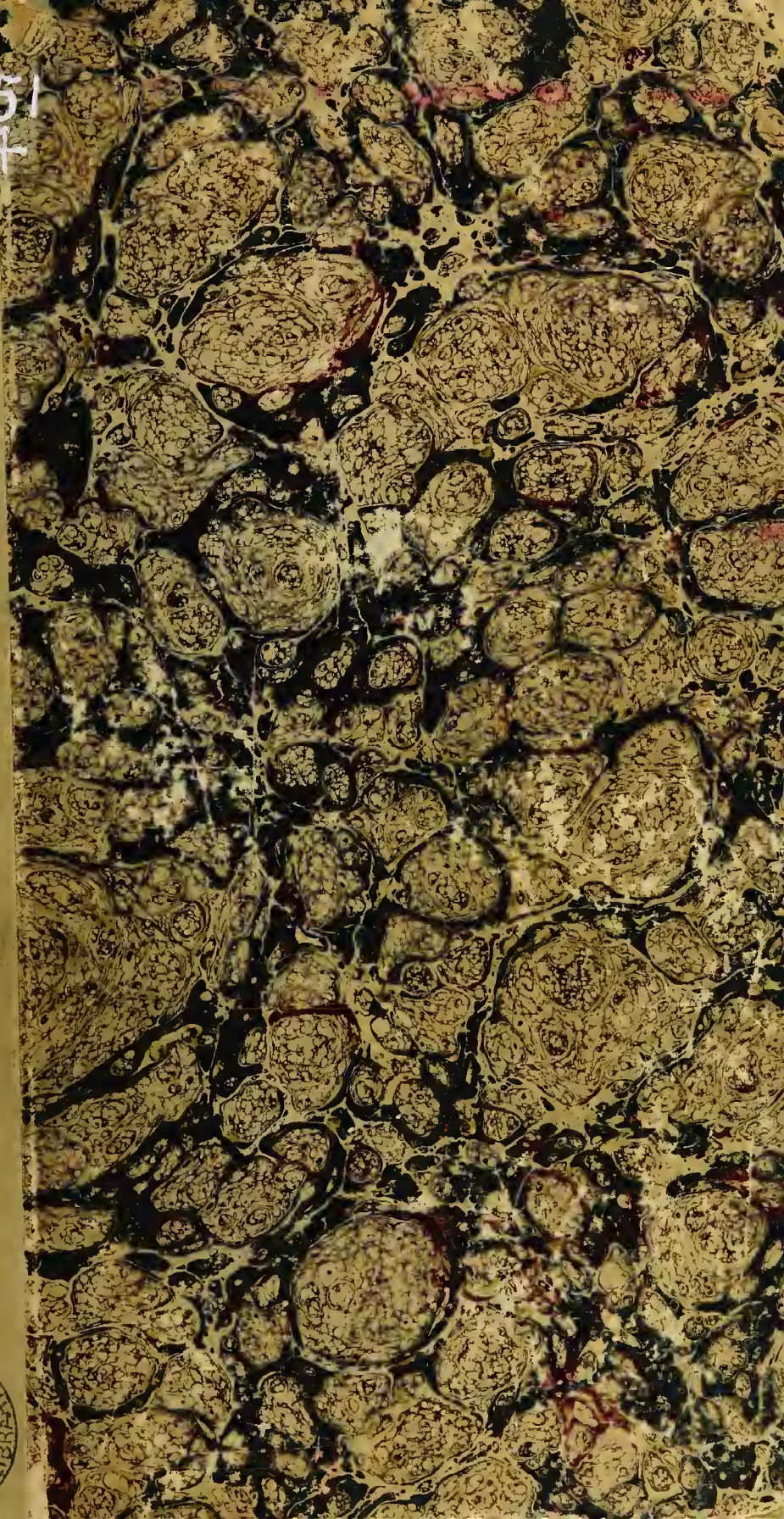
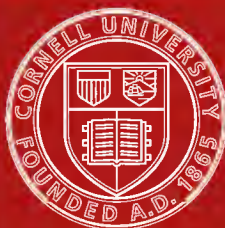


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Ohio Valley press before the war of 1812



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THE OHIO VALLEY PRESS
BEFORE THE WAR
OF 1812-15

BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
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THE OHIO VALLEY PRESS BEFORE THE WAR OF 1812-15.

In the year previous to the framing of the federal constitution, none but the most optimistic of pioneer printers could have seen in the country west of the Alleghanies a hopeful field for the establishment of a weekly newspaper. The greater part of this vast region was still unredeemed wilderness, and geographical, social, and economic conditions were such as apparently to preclude so arduous an enterprise.

Villages were few and small; the borderers were chiefly of the farming class, dwelling so far apart that the ability to detect the smoke from a neighbor's cabin was by many regarded as evidence that the district was becoming overpopulated. Small probability of patronage, therefore, faced intending editors of the earliest trans-Alleghany newspapers; as for advertisements, which to our modern journals are the breath of life, the prospect was not alluring. Money was scarce even in the centres of Western population; among the farmers, barter was still the principal mode of exchange. A cautious publisher might well stop to enquire whence was to come the cash that he must needs transmit to the East for machinery and printing supplies.

The problem of serving the few and far-scattered prospective subscribers with the products of the press was likewise serious, for roads were few and postal conveniences meagre and uncertain. As for communication with the Eastern sources of supply, this was largely confined to a road which had in 1785 been completed from Philadelphia, then the metropolis of the young nation, to the Forks of the Ohio,

a distance of three hundred miles.¹ Over this turnpike, an express line of Conestoga wagons passed to and fro. But only in the most favorable seasons could these cumbersome but picturesque vehicles be hauled over the long and rough mountain thoroughfare; at others, pack-horses were the sole reliance, as they slowly picked their way across swollen fords or through swampy hollows and hillside cuttings. Eastern-made paper, type, ink, and presses, all heavy and requiring careful handling, must be brought to the West by such rude means of transportation, at a time when freight rates between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh were six dollars a hundred-weight.²

But the true pioneer, be he trader, farmer, or journalist, recked nought of sordid calculations. Through the alembic of youthful optimism he sees the raw land not as it is, but as he imagines it will become, and casting his stake on this hope is chronicled in history as either fool or prophet. Had the West depended on prudent, conservative settlers, it would have been long awaiting development.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—1786.

Pittsburgh, the seat of the earliest trans-Alleghany journal, was then but a shabby little river port, with less than forty log-houses, sheltering a population not exceeding three hundred.³ But its levee was crowded with flat-boats and other rude river craft waiting to carry westering immigrants and their chattels down the Ohio; and to the prophetic eye of John Scull, a Quaker youth just turned twenty-one, the hamlet seemed in the early summer of 1786 to give promise of a vigorous future as the entrepôt of the West.

The Treaty of Paris was but three years old. The United States had not yet formed a strong federal government. Something approaching chaos reigned in several of the thirteen States. Upon the Western border, where society

¹In Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-07), iii, pp. 52, 134, 139, 140. F. A. Michaux estimates the distance, via Lancaster, at 293 miles.

²S. H. Killekelly, *History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1906), p. 97.

³Neville B. Craig, *History of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh, 1851), p. 28.

was unstable, and little interest felt in Eastern affairs, the separatist feeling was so strong that the Union seemed likely to dissolve. The existence of a federal domain northwest of the Ohio River, formed from colonial claims ceded to the general government by Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, seemed the only thread of interest holding the West to a support of the new constitution, which statesmen were now urging upon the people.

With this nationalist movement, young Mr. Scull was heartily in sympathy, and he had come to Pittsburgh, apparently from Eastern Pennsylvania, prepared to establish a public journal to foster such policy in the sparsely-settled region of the upper Ohio. Associated with him was another youth of twenty-one, Joseph Hall, a practical printer. Hall died in November, however, and early the following year Scull took John Boyd into partnership; but later, we find the projector conducting the journal entirely by himself, being his own editor, reporter, and printer, and eking out a livelihood by serving as postmaster for the port.

The first issue of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* appeared on July 29—four pages, about 14 x 24 inches in size; but so small was the Ramage hand-press imported for this purpose, that eight pulls were needed to print the sheet.⁴ The subscription price was established at 17s. 6d. per year, and advertisements not exceeding a square were inserted three times for a dollar. It being found difficult to maintain the supply of paper at so great a distance from the East, the page was for a time (commencing November 17, 1787), reduced under stress of circumstances to 9 x 16 inches, with this ambiguous apology:

The printers are under the necessity of handing the *Gazette* to their subscribers in an abridged form, they having been disappointed in having received a supply of paper.

There has been preserved a letter dated July 1, 1792, from Scull to Major Isaac Craig, then commandant of Fort Fayette, in which he requests a loan of paper from the

⁴ Killekelly, p. 483.

government stores; and eight years later it is recorded that the commandant of that time loaned to the editor twenty-seven quires of cartridge paper.⁵

An Indian war had for some years distressed the country west and northwest of Pittsburgh. The *Gazette's* subscribers, therefore, lived chiefly to the east and southeast of that village—in log huts, sometimes palisaded, against Indian attacks, scattered at wide intervals along the crude highway to Greensburg (then the county seat), or nestled in clearings notched from the forested banks of the Monongahela and Youghioghenny rivers and their affluents. Mr. Scull's weekly issues were eagerly awaited in these remote settlements, where the little journal was greeted as a substantial link connecting the backwoodsmen with the far-away Eastern world.

At first, the young postmaster-editor enjoyed but sparse and uneven mail facilities for the delivery of his paper, but conditions were gradually bettered. In the sixth number (September 2), John Blair announces that he has established a line of freight boats on the Monongahela, from Pittsburgh to Gasting's Ferry, a distance of thirty-five miles by water, and riverside subscribers can now have their paper delivered weekly at a cheaper rate and more regularly than by any other conveyance. A similar line is advertised by John McDonald, to ply from the metropolis to points on Youghioghenny River and Peter's, Mingo, and Pigeon creeks, which will also serve as a sure and speedy medium for the circulation of the *Gazette*. The issue for March 2, 1787, notices the opening of a weekly mail from Alexandria, Va., to Pittsburgh, to pass over the old Braddock Road from Cumberland, Md., which traversed the oldest-settled district in this region. On July 14 of the succeeding year, a weekly post was established between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. With accommodations such as these, the editor no longer complains of lack of facilities for distribution.

Examining the contents of the *Gazette*, we find them typical of the shoal of far Western newspapers so soon to appear in its wake. European news, anywhere from four

⁵Craig, p. 214.

B. L. H.

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE

ESTABLISHED 1786

Price Six Pence.] "S A T U R D A Y, SEPTEMBER 24, 1866.

