chronicle* during the final year and a half of its existence—Irving, for whatever reason, lost interest in politics after Burr’s exile.

Evidence may indicate, however, that Irving played a role in Burr’s plan to separate a portion of the American Southwest from the United States. An obscure reference in his European travel journals to the first settlement in Ohio, which allows for speculation that Irving’s career took a very strange turn indeed as he and Burr traversed the Ohio River. Writing as he toured the Scottish highlands, Irving reflected on a rain shower that drove him “to a mount of earth—covered with grass & cedar trees. It stands on the right side of the road & the margin of the lake, near two or three little thatched cottages. It resembles those I recollected to have seen near Marietta, and doubtless encloses the bones of Scottish warriors slain in battle.”<sup>95</sup> Indeed, prior to his departure, he remarked to his brother-in-law Richard Dodge that his initial trip to Europe was an “advantageous opportunity,” and that he anticipated an “improvement from [his present] excursion.”<sup>96</sup> Was Irving speaking metaphorically, or is this passage purely coincidental? If in fact Irving traveled down the Ohio River with Burr, then it would

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<sup>95</sup> Leonard B. Beach, eds., et. al., *Peter Irving’s Journals, Edited from Manuscripts in the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, the Miriam Luther Stark Library, University of Texas & The New York Public Library*, (New York: New York Public Library, 1943), 115.

<sup>96</sup> Peter Irving to Colonel Richard Dodge, 7 January 1807, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

perhaps also explain his rather abrupt departure for a European tour in January 1807, only a month before Burr was arrested for his mysterious activities.<sup>97</sup>

In conclusion, Irving and his career as a partisan journalist is representative of a political opportunist looking to further his own career, and by attaching himself to the ambitious and ambivalent Burr—agreeing to oversee publication of the *Morning Chronicle*—Irving has remained somewhat elusive and inaccessible to scholars writing about the early history of New York. His contributions to the divisive community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in New York—while not as acerbic as his adversary Cheetham—demonstrate that Irving was capable of engaging in spiteful political back-biting in order to promote Burr and the “Little Band” in New York City. However, his attempt—through the publication of the *Morning Chronicle*—to craft a political identity for Burr and the “Little Band” should ultimately be considered a failure. Indeed, it was his inability to differentiate himself and his faction from competitors in New York City that caused the inevitable failure of his venture into journalism and politics. Thus, the older brother of Washington Irving has remained in the shadows of the historical underworld, and has instead been viewed by historians and literary scholars as a man of leisure: a scholar, theatrical critic, physician, and patron of the arts, seldom as an ambitious politician who, by supporting the career of Aaron Burr, was concurrently promoting his own political fortunes.

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<sup>97</sup> On Burr’s “conspiracy,” see Buckner F. Melton, *Aaron Burr: Conspiracy to Treason* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002); T.P. Abernethy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1968); Joseph Wheelan, *Jefferson’s Vendetta: The Pursuit of Aaron Burr and the Judiciary* (New York: Carroll & Graff Publishers, 2005).

## Conclusion

### Communities and Identities

While discussing the usefulness of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* for historical inquiry, John L. Brooke points out the inevitable clash between idealistic philosophy and historical reality, asserting that Habermas “described a polity that ought to be,” whereas historians “describe polities as they have functioned in real time.”<sup>1</sup> As noted in the introduction, the Habermasian public sphere, as a concept, is an abstraction, and this thesis, through a careful analysis of disparate records such as directories, newspapers, pamphlets, published speeches, journals, and personal letters, has reinterpreted the public sphere not as a theoretical domain predicated on certain socio-economic conditions such as the assumption of universal citizenship, suffrage, and individual autonomy among the learned bourgeoisie, but rather as an actual physical space—a “community” of like-minded artisans and businessmen who shared common identities as printers, booksellers, and bookbinders despite ideological barriers.

In addition to emphasizing the abstract nature of the Habermasian public sphere as it relates to historical inquiry, Brooke points out that “historians are particularly dubious about the apparent emphasis in *The Structural Transformation* on deliberation and rationality, asserting instead that public communication “occurs in modes other than rational deliberation,” namely forms that are emotional and symbolic as opposed to

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<sup>1</sup> John L. Brooke, "Consent, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere in the Age of Revolution and the Early American Republic," in *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*, ed. Jeffrey L. Pasley, David Waldstreicher, and Andrew W. Robertson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 225. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989).



rational-critical.<sup>2</sup> Brooke makes an interesting point that is relevant to this thesis, especially chapters two and three. Discourse, as it appeared in the pages of New York newspapers from 1800 to 1810, largely resembled the frames of reference outlined by Brooke: emotional and symbolic as opposed to the purely Habermasian notion of rational-critical dialogue. Granted, there were moments of reasoned clarity in the pages of the *American Citizen*, *Morning Chronicle*, and the *New-York Evening Post* where the editor authored—either publicly or pseudonymously—a piece that called for public reflection and deliberation. Editors, though, utilized an amalgamation of rational-critical rhetoric with that of a symbolic style that played to the emotions of readers, especially James Cheetham when he addressed the Irish-American community and Dr. Peter Irving’s musings on the perceived threat to the Republic by New York’s aristocratic families.

By reconstructing the early development of New York City’s printing and publishing community, this thesis contributes to the historiographical dialogue started by William E. Ames, Wm. David Sloan, and Gerald Baldasty that refutes the notion that journalism in the early Republic was, according to Frank Luther Mott, “in many respects disgraceful—a kind of ‘Dark Ages’ of American journalism,” the consequence of “scurrility and vulgar attacks on personal character.”<sup>3</sup> Ames, in one of the first studies to contest this concept, asserts that journalism in this period offered “higher quality information and interpretation of American society than at any other time in American

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 225.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690-1960*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (New York: MacMillan, 1962), 168-169.

history.”<sup>4</sup> Echoing Ames’ sentiment, Sloan maintains that the early American press needs to be studied “on its own terms rather than in light of the journalistic concepts that developed later,” asserting that the “party press must be viewed in terms of its importance to the political system” of the early Republic.<sup>5</sup> This thesis has evaluated the centrality of the press to political dialogue in early national New York City, a place that has been touched on in recent studies of newspaper politics in the early Republic but not fully explored.<sup>6</sup> It is especially important to highlight the significance of editors such as James Cheetham and Peter Irving to the political dialogue in nineteenth-century Gotham given the latest attempt to revive the hackneyed “dark ages” paradigm. Indeed, one author recently wrote that the press in early America was “at times vile, crude, unjust,” more of a scar “on the communities to which it reported than a service, a means of inciting more than informing.”<sup>7</sup> To assert, as this author has, that journalism in this period was nothing more than a vehicle for exaggerated libel misses the mark entirely and reduces editors

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<sup>4</sup> William E. Ames, *A History of the National Intelligencer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), ix. See also William E. Ames, "Samuel Harrison Smith Found the *National Intelligencer*," *Journalism Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (1965); William E. Ames, "Federal Patronage and the Washington, D.C. Press," *Journalism Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (1972); William E. Ames and Dwight L. Teeter, "Politics, Economics, and the Mass Media," in *Mass Media and the National Experience*, ed. Ronald T. Farrar and John D. Stevens (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

<sup>5</sup> Wm. David Sloan, "Scurrility and the Party Press, 1789-1816," *American Journalism* V (1988): 99; Sloan, "The Early Party Press: The Newspaper Role in American Politics, 1788-1812," *Journalism History* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 23. See also Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson* (Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1984); William David Sloan, "The Party Press: The Newspaper Role in National Politics, 1789-1816." (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas-Austin, 1981); William David Sloan, "Journalism Historians Lost in the Past, Need Direction," *Journalism Educator* 42, no. 3 (1987); William David Sloan, "'Purse and Pen': Party-Press Relationships, 1789-1816," *American Journalism* 6 (1989).

<sup>6</sup> See Jeffrey L. Pasley, *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001). Much of Pasley’s study centers on Philadelphia and Connecticut.

<sup>7</sup> Eric Burns, *Infamous Scribblers: The Founding Fathers and the Rowdy Beginnings of American Journalism* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006), 8, 12. For my concerns and criticisms of Burns’ book, which are numerous, see Steven C. Smith, "Review of *Infamous Scribblers: The Founding Fathers and the Rowdy Beginnings of American Journalism*, by Eric Burns," *Journalism History* 32, no. 3 (2006): 179-180.

such as Cheetham and Irving to nothing more than scandal-mongering party hacks. That is not the case in this instance. As this thesis has demonstrated, Cheetham and Irving—while serving as public voices for New York’s competing Republican factions—were men of substance and learning who demonstrated the ability for independent political thought, Cheetham more so than Irving.

This thesis has dealt extensively with the differing notions of community and identity in early national New York City. Chapter one, for example, utilizes Peter Thompson’s theory of “public space” to examine the deliberate social construction of a community by Manhattan’s printers, booksellers, and bookbinders based on their shared identities through their association with the development of Gotham’s printing and publishing trade.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, since the Habermasian public sphere was not a physical space but rather a social realm that only existed in conversation, this thesis has maintained that by looking at public discourse as part of an organic community, a better understanding of print and publishing culture will emerge that will enrich the prevailing scholarly dialogue.

Utilizing this public community as a useful point of departure, chapters two and three draw from Benedict Anderson and David Waldstreicher’s poignant studies of “imagined communities” in order to provide detailed portraits of Manhattan newspaper editors James Cheetham and Peter Irving and the ways in which they created—or “imagined”—unique identities for their communities of readers.<sup>9</sup> As a result, three

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch & Revolution : Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). See also Michael Warner, "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions/NLB, 1983); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes : The Making*

separate—yet overlapping—“communities” emerged in the pages of this thesis. The organic community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders that existed in Gotham’s Old East Ward served as the foundation from which the “communities” constructed by Cheetham and Irving emerged on the pages of their publications. For example, Cheetham’s concerns revolved around ameliorating the social ills perpetuated by what he perceived to be as a despotic city government as well as vehemently objecting to Federalist denunciations of immigrants, especially Irish-Americans. Consequently, through his championing of recently-arrived Irish émigrés, Cheetham fostered a community identity, a unique fusion of Irish and American patriotic gestures that were largely symbolic, yet genuinely effective. Irving, on the other hand, wrote from a more refined, leisurely perspective, which contrasted the highly-charged, working-class rhetoric of James Cheetham. Yet, despite Irving’s gentrified inclinations as a scholar, theatrical critic, purveyor of literature, and practitioner of medicine, he truly believed he was advocating a democratic alternative to what he and his fellow Burrrites considered a threat to the republic in the form of the so-called aristocratic faction, the Clintons.

Ultimately, the Thompsonian notion of “public space” proved to be a more useful frame of reference than a purely Andersonian “imagined community” because it allows the physical space of the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders to serve as a foundation for the rhetorical communities created by Cheetham and Irving. Broadly speaking, Cheetham and Irving were part of a larger public community that existed in the Old East Ward in what is now Lower Manhattan, the result of their mutually shared identities with their fellow printers, booksellers, and bookbinders. Stemming from this

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*of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture).

public space, Cheetham, through the *American Citizen* and numerous pamphlets, wrote for the working-class, the downtrodden, and the immigrants. Irving's community, on the other hand, consisted of a more genteel and leisurely clientele, appealing to men of wit, wisdom, and education, all while painting Aaron Burr's rivals as despotic aristocrats, upholding Burr as a man of the people.

Nevertheless, despite the significance of these three overlapping "communities" to the social, cultural, economic, and political milieu of New York City in the early Republic, there remain several lingering questions that merit further historical inquiry. Although this thesis has clearly demonstrated that these communities existed from 1800 to 1810, it is necessary to ask when the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders began to form. The database that contributed to the reemergence of this community will have to be expanded to include listings prior to 1800. This could be a tricky proposition however, as printers in New York did not distribute city directories until 1786, so in order to determine where printers, booksellers, and bookbinders worked before the publication of the first register, documents such as tax records will have to be consulted.<sup>10</sup> Also, a larger sample of editors and newspapers will need to be examined to compliment the snapshots of James Cheetham and Peter Irving. Lastly, it is also intriguing to ponder the depth of political ties between printers, booksellers, and bookbinders by studying advertising patterns in the city's prominent partisan newspapers. Such topics and questions, however, will have to wait for a future volume.

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<sup>10</sup> In order to construct a similar database for her study of the 1741 New York slave conspiracy, Jill Lepore relied heavily on public tax lists given that census records and directories were not readily available. See Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), esp. Appendices A, B, and C, pp. 233-273.

# Appendix One

## Graphs and Tables

This appendix is devoted to providing a more in-depth discussion of the many graphs and tables presented in this thesis where space was otherwise not available for a full textual disclosure of numbers and/or explanations of methodology in gaining values. Each table or graph is accompanied by a brief paragraph describing which figure from the text it corresponds with in addition to any methodological explanation that would otherwise be required in order to clarify the information in the thesis.

**Population of New York City, 1790-1820**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Bronx</b> | <b>Brooklyn</b> | <b>Manhattan</b> | <b>Queens</b> | <b>Richmond</b> | <b>Total Population</b> |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <b>1790</b> | 1,781        | 4,495           | 33,131           | 6,159         | 3,835           | 49,401                  |
| <b>1800</b> | 1,755        | 5,740           | 60,515           | 6,642         | 4,564           | 79,216                  |
| <b>1810</b> | 2,267        | 8,303           | 96,373           | 7,444         | 5,347           | 119,734                 |
| <b>1820</b> | 2,782        | 11,187          | 123,706          | 8,246         | 6,135           | 152,056                 |

This table is a numerical representation of Figure 1.1. Although some of the actual numbers are provided in the text, I thought it was necessary to reproduce the actual statistics to corroborate Figure 1.1.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, "Population and Housing Unit Counts," CPH-2-1, Table 46. See Michael R. Haines, "Population of cities with at least 100,000 population in 1990: 1790–1990," in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Table Aa832-1033. Ellis Library, University of Missouri  
[www.mulibraries.missouri.edu](http://www.mulibraries.missouri.edu)