[Vol. 11]

Foreign Intelligence.

CONS. FANCIENOPLE. April 10.

THIS morning a party were invited who were invited the promotion of Sweden, with all his favorites; he was seen to judge in person, and his orders put under the seal. This party has been for some years employed in the mint, and had the receiving of all the gold and silver coined into coin, but having in a short time acquired a large fortune, he is lodged and a great deal of having uncharitably made away with five or six millions of rix-dollars, part of which he was impudent enough to employ to oppose the election of the prince of Waldeck, though the pleasure of the government had no more to give an account how he came by his riches, and as they have already put him to the torture, it is feared he will come badly off.

V I E N N A, May 10.

The emperor three last week at prince Kaunitz's, where a large party of the nobility were invited; when the conversation at table turning on the great change made by the emperor in the system of penal laws, which, instead of punishing delinquents with death, brands in the cheeks, and fetters them to drags, or such other employments, a lady asked, if such punishments would be indulged on the nobility, if guilty of the enormities to which the emperor resorted,

as he could carry at two or three times of a night. He was examined in council, and declared he had no objection. Being asked how he could deceive the guards, either in digging the ground or entering the hole, he refused to tell, unless his majesty would pardon him a pardon. This not being complied with, he was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, in the new market, after having his right hand cut off, his nose fitted, and his legs broke with an iron bar, on the twenty fifth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eleven.

Extract of a letter from the Hague, May 16.

Baron Thulmeu ver, an extraordinary to his Prussian majesty, returned to the capital of the Netherlands, the following monition:

"High and mighty Lords,
The undervalued anxiety of his Prussian majesty is desired to afford your high brightness of the inviolable and sincere friendship which his majesty bears towards them; and to advise them, at the same time, of the pleasure he has in expelling himself a friend and ally of the republic, in the re-establishment of internal peace and tranquillity in the United Provinces. His majesty applauds and sincerely agrees to their resolutions. He would be highly agreeable to him, that they would send a deputation and forty per cent in putting, not only the constitution and sovereignty of the State, but also the rights and privileges of the hereditary States-General, upon a permanent basis. His

when the parties, neither of whom had quitted the ground; general Stewart, in consequence of the action, having been under the necessity, from the want of putting his back to a tree.

The surgeons, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Home, who were attending at a little distance, were brought up by colonel Bullerton; Colonel Gordon, at the same time, affixed his leadership in taking off his coat, and requested him to sit down, apprehending he might be faint through loss of blood. Colonel Gordon then left the ground, in company with general Stewart; and another carriage was provided to convey his lordship home.

The second cannot help expressing, that no two persons ever met on a similar occasion, who showed more firmness and composure; and they are happy to add, that the ball is extracted, which was lodged in lord Fitzroy's right shoulder, and there is every reason to hope for his recovery.

(Signed)

W. M. FITZLARTON.
A. GORDON.

A few days ago, the following very uncommon and extraordinary circumstance happened at Cronstadt, near Petersburg. Some two fash, and their wives being in company, some cards were dealt on the table, and at length they went to sleep; the battle was decided in five or six minutes, the fire of which not firing ear-

to seven months old, occupies the major part of the limited space. American intelligence, somewhat fresher, appears in the form of letters to the editor from Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia—from the last-mentioned metropolis, perhaps a month in transit. While the *Gazette* was in the field for a definite political purpose, there were no editorials, their office being, in the fashion of that day, supplied by long anonymous essays from "Vindex," "Observer," "Cato," "Subscriber," and "Farmer." These familiars (in which goodly company doubtless the editor himself not seldom masqueraded), discoursed profoundly on the political situation, popular education, and the like; or perhaps, in bad weather, when Eastern mails were slow, on abstract subjects, such as "Laughing," "Gallantry," or "Women." In the issue for February 24, 1787, is a particularly wise "Philosophical, Historical, and Moral Essay on Old Maids."

No doubt, in their day, many of these contributions aroused strenuous discussion between host and guests at pikeside taverns and in neighborhood gatherings around blazing hearths in frontier cabins; and in truth they are not ill-reading in our own. There were philosophers in those backwoods settlements; and men who, though far from tidewater colleges, could weld apt phrases and put strong thoughts into vigorous English. As for Latin quotations, commonly used at that period of our culture to clinch weighty arguments, or delicately to embroider them with erudition, they were so profuse as to arouse the ire of one correspondent, who declares that a good English education is quite sufficient for the writers and readers of the *Gazette*.

Of poets, also, there were not a few; albeit now and then singing gruesomely, as in the prelude to an "Address to the Evening Star:"

Now nature seems as curtained from my sight
 Now negro darkness mounts his ebone wane,
 The tomb now renders up the sheeted spright,
 Around dread horror, and sad silence reign.

It is characteristic of the files of the early American press that small attention was paid to local news. This

circumstance arose from the editorial theory then in vogue, that as every citizen in a small community is necessarily aware of neighborhood happenings, these are out of place in the local newspaper, whose function is to record most fully events occurring the farthest from home. The opposite policy is pursued by the shrewder journalists of our time, who have learned that the ordinary reader first and most eagerly seeks reports of events concerning which he is himself well informed; and that popular interest in news diminishes in proportion to distance from the local viewpoint.

We occasionally find in the news columns of the *Gazette*, mention of a neighborhood outrage by Indians, or a warning from the Indian agent that tribesmen are on the war-path; but local color must chiefly be sought in the advertisements, which unconsciously mirror social conditions on the frontier. For example, this announcement appears in the issue for May 23, 1787:

To be sold. A Negro Wench. She is an excellent cook, and can do any kind of work in doors or out of doors. She has been registered in Westmoreland County. Produce will be taken or cattle of any kind.

The scarcity of specie is illustrated by both the above and the following, appended to John and Daniel Craig's advertisement of their new general shop:

N. B. Beaver, fox, racoon, and muskrat skins taken as cash, or beef, pork, butter, and flour taken in part pay; likewise wood at the current selling price.

There appears to have been much trouble in the sparsely-settled backwoods, where means of escape were abundant, in keeping slaves and indented servants, for advertisements of runaways are frequent, with rewards ranging from two to fifteen dollars. Among the liberty-loving indented servants were many of Irish nationality, who doubtless had been "working out" their passage to America, but had grown impatient of a thralldom whose conditions often quite equalled those of actual slavery.

The advertisements in the *Gazette* reveal the gradual introduction into the West of fashionable luxuries, marking the advance of border prosperity. One shop announces the arrival of "Corduroys, velvets and velverets, best beaver fustian, modes and sattins, shalloons, duroys, durants, moreens, calimancoes, taboreens and camblets." While Mrs. Pride, who has established a "Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies" will teach "Plain Work, Coloured ditto, Flowering, Lace both by the bobin and needle, Fringing, Dresden, Tabouring, and Embroidering, also Reading English and Knitting *if required*." It is evident that in their attempt to be accomplished, some at least of the young women of early Pittsburgh were displaying evidence of "requiring" instructions in the reading of English.

The *Gazette* did not neglect its more serious business of inclining the minds of its subscribers, in a region naturally anti-Federalist, to favor Federalist doctrines, although the methods adopted were less demonstrative than those of our day. During its early issues, the new federal constitution was formulated at Philadelphia, and soon was being discussed throughout the length and breadth of the nation. On February 17, 1787, we find in the columns of our journal, notice of a call for a convention of delegates for "devising, deliberating on, and discussing such alteration as may be necessary to render the federal constitution fully equal to the exigencies of the union." Later, the constitution itself is printed, with such commentaries as Wilson's speech on the "Principles of the Federal Constitution." On November 9 of the same year there is announced a local meeting for the purpose of "taking the sense of this town with respect to the system of Confederate government proposed by the late Convention at Philadelphia." Gen. John Gibson occupied the chair, and a series of resolutions was adopted to the effect that "there being no reason to expect anything better or that anything more equal could be formed, Resolved that it is our ardent wish and hope that this system may speedily be adopted."

Although unwaveringly Federalist, the *Gazette* liberally opened its columns to political adversaries. Henry H.

Brackenridge, who in 1786 was Pittsburgh's member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, supported the new constitution for lack of "anything better," but on all questions of subsequent policy sided strongly with the Democrats, as in supporting the Whiskey Insurrection and the Jeffersonian system. He had edited a Philadelphia magazine in the early years of the Revolution, was accomplished in the arts of literary expression, and vigorous in controversy. So numerous and important were his contributions to the *Gazette*, that in 1806 he brought out a book entitled *Gazette Publications Collected*.

In the issue for March 1, 1788, an anonymous correspondent of the *Gazette* offers "Cursory Remarks on the Federal Constitution." Among the imperfections and possible dangers of that instrument is cited the important fact that no precaution has been taken with respect to the sex of the President, so that in process of time "we may have an old woman at the head of affairs." Nor is the ancestry of the senators assured, and they may in the course of time all be Irish or only Scotch-Irish.

Although thus generous to its opponents, perhaps because of it, this the only public journal west of the mountains proved a powerful factor in making the Pittsburgh district at first strongly Federal, despite its unmistakable tendency to the opposite direction. It also did a great service for the West, in 1794, by supporting the government throughout the Whiskey Insurrection.

On August 17, 1795, there was established at Washington, Pa., then the county town of the district, a Federalist paper, called *Western Telegraph and Washington Advertiser*.⁶ Its motto, "Free, but not licentious," was an interpretation of Jeffersonian policy not relished by the Republican Democrats of that day.

⁶Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County, Penna.* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 406.

In *Early Western Travels*, iii, p. 347, Harris thus describes Washington: "A Court house and a large building for public offices, of brick; and a Gaol and an Academy of stone, with a large number of handsomely built dwelling-houses, give this town a very respectable appearance. It seems to be a place of considerable business & of thriving manufactories and trade."

Despite its early victories, the Federalist party was not securely entrenched in Western Pennsylvania, and was now waning. The only two journals of the region, however, were committed to that party, and the opposition felt that the time had arrived to found an organ of their own. In 1798, a printer named John D. Israel started such a paper at Washington, under the name of *Herald of Liberty*. Two years later, Israel inaugurated at Pittsburgh *The Tree of Liberty*, a journal of the same political faith, issued in conjunction with his Washington *Herald*.

It was understood that Brackenridge, just then appointed to the state supreme court, stood financial sponsor to the new enterprise. How long the *Tree* flourished, is not known, but it probably expired in the year 1806.