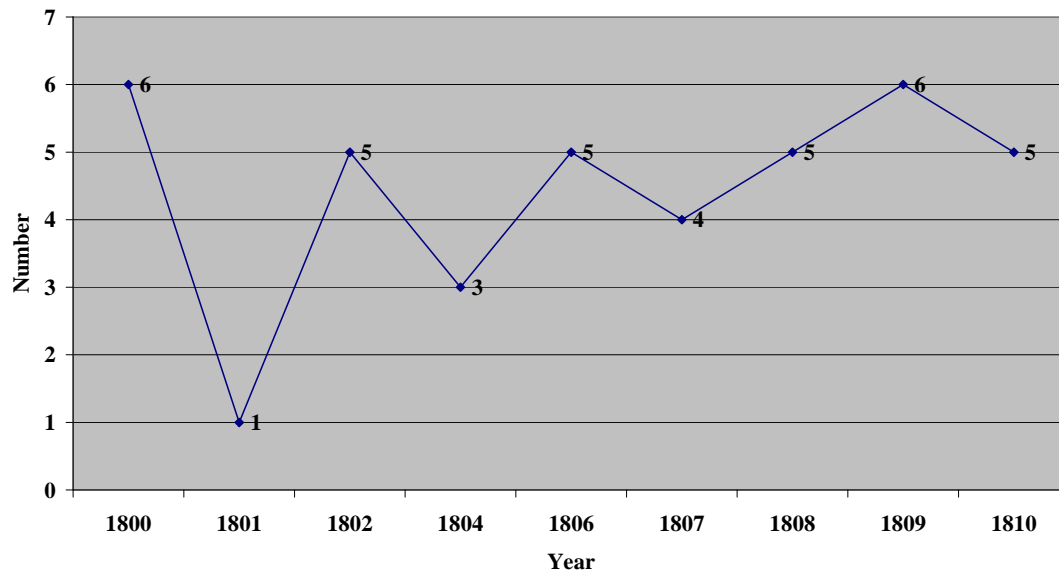
### Number of Newspaper Established in New York City, 1800-1810

| Year | Number | Newspapers Established  |
|------|--------|---|
| 1800 | 6      | <i>American Citizen</i><br><i>Forlorn Hope</i><br><i>Porcupine's Gazette</i><br><i>Prisoner of Hope</i><br><i>Republican Watch-Tower</i><br><i>Temple of Reason</i> |
| 1801 | 1      | <i>New-York Evening Post</i>  |
| 1802 | 5      | <i>Chronicle Express</i><br><i>New-York Herald</i><br><i>New-York Journal</i><br><i>Morning Chronicle</i><br><i>Weekly Visitor</i>                                  |
| 1803 | 0      | ---   |
| 1804 | 3      | <i>The Corrector</i><br><i>Moniteur Francais</i><br><i>Remembrancer</i>   |
| 1805 | 0      | ---   |
| 1806 | 5      | <i>Bowery Republican</i><br><i>Independent Republican</i><br><i>People's Friend</i><br><i>New-York Spy</i><br><i>Weekly Inspector</i>                               |
| 1807 | 4      | <i>New-York Aurora</i><br><i>Columbian Herald</i><br><i>Daily Advertiser</i><br><i>Public Advertiser</i>  |
| 1808 | 5      | <i>Daily Advertiser</i><br><i>Observateur Impartial</i><br><i>Oracle</i><br><i>Pelican</i>  |
| 1809 | 6      | <i>Columbian</i><br><i>Columbian Herald</i><br><i>New York Journal</i><br><i>Observer</i><br><i>Spirit of '76</i><br><i>Washington Republican</i>                   |
| 1810 | 5      | <i>New-York Morning Post</i><br><i>Morning Star</i><br><i>Political Bulletin</i><br><i>The Shamrock</i><br><i>United States' Shipping List</i>                      |

Figure 1.5 illustrates the number of newspapers founded in New York City for a thirty year period, beginning in 1790 and ending in 1820. The graph is a cumulative summary of this growth, and only a few newspapers from the 1800-1810 category are provided in the text. In order to better illustrate the growth of the newspaper industry

from 1800 to 1810, the table listed above does two things: it provides the number of newspapers established per year in addition to listing the names of the actual papers. This list is based on my database of newspapers in New York City from 1790-1820, which is discussed and subsequently listed in Appendix three.

**Number of Newspapers Established in New York City  
per Year, 1800-1810**



This chart illustrates the number of newspapers established per year in New York City from 1800 to 1810, excluding 1803 and 1805, the years in which Yellow Fever prevented papers from being founded. It is based on the above-mentioned table that breaks down the expansion of the newspaper industry from 1800 to 1810.



### Print Shops and Newspapers in New York City, 1800-1810

| Year        | Print Shops<br>(N) | Print Shops Publishing Newspapers<br>(N) | Newspapers in New York City<br>(N) |
|-------------|--------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| <b>1800</b> | 34                 | 12                                       | <b>15</b>                          |
| <b>1801</b> | 32                 | 9  | <b>11</b>                          |
| <b>1802</b> | 38                 | 10                                       | <b>15</b>                          |
| <b>1803</b> | 45                 | 10                                       | <b>14</b>                          |
| <b>1804</b> | 52                 | 11                                       | <b>17</b>                          |
| <b>1805</b> | 45                 | 10                                       | <b>14</b>                          |
| <b>1806</b> | 47                 | 16                                       | <b>19</b>                          |
| <b>1807</b> | 37                 | 13                                       | <b>20</b>                          |
| <b>1808</b> | 37                 | 11                                       | <b>15</b>                          |
| <b>1809</b> | 44                 | 14                                       | <b>17</b>                          |
| <b>1810</b> | 52                 | 12                                       | <b>16</b>                          |

This table (Figure 1.6) is fairly straight-forward in that it compares the total number of print shops in New York City from 1800 to 1810 with the number of print shops known to have produced newspapers. Also, the right column indicates how many newspapers were published each year. As the reader is certain to notice, there were always more newspapers than printers; this is the result of printers often publishing weekly or semi-weekly “country” editions of their daily metropolitan papers.

### Percentage of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders in the Old East Ward, 1800-1810

|              | Old East Printers<br>(N) | Manhattan Printers<br>(N) | Old East Printers<br>(%) |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>1800</b>  | 20                       | 34                        | <b>58.8</b>              |
| <b>1801</b>  | 20                       | 32                        | <b>62.5</b>              |
| <b>1802</b>  | 19                       | 38                        | <b>50</b>                |
| <b>1803</b>  | 18                       | 45                        | <b>40</b>                |
| <b>1804</b>  | 23                       | 52                        | <b>44.2</b>              |
| <b>1805</b>  | 25                       | 45                        | <b>55.5</b>              |
| <b>1806</b>  | 17                       | 47                        | <b>36.2</b>              |
| <b>1807</b>  | 14                       | 37                        | <b>37.8</b>              |
| <b>1808</b>  | 12                       | 37                        | <b>32.4</b>              |
| <b>1809</b>  | 16                       | 44                        | <b>36.3</b>              |
| <b>1810</b>  | 17                       | 52                        | <b>32.6</b>              |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>201</b>               | <b>463</b>                | <b>43.4</b>              |

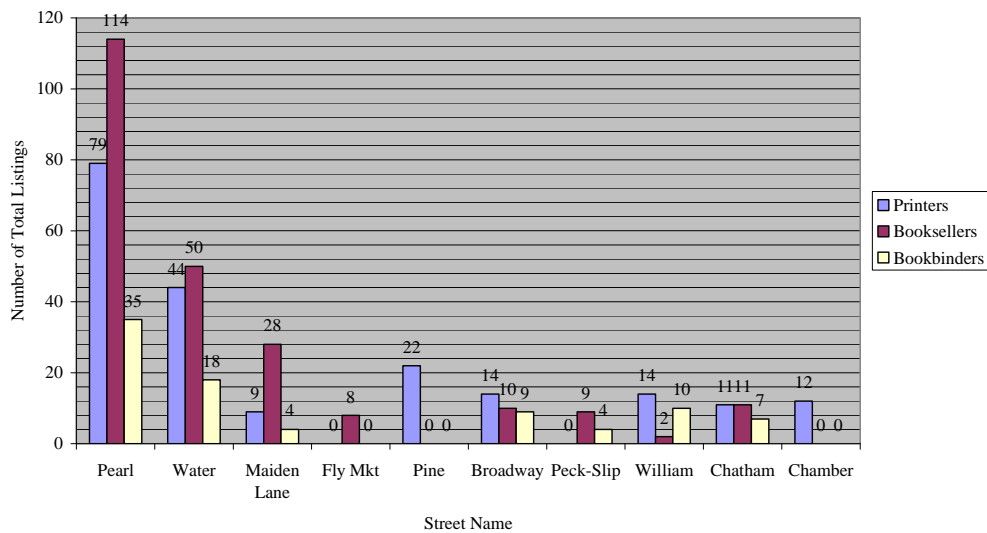
|              | Old East Booksellers<br>(N) | Manhattan Booksellers<br>(N) | Old East Booksellers<br>(%) |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>1800</b>  | 13                          | 15                           | <b>86.6</b>                 |
| <b>1801</b>  | 16                          | 22                           | <b>72.7</b>                 |
| <b>1802</b>  | 20                          | 25                           | <b>80</b>                   |
| <b>1803</b>  | 20                          | 26                           | <b>76.9</b>                 |
| <b>1804</b>  | 20                          | 28                           | <b>71.4</b>                 |
| <b>1805</b>  | 28                          | 48                           | <b>58.3</b>                 |
| <b>1806</b>  | 23                          | 29                           | <b>79.3</b>                 |
| <b>1807</b>  | 25                          | 29                           | <b>86.2</b>                 |
| <b>1808</b>  | 19                          | 25                           | <b>76</b>                   |
| <b>1809</b>  | 15                          | 20                           | <b>75</b>                   |
| <b>1810</b>  | 13                          | 21                           | <b>61.9</b>                 |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>212</b>                  | <b>288</b>                   | <b>73.6</b>                 |

|              | Old East Bookbinders<br>(N) | Manhattan<br>Bookbinders<br>(N) | Old East<br>Bookbinders<br>(%) |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>1800</b>  | 5                           | 13                              | <b>38.4</b>                    |
| <b>1801</b>  | 7                           | 19                              | <b>36.8</b>                    |
| <b>1802</b>  | 6                           | 20                              | <b>30</b>                      |
| <b>1803</b>  | 9                           | 22                              | <b>40.9</b>                    |
| <b>1804</b>  | 7                           | 20                              | <b>35</b>                      |
| <b>1805</b>  | 7                           | 26                              | <b>26.9</b>                    |
| <b>1806</b>  | 7                           | 22                              | <b>31.8</b>                    |
| <b>1807</b>  | 9                           | 25                              | <b>36</b>                      |
| <b>1808</b>  | 6                           | 19                              | <b>31.5</b>                    |
| <b>1809</b>  | 4                           | 24                              | <b>16.6</b>                    |
| <b>1810</b>  | 10                          | 32                              | <b>31.2</b>                    |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>77</b>                   | <b>242</b>                      | <b>31.8</b>                    |

The percentages in the three tables listed above (Figure 1.8) are derived from a controlled sample of all printers, booksellers, and bookbinders listed at Pearl Street, Water Street, William Street, Front Street, Maiden Lane and the Fly Market, Pine Street, Gold Street, Peck-Slip, Cliff Street, and Ann Street. For each year, I counted the number of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders with addresses with those streets and divided the total by the total number of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in Manhattan. The twelve streets and one market were chosen because of the natural boundaries of William Street and the East River docks. In addition to the natural boundaries that create a unique imagined community, the data does not indicate—aside from a few isolated areas on

Broadway, Chatham Street, and Chatham Street, for example—that *clusters* of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders existed anywhere else in early nineteenth-century Manhattan. Indeed, a majority of the other streets contained in the database have only one tenant per year, and often times these tenants lasted only one year at that location before disappearing from the directories.

**Number of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders on Most Populated Streets, 1800-1810**



This graph outlines the number of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders on various streets in Manhattan. It corresponds with Figure 1.8, the percentage of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders in the Old East Ward from 1800 to 1810. In addition to Figure 1.8, this graph illustrates how prominent the various streets that made up the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders were in comparison to other streets such as Chatham Street, Chamber Street, and Broadway, the only three streets on the graph that were outside of the area bound by William Street, Pearl Street, and the East River waterfront.

### Percentage of Newspapers Published in the Old East, 1800-1810

| Year | Newspapers in New York City<br>(N) | Republican Newspapers<br>(N) | Federalist Newspapers<br>(N) | Newspapers in the Old East<br>(%) |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1800 | 15                                 | 7                            | 6                            | 7/15=46.6                         |
| 1801 | 11                                 | 4                            | 6                            | 9/11=81.8                         |
| 1802 | 15                                 | 6                            | 7                            | 9/15=60                           |
| 1803 | 14                                 | 5                            | 8                            | 14/14=100                         |
| 1804 | 17                                 | 8                            | 7                            | 15/17=88.2                        |
| 1805 | 14                                 | 5                            | 7                            | 12/14=85.7                        |
| 1806 | 19                                 | 6                            | 10                           | 14/19=73.6                        |
| 1807 | 20                                 | 5                            | 12                           | 14/20=70                          |
| 1808 | 15                                 | 3                            | 7                            | 10/15=66.7                        |
| 1809 | 17                                 | 3                            | 9                            | 14/17=82.3                        |
| 1810 | 16                                 | 6                            | 7                            | 10/16=62.5                        |

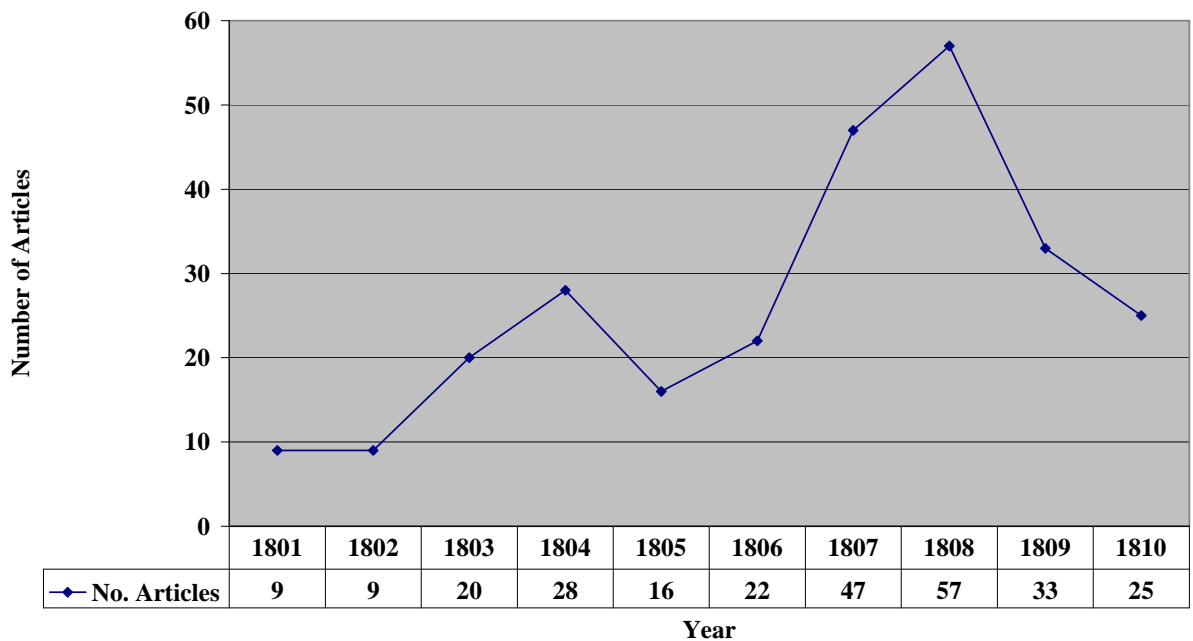
This table corresponds with Figure 1.10. The aim of this table is twofold: first, to indicate how many newspapers were published in New York City from 1800 to 1810 and what their political affiliation were; second, to provide a percentage of how many of the *total* number of newspapers were published in the community of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders. The addresses of newspaper offices within the community, consisting of Pearl Street, Water Street, William Street, Front Street, Maiden Lane and the Fly Market, Pine Street, Gold Street, Peck-Slip, Cliff Street, and Ann Street, were counted and divided by the total number of newspapers in the city for each year.

### Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders on Pearl Street, 1800-1810

| Year | No. 102-189/Total=%Printers | No. 102-189/Total=%Booksellers | No. 102-189/Total=%Bookbinders | Total      |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1800 | 4/7=57.1                    | 4/7=57.1                       | 2/4=50                         | 10/18=55.5 |
| 1801 | 8/9=88.9                    | 6/7=85.7                       | 1/2=50                         | 15/18=83.3 |
| 1802 | 6/8=75                      | 8/9=88.8                       | 2/2=100                        | 16/19=84.2 |
| 1803 | 6/7=85.7                    | 8/10=80                        | 4/4=100                        | 18/21=85.7 |
| 1804 | 6/9=66.7                    | 11/12=91.7                     | 1/2=50                         | 18/24=75   |
| 1805 | 6/9=75                      | 13/15=86.7                     | 1/2=50                         | 20/25=80   |
| 1806 | 6/8=75                      | 11/13=84.6                     | 1/4=25                         | 18/25=72   |
| 1807 | 4/7=57.1                    | 13/16=81.2                     | 2/3=66.7                       | 19/26=73   |
| 1808 | 4/5=80                      | 8/11=72.7                      | 0                              | 12/18=66.7 |
| 1809 | 6/7=85.7                    | 7/8=87.5                       | 2/3=66.7                       | 15/18=83.3 |
| 1810 | 2/4=50                      | 6/6=100                        | 3/6=50                         | 11/16=68.7 |

This table breaks down the numbers presented in Figure 1.12, which outlines the percentage of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders that resided in the small geographic area on Pearl Street between the addresses 102 and 189. Given that I have relatively little space in which to present these interesting numbers, I outlined them as percentages knowing I would reproduce the numbers in this Appendix. The math is pretty simple: I divided the number working in shops between 102 and 189 Pearl Street per year and by the *total* number of listings for each occupation per year. Moreover, to give an overall impression for each year, I tabulated the total number of the three occupations residing between the sample area and divided it by the total number of all three for each year, coming up with a percentage total for each year in addition to each individual percentage. In order to keep it as simple as possible, I only listed one decimal place.

### Number of Irish-related pieces in the American Citizen, 1801-1810



The numbers in this table/chart (Figure 2.2) were derived from a close reading of the *American Citizen*. Any time Cheetham either mentioned Ireland or the Irish or discussed a topic that concerned Ireland, the Irish, or Irish-Americans living in New York City, it was noted and tabulated, excluding advertisements (although he did often advertise Irish-made products or products from Ireland). Unfortunately, given the sheer volume of work that Cheetham published in the *American Citizen*—over 3,000 issues—I was unable to calculate a percentage of Irish-related pieces in the *American Citizen*, merely settling for counting content.

## **Appendix Two**

### **List of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookbinders In New York City, 1800-1810**

These pages list the names and addresses of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders of New York City from 1800 to 1810. It is based on a database constructed using the city directories published by David Longworth (1765-1821). Longworth's directories were consulted primarily because of their availability, as well as their consistency. Longworth published directories in various forms from 1796 until 1819 and he was, in fact, to the best of my knowledge, the only printer to publish city directories yearly during the time in which this study covers. The construction of the database is simple: I read each page of each edition of Longworth's directory from 1800 to 1810. I created rudimentary tables for each year in a notebook with the categories "printers, booksellers, and bookbinders," and I noted their names and addresses. After compiling this data by hand, I transferred the information to a MS Excel spreadsheet. Rather than lumping all of the names into one massive database, I utilized three sheets in one spreadsheet file to create separate, searchable databases for printers, booksellers, and bookbinders.

Using the "data filter" function embedded in the spreadsheet software, I was able to isolate entries according to name, address, date listed, and, of course, occupation. Although I began noticing distinct patterns of settlement as I studied the actual directories, it was not until I looked closely at the database did I start to realize how unique their movement was. The methodology was fairly simple: for each occupation, I isolated the year and then the corresponding street, counting how many printers,

booksellers, and booksellers resided on certain streets. I did this for the ten years I had on record in the database. From then on, I was able to create tables and graphs to illustrate the raw data. Moreover, the database was flexible enough to allow me to isolate certain addresses (such as the sample of Pearl Street occupants with addresses ranging from 102 to 189).

The database is reproduced here in its simplest form to provide a rough sketch for the graphs and tables used in this study. I chose to lump all three occupations by year for ease of use, thus, listings are arranged in the following way: alphabetically by year and occupation. Moreover, citations for the directories, rather than being reprinted here, are listed under “primary sources” in the bibliography.



## 1800

| <u>Last Name</u>  | <u>First Name</u> | <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Street Number</u> | <u>Street Name</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Allison           | Robert            | Printer           | 177                  | William            |
| Belden            | C.A.              | Printer           | 12                   | Nassau             |
| Bowen             | John              | Printer           | 318                  | Pearl              |
| Brown             | James             | Printer           | 63                   | Pearl              |
| Bruce             | David             | Printer           | 41                   | Cliff              |
| Cornard           | Ephraim           | Printer           | 31                   | Nassau             |
| Collins           | Isaac             | Printer           | 189                  | Pearl              |
| Collins           | David             | Printer           |                      | Thomas             |
| Crooks            | John              | Printer           | 41                   | Liberty            |
| Cunning           | William           | Printer           | 63                   | Ann                |
| Doyle             | James             | Printer           | 11                   | Cedar              |
| Durell            | William           | Printer           | 106                  | Maiden Lane        |
| Forman            | George            | Printer           | 64                   | Water              |
| Harrell           | John              | Printer           | 34                   | Whitehall          |
| Harrison          | John              | Printer           | 3                    | Peck-slip          |
| Hill              | Charles           | Printer           | 403                  | Pearl              |
| Hopkins           | George F.         | Printer           | 136                  | Pearl              |
| Jones             | Louis             | Printer           | 55                   | Pine               |
| Lang              | John              | Printer           | 116                  | Pearl              |
| Leaycraft         | James             | Printer           |                      | Barley             |
| MFarlane          | Monteath          | Printer           | 29                   | Gold               |
| Ming              | Alexander         | Printer           | 86                   | Font               |
| Oram              | James             | Printer           | 102                  | Water              |
| Paritot           | Claude            | Printer           | 54                   | Chatham            |
| Robins            | William           | Printer           | 85                   | Fair               |
| Ringwood          | Thomas            | Printer           | 63                   | Ann                |
| Saunders          | Robert            | Printer           | 12                   | James              |
| Scott             | James             | Printer           | 44                   | Barclay            |
| Slote             | Peter             | Printer           | 71                   | Chamber            |
| Swords            | T.&J.             | Printer           | 99                   | Pearl              |
| Teneyck           | Richard A.        | Printer           | 16                   | Garden             |
| Tiebout           | John C.           | Printer           | 246                  | Water              |
| Totten            | John C.           | Printer           | 5                    | Barclay            |
| Wilson            | Robert            | Printer           |                      | Church             |
| Arden             | Thomas            | Bookseller        | 186                  | Pearl              |
| Brown & Stansbury |                   | Bookseller        | 114                  | Water              |
| Buntsell          | Peter             | Bookseller        | 35                   | Beck               |
| Campbell          | Samuel            | Bookseller        | 124                  | Pearl              |
| Duychinck         | Evert             | Bookseller        | 110                  | Pearl              |
| Falconer          | William           | Bookseller        | 94                   | Water              |
| Jansen & Co.      |                   | Bookseller        | 248                  | Pearl              |
| Macgill           | Robert            | Bookseller        | 24                   | Maiden Lane        |
| Reid              | John              | Bookseller        | 106                  | Water              |
| Smith             | Charles           | Bookseller        | 52                   | Maiden Lane        |
| Somerville        | Alexander         | Bookseller        |                      |                    |
| Swords            | T.&J.             | Bookseller        | 99                   | Pearl              |

|              |           |            |     |              |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-----|--------------|
| Teneyck      | Philip    | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl        |
| Tiebout      | John C.   | Bookseller | 246 | Water        |
| Ackley       | James     | Bookbinder | 62  | Stone        |
| Bell         | Nathaniel | Bookbinder |     | Bowery       |
| Bell & Smith |           | Bookbinder | 94  | Chatham      |
| Black        | John      | Bookbinder | 31  | Cedar        |
| Fenwick      | Thomas    | Bookbinder |     | L. Catharine |
| Gale         | Marinus   | Bookbinder | 2   | Ferry        |
| Gorney       | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 97  | Maiden Lane  |
| Griffith     | Hugh M.   | Bookbinder | 358 | Pearl        |
| Johnston     | Elkannah  | Bookbinder | 383 | Pearl        |
| Judah        | Naphal    | Bookbinder | 112 | Pearl        |
| Mesier       | Peter A.  | Bookbinder | 107 | Pearl        |
| Miller       | Alexander | Bookbinder | 35  | Reed         |
| Smith        | Daniel    | Bookbinder | 94  | Chatham      |

## 1801

|                   |           |         |     |              |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|-----|--------------|
| Belden & Co.      |           | Printer | 131 | Pearl        |
| Bowen             | John      | Printer |     | Mott         |
| Brown             | James     | Printer | 63  | Pearl        |
| Bruce             | David     | Printer | 40  | Day          |
| Butler            | James     | Printer |     | Bowery       |
| Cheetham          | James     | Editor  | 22  | William      |
| Collins           | Isaac     | Printer | 189 | Pearl        |
| Crookes           | John      | Printer | 41  | Liberty      |
| Denniston         | David     | Printer | 142 | Pearl        |
| Dodge             | Daniel    | Printer | 25  | James        |
| Doyle             | James     | Printer | 11  | Cedar        |
| Harrison          | John      | Printer | 3   | Peck-slip    |
| Haswell           | Thomas    | Printer | 1   | Barley       |
| Hopkins           | George K. | Printer | 118 | Pearl        |
| Jewison           | George    | Printer | 64  | Warren       |
| Johnson           | Paul R.   | Printer | 51  | Cliff Street |
| Johnson & Stryker |           | Printer | 29  | Gold         |
| Jones             | Lewis     | Printer | 55  | Pine Street  |
| Kirk              | Thomas    | Printer |     | Brooklyn     |
| Lang              | John      | Printer | 116 | Pearl        |
| Lang & Co.        |           | Printer | 116 | Pearl        |
| M'Farlane         | Monteath  | Printer | 290 | Water        |
| Ming & Young      |           | Printer | 33  | Liberty      |
| Oram              | James     | Printer | 102 | Water        |
| Robins            | William   | Printer | 116 | Pearl        |
| Slote             | Peter     | Printer | 71  | Chamber      |
| Swords            | T.&J.     | Printer | 99  | Pearl        |
| Tiebout           | John      | Printer | 246 | Water        |
| Turner            | John      | Printer | 63  | Ann          |
| Waite             | G.&R.     | Printer | 64  | Maiden Lane  |
| Warrand           | & Co.     | Printer | 2   | Broad        |

|                   |                      |            |     |                  |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------|-----|------------------|
|                   | Wilson Robert        | Printer    |     | Pear c. Pine     |
|                   | Arden Thomas S.      | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl            |
|                   | Black John           | Bookseller | 31  | Cedar            |
| Brown & Stansbury |                      | Bookseller | 114 | Water            |
|                   | Burstell Peter       | Bookseller | 35  | Beckman          |
|                   | Campbell Samuel      | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl            |
|                   | Durell William       | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane      |
|                   | Duychinck Evert      | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl            |
|                   | Falconer William     | Bookseller | 94  | Water            |
|                   | Fenno John W.        | Bookseller | 114 | Broadway         |
|                   | Flanagan Christopher | Bookseller | 27  | Nassau           |
| Gaine & Tanyeck   |                      | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl            |
|                   | Jansen G.            | Bookseller | 196 | Water            |
|                   | Low John             | Bookseller | 33  | Chatham          |
|                   | Macgill Robert       | Bookseller | 24  | Maiden Lane      |
|                   | Reid John            | Bookseller | 106 | Water            |
|                   | Stephens Stephen     | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl            |
|                   | Swords T.&J.         | Bookseller | 99  | Pearl            |
|                   | Tenyeck Philip       | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl            |
|                   | Tiebout John         | Bookseller | 246 | Water            |
|                   | Waite G. & R.        | Bookseller | 64  | Maiden Lane      |
|                   | Wand M.              | Bookseller | 2   | Broadway         |
| Oram & Boyle      |                      | Bookseller | 102 | Water            |
|                   | Bell Nathaniel       | Bookbinder | 112 | Broadway         |
|                   | Black John           | Bookbinder | 31  | Cedar            |
|                   | Brown Christian      | Bookbinder | 70  | Water            |
|                   | Burnton Thomas       | Bookbinder | 28  | Cedar            |
| Debevois          |                      | Bookbinder | 251 | Greenwich        |
|                   | Evans Titusw         | Bookbinder | 60  | James            |
|                   | Fraird George        | Bookbinder |     | Orchard c. Grand |
|                   | Gale Marinus         | Bookbinder | 2   | Ferry            |
|                   | Griffith Hugh M.     | Bookbinder | 88  | Water            |
|                   | Johnston E. & R.     | Bookbinder | 385 | Pearl            |
|                   | Louden Samuel E.     | Bookbinder | 2   | Broadway         |
|                   | Messier Peter A.     | Bookbinder | 107 | Pearl            |
|                   | Moore Robert         | Bookbinder |     | First c. Grand   |
|                   | Pemberton William    | Bookbinder | 16  | Reed             |
|                   | Ringwood Thomas      | Bookbinder | 59  | Ann              |
|                   | Sinclair George      | Bookbinder | 196 | William          |
|                   | Smith Daniel         | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey            |
|                   | Willis William       | Bookbinder | 19  | Cheapside        |
| Williamson        | George               | Bookbinder |     | William c. Gold  |