Brackenridge's type of Democracy was, however, not sufficiently radical for the Gallatin wing, now vigorously supporting Jefferson's administration, which was exceedingly popular on the western slope of the mountains. On July 24, 1805, therefore, Ephraim Pentland began publication at Pittsburgh of a radical Democratic organ, under the name of *The Commonwealth*—lineal predecessor of the present Pittsburgh *Post*. Six years later (September 26, 1811), James C. Gilleland established the *Mercury*, which in time absorbed the *Commonwealth*.⁷ Thus, at the close of our period, three papers contended for popularity and patronage in Pittsburgh: the original Federalist *Gazette*, still in the hands of John D. Scull, and the Democratic *Commonwealth* and *Mercury*.

By the close of the eighteenth century, the outlying country was supporting quite as many weekly newspapers as the patronage warranted. There has been noted the establishment at Washington of the Federalist *Western Telegraph* and the Democratic *Herald of Liberty*. On August 15, 1808, the Washington *Reporter* began its career under William Sample and B. Bunn, the former of whom continued its publication until 1833. There are also a few surviving issues of the *Western Corrector*, first issued at Washington in 1810, and of the *Western Missionary*

⁷ Killekelly, p. 485.

Magazine, published somewhat intermittently from 1802 to 1806.⁸

Before the organization of Alleghany County in 1788, Pittsburgh was in Westmoreland County, of which the seat was Greensburg, then a rival of the town at the Ohio forks. There, in 1798, John M. Snowden, who had been trained to newspaper work in Philadelphia, began publishing the *Farmer's Register*, which ten years later he sold to William S. Graham, who changed its name to *Greensburg and Indiana Register*, the publication of which was continued until his death in 1815. The *Greensburg Gazette*, a Federalist organ, was begun in 1811 by David McLean. Of none of these papers is more than an occasional copy now extant.⁹

The earliest-settled portion of Western Pennsylvania was Fayette County, hemmed in by the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers. Although this triangle was the stronghold of the Whiskey Insurrection, its first newspaper was ultra-Federalist—the *Fayette Gazette and Uniontown Advertiser*, begun at Uniontown by Stewart and Mowry, December 5, 1797. In 1805, this was merged into Allen and Springer's *Genius of Liberty*, which gradually became Democratic, and is still issued at Uniontown.

Redstone Old Fort, at the junction of Redstone Creek and the Monongahela, was famous in the earliest days of trans-Alleghany exploration as the terminus of the portage trail between the headwaters of the Potomac and the sources of the Ohio—the "Nemacolin's Path" of the French and Indian War. The settlement which gradually developed at this point came to be styled Brownsville. Its first paper was a *Gazette*, begun no one knows when; the only copy now known to exist, bears date January 14, 1809. Of a *Western Repository*, also of Brownsville, still less is known; the half-page known to collectors was printed in 1810.¹⁰

The only Pennsylvania papers west of Pittsburgh, begun in our period, were issued at Beavertown, an Ohio River

⁸Crumrine, p. 407.

⁹George D. Albert, *History of Westmoreland County, Penna.* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 279.

¹⁰Franklin Ellis, *History of Fayette County, Penna.* (Philadelphia, 1882), pp. 291-437.

port some twenty-five miles below. The first, appearing in 1807, bore the classical title, *Minerva*; in the centre of its headline was a crude woodcut of the goddess of wisdom, supposed to preside over its destinies.¹¹ The second was the *Western Cabinet*, established by Joseph W. White on September 28, 1811, and certainly continued into the following year.

KENTUCKY—1787.

Settled and first organized as a district of Virginia, Kentucky filled up rapidly after the close of the Revolution, and by the time of the adoption of the federal constitution was ambitious for statehood. Several conventions were held at Danville, the seat of the district court, to pass resolutions and take steps to this end. But an agitation of such importance could not successfully be carried on by means of speeches and written documents alone; it seemed essential to introduce a printing press into the nascent commonwealth.

Given the necessity, the man to meet it was soon at hand. John Bradford, a native Virginian, who had served in the Revolutionary army, and came to Kentucky with the great wave of Western emigration following that struggle, had learned the printing trade in Virginia. At the conclusion of one of the Danville conventions he called upon Gen. James Wilkinson, active in its affairs, and offered to establish a press providing the members of the convention would assure him, as they promptly did, of their patronage and moral support. In July, 1786, a date identical with the birth of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the town of Lexington voted Bradford a free lot, upon which he built a log printery.

The then metropolis of Kentucky was founded later than its sister towns of Boonesborough and Harrodsburgh; but being in a flourishing district, and on the main trails between the Ohio and Kentucky rivers, it gained rapidly in importance and population, until at the close of the eighteenth century it sheltered perhaps a thousand souls

¹¹ Joseph M. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Penna.* (New York, 1904,) pp. 454, 455.

and was accounted not only the principal but the most fashionable town of the trans-Alleghany.

The press, type, and paper ordered by Bradford from Philadelphia were long in coming. They had laboriously to be sent by wagons overland to Pittsburgh, thence down the Ohio on a flatboat to Limestone (now Maysville), then the river entrepôt to Eastern Kentucky, where the bulky material was packed upon horses for the journey into the interior. This last stage of the route was, for the early Kentucky freighters, the worst of all; rivers must needs be forded, sink-holes crossed at no little risk of losing both animals and loads, and forest trails cleared of such fallen trees as could not be jumped by the agile beasts. Finally, on August 11, 1787—thirteen and a half months after the inauguration of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*—the first number of the *Kentucke Gazette* brought new light to the vast wilderness of the West.¹²

The *Gazette* was not a large enterprise, judged by modern standards—simply a single sheet of two pages of rough paper, about 10 x 19 inches, with three columns to the page. The first number of this crude publication, destined to be an important factor in the development of Kentucky, contained two short original articles, an advertisement, and the following note from the proprietor:

My customers will excuse this, my first publication, as I am much hurried to get an impression by the time appointed. A great part of the types fell into pi in the carriage of them from Limestone to this office, and my partner, which is the only assistant I have, through an indisposition of the body, has been incapable of rendering the smallest assistance for ten days past.

JOHN BRADFORD.

The partner thus alluded to was John's brother Fielding, who severed his connection with the business before the expiration of the first year.

As usual in the frontier press, editorials were few and slight; but there were the customary political letters by local contributors, and essays on a wide variety of topics,

¹² George W. Ranck, *History of Lexington, Ky.* (Cincinnati, 1872), pp. 124-128.

KENTUCKY CORKER GAZETTE,

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1788.

LEXINGTON: Printed and Sold by JOHN and FREDING BRANDORO, at their PRINTING-OFFICE in Main Street, where Subscriptions at 18^{cts} per Ann. Advertisements, &c. for this paper, are thankfully received, and PRINTING in its different Branches done with Care and Expedition. --Advertisements of no more length than breadth, are charged for 3^{cts} the first time and 2^{cts} each time after and longer ones in proportion.

Extracts from the journals of a convention held for the district of Kentucky at Danville in the county of Mercer on the 17th day of September 1787.

RESOLVED by the representatives of the good people of the district of Kentucky in convention assembled, that it is expedient for and in the will of the same, that the said district be divided into a separate and independent state, on the terms and conditions specified in the two acts of assembly, one entitled "An act concerning the cession of the district of Kentucky into an independent state," the other entitled "An act making further provision for the ceding of the district of Kentucky into an independent state."

RESOLVED that this convention do fix the thirtieth day of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight, to be the time on which the authority of the commonwealth of Virginia and of its laws over the district of Kentucky shall cease and determine forever, under the exceptions specified in the act intitled "an act concerning the cession of the district of Kentucky into an

per rules of proceedings; to consider, and by a majority of votes, establish a fundamental Constitution of government, for the proposed state; and declare what laws shall be in force therein, until they are abrogated or altered by the legislature authority, acting under the Constitution to be framed and established.

RESOLVED, that three members of the said convention assembled, shall be a sufficient number to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs for supplying vacancies which may happen from deaths, resignations, or refusal to act.

RESOLVED, that in case there shall be no meeting within the respective counties of the district of Kentucky, at the time the several elections are directed to be held for the election of the said members of Convention, that any two acting magistrates, who may be present on the day of holding the said elections, be appointed commissioners to superintend and conduct the said election, and to make returns in the same manner as the sheriffs are directed to do.

A true copy from the minutes.
THOMAS TONDD, C. C.

THE subscriber takes this method to inform the public that he has taken up the blue dyes butterns in Hopewell; Bourbon, and will take in Hemp, Flax, and Cotton, thread to dye. Those who will please to favor him with their custom may depend on being faithfully served by
ADAM WILKINSON.

THE public should be cautious how they deal with a certain cap. John Warin of Lincoln county, as that man has lately taken advantage of the law in pleading the limitation act, and that only, because he has been indulged nearly three years. This I hope will be a sufficient warning to the citizens of Kentucke particularly those in business.

Danville, Dec. 4, 1787. 89 M. NAGLE.

clipped from Eastern papers. Foreign news was regarded as of the first importance, often four of the six columns being filled with trans-Atlantic information six months old. Here again, local color must be obtained from the advertisements, and the fierce political controversies waged in the hospitable pages of the *Gazette*.

Political discussion of our Western border has never been characterized by an excess of deference to an opponent's opinions, or by over-indulgence as to his personal shortcomings. To the *Gazette's* contributors may fairly be assigned the credit of setting the pace for those amenities which have ever since been considered the especial prerogative of Kentucky politicians. Jordan Harris, in the course of an attack on his fellow-citizen, Humphrey Marshall, called him:

Mr. Grubbs * * * the little mischievous, night-working worm. * * * It will be in vain for me to say that Mr. Grubbs is so contemptible he would disgrace the dignity of revenge.

To which Marshall promptly responded:

Mr. Harris must also excuse me if I do not take the least notice of him. I have taken my leave of that humble transcriber or mere contemptible tool of party. It already begins to be whispered about that to save themselves he is their common prostitute to public censure; and that through him they drain off all their filth and humors.

There is also the personal note in not a few of the advertisements. For example:

Reuben Proctor has my note whereon is due one copper still and one cow, the consideration for which I gave it is land in Bourbon County, for which I have received no title, the note is supposed to be made over to his confederates as it is reported he is run off, for which I give the public caution to prevent any person from taking the assignment of said obligation, as I will pay no part till all the land for which it was given is secured to me in fee simple clear of dispute.

Husbands advertise the desertion of their wives, and forbid all mankind from giving credit to the absentees; now and then a wife replies in proper spirit to the animadversions of her former lord.

On March 15, 1788, is broached a plan to poison invade Indians with articles impregnated with arsenic, and persons are warned not to touch the wheat, corn, and potatoes left at certain deserted houses, where the reds' raiders are wont to stop.

In an invitation for bids for a frame meeting-house Lexington, it is specified that payment will be taken stock and country produce, such as cattle, whiskey, wheat and rye.

New town-sites are also advertised. Especially noteworthy in this connection is the announcement of a company which is soon to start for the mouth of Licking River to found a settlement on Judge Symmes's grant on the opposite side of the Ohio—the modern Cincinnati.

Indians were still apt to hang upon the flanks of caravans along Boone's old Wilderness Road, and in times of alarm it was necessary to organize strong parties to make the journey to and from Virginia and the Carolinas. Such announcements as the following are not infrequent:

Notice is hereby given that a number of gentlemen propose meeting at the Crab Orchard Sunday the fifteenth of June in perfect readiness to make an early start on Monday the sixteenth through the Wilderness.

Lands are advertised for sale, or desired for purchase. Rewards are offered for stray cattle and runaway negroes. Mechanics are desired: for instance, "A man skilled in keeping saw-mill can find employment." A tutor and a dancing master offer their services. The "Lexington Society for Improvement in Knowledge" announces the time of meetings. Ebenezer Brookes calls attention to his terms for "Latin scholars;" and in October, 1788, James Graham informs the public that a Seminary for Education will immediately be opened in Lexington.

Such is the character of material for the history of the West, to be found in the columns of the *Kentucky Gazette*. There is less comment on the new form of federal government than in the contemporary *Pittsburgh Gazette*, but now and again there is something on the form of the propos-

constitution for Kentucky, for which a gradual negro emancipation clause is wisely but ineffectually being urged.

Bradford had the requisite ingenuity for a backwoods printer, and whittled from basswood (linden) blocks large letters and ornaments, besides small cuts for his advertisements of horses, groves of trees, etc., and from these made tolerable impressions with which to illustrate his diminutive journal. For eight years, it was without a competitor in the new state. In 1795, however, James H. Stewart began at Lexington the *Kentucky Herald*, and the following year superseded Bradford as state printer. But at the close of a year, the latter was reinstated, and in 1802 bought out his rival. After 1804, the paper was printed, under the same name, at Paris.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, one or two ephemeral sheets were published at Lexington (such as the *Independent Gazetteer*, begun March 29, 1803), but not until 1808 was there again serious competition. On March 12 of that year, William W. Worseley and Samuel W. Overton started a strong Jeffersonian organ, the *Reporter*. Overton soon retired, and Worseley remained its sole editor until 1816. Later, it became the *Observer and Reporter*, and under that name was published continuously until 1873, having in its long career many able and influential editors.¹³

Worseley displayed far more enterprise than most of his Western contemporaries. He arranged for special correspondence from Washington. Not content with waiting for the arrival in due course of the weekly post, bearing this important letter, together with copies of the Eastern press for clipping, he despatched each Friday a negro servant to meet the carrier on the Wilderness Road and hurry back to Lexington with the office mail. By this means, the *Reporter* was enabled to give the public much earlier service than had the editor waited on the carrier's deliberate movements. At one time this black messenger, called by the Lexingtonians "Worseley's Man Friday," from the

¹³ William Henry Perrin, "Pioneer Press of Kentucky," in *Filson Club Publications*, No. 3, pp. 18-22.

day of his exploit, was waterbound, and a canoe despatch to his relief.

There have come down to us from the energetic Worsel his letter files, miscellaneous office memoranda, and many unused "copy," to-day carefully preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library.¹⁴ These documents throw quite much light on the political and social life of the frontier as does the *Reporter* itself; for we have here the grist of the editorial mill. The field of his correspondence ranged from Detroit on the north to New Orleans and Mobile on the south, and from St. Louis eastward to Richmond and the seaboard cities.

A Boston correspondent writes to the editor concerning a reappearance of the immemorial and ubiquitous sea serpent, and deprecates the popular incredulity concerning that reptile. A nearer correspondent wishes a Euclid for his son, and would the editor please obtain it for him. Thomas C. Flourney, a candidate for public position, confidentially sends to the newspaper office the manuscript of a speech that he had intended to deliver at a certain barbecue. He explains that when he arrived belated at the scene of the festivities, dancing had begun, and the candidate was given to understand that speechmaking was undesired—but he sends the text of the still-born address, to receive such treatment as the editor thinks best. An account reaches the *Reporter* of a political quarrel, in which one McKinley, dubbed by the correspondent "a poltroon and assassin," had villified Jefferson; whereupon Col. James Johnson falls on the offender, and a characteristic fist-fight follows. The Colonel's brother Richard, later vice-president of the United States, issues his version of the encounter in the form of a handbill, in which McKinley is challenged to mortal combat.

During the War of 1812-15, one of the staff writers on the *Reporter* served in the army. The paper not only strongly upheld the American point of view in this conflict, but collected and forwarded clothing for the Kentucky volunteers.

¹⁴ "Worseley Papers," in the Draper MSS.

Two other papers were also established at Lexington during our period. The *Impartial Observer*, founded by B. Guerin and E. Prentiss in August, 1807, apparently had but a brief existence. The *American Statesman* was first printed at Lexington, July 20, 1811, by Thomas T. Skillman for Watson & Overton. On the following April 18, Samuel E. Watson retired from the firm and by the succeeding year the journal was being published by Shadrach Penn, Jr., under the name of *American Statesman and Columbian Register*. Later (1818) Penn was editor of the first Western daily at Louisville.

Not far from Limestone (Maysville), was the promising town of Washington. Here, in 1797, William Hunter and William H. Beaumont—who had for a time published at Washington, Pa., the second journal in that state, on the western slope of the Alleghanies—began the publication of the *Mirror*. But the Kentucky Washington did not promise well for a man of Hunter's ability and ambition, so the following year he went to Frankfort, the backwoods capital of the new state. Here, in November, 1795, Benjamin J. Bradford had established the *Kentucky Journal*, which apparently enjoyed but a short life. In May, 1798, the Lexington *Kentucke Gazette* had started at Frankfort a local edition, loftily styled *Guardian of Freedom*, designed chiefly to secure the state printing. Hunter, however, thought this branch enterprise unworthy of so promising a town as Frankfort, and on August 8 of that year issued the first number of the *Palladium, a Literary and Political Weekly Repository*, which from the beginning was considered a success. The Washington *Mirror* not turning out so happily on the financial side, Hunter and Beaumont dissolved partnership and the *Mirror* was suspended; thereafter the former devoted himself exclusively to the Frankfort *Palladium*.

In some respects, this new journal was much the best-conducted newspaper thus far seen in the West. The type was clearer and better, the paper larger, the news more carefully collected and classified, and the editorial work more systematically and consistently done, than in any

other paper beyond the Alleghanies. In fact, the *Palladium* will in many respects bear comparison with its Eastern contemporaries, and its influence throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, and even as far as the Mississippi settlements was considerable.

In the first number the proprietors state that "provided with the best materials, and aided by several years' experience in the line of their profession, joined to a general knowledge of the public spirit of this Town and its flourishing Neighbourhood, the Editors sanguinely anticipate the most flattering success." Apparently, subscribers readily sent in their names; but during the early years of the enterprise, collections were slow. Editorial appeals to delinquents are frequently encountered in the file of the *Palladium*, and in no uncertain terms patrons are informed that it takes ready cash to run a newspaper. However, Hunter secured the state printing during his first year in Frankfort and kept it for ten years, apparently at a comfortable profit; he could therefore afford to wait until he had trained his subscribers to a keener appreciation of the needs of the counting room. In this attempt he appears at last to have been successful, for at the beginning of the fourth year of publication the editor gratefully returns thanks for the generous patronage received, and declares that "the circulation far exceeds his most sanguine expectations." He thereupon magnanimously reduced the subscription rate to \$2 a year.

Hunter's early adventures had well prepared him for success in the region with whose fortunes he was finally allied. Born in New Jersey, he early went to sea, and being captured by a French man-of-war was carried a prisoner to France. There he learned the language of that people and with it the trade of printing, besides coming to understand and sympathize with the French revolutionary movement, without becoming a pronounced Jacobin. Soon after his return to Philadelphia in 1793, he set out for the West, as has already been narrated, hoping there to find congenial residence and scope for his talents. As may be supposed, his politics were strongly anti-Federalist;

he supported the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions against the Alien and Sedition Acts, and rejoiced in the election of Jefferson. In all this, his new neighbors in Kentucky sincerely sympathized, and the *Palladium* became the oracle of Western statesmen.

As an example of his enterprise, may be mentioned the extra issued on Monday, November 29, 1802, giving an account of the closing of the port of New Orleans to American exports. When, the following year, war was declared between France and England, a mid-weekly handbill was issued to subscribers. Upon news of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States reaching Kentucky, in the early summer of 1803, the editor's acumen was sufficient to declare it "an event more interesting than any that has occurred since our independence." In October following, a correspondent announces from Wheeling that Capt. Meriwether Lewis has passed down the Ohio on his way to explore the Northern and Western Countries. During the Burr difficulties and the revelation of Spanish intrigues, the *Palladium* was strongly Democratic and defensive.

In 1808, Hunter, by this time accorded the courtesy title of "Colonel," sold the journal to two of his printers. But the heyday of the publication closed with the retirement of its founder; and while issued probably until after 1826, it gradually sank into obscurity. In the last-named year we find Colonel Hunter essaying a Louisville paper; but he and his methods and thought belonged to another age in the rapidly developing West, and the new venture was unsuccessful. He was therefore content to take, as a recognition of his political services, a clerkship at the federal capital, where he died in 1854.¹⁵

We now come to the romantic episode of the Frankfort *Western World*, one of the most interesting chapters in the long and eventful history of trans-Alleghany journalism. After the cession of Louisiana to the United States, and the apparent removal of foreign friction from our southwestern borders, it was expected by most observers that the Western country would lapse into a period of quiet prosperity,

¹⁵Perrin, pp. 24-26.

unbroken by political intrigue. But the restlessness engendered during the two previous decades was not easily allayed, and under the lead of Aaron Burr, former vice-president of the United States, a conspiracy was formed whose purpose, objects, and methods are not even yet revealed in their entirety. The political situation in the West fostered these obscure designs, and gave them a prominence they might otherwise not have obtained. The party dominant in the trans-Alleghany region was the Jeffersonian, whose leaders had in 1785-92 agitated for the statehood of Kentucky without being altogether scrupulous as to the means by which their independence should be secured. Strong, masterful pioneer spirits, the interests of the West, as they saw them, had been their focus. When it seemed possible that Congress would yield the right of free navigation of the Mississippi, the air of Kentucky was rent with threats of secession from the Union. The situation beyond the mountains was closely watched by the little coterie of European diplomats at the national capital. Better, apparently, than many of our own statesmen on the Atlantic coast, these Europeans recognized the potentiality of the West. They viewed with prophetic vision its broad, fertile lands, its wide-stretching forests, its promise of mineral wealth, its great rivers bearing fleets of produce-laden flatboats to the seaports of the Gulf; and in its rapidly-growing settlements discerned the beginnings of empire. With largeness of view, they saw the folly of allowing these brave and brawny folk to fret at the bonds of a coast-bound Union, whose officials seemed not to consider the needs of Americans living behind the hills; and among the diplomats were those who took advantage of the crisis.