## 1802

|                   |              |            |     |                 |
|-------------------|--------------|------------|-----|-----------------|
| Andrews           | Sydney       | Printer    | 24  | Cedar           |
| Beach             | Lazarus      | Printer    | 358 | Pearl           |
| Bloomfield        | James        | Printer    | 10  | Upper Road      |
| Boland            | Martin       | Printer    | 32  | Chapel          |
| Burnham           | Michael      | Printer    | 40  | Pine            |
| Cheetham          | James        | Editor     | 13  | Bridge Street   |
| Collins           | Isaac & Sons | Printer    | 189 | Pearl           |
| Crookes           | John         | Printer    | 41  | Liberty         |
| Cunning           | William      | Printer    | 34  | Chamber         |
| Denniston         | David        | Printer    | 142 | Pearl           |
| Dodge             | Daniel       | Printer    | 25  | James           |
| Doyle             | James        | Printer    | 70  | William         |
| Elliot            | William      | Printer    | 41  | Liberty         |
| Gird              | Henry, Jr.   | Printer    | 13  | Partition       |
| Hamill            | John         | Printer    | 34  | Whitehall       |
| Harrison          | John         | Printer    | 3   | Peck-slip       |
| Heard & Forman    |              | Printer    | 156 | Pearl           |
| Hopkins           | George F.    | Printer    | 118 | Pearl           |
| Hopkins           | Elliott      | Printer    | 17  | Pearl           |
| Jack              | Robert       | Printer    | 19  | Water           |
| Johnson           | Paul R.      | Printer    | 29  | Gold            |
| Larry             | John         | Printer    | 116 | Pearl           |
| Long              | George       | Printer    | 26  | Church          |
| Lucy              | William      | Printer    | 23  | Cliff           |
| M'Farlane         | Monteath     | Printer    | 290 | Water           |
| Ming & Young      |              | Printer    | 90  | William         |
| Aram              | James        | Printer    | 102 | Water           |
| Paristont         | Claude       | Printer    | 253 | Barclay         |
| Ringwood          | Thomas       | Printer    | 59  | Ann             |
| Slote             | Peter        | Printer    | 71  | Chamber         |
| Stryker           | John         | Printer    | 1   | Temple          |
| Swords            | T.&J.        | Printer    | 99  | Pearl           |
| Tiebout           | John         | Printer    | 246 | Water           |
| Waite             | G.&R.        | Printer    | 64  | Maiden Lane     |
| Ward & Co.        | M.           | Printer    | 2   | Broad c. Wall   |
| Wharney           | Joseph       | Printer    | 32  | Broad           |
| Wilson            | Robert       | Printer    | 23  | Chapel          |
| Kirk (Brooklyn)   | Thomas       | Printer    |     | Old Ferry House |
| Arden             | Thomas S.    | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl           |
| Barlas            | William      | Bookseller | 114 | Maiden Lane     |
| Bland             | John         | Bookseller | 31  | Cedar           |
| Boyle             | E.M.         | Bookseller | 94  | Water           |
| Brown & Stansbury |              | Bookseller | 114 | Water           |
| Campbell          | Samuel       | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl           |
| Collins           | Isaac & sons | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl           |
| Durell            | William      | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane     |
| Duychinck         | Evert        | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl           |

|                 |           |            |     |                  |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|-----|------------------|
| Duychinck       | David     | Bookseller | 45  | Gold             |
| Falconer        | William   | Bookseller | 112 | Pearl            |
| Gaine & Teneyck |           | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl            |
| Jansen          | George    | Bookseller | 198 | Water            |
| [Illegible]     | Napthali  | Bookseller | 84  | Maiden Lane      |
| Low             | John      | Bookseller | 33  | Chatham          |
| Macgill         | Robert    | Bookseller | 24  | Maiden Lane      |
| Reid            | John      | Bookseller | 106 | Water            |
| Sergeant & Co.  |           | Bookseller | 129 | Water            |
| Smith           | Charles   | Bookseller | 289 | Pearl            |
| Swords          | T.&J.     | Bookseller | 99  | Pearl            |
| Teneyck         | Philip    | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl            |
| Tiebout         | John      | Bookseller | 246 | Water            |
| Totten          | John      | Bookseller | 55  | Chatham          |
| Waite           | G. & R.   | Bookseller | 64  | Monarch Lane     |
| Ward & Co.      |           | Bookseller | 2   | Broad c. Wall    |
| Bell            | Nathaniel | Bookbinder | 320 | Broadway         |
| Black           | John      | Bookbinder | 31  | Cedar            |
| Brown           | Christian | Bookbinder | 70  | Water            |
| Burnton         | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 28  | Cedar            |
| Dubois          | Peter     | Bookbinder | 251 | Greenwich        |
| Evans           | Titusw    | Bookbinder | 262 | William          |
| Fenwick         | Thomas    | Bookbinder |     | L. Catharine     |
| Friend          | George    | Bookbinder |     | Orchard c. Grand |
| Gale            | Marinus   | Bookbinder | 63  | Ann              |
| Griffith        | Hugh M.   | Bookbinder | 88  | Water            |
| Harris          | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 223 | Greenwich        |
| Johnson         | Elkanab   | Bookbinder | 64  | Chatham          |
| Louden          | Samuel E. | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl            |
| Mesier          | Peter A.  | Bookbinder | 107 | Pearl            |
| Sinclair        | George    | Bookbinder | 54  | Chatham          |
| Smith           | Daniel    | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey            |
| Vandyck         | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 44  | Warner           |
| Walker          | William   | Bookbinder | 7   | Fisher           |
| Willis          | William   | Bookbinder | 19  | Cheapside        |
| Wright          | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 29  | George           |

## 1803

|                |            |            |     |                  |
|----------------|------------|------------|-----|------------------|
| Beach          | Lazarus    | Printer    | 62  | Cherry           |
| Bloomfield     | James      | Printer    | 20  | Upper Road       |
| Brown          | James      | Printer    | 63  | Liberty c. Green |
| Bruce          | George     | Printer    | 7   | New              |
| Cheetham       | James      | Editor     | 136 | Pearl            |
| Coleman        | William    | Editor     | 55  | Pine Street      |
| Collins & Son  | Isaac      | Printer    | 189 | Pearl            |
| Burnham        | Michael    | Printer    | 40  | Pine             |
| Crooker        | Richard    | Printer    | 217 | William          |
| Crookes        | John       | Printer    | 41  | Liberty          |
| Crumbie        | Robert     | Printer    | 22  | Frost            |
| Cunning        | William    | Printer    | 30  | Chamber          |
| Dodge          | Daniel     | Printer    | 25  | James Rear       |
| Elliot         | William    | Printer    | 32  | Chatham          |
| Forman         | George     | Printer    | 64  | Water            |
| Garrison       | Simon      | Printer    | 89  | Fair             |
| Gird           | Henry, Jr. | Printer    | 113 | Partition        |
| Gould          | Stephen    | Printer    |     | Broad c. Wall    |
| Hamill         | John       | Printer    | 43  | Cliff            |
| Harrison       | John       | Printer    | 3   | Peck-slip        |
| Haswell        | Thomas     | Printer    | 1   | Thomas near Wm.  |
| Heard & Forman |            | Printer    | 156 | Pearl near Wall  |
| Hever          | William    | Printer    | 260 | William          |
| Hopkins        | George F.  | Printer    | 118 | Pearl            |
| Hopkins        | Elliott    | Printer    | 121 | Broad            |
| Jack           | Peter      | Printer    |     | Greenwich        |
| Jones          | Louis      | Printer    | 55  | Pine Street      |
| Lang           | John       | Printer    | 116 | Pearl            |
| M'Farlane      | Monteath   | Printer    | 290 | Water            |
| Ming           | Alexander  | Printer    | 390 | Pearl            |
| Ming & Young   |            | Printer    | 90  | William          |
| Nichols        | Lewis      | Printer    | 308 | Broadway         |
| Oram           | James      | Printer    | 102 | Water            |
| Irving         | Peter, MD  | Editor     | 103 | Water            |
| Piron          | Mushere    | Printer    |     | Pump             |
| Rowe           | Thomas     | Printer    | 62  | Cherry           |
| Sage & Clough  |            | Printer    | 149 | Pearl            |
| Slote          | Peter      | Printer    | 71  | Chamber          |
| Stryker        | John       | Printer    | 308 | Broadway         |
| Swords         | T.&J.      | Printer    | 160 | Pearl            |
| Thorburn       | John       | Printer    | 32  | Lombard          |
| Tiebout        | John       | Printer    | 246 | William          |
| Waite          | George     | Printer    | 59  | Liberty          |
| Wate           | R.         | Printer    | 64  | Maiden Lane      |
| Ward & Co.     | M.         | Printer    | 2   | Broad c. Wall    |
| Arden          | Thomas     | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl            |
| Black          | John       | Bookseller | 31  | Cedar            |

|                     |              |            |     |               |
|---------------------|--------------|------------|-----|---------------|
| Boyle & Haines      |              | Bookseller | 94  | Water         |
| Campbell            | Samuel       | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl         |
| Cariat's            |              | Bookseller | 1   | City-Hall     |
| Collins             | Isaac & sons | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl         |
| Davis               | Cornelius    | Bookseller | 7   | Peck-slip     |
| Durell              | William      | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane   |
| Duychinck           | Evert        | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl         |
| Falconer            | William      | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane   |
| Fautnier            | Peter        | Bookseller | 15  | Warren        |
| Flanagan            | Christian    | Bookseller | 151 | Water         |
| Forman              | George       | Bookseller | 64  | Water         |
| Gaine & Teneyck     |              | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl         |
| Gould               | Stephen      | Bookseller |     | Broad c. Wall |
| Harrison            | John         | Bookseller | 3   | Peck-slip     |
| Jansen              | George       | Bookseller | 403 | Pearl         |
| M'Dermot            | Robert       | Bookseller | 28  | Harmon        |
| M'Dermot & Thompson |              | Bookseller | 149 | Pearl         |
| Macgill             | Robert       | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market    |
| Reid                | John         | Bookseller | 106 | Water         |
| Stansbury           | Abraham      | Bookseller | 114 | Water         |
| Stephens            | Stephen      | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl         |
| Swords              | T.&J.        | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl         |
| Teneyck             | Philip       | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl         |
| Tiebout             | John         | Bookseller | 246 | Water         |
| Bell                | Nathaniel    | Bookbinder | 220 | Bowery        |
| Black               | John         | Bookbinder | 31  | Cedar         |
| Brown               | Christian    | Bookbinder | 70  | Water         |
| Burnton             | Thomas H.    | Bookbinder | 116 | Broadway      |
| Burell              | J.           | Bookbinder | 80  | Water         |
| Burstell            | Peter        | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall          |
| Culbertson          | Henry        | Bookbinder | 38  | Chapel        |
| Evans               | Titusw       | Bookbinder | 262 | William       |
| Fenwick             | Thomas       | Bookbinder |     | L. Catharine  |
| Ferguson            | Francis      | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl         |
| Griffith            | Hugh M.      | Bookbinder | 131 | Greenwich     |
| Johnston            | Elkanah      | Bookbinder | 50  | Maiden Lane   |
| Mertoney            | John         | Bookbinder |     | Pump          |
| Mesier              | Peter A.     | Bookbinder | 107 | Pearl         |
| Moore               | Robert       | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl         |
| Perry               | Robert       | Bookbinder |     | Gibbs Alley   |
| Ronolds             | John         | Bookbinder | 188 | Pearl         |
| Sinclair            | George       | Bookbinder | 332 | Water         |
| Smith               | Daniel       | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey         |
| Vandyck             | Thomas       | Bookbinder | 44  | Warren        |
| Walden              | William      | Bookbinder | 7   | Fisher        |
| Wright              | Thomas       | Bookbinder | 29  | George        |

# 1804

|                   |              |         |     |                    |
|-------------------|--------------|---------|-----|--------------------|
| Andrews           | Sydney       | Printer | 12  | Cedar              |
| Boland            | Martin       | Printer | 58  | Chamber            |
| Burnham           | Michael      | Printer | 40  | Pine               |
| Butler            | Amos         | Printer | 91  | Liberty            |
| Collins           | John         | Printer | 21  | Park               |
| Collins           | Isaac & Sons | Printer | 189 | Pearl              |
| Crookes           | John         | Printer | 68  | Pine               |
| Crumbie           | Robert       | Printer | 22  | Front              |
| Cunning           | William      | Printer | 60  | Dey                |
| Davis             | William      | Printer | 39  | William            |
| Dennis            | Joseph       | Printer | 74  | Catharine          |
| Douglass          | Richard      | Printer |     | Anthony            |
| Elliot            | William      | Printer |     | Frankfort          |
| Cheetham          | James        | Editor  | 81  | Pearl              |
| Coleman           | William      | Editor  | 53  | Pine               |
| Forman            | Aaron        | Printer | 91  | Beckman            |
| Forman            | George       | Printer | 64  | Water              |
| Gould & Co.       | S.           | Printer |     | Broad c. Wall      |
| Haswell           | Thomas       | Printer |     | Colden n. William  |
| Hopkins           | Elliott      | Printer | 42  | Stone              |
| Hopkins           | George F.    | Printer | 118 | Pearl              |
| Hopkins & Seymour |              | Printer | 118 | Pearl              |
| Johnson           | Paul R.      | Printer | 263 | Water              |
| Jones             | Louis        | Printer | 55  | Pine               |
| Lang              | John         | Printer | 116 | Pearl              |
| Leaycraft         | James        | Printer | 181 | Washington         |
| Lewis             | Zachariah    | Editor  | 51  | Beaver             |
| M'Farlane         | Monteath     | Printer | 290 | Water              |
| Marks             | Samuel       | Printer | 33  | Chapel             |
| Ming              | Alexander    | Printer | 102 | Water              |
| Ming & Young      |              | Printer | 102 | Water              |
| Moffatt           | John         | Printer | 85  | Fair               |
| Nichols           | Lewis        | Printer | 308 | Broadway           |
| Pace              | Henry        | Printer | 93  | Pearl              |
| Pelsue            | William      | Printer | 442 | Pearl              |
| Pierson           | Caleb        | Printer | 102 | Chamber            |
| Ringwood          | Thomas       | Printer | 89  | Fair               |
| Russell           | John         | Printer |     | Front c. Whitehall |
| Sage & Clough     |              | Printer | 149 | Pearl              |
| Saunders          | Robert       | Printer | 12  | Thames             |
| Simpson           | Thomas       | Printer |     | Magazine           |
| Slote             | Peter        | Printer | 71  | Chamber            |
| Stryker           | John         | Printer | 29  | Gold               |
| Swaine            | John         | Printer |     | Grand              |
| Swords            | T.&J.        | Printer | 160 | Pearl              |
| Thomas            | William      | Printer | 29  | George             |
| Tiebout           | John         | Printer | 238 | Water              |



|                 |              |            |     |                    |
|-----------------|--------------|------------|-----|--------------------|
| Tillman         | John         | Printer    | 44  | Frankfort          |
| Turner          | John         | Printer    | 37  | Liberty            |
| Vermilye        | W.W.         | Printer    |     | Hudson             |
| Waite           | G.&R.        | Printer    | 64  | Maiden Lane        |
| Wilson          | Robert       | Printer    | 103 | Water              |
| Alsop           | John         | Bookseller | 153 | Pearl              |
| Arnold          | Philip       | Bookseller | 8   | Harmon             |
| BLACK           | JANE         | Bookseller | 31  | Cedar              |
| Campbell        | Samuel       | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl              |
| Collins         | Isaac & sons | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl              |
| Dornia          | Bernard      | Bookseller | 150 | Pearl              |
| Durell          | William      | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane        |
| Duychinck       | Evert        | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl              |
| Falconer        | William      | Bookseller | 112 | Pearl              |
| Fautnier        | Peter        | Bookseller | 15  | Warren             |
| Flanagan        | Christopher  | Bookseller | 151 | Water              |
| Forman          | George       | Bookseller | 64  | Water              |
| Gould & Co.     | S.           | Bookseller |     | Broad c. Wall      |
| Kirk            | Thomas       | Bookseller | 94  | Water              |
| Low             | John         | Bookseller | 33  | Chatham            |
| M'Dermot        | Robert       | Bookseller | 255 | Pearl              |
| Macgill         | Robert       | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market         |
| Messier         | Peter A.     | Bookseller | 107 | Pearl              |
| Sage & Thompson |              | Bookseller | 149 | Pearl              |
| Sargent & Co.   |              | Bookseller | 129 | Water              |
| Scoles          | John         | Bookseller | 17  | U. Reed            |
| Stansbury       | Samuel       | Bookseller | 114 | West               |
| Stephens        | Stephen      | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl              |
| Swords          | T.&J.        | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl              |
| Teneyck         | Philip       | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl              |
| Tiebout         | John         | Bookseller | 238 | Water              |
| Totten          | John C.      | Bookseller | 155 | Chatham            |
| Waite           | G. & R.      | Bookseller | 64  | Maiden Lane        |
| Bell            | Nathaniel    | Bookbinder | 220 | Bowery             |
| Bliss           | David        | Bookbinder | 6   | Stone Lane         |
| Brewer          | James        | Bookbinder |     | 3rd near Rivington |
| Brown           | Christian    | Bookbinder | 70  | Water              |
| Burnell         | Joseph       | Bookbinder | 13  | Partition          |
| Crane           | Benjamin     | Bookbinder | 80  | Cherry             |
| Culburtson      | Henry        | Bookbinder | 38  | Lumber             |
| Devillers       | Joseph       | Bookbinder |     | Second             |
| Evans           | Titusw       | Bookbinder | 262 | William            |
| Fenwick         | Thomas       | Bookbinder |     | Anthony            |
| Frowd           | William      | Bookbinder |     | Mote               |
| Jansen          | George       | Bookbinder | 248 | Pearl              |
| Johnston        | Elkanah      | Bookbinder |     | Barley             |
| Mills           | Timothy      | Bookbinder | 14  | Ann                |
| Moore           | Robert       | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl              |
| Ronolds         | John         | Bookbinder | 188 | Pearl              |
| Sinclair        | George       | Bookbinder | 207 | Water              |

|        |           |            |    |        |
|--------|-----------|------------|----|--------|
| Smith  | Daniel D. | Bookbinder | 70 | Vesey  |
| Walker | William   | Bookbinder | 7  | Fisher |
| Wright | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 43 | Harman |

## 1805

|                   |            |                  |     |                   |
|-------------------|------------|------------------|-----|-------------------|
| Bloomfield        | James      | Printer          | 4   | Bedlow            |
| Bruce             | George     | Printer          |     | not listed        |
| Burnham           | Michael    | Master Printer   | 40  | Pine              |
| Butler            | Amos       | Printer          | 68  | Pine              |
| Collins & Perkins |            | Master Printer   | 189 | Pearl             |
| Crookes           | John       | Master Printer   | 68  | Pine              |
| Crumbie           | Robert     | Printer          |     | Washington        |
| Crooker           | Richard    | Printer          | 68  | Pine              |
| Cunning           | William    | Printer          | 33  | Division          |
| Davis             | William A. | Master Printer   | 39  | William           |
| Deane & Andrews   |            | Master Printer   | 71  | William c. Maiden |
| Dennis            | Joseph     | Printer          |     | not listed        |
| Forman            | Aaron      | Master Printer   |     | Dey c. Broadway   |
| Forman            | George     | Master Printer   | 64  | Water             |
| Gould & Co.       | S.         | Master Printer   |     | Wall c. Broad     |
| Halwell           | Thomas     | Printer          |     | not listed        |
| Heyer             | Walter     | Printer          |     | Magazine          |
| Hopkins           | Elliott    | Printer          | 118 | Pearl             |
| Hopkins & Seymour |            | Master Printer   | 118 | Pearl             |
| Jeweson           | George     | Printer & Porter | 22  | Garden            |
| Jones             | Louis      | Master Printer   | 55  | Pine              |
| Jones             | Louis, Jr. | Master Printer   | 99  | Water             |
| Johnson           | Paul R.    | Printer          | 46  | Cedar             |
| Long              | John       | Master Printer   |     | not listed        |
| Leaycraft         | James      | Printer          | 181 | Washington        |
| M'Farlane         | Monteath   | Printer          | 290 | Water             |
| Marks             | Samuel     | Printer          | 98  | Maiden Lane       |
| Ming & Young      |            | Master Printer   | 102 | Water             |
| Garrison          | Simon      | Printer          | 45  | Warren            |
| Nichols           | Lewis      | Master Printer   | 308 | Broadway          |
| Pierson           | Caleb      | Master Printer   | 102 | Chamber           |
| Saunders          | Robert     | Printer          | 12  | Thomas            |
| Sage & Clough     |            | Master Printer   | 149 | Pearl             |
| Simpson           | Thomas     | Printer          |     | Leonard           |
| Stryker           | John       | Printer          | 14  | Naussau           |
| Swords            | T.&J.      | Master Printer   | 160 | Pearl             |
| Swaine            | John       | Master Printer   | 49  | Pearl             |
| Thomas            | William    | Printer          | 117 | Pearl             |
| Tiebout           | John       | Printer          | 238 | Water             |
| Tillman           | John       | Printer          | 44  | Frankfort         |
| Turner            | John       | Printer          | 37  | Liberty           |
| Andrews           | Sydney     | Printer          | 71  | William           |

|                            |             |            |     |  |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------|-----|--|
| Cheetham                   | James       | Editor     | 81  | Pearl                                  |
| Frank                      | Jacob       | Printer    |     | Front c. Brown                         |
| Totten                     | John C.     | Printer    | 155 | Chatham                                |
| Arden                      | Thomas      | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl                                  |
| Burliss                    | William     | Bookseller |     | not listed                             |
| Blecker                    | John        | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl                                  |
| Burtis & Crane             |             | Bookseller | 80  | Cherry                                 |
| Burstell                   | Peter       | Bookseller | 10  | Wall                                   |
| Campbell                   | Samuel      | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl                                  |
| Collins, Perkins, &<br>Co. |             | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl                                  |
| Davis                      | Cornelius   | Bookseller |     | not listed<br>William c. Maiden        |
| Deane & Andrews            |             | Bookseller | 71  | Ln.                                    |
| Donin                      | bernard     | Bookseller | 130 | Pearl                                  |
| Forman                     | George      | Bookseller | 64  | Water                                  |
| Francis                    | David H.    | Bookseller |     | not listed                             |
| Gibbons                    | James       | Bookseller | 12  | Chamber                                |
| Gould & Co.                | Stephen     | Bookseller |     | Wall c. Broad                          |
| Harrison (widow)           | Jo.         | Bookseller | 3   | Peck-slip                              |
| Hopkins                    | George      | Bookseller | 118 | Pearl                                  |
| Jansen                     | Thomas B.   | Bookseller | 116 | Broadway                               |
| Judah                      | Napthali    | Bookseller | 84  | Maiden Lane                            |
| Kirk                       | Thomas      | Bookseller | 48  | Maiden Lane<br>Shakespeare-<br>Gallery |
| Longworth                  | David       | Bookseller |     |  |
| Moore                      | Robert      | Bookseller | 38  | Pearl                                  |
| Reid                       | Benjamin G. | Bookseller | 248 | Pearl                                  |
| Reid                       | John        | Bookseller | 106 | Water                                  |
| Ronalds & Loudon           |             | Bookseller | 188 | Pearl                                  |
| Sage & Thompson            |             | Bookseller | 149 | Pearl                                  |
| Sargent & Co.              |             | Bookseller | 39  | Wall                                   |
| Riley & Co.                | Isaac       | Bookseller | 1   | City-Hotel                             |
| Scoles                     | John        | Bookseller | 222 | Broadway                               |
| Smith                      | Daniel D.   | Bookseller | 70  | Vesey                                  |
| Stansbury                  | Daniel      | Bookseller | 114 | Water                                  |
| Burtis & Crane             |             | Bookseller | 80  | Cherry                                 |
| Durell                     | William     | Bookseller | 106 | Maiden Lane                            |
| Duychinck                  | Evert       | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl                                  |
| Falconer                   | William     | Bookseller | 112 | Pearl                                  |
| Fautnier                   | Peter       | Bookseller | 15  | Warren                                 |
| Flanagan                   | Christopher | Bookseller | 151 | Water                                  |
| Low                        | John        | Bookseller | 33  | Chatham                                |
| M'Dermot                   | Robert      | Bookseller | 28  | Harman                                 |
| M'Gill                     | Robert      | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market                             |
| Mesier                     | Peter A.    | Bookseller | 107 | Pearl                                  |
| Ming & Young               |             | Bookseller | 102 | Water                                  |
| Stephens                   | Stephen     | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl                                  |
| Swords                     | T.&J.       | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl                                  |
| Tiebout                    | John        | Bookseller | 238 | Water                                  |
| Totten                     | John C.     | Bookseller | 155 | Chatham                                |

|                    |           |            |     |                    |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|-----|--------------------|
| Arnold             | Philips   | Bookseller | 60  | Cherry             |
| Barlas             | William   | Bookseller | 6   | Liberty            |
| Bliss              | David     | Bookseller | 56  | Maiden Lane        |
| Bell               | Nathaniel | Bookbinder | 82  | Bowery             |
| Brown              | Christian | Bookbinder | 71  | Water              |
| Bliss              | David     | Bookbinder | 56  | Maiden Lane        |
| Brewer             | James     | Bookbinder |     | 3rd near Rivington |
| Burnton            | T.H.      | Bookbinder | 151 | Water              |
| Burrell            | Joseph    | Bookbinder |     | not listed         |
| Burtsell           | Peter     | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall               |
| Culbertson         | Henry     | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall               |
| Crane              | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 80  | Cherry             |
| Delamontange       | John      | Bookbinder |     | not listed         |
| Devaliers          | Joseph    | Bookbinder |     | not listed         |
| Evans              | Titus     | Bookbinder | 262 | William            |
| Fenwick            | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 61  | Anthony            |
| Frowd              | William   | Bookbinder |     | not listed         |
| Jansen             | George    | Bookbinder | 116 | Broadway           |
| Johnson            | Elkanah   | Bookbinder |     | not listed         |
| Mills              | Timothy   | Bookbinder | 104 | Pearl              |
| Moore              | Robert    | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl              |
| Sinclair           | George    | Bookbinder | 207 | Water              |
| Smith              | Daniel    | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey              |
| Vandyck            | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 9   | George             |
| Van Rarst & Burell |           | Bookbinder | 6   | Lumber             |
| Walker             | William   | Bookbinder | 7   | Fisher             |
| Wright             | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 12  | Bowery             |
| Sackett            | Joseph    | Bookbinder | 235 | Greenwich          |
| Swain              | William   | Bookbinder | 100 | Reed               |

## 1806

|            |            |         |     |                  |
|------------|------------|---------|-----|------------------|
| Andrews    | Sydney     | Printer | 28  | U. Reed          |
| Beach      | Lazarus    | Printer | 14  | Barclay          |
| Bloomfield | James      | Printer | 4   | Bedlow           |
| Burnes     | Peter      | Printer | 129 | Division         |
| Burnham    | Michael    | Printer | 40  | Pine             |
| Cameron    | William    | Printer | 27  | Fair             |
| Cheetham   | James      | Editor  | 86  | Pearl            |
| Collins    | Isaac      | Printer | 189 | Pearl            |
| Collins    | John       | Printer | 99  | Water            |
| Crooker    | Richard    | Printer | 7   | Rector           |
| Davis      | William A. | Printer | 49  | Stone            |
| Coleman    | William    | Editor  | 40  | Pine             |
| Forman     | Aaron      | Printer |     | Dey c. Greenwich |
| Forman     | George     | Printer | 64  | Water            |
| Frank      | Jacob      | Printer | 132 | Water            |
| Garrison   | Simon      | Printer | 59  | Chapel           |

|                     |            |                |     |                  |
|---------------------|------------|----------------|-----|------------------|
| Garrison            | Henry      | Printer        | 20  | Broad            |
| Gould               | S.         | Printer        | 5   | Wall             |
| Hardcastle          | John       | Printer        | 2   | Wall             |
| Hopkins             | George F.  | Printer        | 118 | Pearl            |
| Hopkins & Seymour   |            | Printer        | 118 | Pearl            |
| Jack                | Peter      | Printer        | 27  | Bridge Street    |
| Kelly               | Charles E. | Printer        | 74  | Hudson           |
| Lang                | John       | Printer        | 116 | Pearl            |
| Lang & Turner       |            | Printer        | 116 | Pearl            |
| Longworth           | David      | Printer        | 11  | Park             |
| M'Buel              | Alexander  | Printer        | 36  | Barclay          |
| M'Farlane           | Monteath   | Printer        | 308 | Broadway         |
| M'Farlane & Long    |            | Printer        | 308 | Broadway         |
| Marks               | Samuel     | Printer        | 132 | Chatham          |
| Moffat              | John A.    | Printer        | 314 | Broadway         |
| Peckwell            | Henry W.   | Printer        | 158 | William          |
| Sage                | Harris     | Printer        | 61  | Pearl            |
| Simpson             | Thomas     | Printer        |     | Budd             |
| Slote               | Peter      | Printer        | 71  | Chamber          |
| Smith & Forman      |            | Printer        | 70  | Vesey            |
| Stryker             | John       | Printer        | 14  | Naussau          |
| Swaine              | John       | Printer        |     | Barley c. Elm    |
| Swords              | T.&J.      | Printer        | 160 | Pearl            |
| Thomas              | John R.    | News Collector | 3   | Water            |
| Thorburn            | John       | Printer        | 32  | Thorburn         |
| Totten              | John C.    | Printer        | 155 | Chatham          |
| Tunnison            | Garret     | Printer        |     | Thomas c. Chapel |
| Turner              | John       | Printer        | 37  | Liberty          |
| Waite               | G.&R.      | Printer        | 38  | Maiden Lane      |
| Waterman            | James      | Printer        | 58  | Barclay          |
| Ming                | Alexander  | Printer        | 102 | Water            |
| Blecker             | John       | Bookseller     | 148 | Pearl            |
| Brannon             | William    | Bookseller     | 186 | Pearl            |
| Brisban & Brannon   |            | Bookseller     | 186 | Pearl            |
| Burtis & Crane      |            | Bookseller     | 19  | Peck-slip        |
| Campbell            | Samuel     | Bookseller     | 124 | Pearl            |
| Campbell & Mitchell |            | Bookseller     | 124 | Pearl            |
| Dornin              | Richard    | Bookseller     | 136 | Pearl            |
| Durell              | William    | Bookseller     | 106 | Maiden Lane      |
| Duychinck           | Evert      | Bookseller     | 110 | Pearl            |
| Flanagan            | J & M      | Bookseller     | 151 | Water            |
| Forman              | George     | Bookseller     | 64  | Water            |
| Gould               | S.         | Bookseller     | 5   | Wall             |
| Judah               | N.         | Bookseller     | 84  | Maiden Lane      |
| Low                 | John       | Bookseller     | 33  | Chatham          |
| M'Dermot            | Robert     | Bookseller     | 248 | Pearl            |
| Macgill             | Robert     | Bookseller     | 118 | Fly Market       |
| Messier             | Peter      | Bookseller     | 107 | Pearl            |
| Mitchell            | Edward     | Bookseller     | 124 | Pearl            |
| Reid                | John       | Bookseller     | 106 | Water            |

|             |           |            |     |             |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-----|-------------|
| Sargeant    | Ezra      | Bookseller | 39  | Wall        |
| Scoles      | John      | Bookseller | 222 | Broadway    |
| Scott       | Richard   | Bookseller | 243 | Pearl       |
| Stansbury   | Samuel    | Bookseller | 111 | Water       |
| Stephens    | Stephen   | Bookseller | 115 | Pearl       |
| Swords      | T.&J.     | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl       |
| Thompson    | John      | Bookseller | 45  | Beaver      |
| Totten      | John C.   | Bookseller | 155 | Chatham     |
| Waite       | G. & R.   | Bookseller | 38  | Maiden Lane |
| Ming        | Alexander | Bookseller | 102 | Maiden Lane |
| Bell        | Nathaniel | Bookbinder | 69  | William     |
| [Illegible] | David     | Bookbinder | 56  | Maiden Lane |
| Crane       | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 19  | Peck-slip   |
| Cunningham  | Henry     | Bookbinder | 91  | Broad       |
| Jansen      | George    | Bookbinder | 116 | Broadway    |
| Johnston    | Elkanah   | Bookbinder |     | Division    |
| Martin      | Henry     | Bookbinder |     | Jefferson   |
| Miller      | Alexander | Bookbinder | 49  | Church      |
| Mills       | Timothy   | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl       |
| Montayne    | John      | Bookbinder | 27  | Chatham     |
| Moore       | Robert    | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl       |
| Olmstead    | James     | Bookbinder | 156 | William     |
| Sackett     | Joseph    | Bookbinder |     | Orangw      |
| Sinclair    | G.        | Bookbinder | 207 | Water       |
| Smith       | Daniel    | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey       |
| Smith       | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 96  | Go's        |
| Swaim       | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 241 | Pearl       |
| Vandycke    | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 9   | George      |
| Walker      | William   | Bookbinder | 7   | Fi          |
| West        | William   | Bookbinder |     | Pell        |
| Wood        | Samuel    | Bookbinder | 362 | Pearl       |
| Wright      | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 12  | Bowery      |