For twenty years the emissaries of Spain, France, and Great Britain busied themselves in Kentucky and Tennessee, and but few prominent men in that region were unapproached by them. Of these plotters, the most persistent, wily, and secretive were the Spaniards, who because of their Mexican possessions feared this turbulent frontier power, and desired to make terms with it for their

own preservation. During several years, Spanish agents expended a considerable sum in bribes and pensions to secure the interest of those most influential in Western politics. Few Kentuckians were sufficiently venal to accept their money; many, however, lent a willing ear to proposed plans of Spanish alliances, or of filibustering expeditions against their territory. Such schemes were natural enough in the disorganized condition of the eighties, but had a sinister complexion when aired in the settled times of twenty years later. For this reason, the Republican-Democratic leaders in the West, many of whom had been concerned in these intrigues, desired above all things silence regarding the past. This condition they would no doubt have maintained had it not been for Aaron Burr, and the editors and backers of the *Western World*.

One autumn day in 1805, the people of the little log capital of Kentucky welcomed a small caravan of travelers from far-off Virginia, who had tramped or ridden a-horseback over the dangerous and toilsome Wilderness Road. Among the party were two footsore pedestrians, whose coming created small comment, for the country was accustomed to the almost daily arrival of adventurers, concerning whose antecedents and purposes it were best not to enquire too closely.

The elder of the twain was John Wood; a Scotchman who had been a political hack-writer and newspaper worker in New York, and at one time had held an obscure connection with Aaron Burr. Drifting into Virginia, Wood had won the ardent admiration of Joseph Montford Street, a spirited, impulsive, and promising young Virginian, and proposed to him a newspaper enterprise either in Kentucky or New Orleans. Because of political enemies in New York, intimidated Wood, he would remain the silent member of the firm, leaving to Street the resulting publicity and honors—also, it was understood, financial and personal obligations.

The politics of the active member were as unsettled as his plans. Early associations caused Street to lean towards Democracy, but he aimed to establish an independent

journal whose columns should be open to all shades of opinion; such was the dream of this inexperienced, optimistic youth, in an atmosphere surcharged with political passion. Having the acquaintance of William Worseley of Lexington, who had not yet established his *Reporter*, Street received from him encouraging advice.¹⁶

As for the silent partner, he proved to be an active political adventurer, his services for sale to the highest bidder, while ready to embrace every opportunity for exploiting sensations. During the winter of 1805-06, while waiting for their enterprise to develop, Wood learned much of the inner political history of the trans-Alleghany. In particular, he came into intimate relations with the so-called "Marshall clan," a rich and powerful family, near relatives of the great chief-justice. The Marshalls were the heart and soul of the Federalist party, now on the decline in Kentucky, and entertained personal and political animosity toward the leaders of the Democratic party, then in power. The chief of the clan was Humphrey Marshall, captious and irascible as an opponent, and allied both in blood and temper to the more famous objector, John Randolph of Roanoke. The integrity of Humphrey Marshall was, however, unquestioned; he had never sullied his honor nor stooped to subterfuge. From him Wood learned many details of the more or less shady political life of some of the leading Kentucky statesmen, especially their relations with Spanish intriguants, and in this saw his opportunity.

The impressionable young Street was still under the influence of his partner, and eagerly anticipating the establishment of an "independent" journal that, standing on a high plane of political morality, should be fearless in exposing intrigue. He was quite devoid of financial resources; but Worseley gave him credit for materials, and William Hunter of the *Palladium*, a journal now eight years old, generously allowed him the use of his own press, although later he became one of the new editor's strongest opponents. The subscription list was backed by the Marshall faction, and

¹⁶ Street's own account in the file of the *Western World*.

when the first number of the *Western World* appeared (July 5, 1806), it was assured of a considerable constituency.

The *World* was an innocent-looking little sheet of four pages, "published for Joseph M. Street and Company, Frankfort, Ky." But had an earthquake occurred in the small capital of Kentucky, there could not have been greater excitement; for this opening number had for its leader an article entitled the "Spanish Conspiracy." Ostensibly, it was an innocent historical review of the days of pre-Kentucky statehood. Practically, it was a sensational exposé of the political history of Harry Innes, judge of the United States district court, Benjamin Sebastian, judge of the court of appeals, John Brown, first United States senator from Kentucky, and other Democratic leaders high in the councils of the nation and the state.

As the issues continued, each week brought out additional details of the Spanish Conspiracy and many side reflections upon political worthies of the day. The *Kentucke Gazette* of Lexington, and the *Palladium* of Frankfort sprang to the defense. Accusations and counter-accusations flew back and forth, like shuttle-cocks, libel suits were commenced in the courts, and more than questionable means were taken in the hope of silencing the audacious Street. Wood had secretly been the instigator of the disturbance; but Street, as the real owner and editor of the paper, sincerely believed that the *Western World* was in this matter doing a genuine service to Kentucky. Although young and as yet far from worldly wise, he did not lack courage, and shirked no responsibility. Being challenged to a duel by Preston Brown, younger brother of John and James, both of whom had been attacked in the revelations, he came out of the affair with credit, according to the most exacting interpretations of the code. Having now proved his coolness under fire, Street thereafter disdained to accept challenges, and published them in his paper with sarcastic comment. In the issue of November 2, 1806, we find, for example, this announcement:

A formal challenge was yesterday received from W. W. Cooke. As others of the same description of persons are only waiting

to hear the fate of this in order to make like applications, Mr. Street has concluded to file them regularly as they are received and from time to time give a list of them in the *Western World*, for the information of the public at large. * * * An ode comprising a versification of the challenge will appear in our next.

Once, an assemblyman named Adams sought in a public doorway to assassinate the editor. The latter was wounded by a pistol shot, but succeeded in knocking the weapon from the hand of his antagonist, and with a dirk forcing him into the open. For some weeks Street's life was despaired of, and he never entirely recovered from this early wound.¹⁷

As a consequence of this notoriety, the *Western World* had before the end of its fourth month won a circulation of twelve hundred copies, which in that day was regarded as phenomenal. In fact, nobody who pretended to an interest in public affairs could afford to miss its issues.

The *Western World's* second sensation was the furthering of the prosecution of Aaron Burr. Joseph H. Daviess, a Federalist, connected with the Marshall family, and then United States district attorney, prosecuted Burr in the federal court for Kentucky. Supported by his counsel, Henry Clay¹⁸ and John Allen, Burr himself appeared in court and gracefully and impressively refuting his accusers, secured from the grand jury a judgment of non-suit. At a ball given in honor of this event, Street was forcibly ejected from the ball-room; he took his revenge in a satirical ode, addressed to the ladies, from whom he pretended to seek the arbitration of his claims.

Meanwhile, events moved fast in the Western country. On November 27, 1806, appeared President Jefferson's proclamation denouncing Burr, and shortly after this the plotter was arrested in Mississippi. The surmises of the Kentucky Federalists were thus justified, and the *Western World* triumphed over its adversaries. But in the mean-

¹⁷ Kentucky Historical Society *Register*, September, 1906.

¹⁸ Clay was at this time ignorant of the true character of Burr. Afterwards he became a friend and supporter of Street, and gave definite expression to his goodwill and confidence in the integrity of the latter's motives.

time its silent partner, Wood, had turned traitor. Corrupted by the dominant faction, he at first attempted to silence Street; but finding this impossible, for the active editor was not of that sort, and now scorned the man who had taught him to be a Federalist, the discredited Wood left for the national capital. There he was soon publishing the *Atlantic World*, and feebly seeking to bolster the cause of Burr, whom he had done so much to expose to public censure.

For another year the game was played with varying fortunes. Judge Sebastian was impeached, and resigned under proven guilt. Burr was acquitted, but with ignominy. The task of the *Western World* had been accomplished; but by this time anti-Federalism revived in Kentucky, and Federalism correspondingly declined. Street was sued for libel by Judge Innes, who obtained from a prejudiced jury a measure of damages sufficient to bring financial ruin to the defendant. He sold out his establishment to two of his printers, who kept the paper afloat for a few months, but by 1810 the enterprise collapsed.

Street's later career is worth noting here, as typical of border life. Removing to Illinois, he secured in 1827, through his friend Henry Clay, appointment to the Indian agency at Prairie du Chien, Wis. Therein he was a faithful public servant, and throughout the Winnebago and Black Hawk uprisings was discreet and efficient. But by very reason of this efficiency he encountered the hostility of the great fur companies, who did not approve his desire to civilize and educate the unfortunate and wayward red men. The traders succeeded in securing his removal from the Winnebago agency; but as good Indian agents were rare, he was soon reappointed to the service, being placed this time in charge of the trans-Mississippi Sauk and Foxes, in Iowa, where he died in 1840.¹⁹

Upon the demise of the *Western World*, Humphrey Marshall established at Frankfort the *American Republic* (begun June 26, 1810), pledged to support Federalism.

¹⁹ *Annals of Iowa*, third series, ii, pp. 82-105.

This, with the *Palladium*, and the *Argus of Western America* (founded in 1808), sufficiently supplied the Frankfort public until the close of our period.²⁰

The history of the Louisville press is more prosaic than that of Frankfort. Founded in 1778 by George Rogers Clark, as a basis of his operations against the British in the Illinois, the settlement at the Falls of the Ohio was for many years so exposed to the danger of Indian forays that its growth was slow. The nineteenth century had opened before the town had either church, school, or newspaper.

In 1793, at the little Vermont village of Fairhaven, on Lake Champlain, there was established a local newspaper called the *Farmer's Library*, owned and edited by an Irish politician, Matthew Lyon, Fairhaven's founder and most prominent citizen. His head-printer, obtained from Windsor, was the well-known Judah P. Spooner, founder of the printing craft in Vermont, and uncle of Wyman Spooner, later one of Wisconsin's lieutenant-governors. With Spooner and Lyon was associated as apprentice to the trade, a young man born of a good family in Windsor, named Samuel Vail.²¹

Elected to Congress in 1797 as an anti-Federalist, Lyon engaged the following year in a notorious encounter with a fellow member, Roger Griswold; and having written and published a scurrilous letter concerning the President was one of the first victims of the Alien and Sedition laws,²² being fined \$1,000 (later remitted by special act of Congress) and imprisoned for four months. After serving out the greater part of a second term in Congress, to which he was triumphantly re-elected by his admiring constituents, Lyon concluded to emigrate to Kentucky, a region better suited to his Democratic sentiments and pugnacious manner.