## 1807

|            |           |         |     |               |
|------------|-----------|---------|-----|---------------|
| Beach      | Lazarus   | Printer | 122 | Water         |
| Beresford  | R.H.      | Printer | 134 | Water         |
| Blavvelt   | Thomas T. | Printer | 58  | Dey           |
| Bruce      | D. & G.   | Printer | 156 | Pearl         |
| Bunce      | George    | Printer | 3   | Dutch         |
| Butler     | Amos      | Printer | 159 | Pearl         |
| Cheetham   | James     | Editor  | 86  | Pearl         |
| Crooker    | Richard   | Printer | 7   | Rector        |
| Crumbie    | Robert    | Printer | 339 | Greenwich     |
| Desnouvnes | Joseph    | Printer | 15  | Ohio          |
| Forman     | Aaron     | Printer |     | Barclay       |
| Forman     | George    | Printer | 64  | Water         |
| Frank      | Jacob     | Printer |     | Water c. Pine |
| Garrison   | Simon     | Printer | 59  | Chapel        |

|                     |                |            |     |                   |
|---------------------|----------------|------------|-----|-------------------|
| Gird                | Henry          | Printer    | 11  | Skinner           |
| Hardcastle          | John           | Printer    | 8   | Wall              |
| Harrison (widow)    | John           | Printer    | 3   | Peck-slip         |
| Hopkins             | George F.      | Printer    | 118 | Pearl             |
| Jack                | Peter          | Printer    | 96  | Broad             |
| Kelly               | Charles        | Printer    |     | Thomas c. Chatham |
| Lupton              | William        | Printer    | 50  | Harman            |
| M'Carter            | William        | Printer    | 17  | Bridge Street     |
| M'Farlane           | Monteath       | Printer    | 398 | Broadway          |
| Platt               | Thomas         | Printer    | 58  | Division          |
| Sage                | Harris         | Printer    | 61  | Pearl             |
| Smith & Forman      |                | Printer    | 70  | Vesey             |
| Swaine              | John           | Printer    | 21  | Bridge Street     |
| Swords              | T.&J.          | Printer    | 160 | Pearl             |
| Tiebout             | John           | Printer    | 238 | Water             |
| Tomkins             | William        | Printer    | 311 | Broadway          |
| Tunison             | Garrit         | Printer    | 59  | Chapel            |
| Turner              | John           | Printer    | 33  | Beaver            |
| Waite               | G.&R.          | Printer    | 38  | Maiden Lane       |
| White               | Samuel         | Printer    | 93  | Chamber           |
| Wiley               | Charles        | Printer    | 6   | Reed              |
| Wilson              | Thomas         | Printer    | 12  | Dover             |
| Wood                | Samuel         | Printer    | 362 | Pearl             |
| Blecker             | John           | Bookseller | 148 | Pearl             |
| Brannon             | John           | Bookseller | 142 | Washington        |
| Brisban & Brannon   |                | Bookseller | 1   | City-Hall         |
| Burtis & Crane      |                | Bookseller | 19  | Peck-slip         |
| Campbell            | Samuel         | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl             |
| Campbell & Mitchell |                | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl             |
| Collins & Perkins   |                | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl             |
| Dornin              | Bernard        | Bookseller | 136 | Pearl             |
| Durell              | William        | Bookseller |     | Vernick           |
| Duychinck           | Evert          | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl             |
| Flanagan            | J.             | Bookseller | 110 | Maiden Lane       |
| Forman              | George         | Bookseller | 64  | Water             |
| Harrison (widow)    | J.             | Bookseller | 3   | Peck-slip         |
| Macgill             | Robert         | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market        |
| Messier             | Peter          | Bookseller | 107 | Pearl             |
| Mitchell            | Edward         | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl             |
| Oram                | James          | Bookseller | 114 | Water             |
| Reid                | James          | Bookseller | 106 | Water             |
| Ronalds             | James & Thomas | Bookseller | 188 | Pearl             |
| Sargeant            | Ezra           | Bookseller | 39  | Wall              |
| Scott               | Richard        | Bookseller | 243 | Pearl             |
| Stephens            | Stephen        | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl             |
| Swords              | T.&J.          | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl             |
| Thompson            | John           | Bookseller | 99  | Pearl             |
| Thompson            | Hart & Co.     | Bookseller | 186 | Pearl             |
| Tiebout             | John           | Bookseller | 238 | Water             |
| Waite               | G. & R.        | Bookseller | 38  | Maiden Lane       |

|            |           |            |     |           |
|------------|-----------|------------|-----|-----------|
| Ward & Co. | Mathias   | Bookseller | 149 | Pearl     |
| Wood       | Samuel    | Bookseller | 362 | Pearl     |
| Bell       | Nathaniel | Bookbinder | 56  | Gold      |
| Brown      | Christian | Bookbinder | 23  | Murray    |
| Burtsell   | Peter     | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall      |
| Crane      | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 19  | Peck-slip |
| Culbertson | Henry     | Bookbinder | 6   | Elizabeth |
| Fenwick    | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 61  | Anthony   |
| Forbes     | George    | Bookbinder | 175 | William   |
| Fraunus    | D.P.      | Bookbinder | 33  | Church    |
| Jansen     | George    | Bookbinder | 64  | Chatham   |
| Johnson    | Samuel    | Bookbinder | 31  | Third     |
| Low        | John      | Bookbinder | 33  | Chatham   |
| Martin     | Henry     | Bookbinder | 27  | Elizabeth |
| Mills      | Timothy   | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl     |
| Montayne   | John      | Bookbinder | 68  | Chapel    |
| Moore      | Robert    | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl     |
| Olmstead   | James     | Bookbinder | 71  | Stone     |
| Perry      | Robert    | Bookbinder | 17  | Elizabeth |
| Shedden    | John      | Bookbinder | 94  | Water     |
| Sinclair   | George    | Bookbinder | 235 | Broadway  |
| Smith      | Samuel D. | Bookbinder | 70  | Vesey     |
| Swarm      | William   | Bookbinder | 10  | Cliff     |
| Thompson   | John      | Bookbinder | 99  | Pearl     |
| Vaddycke   | Thomas    | Bookbinder |     | Peck-slip |
| Walker     | John      | Bookbinder | 29  | Fisher    |
| Walker     | William   | Bookbinder | 29  | Fisher    |

## 1808

|                  |           |         |     |   |
|------------------|-----------|---------|-----|---|
| Baker            | Luther    | Printer | 84  | John  |
| Beach            | Lazarus   | Printer | 44  | Stone   |
| Bill             | John      | Printer | 440 | Greenwich   |
| Bruce            | D. & G.   | Printer | 156 | Pearl   |
| Burnham          | Michael   | Printer | 40  | Pine  |
| Cheetham         | James     | Editor  | 86  | Pearl   |
| Clough           | J.        | Printer | 46  | Fair  |
| Evans            | John      | Printer | 17  | Bridge Street<br>Barclay c.<br>Greenwich<br>Water c. Pine |
| Forman           | Aaron     | Printer |     |   |
| Frank            | Jacob     | Printer |     |   |
| Garrison         | Simon     | Printer | 58  | Chapel  |
| Gird             | Henry     | Printer | 11  | Skinner   |
| Lang             | John      | Printer | 116 | Pearl   |
| M'Carty          | William   | Printer | 35  | Rose  |
| M'Farlane        | Monteath  | Printer | 308 | Broadway  |
| M'Farlane & Long |           | Printer | 308 | Broadway  |
| Ming             | Alexander | Printer | 104 | Water   |
| Moffatt          | John A.   | Printer | 27  | Chapel  |



|                     |          |           |            |     |              |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----|--------------|
|                     | Pudney   | Joseph    | Printer    | 18  | Chapel       |
|                     | Robinson | Jacob     | Printer    | 42  | Gold         |
|                     | Reed     | Alexander | Printer    | 43  | Chatham      |
|                     | Reins    | David     | Printer    | 95  | Chatham      |
|                     | Seymour  | Jonathan  | Printer    | 110 | Pearl        |
|                     | Simpson  | Thomas    | Printer    |     | Water        |
|                     | Slote    | Peter     | Printer    | 71  | Chambers     |
| Smith & Forman      |          |           | Printer    | 193 |              |
|                     | Smith    | John G.   | Printer    | 10  | Ferry        |
|                     | Swords   | T.&J.     | Printer    | 160 | Pearl        |
| Thompson            | George   |           | Printer    | 10  | Hague (rear) |
| Thorburn            | John     |           | Printer    | 32  | Lumber       |
| Tiebout             | J.       |           | Printer    | 238 | Water        |
| Totten              | John C.  |           | Printer    | 155 | Chatham      |
| Tomkins             | William  |           | Printer    | 6   | Magazine     |
| Turner              | John     |           | Printer    | 53  | Beaver       |
| Wood                | Samuel   |           | Printer    | 362 | Rear         |
| Woods               | John     |           | Printer    | 20  | Chapel       |
|                     | Joule    | Timothy   | Printer    | 34  | Frankfort    |
| Bleecker            | John     |           | Bookseller | 112 | Broadway     |
| Brannon             | John     |           | Bookseller | 1   | City-Hall    |
|                     | Burtis   | Samuel A. | Bookseller | 19  | Peck-slip    |
| Campbell            | Samuel   |           | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl        |
| Campbell & Mitchell |          |           | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl        |
|                     | Dornin   | Bernard   | Bookseller | 136 | Pearl        |
|                     | Durell   | William   | Bookseller |     | Vanicle      |
| Duychinck           | Evert    |           | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl        |
| Forman              | George   |           | Bookseller | 64  | Water        |
| Hopkins & Barnard   |          |           | Bookseller | 118 | Pearl        |
|                     | Macgill  | Robert    | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market   |
|                     | Ming     | Alexander | Bookseller | 104 | Water        |
|                     | Mitchell | Edward    | Bookseller | 124 | Pearl        |
|                     | Nunes    | Abraham   | Bookseller | 236 | Broadway     |
|                     | Oram     | James     | Bookseller | 114 | Water        |
|                     | Reid     | John      | Bookseller | 106 | Water        |
| Sargeant            | Ezra     |           | Bookseller | 39  | Wall         |
|                     | Scott    | Richard   | Bookseller | 243 | Pearl        |
| Stephens            | Stephen  |           | Bookseller | 165 | Pearl        |
|                     | Swords   | T.&J.     | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl        |
| Thompson            | John     |           | Bookseller | 99  | Pearl        |
|                     | Tiebout  | John      | Bookseller | 238 | Water        |
|                     | Totten   | John C.   | Bookseller | 155 | Chatham      |
|                     | Waite    | G. & R.   | Bookseller | 38  | Maiden Lane  |
|                     | Wood     | Samuel    | Bookseller | 362 | Pearl        |
|                     | Bell     | Nathaniel | Bookbinder | 56  | Gold         |
|                     | Bliss    | David     | Bookbinder | 287 | Greenwich    |
|                     | Brown    | Christian | Bookbinder | 71  | Water        |
|                     | Burtsell |           | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall         |
|                     | Crane    | Benjamin  | Bookbinder | 85  | Cherry       |
| Cunningham          | Henry    |           | Bookbinder | 51  | Second       |

|          |        |            |     |           |
|----------|--------|------------|-----|-----------|
| Fenwick  | Thomas | Bookbinder | 61  | Anthony   |
| Jansen   | George | Bookbinder | 116 | Broadway  |
| Martin   | Henry  | Bookbinder | 196 | Bowery    |
| Montayne | John   | Bookbinder |     | Reed      |
| Moore    | Robert | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl     |
| Price    | Samuel | Bookbinder | 58  | Anthony   |
| Saffen   | Samuel | Bookbinder | 31  | Partition |
| Shedden  | John   | Bookbinder | 94  | Water     |
| Sinclair | G.     | Bookbinder | 259 | Broadway  |
| Smith    | Thomas | Bookbinder | 80  | Vassar    |
| Thompson | John   | Bookbinder | 99  | Pearl     |
| Vandyck  | Thomas | Bookbinder | 9   | Peck-slip |
| Walker   | John   | Bookbinder | 55  | Second    |

## 1809

|            |           |         |     |                                   |
|------------|-----------|---------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Andrews    | Sydney    | Printer | 48  | Elm                               |
| Bunce      | George    | Printer | 3   | Dutch                             |
| Burnham    | Michael   | Printer | 40  | Pine                              |
| Butler     | Amos      | Printer | 159 | Pearl                             |
| Campbell   | William   | Printer | 5   | Henry                             |
| Cheetham   | James     | Editor  | 86  | Pearl                             |
| Crookes    | John      | Printer | 159 | Pearl                             |
| Decker     | Wi        | Printer | 40  | Rose                              |
| Coleman    | William   | Editor  | 40  | Pine                              |
| Fill       | Lewis     | Printer | 102 | Cherry<br>Barclay c.<br>Greenwich |
| Forman     | Aaron     | Printer |     |                                   |
| Forman     | George    | Printer | 178 | Greenwich                         |
| Frank      | Jacob     | Printer |     | Water c. Pine                     |
| Gird       | Henry     | Printer | 30  | Roosevelt                         |
| Graham     | John      | Printer |     | Leonard                           |
| Gray       | Nathaniel | Printer | 51  | Cliff                             |
| Handeville | John      | Printer | 13  | Murray                            |
| Heyer      | Walter W. | Printer | 7   | Burling-ship                      |
| Johnston   | John      | Printer | 41  | Barclay                           |
| Lang       | John      | Printer | 116 | Pearl                             |
| Little     | William   | Printer | 104 | Gold                              |
| Youle      | Timothy   | Printer | 104 | Gold                              |
| M'Carty    | William   | Printer | 47  | Second                            |
| M'Farland  | Monteath  | Printer | 308 | Broadway                          |
| M'Farsane  | John      | Printer | 30  | Lumber                            |
| M'Kay      | William   | Printer | 74  | Liberty                           |
| Moffatt    | John A.   | Printer | 25  | Chatham                           |
| Murray     | Daniel    | Printer | 58  | Cedar                             |
| O'Neill    | Thomas    | Printer | 8   | Magazine                          |
| Pearce     | Caleb     | Printer | 409 | Broadway                          |
| Peckwell   | Henry W.  | Printer | 129 | Water                             |

|                      |              |            |     |                    |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|-----|--------------------|
| Rabineau             | Jacob        | Printer    | 12  | Beckman            |
| Reins                | David H.     | Printer    | 49  | Barclay            |
| Seymour              | Johnathan    | Printer    | 118 | Pearl              |
| Swords               | T.&J.        | Printer    | 160 | Pearl              |
| Tennery              | Joseph       | Printer    |     | Mulberry c. Hester |
| Thorburn             | John         | Printer    | 40  | Carter             |
| Tiebout              | John         | Printer    | 238 | Water              |
| Turny                | John         | Printer    | 53  | Beaver             |
| Walter               | John         | Printer    | 40  | Leonard            |
| Ward & Co.           | M. & William | Printer    | 4   | City-Hall          |
| Watts                | John         | Printer    | 51  | Murray             |
| White                | George       | Printer    | 130 | Water              |
| White                | Samuel       | Printer    | 172 | Pearl              |
| Brannon              | John         | Bookseller |     | Thaines c. Temple  |
| Burtis               | Samuel A.    | Bookseller | 19  | Peck-slip          |
| Collins & Perkins    |              | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl              |
| Durell               | William      | Bookseller | 19  | Magazine           |
| Duychinck            | Evert        | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl              |
| Forman               | George       | Bookseller | 178 | Greenwich          |
| Hitt                 | D.           | Bookseller | 139 | Church             |
| Judah                | N.           | Bookseller | 84  | Maiden Lane        |
| Macgill              | Robert       | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market         |
| Mesier               | Peter        | Bookseller | 107 | Pearl              |
| Mitchell             | Edward       | Bookseller | 86  | Duane              |
| Powers               | Thomas       | Bookseller | 116 | Broadway           |
| Ronalds              | Thomas A.    | Bookseller | 188 | Pearl              |
| Scott                | Richard      | Bookseller | 243 | Pearl              |
| Shedden              | John         | Bookseller | 94  | Water              |
| Stephens             | Stephen      | Bookseller | 136 | Pearl              |
| Swords               | T.&J.        | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl              |
| Thompson             | John         | Bookseller | 126 | Pearl              |
| Tiebout              | John         | Bookseller | 238 | Water              |
| Totten               | John         | Bookseller | 155 | Chatham            |
| Bliss                | David        | Bookbinder | 287 | Greenwich          |
| Bradford             | John         | Bookbinder | 20  | Henry              |
| Brown                | Christian    | Bookbinder | 71  | Water              |
| Burnton              | J.T.         | Bookbinder | 1   | Division           |
| Collander & Vandycke |              | Bookbinder | 23  | George             |
| Crane                | Benjamin     | Bookbinder | 85  | Cherry             |
| Delamontagnie        | John         | Bookbinder | 27  | Fall               |
| Fenwick              | Thomas       | Bookbinder | 61  | Anthony            |
| Furman               | Lydia        | Bookbinder | 21  | Pell               |
| Hunt                 | William      | Bookbinder | 9   | Leonard            |
| Jansen               | George       | Bookbinder | 17  | George             |
| Marshall             | Gilbert      | Bookbinder | 27  | Stone              |
| Mills                | Timothy      | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl              |
| Moore                | Robert       | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl              |
| Ogilvie              | Isaac        | Bookbinder | 9   | Oak                |
| Perkins              | Thomas       | Bookbinder | 24  | Charlotte          |

|          |          |            |     |              |
|----------|----------|------------|-----|--------------|
| Perry    | Robert   | Bookbinder |     | Mott c. Pump |
| Sackett  | Joseph   | Bookbinder | 1   | Chapel       |
| Smith    | Thomas   | Bookbinder | 13  | Barclay      |
| Thompson | Robert   | Bookbinder | 17  | Cedar        |
| Thompson | John     | Bookbinder | 126 | Pearl        |
| Vandycke | Thomas   | Bookbinder | 24  | George       |
| Varranst | Nicholas | Bookbinder | 32  | Lumber       |
| Walker   | William  | Bookbinder | 20  | Barnard      |

## 1810

|            |             |         |     |               |
|------------|-------------|---------|-----|---------------|
| Andrews    | Sydney W.   | Printer | 278 | Greenwich     |
| Blunt      | Edmond M.   | Printer | 391 | Broadway      |
| Brown      | Zephaniah   | Printer | 95  | p             |
| Bunce      | George      | Printer | 3   | Dutch         |
| Burnham    | Michael     | Printer | 40  | Pine          |
| Butler     | Amos        | Printer | 9   | Pearl         |
| Cheetham   | James       | Printer | 129 | Water         |
| Clough     | [illegible] | Printer | 30  | Lumber        |
| Conrad     | Ephraim     | Printer | 4   | Frankfort     |
| Crooker    | Richard     | Printer | 151 | Cherry        |
| Crump      | Francis     | Printer | 62  | Harman        |
| Davis      | William     | Printer | 45  | Mott          |
| Decker     | William     | Printer | 1   | Duane         |
| Degruske   | W.I.        | Printer | 49  | Chapel        |
| Denaus     | Joseph      | Printer | 69  | Chapel        |
| Dukus      | James       | Printer | 52  | Buckner       |
| Durnham    | Silas       | Printer | 238 | Water         |
| Elliott    | William     | Printer | 114 | Water         |
| Frank      | Jacob       | Printer |     | Water c. Pine |
| Gird       | Henry       | Printer | 45  | Cherry        |
| Gould      | S.          | Printer |     | Broad         |
| Gray       | Nathaniel   | Printer | 51  | Cliff         |
| Hardcastle | John        | Printer | 5   | Murray        |
| Lang       | John        | Printer | 116 | Pearl         |
| Holt       | Charles     | Editor  | 65  | Pine          |
| Lewis      | Z.          | Printer | 40  | Broad         |
| Long       | George      | Printer | 77  | Anthony       |
| Looker     | John        | Printer |     | Hetty         |
| M'Kee      | Henry       | Printer | 83  | Front         |
| Moffatt    | John        | Printer | 262 | William       |
| Munson     | John        | Printer | 372 | Pearl         |
| Olin       | Aaron       | Printer | 14  | Rose          |
| Peckwell   | Henry       | Printer | 129 | William       |
| Pelsue     | William L.  | Printer | 76  | Barclay       |
| Pudney     | Joseph      | Printer | 10  | Anthony       |
| Rash       | James       | Printer | 15  | Stone         |
| Roone      | James H.    | Printer | 81  | Bowery        |
| Slote      | Peter       | Printer | 189 | Chatham       |

|                    |              |            |     |              |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|-----|--------------|
| Small              | Pierce       | Printer    | 108 | Mott         |
| Smith              | James        | Printer    | 71  | Magazine     |
| Smith & Forman     |              | Printer    | 195 | Greenwich    |
| Southwick & Pelsue |              | Printer    | 3   | New          |
| Swords             | T.&J.        | Printer    | 160 | Pearl        |
| Tillman            | John         | Printer    | 42  | Barclay      |
| Tomkins            | William      | Printer    | 55  | Magazine     |
| Tunison            | G.C.         | Printer    | 145 | Chatham      |
| Turner             | John         | Printer    | 53  | Beaver       |
| Van Winkle         | Cornelius    | Printer    | 16  | Stone        |
| Waite              | G.&R.        | Printer    | 38  | Maiden Lane  |
| Whitehead          | Edward       | Printer    | 36  | Buckner      |
| Wilson             | Alexander    | Printer    | 79  | Gold         |
| Youle              | Timothy      | Printer    | 1   | Garden       |
| Burklo             | D.C. & P.    | Bookseller | 24  | William      |
| Burtis             | Samuel A.    | Bookseller | 19  | Peck-slip    |
| Collins & Perkins  |              | Bookseller | 189 | Pearl        |
| Durell             | William      | Bookseller | 91  | Magazine     |
| Duychinck          | Evert        | Bookseller | 110 | Pearl        |
| Gould              | S.           | Bookseller |     | Broad        |
| Inskeep & Bradford |              | Bookseller | 128 | Broadway     |
| Judah              | N.           | Bookseller | 84  | Maiden Lane  |
| M'Dermot           | Robert       | Bookseller |     | City-Hotel   |
| Macgill            | Robert       | Bookseller | 118 | Fly Market   |
| Mesier             | Peter A.     | Bookseller | 107 | Pearl        |
| Mitchell           | Edward       | Bookseller | 86  | Duane        |
| Nelson             | Edward       | Bookseller | 452 | Greenwich    |
| Powers             | Thomas       | Bookseller | 116 | Broadway     |
| Reid               | John         | Bookseller | 106 | Water        |
| Ronalds            | Thomas A.    | Bookseller | 188 | Pearl        |
| Shedden            | John         | Bookseller | 94  | Water        |
| Swords             | T.&J.        | Bookseller | 160 | Pearl        |
| Thompson           | John         | Bookseller | 126 | Pearl        |
| Waite              | G. & R.      | Bookseller | 38  | Maiden Lane  |
| Wand               | M. & William | Bookseller | 4   | City-Hotel   |
| Bell               | Nathaniel    | Bookbinder | 45  | Beaver       |
| Bliss              | David        | Bookbinder | 287 | Greenwich    |
| Bradford           | John         | Bookbinder | 9   | Beaver       |
| Brown              | Christian    | Bookbinder | 71  | Water        |
| Burnton            | J.T.         | Bookbinder | 28  | Cedar        |
| Burtsell           | Peter        | Bookbinder | 10  | Wall         |
| Cotland            | Aaaron       | Bookbinder | 91  | Beckman      |
| Crane              | Benjamin     | Bookbinder |     |              |
| Hunt               | William      | Bookbinder | 13  | Leonard      |
| Jansen             | George       | Bookbinder | 17  | George       |
| Johnson            | Samuel       | Bookbinder | 27  | Nassau       |
| M'Kenzie           | Hugh M.      | Bookbinder | 178 | War          |
| Marshall           | Gilbert      | Bookbinder | 59  | William      |
| Martin             | Henry        | Bookbinder |     | Pump c. Mott |
| Masterson          | Thomas       | Bookbinder | 183 | Duane        |

|          |           |            |     |           |
|----------|-----------|------------|-----|-----------|
| Mills    | Timothy   | Bookbinder | 102 | Pearl     |
| Moore    | Robert    | Bookbinder | 38  | Pearl     |
| Olmstead | James     | Bookbinder | 61  | Pearl     |
| Parsons  | Chester   | Bookbinder | 99  | Pearl     |
| Perkins  | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 27  | Elizabeth |
| Perry    | Robert    | Bookbinder | 27  | Elizabeth |
| Sackett  | Joseph    | Bookbinder | 8   | Chapel    |
| Smith    | Daniel D. | Bookbinder | 183 | Greenwich |
| Smith    | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 13  | Barclay   |
| Swaim    | William   | Bookbinder | 241 | Pearl     |
| Thompson | John      | Bookbinder | 126 | Pearl     |
| Thompson | Robert    | Bookbinder | 11  | Thomas    |
| Tuner    | Levin     | Bookbinder | 27  | Stone     |
| Vandyck  | Thomas    | Bookbinder | 19  | Barclay   |
| Vauranst | Nicholas  | Bookbinder | 5   | Cliff     |
| Walker   | William   | Bookbinder | 29  | Bayard    |
| Wortman  | John      | Bookbinder | 10  | Bayard    |

## Appendix Three

### List of Newspapers in New York City, 1790-1820

Listed below are the name(s), editor(s), and printer(s) of every newspaper printed in New York City from 1790 until 1820. This appendix, much like Appendix Two, is derived from my own database of New York newspapers, compiled from Charles Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*. And, in the same vein as the previous list, this table of newspapers is meant to offer a glimpse into the patterns indicated in chapter one.

This database, similar to the database of printers, booksellers, and bookbinders, was searchable through the "data filter" function. Often times, once a name was settled on for discussion in the thesis, I would cross-reference the name with this database to see what newspaper(s) the printer published and when they were published. Moreover, by doing so, I was also able to ascertain the location of certain newspapers, which proved to be an invaluable tool since many newspapers offices were not listed in Longworth's directories.