In 1800 he set out for the trans-Alleghany, taking Vail with him, and type, paper, and press followed them over the mountains on pack-horses. Finding that Louisville was without a newspaper, the newcomers determined

²⁰ Perrin, pp. 42-49.

²¹ Genealogy of Vail family (New York, 1902).

²² John Bach McMaster, *History of the United States* (New York, 1885), ii. pp. 363-366.

to make their stand in that village, where on January 12, 1801, appeared the *Farmer's Library, or Ohio Intelligencer*, named after its Vermont predecessor, and ostensibly edited and published by Vail. Lyon had furnished the outfit; but as he withdrew from Louisville after about two years, Vail bought out his interest and continued the journal on his own account. The sheet was insignificant in size, and only fragmentary files now exist.²³

It is not necessary here to follow the subsequent varied and picturesque career of Lyon as Kentucky legislator and Congressman, and Congressional delegate from Arkansas; but of Vail it may be said that his mercurial temperament easily led him into comradeship with the wild young men of the early West. A law case is on record, wherein he sued a neighbor for \$45, for "cash won from you at vantoan"—a phonetic rendition of the French game, *vingt-et-un*. At the end of seven years of editorial life, which probably yielded him but a slender income, he secured a commission in the regular army, distinguished himself for gallantry on the battlefield of New Orleans, and retired to civil life, finally settling down as a planter in Louisiana.

Several other journalistic experiments were undertaken in Louisville during the first decade of the nineteenth century. A paper called *Western American*, begun at Bardstown September 6, 1803, was two years later removed to Louisville. Its owner, Francis Peniston, a type of the wandering and often poverty-stricken editor and printer of the time, migrated thence to St. Louis, but in 1814 we find him proposing to establish the *Backwoodsman* at Lexington. On November 24, 1807, there was established the *Louisville Gazette and Western Advertiser*, published for a few months by Joseph Charles, who founded the first newspaper in St. Louis. In 1810, there was also a *Louisville Correspondent*.

But the first permanently successful paper at this place was the *Western Courier*, begun by Nicholas Clarke in 1811. Although not attaining even the relative altitude of its later namesake, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Western*

²³ Ferrin, pp. 28-38.

Courier was nevertheless one of the best and most influential journals of its day, in the trans-Alleghany. Mann Butler, later historian of Kentucky and equally known as a classical student, was for awhile one of its editors. During the War of 1812-15, the *Courier* performed equal service with the *Lexington Reporter* in fanning the flame of patriotism, and in the display of enterprise in securing reports from the seat of war.

When Col. George Croghan, the brilliant young hero of the defense of Fort Stephenson, returned to his family home near Louisville to visit his father, the *Courier* indulged in glowing editorial comments, and its report of the banquet tendered him and the toasts drunk, was written in an enthusiastic vein. For the hero of the occasion, this sentiment was proposed:

Col. Croghan—the son of a gallant soldier of the Revolution, and the nephew of Gen. George Rogers Clark. Well might he be expected to perform his duty and well *has* he performed it.

With too great optimism, the final toast was worded:

The combined Armies of the North—with the talents and patriotism of experienced Generals, aided by a just cause, in sanguinary hope, the American standard is waving triumphantly at Montreal.

References to new steamboats on Western waters abound in the files of the *Courier* for 1815 and 1816. We are insistently told that too long have the Western people been tributary to the waggoners of Pennsylvania and Maryland. On December 17, 1815, the steamer "Ætna" arrived at Louisville from New Orleans in fifteen and a third days, or 368 hours; proving, says the editor, not only the possibility, but the practicability of stemming the current of these mighty waters. Thus were the rapidly changing conditions of the West weekly chronicled in the pages of its early press.

Aside from the three centres of Kentucky population—Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville—several of the smaller towns of the growing State secured public journals previous to the second war with Great Britain.

The appendix to the present article lists thirty-three files; but most of these papers were extremely short-lived. The chief exception to this statement is found in the *Western Citizen*, begun at Paris in 1808, and continued under the same name until 1878. For over fifty years of this time, it was in the hands of the Lyles, father and son.

The first Western magazine appears to have been *The Medley, or Monthly Miscellany*, published in Lexington for one year only, in 1803, by Daniel Bradford. Its contents comprised essays, short stories, and poems, both original and selected. An original article on the "Character of Thomas Jefferson," by Allen B. Magruder, was widely copied and miscredited to the London *Times*. The very existence of this early magazine had been quite forgotten until a bound volume was, some thirty years ago, discovered in the Lexington Library.²⁴

OHIO—1793.

It will be remembered that towards the close of 1788 the *Kentucke Gazette* announced the first settlement on Judge Symmes's grant on the north side of the Ohio, at the modern Cincinnati. Five years later (1793) this hamlet, which thus early had given promise of a considerable future, welcomed its first newspaper, entitled *Centinel of the North Western Territory*. The originator and editor of this little sheet was William Maxwell, a young immigrant from New Jersey, next year appointed postmaster. He adopted a liberal policy, as evidenced by his motto: "Open to all parties, influenced by none." But few examples of this publication, scarcely larger than an ordinary handkerchief, are known to exist.²⁵ In the copy for April 12, 1794,²⁶ the London news, as usual given the greatest prominence, is dated four and a half months earlier, while that from New

²⁴ W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati 1891), pp. 58-61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40. See account of Maxwell's later career in C. B. Galbreath, "Early Newspapers of Ohio," in *Ohio State Library Report*, 1901, pp. 3-16; and "First Newspaper of the Northwest Territory," in *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Publications*, xiii, pp. 332-349.

²⁶ Purchased by the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society at Cincinnati for \$148.

York had been fifty-six days in transit, and the report of Marietta happenings was eight days old. After three years of indifferent success "in stemming the rising tide of poverty," Maxwell disposed of the business to Edward Freeman, who at once changed the name of his new possession to *Freeman's Journal*. As such, the publication was continued until probably some time in 1801 when, having removed to the new capital at Chillicothe, its proprietor died, and with him the *Journal*.

Meanwhile, a rival purveyor of news had appeared, the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, whose first number was dated May 28, 1799. The secondary title was soon dropped, but the *Western Spy* made for itself more than a local reputation. Its founder was Joseph Carpenter, one of the earliest New Englanders to settle at Cincinnati, and a man whose personal popularity contributed largely to such professional success as he managed to win.

The *Spy* was alert to serve the young community, and in many directions was a progressive and enterprising journal. While somewhat inclined to Federalism it was not aggressively political. Having secured the privilege of printing the Territorial laws, Carpenter announces in his number for April 9, 1800, that there will be no issue for three weeks, because of the pressing necessity of publishing the acts of legislature. Again, in June, 1801, the *Spy* suspended for three weeks because its stock of print paper had been exhausted.

One gathers little from its news columns that may be considered local in character; but the advertisements, as usual, throw some light on early life in the West. For instance: In April, 1802, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee advertises for a runaway slave, offering \$50 reward for his return. The same year, a town library is reported to be in process of formation; and the first school for young ladies will teach reading for 250 cents a quarter, reading and sewing for \$3.00, and reading, writing, and sewing for fifty cents additional.²⁷

²⁷ *Cincinnati and Hamilton County* (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 256.

CENTINEL of the North-Western TERRITORY.

Open to all parties—but influenced by none.

(Vol. I.)

S. A. T. B. R. D. A. Y, November 9, 1793.

(Num. 1.)

The Printer of the CENTINEL of the North-Western TERRITORY to the Public.

HAVING arrived at *Cincinnati*, he has applied himself to print which has been the principal object of his removal to this country, the Publication of a *Newspaper*.

This country is in its infancy, and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, without taking away the lives of men in the field, have swept away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of a regular and certain trade from the Mississippi, deprives this country in a great measure, of money at the present time. Trade are discouragements, nevertheless, I am led to believe the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press* from its known utility will receive proper encouragement.

men of public spirit will consider the undertaking as a proper object of attention, and hope to contribute, in their own personal interest, but the interest of the public and the coming time.

The M O N K.

C A L A I S.

A POOR monk of the order of St. Francis came into the room to beg something for his convent. No man cares to have his virtues the sport of contingencies— or one man may be generous, as another man is, puffed—*ad nos, quo ad bene*—or be as it may—for there is no regular reasoning upon the ebbs and flows of our humours; they may depend upon the same causes, for aught I know, which influence the tides themselves— it would oft be no discredit to us suppose it was so; I in future

The rest of his outline may be given in few strokes; one might put it into the hair of any one to design, for 'twas neither elegant nor otherwise, but as character and expression made it so: it was a thin, spare, for something above the common size, if it not the distinction by a bend forwards in figure—but it was the attitude of entrance and as it now stands, pretented to my imagination, it gained more than it lost by it.

When he had entered the room three, I es, he stood still; and having his left hand on his breast, (a slender white staff which he journey'd being in his right when I had got close up to him, he introduced himself with the little story of the way of his convent, and the poverty of his order—and did it with to simple a grace—and an air of deprecation was there in the whole of his look and figure—I was bewitched not to have been struck with it—
A better reason was, I had preferred

After ten years of publication, in which prosperity freely alternated with financial difficulties, Carpenter sold the *Western Spy* to David Carney, who changed its name to the *Whig*, which made its bow to the public on April 13, 1809.

In the second number of the *Whig*, Carney announces that he has associated with himself Ephraim Morgan, "a young man well-known for his good morals and close attention to business." Despite this cheerful prospect the *Whig* put forth only fifty-eight numbers, and thereafter the paper became the *Advertiser*, which was established June 13, 1810, and continued throughout the War of 1812-15. Morgan afterwards became associated with the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

Meanwhile, Carpenter had begun a new *Western Spy*, the first number of which was sent out in 1810. Carpenter himself enlisted in the volunteer militia in 1812, and attained the rank of captain. Dying two years later, from exposure in the line of duty, he was accorded the honor of a military funeral. The paper was continued after his death, being finally merged (1823) into the *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*.²⁸

We come now to the ancestor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, which previous to the War of Secession became one of the best known and most influential dailies in the Mississippi Valley. This little sheet was known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, and even after merging with the *Gazette* in 1815, the weekly edition of the latter was for some time issued as *Liberty Hall*, a title that had endeared itself to hundreds of subscribers.

The founder of this pioneer journal, established in 1804, was Rev. John W. Browne, an original and interesting personality in early Ohio, member of its first constitutional convention, and "printer of the laws of the United States." He was a pronounced Republican-Democrat and supported the Jeffersonian policy with vigor.

With the elder Browne was associated in 1809 his brother Samuel, later (1824) editor of the *Cincinnati Emporium*.

²⁸ *Cincinnati and Hamilton County*, p. 256.

Upon the death of the senior editor, early in 1813, Samuel took into partnership his chief printer, J. H. Looker, a relative of Governor Othniel Looker, and the statement is at that time made that the enterprise was an unexampled success, having two thousand subscribers. Undoubtedly this was a larger circulation than that of any other Ohio Valley paper during the period under consideration.

Liberty Hall's popularity apparently arose from the fact that it stood stoutly for Western interests, and had the foresight to see wherein these lay. This policy led to continual mention of the resources of the Ohio Valley and evidences of its rapid growth. The paper is therefore richer in materials for Western history than were most of its contemporaries or predecessors. On May 26, 1811, for example, it is reported that the barge "Cincinnati" has arrived from New Orleans in sixty-eight days—the first rigged vessel to reach this port from below. It had a hundred-foot keel, and was warped over the Falls at Louisville by eighteen men in half a day. In December, it is noticed that "the steamboat" has arrived from Louisville, having made the hundred and eighty miles in forty-five hours. During the Tippecanoe campaign, and the War of 1812-15, reports from the field are full and sympathetic. Appeals are made for blankets and clothing, to be forwarded to the army from *Liberty Hall* office.

The statement is frequently made that the *Cincinnati Gazette* was begun in 1806 and bought out *Liberty Hall* in 1815.²⁹ It appears, however, that this results from a misunderstanding of the relation of the two papers. The *Gazette*, begun in 1815 by one of the former editors of the *Whig*, secured the good will and circulation of *Liberty Hall*, whose popularity had begun to wane because of the withdrawal of the brothers Brownie. Shortly after this consolidation there was taken into the office as apprentice, a young lad who was later to become proprietor and printer, and for many years the power behind the throne of the most influential newspaper of the Ohio Valley. This was Stephen

²⁹S. S. Knabenshue, "Press of Ohio," in Ohio Centennial Anniversary Celebration, 1903, *Complete Proceedings* (Columbus, 1903), pp. 565-581.

l'Hommedieu, who with such editors as Charles Hammond and William D. Gallagher, ably supported the Free Soil cause in a community whose material interests were with the slave states.

By act of Congress approved May 17, 1800, the capital of the Northwest Territory was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe, and in this latter village was begun, either late in April or early in May, by Nathaniel Willis, the third Ohio newspaper, the afterwards famous *Scioto Gazette*. As already stated, Edward Freeman about this time moved thither his *Journal* from Cincinnati; but he appears to have died in October of the following year, and his outfit was purchased by Willis, who merged the two enterprises.

The grandfather of Nathaniel P. Willis, the poet, Editor Willis was Boston born and proud of the fact that he had been a member of the famous Tea-party of Revolutionary days. Learning the printer's trade, he became owner, during the Revolution, of the Boston *Independent Chronicle*. At the close of the war he removed to Martinsburgh, Va., and there for some years published the *Potomac Guardian*. Coming to Chillicothe, his new paper, the *Scioto Gazette*, had much influence in directing the course of Western politics.⁸⁰ Willis was one of the first to suspect the character of Aaron Burr's projects in the Western country, and his editorial denunciations at Chillicothe aided the cause of the *Western World* at the Kentucky seat of government. The *Scioto Gazette* has appeared regularly under the same name to the present time, and is entitled to the distinction of being the Western newspaper of longest continuous publication.

By 1805, the little capital of Ohio had grown important enough to support more than one journalistically-minded printer. On July 27 of that year, the *Ohio Herald* was founded by Thomas G. Bradford & Co. On February 19, 1807, R. D. Richardson began to issue the *Fredonian*, which next year secured the State printing, and flourished until merged in the *Scioto Gazette* after the War of 1812-15. A similar fortune attended the *Supporter*, begun (September

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 566, 567.

29, 1808) as a Federalist organ by George Nashee and George Denny.³¹ The *Independent Republican* was established at Chillicothe September 8, 1809, by Peter Parcels and was surviving in 1811.

The first settlement in Ohio was Marietta, but it had no newspaper of its own until after several of its neighbors were provided. The earliest public journal in this community was begun in 1801, being Republican in politics and ambitiously styled *The Ohio Gazette and the Territorial and Virginia Herald*. Its founders (Wyllis Silliman and Elijah Backus) explained that the latter portion of the title was due to hope for patronage from across the river.³² It was not long before Silliman was appointed to the lucrative position of register of the federal land-office at Zanesville, and retired from the editorship; while Backus disposed of the concern to Samuel Fairlamb, a Philadelphia printer, and moved to Illinois.

Meanwhile, a Federalist organ called the *Commentator and Marietta Recorder* was launched September 16, 1807, but continued scarcely three years. In October, 1810, a Massachusetts lawyer named Caleb Emerson, later eminent in the Ohio courts, began the *Western Spectator*, which was Federalistic in tone. The *Spectator* was not a little given to humor of the rough-and-ready frontier variety; as witness this marriage notice in an early number:

Married. In Boston, Jonathan Wild to Miss Harriet Joy.

First Courtship, wild with joy extatic,
The brighten'd hours of life beguil'd;
Then marriage snatch'd the joy emphatic,
And left the parties *doubly* Wild.

Of the interior towns of the State, those on Zane's Trace had the earliest development. In 1810 there were fourteen newspapers in Ohio,³³ four of which were at Chillicothe, three at Cincinnati, two at Marietta, and one each at Zanesville, New Lisbon, Steubenville, St. Clairsville, and Lebanon.

³¹ Venable, p. 41.

³² *History of Washington County, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1881), p. 413.

³³ Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), ii, p. 524.

Of these, the Lebanon *Western Star* was the oldest, and is still published under the same name. The *Star*, in common with several other early Ohio newspapers, was founded by a young and ambitious lawyer, John McLean, who during many subsequent years (1829-61) was a justice of the United States supreme court. McLean began the *Star* on February 13, 1807, and continued it for about three years. Meanwhile his younger brother, Nathaniel, had learned the printer's trade with the Cincinnati *Liberty Hall*. When John sought a broader field, Nathaniel carried on the enterprise for some years, and afterwards inaugurated at St. Paul, Minn., the first newspaper of the then far Northwest.³⁴

The Zanesville *Muskingum Messenger* was founded in 1809 by E. T. Cox, father of the well-known Congressman "Sunset Cox." On December 8, 1810, the words *Ohio Intelligencer* were added to the title.

At Steubenville we find *The Western Herald and Steubenville Gazette*, which Lowry and Miller established in 1807. Later, James Wilson of the Philadelphia *Aurora* settled in Steubenville, and purchasing the local paper made it the principal Democratic mouthpiece for the region roundabout, a position which it occupied for over thirty years.³⁵ The father of William Dean Howells tells of a visit made by him to Wilson's office when a small lad, during which he asserted his stout belief in Federalism, whereat the veteran editor appeared greatly amused.³⁶

St. Clairsville, neighbor to Zanesville, was the seat of the *Impartial Observer*, established March 25, 1809, by John C. Gilkison & Co. Four years later (1813) appeared the *Ohio Federalist*, long conducted by the brilliant lawyer Charles Hammond, later of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. Hammond won high repute at the bar, as well as in journalism, was warmly admired by Chief Justice Marshall, and declined an offer of a seat on the United States supreme bench.

³⁴ Knabenshue, pp. 568, 569.

³⁵ J. A. Caldwell, *History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio* (Wheeling, 1880), p. 482.

³⁶ William Cooper Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1895) p. 37.

When, about 1817, he left for the ampler field of Cincinnati, his St. Clairsville paper suspended publication.³⁷

Columbus did not become the state capital until just after the close of our period. Its first paper was removed there about 1813 from Worthington, where it had in 1811 been started by James Kilbourne as the *Western Intelligencer*. Changing hands several times, it was in 1815 styled the *Columbus Gazette*, and for many years was so published as the weekly edition of the daily *Ohio State Journal*.³⁸

The first newspaper in the Western Reserve was the Warren *Trump of Fame*, begun in 1812 by Thomas D. Webb.³⁹ Cleveland had no journal until six years later; but Lancaster, founded chiefly by immigrants from the Pennsylvania town of that name, was supplied with newspapers at an early day. Here were established in 1806 the *Western Oracle and Farmers' Weekly Museum*, "printed by J. Hinkle." In 1810 appeared the *Political Observatory and Fairfield Register*, published by George Sanderson for Peter Parcels & Co.; and in 1811, the *Independent Press*.

The only remaining papers which come within our period are the *Ohio Patriot*, of New Lisbon (1809), the *Fredonian* of Circleville (1811), the *Express and Republican Standard*, of Zanesville (1812), and the *Freeman's Chronicle* of Franklinton (1812). Copies of these are listed in the appendix.

The German press in the West was first developed in the Ohio settlements. In Lancaster, Jacob Dietrich began the publication in 1807 of *Der Ohio Adler*. Later, an English edition, the *Eagle*, was inaugurated, and this has continued to the present.⁴⁰ New Lisbon witnessed another attempt to establish a German weekly, in 1808, when William D. Lepper started *Der Patriot am Ohio*; but after a year's dismal experience in this form, the paper appeared in English as the *Ohio Patriot*. Lepper continued at the head of this publication until 1833, and it is still issued—the third paper

³⁷ Venable, p. 393.

³⁸ Knabenshue, p. 471.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 572, 573.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

in the State to retain both name and place of publication from that time to this.⁴¹

WESTERN VIRGINIA—1803.

In the development of a local press, trans-Alleghany Virginia was less enterprising than the neighboring region of Pennsylvania, or even Kentucky and Ohio. The first paper known to have been published in the district was the *Monongahela Gazette* at Morgantown, dating from 1803;⁴² at Wheeling, the *Repository*, under one Armstrong, appeared in 1807,⁴³ and at Charlestown, in 1810, the *Farmer's Register*. All these were insignificant and ephemeral sheets, with small influence on the destinies of the Western world.

INDIANA—1804.