Within the table, I list three different sets of years: the dates the newspaper was operational, the years the editor composed the paper and, if different from the editor, the years the printers reproduced the sheets for public consumption. In some cases either the editor or the printer could not be determined, so as to avoid any confusion and/or scholarly backlash, I left the cell intentionally blank.

| <u>Newspaper</u>  | <u>Years</u> | <u>Editors</u>  | <u>Years Edited</u>                                       | <u>Printers</u>  | <u>Years Printed</u>                                |
|---|--------------|---|---|--|---|
| <i>American Citizen</i>                                 | 1800-1810    | James Cheetham  | 1801-1810   | David Denniston & G[arret] C. Tunnison<br>Garret C. Tunnison                       | 1800-1803<br>1810                                   |
| <i>American Minerva</i>                                 | 1793-1796    | Noah Webster  | 1793-1796   | George Bunce   | 1793-1796   |
| <i>Argus</i>  | 1795-1800    | Thomas Greenleaf<br>Ann Greenleaf   | 1795-1798<br>1798-1800                                    | Thomas Greenleaf<br>David Frothingham  | 1795-1798<br>1798-1799                              |
| <i>New-York Aurora</i>                                  | 1807-1809    |   |   | Frank, White & Co.<br>(Jacob Frank & George White)                                 | 1807-1809   |
| <i>Columbian</i>  | 1809-1820    | Charles Holt  | 1809-1816   | Charles Holt<br>Baptis Irvine<br>Alden Spooner                                     | 1809-1816<br>1815-1817<br>1817-1820                 |
| <i>Columbian Gazette</i>                                | 1799         | J.M. Williams   | 1799  | Robert Huntin<br>Monteith M'Farlane  | 1799<br>1799  |
| <i>Bowery Republican</i>                                | 1806         | John Swaine   | 1806  | John Swaine  | 1806  |
| <i>Chronicle Express</i>                                | 1802-1804    | Peter Irving  | 1804-1806   | William A. Davis   | 1802-1804   |
| <i>Columbian Herald, and American Repository</i>        | 1807-1808    | J[ohn] Griswold, Jun.   | 1807-1808   |  |   |
| <i>Columbian Herald</i>                                 | 1809         | John Griswold   | 1809  | P[---] Canfield  | 1809  |
| <i>Commercial Advertiser</i>                            | 1797-1797    | Noah Webster<br>Ebenezer Belden   | 1797-1799<br>1799-1803                                    | George F. Hopkins<br>Joseph Mills  | 1797-<br>1803-1811                                  |
| <i>The Corrector</i>                                    | 1804         | Peter Irving<br>(Toby Tickler, Esq.)  | <u>1804</u>   | Stephen Gould  | 1804  |
| <i>Daily Advertiser</i>                                 | 1785-1806    | Francis Childs<br>John Morton<br>Samuel Bayard<br>Henry Pringle<br>Thomas Pringle | 1785-1796<br>1796<br>1803, 1806<br>1803-1805<br>1803-1805 | John Swaine<br>William Robins<br>Robert Wilson<br>Jonathan Seymour<br>George Bruce | 1789-1794<br>1796<br>1800-1802<br>1803<br>1803-1806 |
| <i>Daily Advertiser (succeeded The People's Friend)</i> | 1807         | James A. Bayard & Samuel Bayard   | 1807  | James A. Bayard & Samuel Bayard  | 1807  |
| <i>Daily Advertiser</i>                                 | 1808-1809    |   |   | Joseph Desnoues<br>Lewis Jones   | 1808, 1809<br>1809                                  |
| <i>Diary</i>  | 1792-1792    | Samuel Loudon<br>Abraham Brower   | 1792<br>1794  | Samuel Loudon<br>John Crookes  | 1797-1798   |
| <i>New-York Evening Post</i>                            | 1801-1820    | William Coleman   | 1801-1820   | Michael Burnham  | 1801-1820   |
| <i>Forlorn Hope</i>                                     | 1800         | William Keteltas  | 1800  | published from the Prison, NY. (pub. for prison reform)                            |   |
|   |              |   |   |  |   |



|                               |           |  |                        |  |   |
|-------------------------------|-----------|--|------------------------|--|---|
| <i>New-York Gazette</i>       | 1795-1795 |  |                        | Archibald M'Lean<br>John Lang<br>John West<br>Robert U. Lang                       | 1795<br>1797<br>1814<br>1820                |
| <i>Gazette Francaise</i>      | 1795-1799 | John Delafond  | 1795                   | John Delafond<br>Labruere, Parisot&co.   | 1795<br>1795                                |
| <i>New-York Herald</i>        | 1802-1817 | William Coleman  | 1802                   | Michael Burnham  | 1802  |
| <i>Independent Mechanic</i>   | 1811-1812 | Harmer & Elliott   | 1811                   | Harmer & Elliott   | 1811  |
| <i>Independent Republican</i> | 1806-1807 | Swaine & Jackson   | 1806                   | Swaine & Jackson   | 1806  |
| <i>New-York Journal</i>       | 1802      | Lazarus Beach & Samuel Mallory                           | 1802                   | Lazarus Beach & Samuel Mallory   | 1802  |
| <i>New York Journal</i>       | 1809-1811 | Jacob Frank & George White                               | 1809                   | Jacob Frank & George White<br>Philip Tabele  | 1809<br>1811                                |
| <i>Mercantile Advertiser</i>  | 1798-1820 |  |                        | John Crookes<br>James Chevalier<br>Amost Butler<br>George W. Hyer                  | 1798<br>1799<br>1808<br>1819                |
| <i>Minerva</i>                | 1796-1797 |  |                        | George F. Hopkins<br>Joseph D. Webb<br>Noah Webster, Jr.                           | 1796<br>1796<br>1796                        |
| <i>Moniteur Francais</i>      | 1804      | A[---] P.A. Maulouin (in same building as Daily Adv)     | 1804                   | [Lewis Deare and Sydney Andrews]   | 1804  |
| <i>Morning Chronicle</i>      | 1802-1807 | Peter Irving<br>Henry Stanley                            | 1802-1805<br>1805-1807 | William A. Davis<br>Robert Wilson<br>Lewis Jones<br>Lazarus Beach                  | 1802-1803<br>1803-1804<br>1804-1807<br>1807 |
| <i>New-York Morning Post</i>  | 1810-1812 | Joseph Osborne   | 1810                   | Garret C. Tunison  | 1810  |
| <i>Morning Star</i>           | 1810-1813 | Joseph Osborne   | 1810                   | Garret C. Tunison  | 1810  |
| <i>Observateur Impartial</i>  | 1808      | Editors of the <i>Minerva</i>                            | 1810                   | W[---] Turner & Co.  | 1810  |
| <i>Observer</i>               | 1809-1811 |  |                        | William Elliot   | 1809  |
| <i>Oracle</i>                 | 1808      |  |                        | Joseph Desnoues  | 1808  |
| <i>Pelican</i>                | 1808      | Joseph Forster   | 1808                   | John Hardcastle  | 1808  |
| <i>People's Friend</i>        | 1806-1807 | Stephen C. Carpenter<br>Samuel Bayard<br>James A. Bayard | 1806<br>1807<br>1807   | Jacob Frank<br>Lazarus Beach<br>John H. Prentiss                                   | 1806<br>1806<br>1807                        |
| <i>Political Bulletin</i>     | 1810-1811 |  |                        | John Hardcastle  | 1810  |
| <i>Porcupine's Gazette</i>    | 1800      | Wm. Cobbett  | 1800                   | Wm. Cobbett  | 1800  |
| <i>New-York Price-Current</i> | 1796-1818 |  |                        | James Oram<br>Alexander Ming & William Young<br>Alexander Ming<br>Samuel Dickinson | 1796<br>1804<br>1805, 1814<br>1813          |
| <i>Prisoner of Hope</i>       | 1800      | William Sing   | 1800                   |  |   |
|                               |           |  |                        |  |   |

|   |           |   |                        |   |   |
|---|-----------|---|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Public Advertiser</i>  | 1807-1813 | George White  | 1812                   | Jacob Frank<br>Jacob Frank & George White<br>Philip Tabele<br>Samuel Brower | 1807<br>1808<br>1811<br>1811                |
| <i>Remembrancer</i>   | 1804-1806 |   |                        | G.&R. Waite   | 1804  |
| <i>Republican Watch-Tower</i>                                       | 1800-1810 | James Cheetham  | 1801-1810              | David Denniston<br>Garret C. Tunison  | 1800-1803<br>1810                           |
| <i>Shamrock</i>   | 1810-1817 | Edward Gillespy   | 1810                   | George Largin &<br>Thomas Thompson<br>William L. Pelsue &<br>Stephen Gould  | 1810<br>1812                                |
| <i>Spectator</i>  | 1797-1820 | Noah Webster  | 1797                   | George F. Hopkins<br>Ebenezer Belden<br>Joseph Mills                        | 1797<br>1799<br>1803                        |
| <i>Spirit of '76</i>  | 1809      |   |                        | John Hardcastle   | 1809  |
| <i>New-York Spy</i>   | 1806-1806 | John C. Totten  | 1806                   | John C. Totten  | 1806  |
| <i>Tablet</i>   | 1797-1797 | John Tiebout &<br>Thomas Burling  | 1797                   | John Tiebout &<br>Thomas Burling<br>John Tiebout                            | 1797<br>1798                                |
| <i>Temple of Reason</i>   | 1800-1801 | Dennis Driscol  | 1800                   | Dennis Driscol  | 1800  |
| <i>Time Piece</i>   | 1797-1798 | Philip Freneau<br>Matthew L. Davis<br>John D. Burk and<br>Dr. James Smith | 1797<br>1798<br>1798   | Alexander Menut<br>Matthew L. Davis<br>R. Saunders                          | 1797<br>1798<br>1798                        |
| <i>United States' Shipping List</i>                                 | 1810-1812 |   |                        | Jonathan Elliott  | 1810  |
| <i>Washington Federalist</i>  | 1809-1809 |   |                        | Thomas Hardcastle   | 1809  |
| <i>Weekly Inspector</i>   | 1806-1807 | Thomas Green<br>Fessenden   | 1806                   | George F. Hopkins &<br>Jonathan Seymour                                     | 1806  |
| <i>Weekly Messenger</i>   | 1811-1813 |   |                        | G.&R. Waite   | 1811  |
| <i>New-York Weekly Museum</i>                                       | 1788-1817 | John Harrison<br>Margaret<br>Harrison                                     | 1788-1804<br>1804-1808 | John Harrison<br>Margaret Harrison<br>Charles Harrison<br>James Oram        | 1788-1804<br>1804-1808<br>1808-1811<br>1812 |
| <i>Weekly Visitor</i>   | 1802-1807 | Alexander Ming<br>& William<br>Young                                      | 1802                   | Alexander Ming &<br>William Young<br>John Clough                            | 1802<br>1805                                |
| <i>The Booksellers' Advertiser and Spirit of the Literary World</i> | 1813      | Isaac Riley and<br>Charles Wiley  | 1813                   | Charles Wiley   | 1813  |
| <i>Booksellers' Reporter &amp; Literary Advertiser</i>              | 1815      | Isaac Riley and<br>Charles Wiley  | 1815                   | Isaac Wiley   | 1815  |
| <i>Le Bulletin</i>  | 1793      | Louis Jones   | 1793                   | Louis Jones   | 1793  |
| <i>Columbian Gazetteer</i>  | 1793-1794 | John Buel & Co.   | 1793-1794              | John Buel & Co.   | 1793-1794                                   |

|  |           |  |                                     |  |                           |
|--|-----------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Columbian Herald</i>                            | 1817      | John Griswold  | 1817                                | John Griswold  | 1817                      |
| <i>Courier, and Mercantile Directory</i>           | 1815-1817 | Baren't Gardenier<br>Gardenier, Asten & Co.<br>Theodore Dwight | 1815<br>1816<br>1817                |  |                           |
| <i>New-York Daily Advertiser</i>                   | 1817-1820 | Theodore Dwight<br>Dwight<br>Townsend<br>William Walker        | 1817-1820<br>1818-1820<br>1818-1820 | John W. Walker   | 1817-1820                 |
| <i>Daily Express</i>                               | 1813      | Garret C. Tunison  | 1813                                |  |                           |
| <i>Daily Items, For Merchants</i>                  | 1815-1816 | Alexander Ming   | 1816                                | Alexander Ming   | 1816                      |
| <i>The Daily Telegraph</i>                         | 1812-1813 |  |                                     | Benjamin Brewer  | 1812-1813                 |
| <i>Der Deutsche Freund</i>                         | 1819      | Peter Schmidt<br>Rev. Friederick<br>Christian<br>Schaeffer     | 1819<br>1819                        | Simon Probasco   | 1819                      |
| <i>Evening Mercury</i>                             | 1793      | John Buel & Co.  | 1793                                | John Buel & Co.  | 1793                      |
| <i>New-York Evening Post</i>                       | 1794-1795 | Levi Wayland<br>Matthew L. Davis                               | 1794-1795<br>1794-1795              | Matthew L. Davis   | 1794-1795                 |
| <i>New-York Exile</i>                              | 1817-1818 | Walter Cox   | 1818                                | Walter Cox   | 1818                      |
| <i>New-York Gazette of the United States</i>       | 1789-1790 | John Fenno   | 1790                                | John Fenno   | 1790                      |
| <i>Greenleaf's New York Journal</i>                | 1794-1800 | Thomas<br>Greenleaf<br>Ann Greenleaf                           | 1794-1798<br>1798-1800              | Thomas Greenleaf<br>David Frothingham                    | 1794-1798<br>1798-1799    |
| <i>Harmer's New York Register</i>                  | 1813      | Joseph Harmer  | 1813                                | Joseph Harmer  | 1813                      |
| <i>The Herald; a Gazette for the Country</i>       | 1794-1797 | George Bunce & Co.<br>Hopkins, Webb, & Co.                     | 1794-1796<br>1796-1797              |  |                           |
| <i>Ladies' Weekly Museum</i>                       | 1817      | James Oram   | 1817                                | James Oram   | 1817                      |
| <i>New-York Messenger</i>                          | 1819-1820 | Jared W. Bell & Moses Y. Scott                                 | 1819-1820                           |  |                           |
| <i>Mid-day Courier</i>                             | 1814      | Lazarus Beach & Co.  | 1814                                |  |                           |
| <i>Military Monitor</i>                            | 1812-1814 |  |                                     | Joseph Desnoues<br>John Hardcastle<br>Nicholas Van Riper | 1812<br>1812<br>1813-1814 |
| <i>Mott and Hurtin's New-York Weekly Chronicle</i> | 1795      | Mott & Hurtin  | 1795                                |  |                           |
| <i>National Advocate</i>                           | 1812-1820 | Henry Wheaton  |                                     | George White   |                           |
| <i>Olio</i>  | 1813-1814 | Samuel Marks   | 1813-1814                           | Samuel Marks   |                           |
| <i>New-York Patriot</i>                            | 1815-1816 |  |                                     | Ephraim Conrad   | 1815                      |
|  |           |  |                                     |  |                           |

|  |           |   |                            |   |                                     |
|--|-----------|---|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Patron of Industry</i>                            | 1820+     |   |                            | Jonathan Seymour  | 1820                                |
| <i>Phoenix</i>                                       | 1812-1813 | George White<br>Samuel Brower                     | 1812<br>1812               |   |                                     |
| <i>Public Sale Report</i>                            | 1814-1818 | Nathaniel T.<br>Elredge<br>Elredge & John<br>Wood | 1814-1815<br><br>1816-1818 |   |                                     |
| <i>Register of the Times</i>                         | 1796-1798 | John I. Johnson                                   | 1796-1798                  | Cornelius C. Van Alen<br>& Co.<br>Crookes & Saunders        | 1796-1797<br>1797-1798              |
| <i>Republican Chronicle</i>                          | 1817-1819 | Samuel<br>Woodworth                               |                            | Charles N. Baldwin<br>Abraham Asten<br>Baldwin, Asten & Co. | 1817-1819<br>1817-1819<br>1817-1819 |
| <i>New-York Shipping and Commercial List</i>         | 1815-1820 |   |                            | Mahlon Day<br>Charles Turner<br>Mahlon & Turner             | 1815-1819<br>1815-1820<br>1815-1820 |
| <i>The Times</i>                                     | 1813      | David Longworth                                   | 1813                       | Nicholas Van Riper  | 1813                                |
| <i>The War</i>                                       | 1812-1817 | Thomas<br>O'Connor                                |                            | Samuel Woodworth  |                                     |
| <i>New-York Weekly Chronicle</i>                     | 1785-1795 | Mott & Hurtin                                     | 1795                       | Andrew<br>Commardinger                                      | 1795                                |
| <i>Weekly Observer</i>                               | 1811      | Jonathan Elliot                                   | 1811                       | Jonathan Elliott  | 1811                                |
| <i>Weekly Visitor</i>                                | 1817-1820 | Alexander Ming                                    | 1817-1820+                 | Alexander Ming  | 1817-<br>1820+                      |
| <i>Western Star, and Harp of Erin</i>                | 1812-1813 |   |                            | George Douglass   | 1812-1813                           |
| <i>Wood's New-York Sale Report and Price Current</i> | 1820      | John Wood   |                            | John Wood   |                                     |
| <i>Youth's New Paper</i>                             | 1797      | Charles Smith                                     | 1797                       | Jacob S. Mott   | 1797                                |

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