Indiana boasted of but one newspaper previous to the War of 1812-15; that was begun in 1804 at Vincennes, the capital of the Territory, coincident with the first public journal in New Orleans, four years before a similar beginning at St. Louis, and at a time when there were but five others in the entire Northwest Territory.

Elihu Stout, the energetic promoter of this enterprise, was a Kentuckian, who had been employed as a printer on the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first paper in that State. In 1803 he went to Vincennes to view the prospects for the opening there of a printing and publishing office. His project was warmly encouraged by both citizens and territorial officials, and in high spirits he returned to Frankfort to purchase his outfit. While paper, types, and press were being conveyed to Vincennes by slow-moving river boat, Stout himself travelled thither overland by horseback, and arrived at the seat of his new activities in April, 1804.

It was June, however, before his materials were finally unloaded at the Vincennes levee; and in July the delighted inhabitants welcomed the first appearance of the *Indiana*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 570; *History of Columbiana County, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 114.

⁴² Samuel T. Wiley, *History of Monongalia County, W. Va.* (Kingwood, W. Va., 1883), p. 479.

⁴³ J. H. Newton, *History of Panhandle, West Va.* (Wheeling, 1879), p. 289.

Gazette. Stout had gratefully named the journal in honor of its Lexington progenitor. For eighteen months or more the weekly edition regularly appeared, when a severe calamity overtook the young proprietor—his office building, with all its precious contents of machinery and material, was destroyed by fire.

Nothing daunted, a second outfit was ordered from Kentucky, and the resurrected journal again appeared on the "glorious Fourth" of 1807, and with the smiling title of *Western Sun*. The new dawn was propitious, for ever since that day the *Sun* has continued to illuminate the earth in and around "Old Vincennes."⁴⁴

As circulation increased and improving finances warranted, successive assistants came to aid Editor Stout; most notable of these was Jonathan Jennings, the well-known Free Soil candidate for Territorial delegate. The ruling clique of the new Territory, entrenched at its capital, were of Virginia and Kentucky origin, and eager that slavery should be introduced into the prospective State. This, Jennings stoutly opposed, basing his contention on the non-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787. Seeing, however, that no headway could be made at Vincennes, he abandoned personal agitation in that region for the southeastern portion of the Territory, where the settlers were in favor of free labor, and won his contention.

During the campaign the *Western Sun*, however, preserved a neutral attitude and freely published communications from both sides. The pro-slavery candidate, Thomas Randolph, considered himself personally aggrieved, and applied to Stout for the name of the author of the objectionable Free-Soil communications, thinking that they came from Jennings's own pen. But to his surprise, Stout named as the author a Dr. Elias McNamee, who being a Quaker refused Randolph's challenge to a duel, and instead had his opponent bound over to keep the peace. This course greatly angered Randolph, who regarded it as a particularly

⁴⁴*Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, ii, pp. 107-109; John Law, *Vincennes* (Louisville, 1839), p. 137; Henry S. Cauthorne, *History of the City of Vincennes* (Vincennes, 1901), p. 57. I am indebted to the Hon. Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., of Indianapolis for the foregoing helpful references.

INDIANA GAZETTE

Independence is my happiness, and I relate things as they are, without respect to place or persons. PAINES

[No. 2.]

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7.

[VOL. 1.]

VINCENNES, (C. T.) PRINTED BY J. STOUT, ON ST. LOUIS STREET.

TO THE PUBLIC.

AT length after great trouble and much expense the Public is presented with the first number of the *Indiana Gazette*. Without deviating from the general rule of News-Paper Printers, in the first number the Editor addresses the Public, and lays down the principles which shall govern the publication. His objects shall be to collect and publish such information as will give a correct account of the productions and actual advances of the Territory, and to give the public a view of the political progress—Original Editors, Politicians, Merch, Lawyers, Agriculturists, and on

sent by post, the person subscribing must pay the postage,

Advertisements of no more length than breadth, inserted three times for one dollar and fifty cents, and every five cents for each continuance.

By Authority,

FIFTH CONGRESS

UNITED STATES,

at the *Staff* *Session*.

pages of this act, or until the death of such person, as aforesaid, as the case may be; which aforesaid shall be ascertained and certified by the register of the Treasury in the same manner, and under the same restrictions as are contained in the act passed the eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, intituled "An act for the relief of the persons therein mentioned or described." Provided, That the compensation of such person shall have been received by any commission or other officer appointed to a position, as aforesaid, which is first to be returned by such officer to the Treasury of the United States, or shall be deducted from the salary of such person directed to be paid by the act.

NATHL. MACON,

Printer of the *House of Representatives*.

fore the wind, some of the officers who had been appointed during good behavior as judges respecting any controversy wherein the owners of the ships proceeded to, wrongs and were quite opposed to such hazardous ketches; capt. Jesteron displayed all their, and with them left his detachment—how ever this was a trifling evil, as he had determined never to come on. The ship has been running now more than three years, in all the trade and generally without a complaint, the officers being well paid keep on good spirits; some of the crew are feeble, and the whole well and prudent among the owners are to furnish of a tonnage that they are almost ready to abandon the property a full year the ship was on the water, she was a fine vessel, and she has been the ship into the Mississippi, up the Missouri, and five times at

pernicious form of insult, and he addressed to the *Sun* an article stigmatizing McNamee as "a scoundrel no longer worthy of my notice. I pronounce you a base slanderer, an infamous liar, and a contemptible coward." There has been preserved a letter by Randolph's duello "friend," wherein the second compliments his principal on this announcement, thus "acquitting yourself agreeable to the rules of modern etiquette."⁴⁵

Quite in keeping with the methods of the early press, the *Sun* contains but slight reference to so important an event as the state constitutional convention held at Corydon in 1816, and no notice whatever of the admission of Indiana to the sisterhood of states. These were events obviously familiar to its readers, therefore why mention them at all? In 1845, Stout and his son (who had been taken into partnership) sold their establishment to John Rice Jones.

The second Indiana paper in the order of issue is, so far as now known, the Madison *Western Eagle*, whose first number dates back to 1813. But practically nothing is known of it, save a single reference to its publication.⁴⁶

MISSOURI—1808.

Although not strictly within the Ohio Valley, geographically speaking, Missouri lies at the foot thereof, and its early newspaper history is closely connected with that of the trans-Alleghany region, and should here be included.

In 1796, an ambitious young Irishman, named Joseph Charles, emigrated to Philadelphia and learned the art of printing in the then well-known establishment of Matthew Carey. Along with hundreds of other restless spirits, he moved to Kentucky early in the nineteenth century, but finding that field pre-empted, soon pushed on to St. Louis.⁴⁷ This old-time French village was soon astir with unwonted activity because of the recent introduction of American

⁴⁵William W. Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1883), pp. 383-387; J. P. Dunn, Jr., *Indiana* (Boston and New York, 1904), pp. 399, 400.

⁴⁶*Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, ii, p. 120.

⁴⁷J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 902-905; F. L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 1804-21, pp. 99-103.

influences, incident to the Louisiana Purchase and the explorations of Lewis and Clark and the horde of frontiersmen who were now beating trails through the trans-Mississippi wilderness.

Here Charless saw his opportunity for a career, and on July 12, 1808, issued the first number of the *Missouri Gazette*,⁴⁸ subscriptions for which were "payable in flour, corn, beef, or pork." Like other early journals in the West, the *Gazette* was a small affair—measuring only 10 x 15 inches, and consisting of four pages of three columns each. The first issue was printed on foolscap writing paper, in the absence of more appropriate stock. As in its prototypes, local news is meagre. In the third number (July 26), the earliest now available, the first and last pages are occupied with a London letter of April 22; the second contains news from Paris and our Eastern states; the third, an account of a Fourth of July dinner at the village of Harrison, in Indiana Territory—the toasts proposed, and the orations and ode delivered. The trial of some Indians for the murder of a white man is casually cited, with the statement that "sentence of death will be pronounced on them to-day." This announcement is also made:

It is with heartfelt pleasure we announce the patriotism displayed by the St. Charles troop of horse, a few days ago; they offered their services to accompany Gen. Clark up the Missouri, in order to protect and assist in the building of the intended Fort, at or near the Osage River.⁴⁹

On November 30, 1809, the name of the publication was changed to *Louisiana Gazette*, in recognition of the name of the Territory as a whole; but when, three years later the State of Louisiana was erected and the remainder of the Territory organized as Missouri, the journal reverted to its original title.

John Bradbury, the famous English naturalist, who visited St. Louis and ascended the Missouri River in 1810,

⁴⁸ No example of this number is known to exist. The *St. Louis Republic*, which claims lineal descent from the *Gazette*, has a copy of the third issue (July 26, 1808) and an almost complete file from that date.

⁴⁹ Having reference to Fort Osage, in what is now Jackson County, Mo.

Missouri Gazette

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22, 1856. (No. 53)

ST. LOUIS, LOUISIANA,
PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH C. BLESS,
PRINTED AT THE TRIUMPH.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE
MISSOURI GAZETTE.

Three Dollars per annum, paid in advance,
or two dollars and fifty cents if the year is not
completed. Advertisements not exceeding a square,
will be inserted one week for One Dollar, and
afterwards for every continuance; those of a
greater length in proportion.

LINES.

Extempore, by Thomas Paine, July, '03.

Quick is the lightning's vivid flash
The poet's eye o'er Europe rolls,
Sees battles rage—hears tempests crash,
And dimly at horror's threatening scowl.

Mark ambition's ruthless King,
With crimson'd banners scath the globe;
While traitor after conquest wins,

FIRST PAPER IN MISSOURI. FROM ORIGINAL IN AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

We are daily led to see the necessity of printed by Cobden in London, and by these
such a step by the engraving proofs of a month ago, and after a year's delay,
the inevitable hostility of those men to us, do not conclude with us, that there is a
Our readers will perhaps recollect a great necessity in case British declares
British agent of the name of William
Cobden, and a redoubtable city of Phila-
delphia, and these things were con-
taining an effort to overturn the govern-
ment of our United States, and reduce us
one more to the state of slaves to
George III. The fellow when living in
Philadelphia was paid and supported in
his reasonable writings by the British
and Scotch merchants, throughout all the
seignior; his paper was not only subser-
ved for but when a jury had found him ig-
norant and dangerous to a libel on Dr. Bull's
leavy dances for a libel on Dr. Bull's
who was delamed by Cobden, not so much
for any errors in his professional opinions
as for the unpardonable offence in the eyes
of a British spy—that Robb was one of
the patriots of 1776—who signed the
declaration of American independence.

printed by Cobden in London, and by these
proofs of a month ago, and after a year's delay,
do not conclude with us, that there is a
great necessity in case British declares
war against us, to which the merchants
of the friends of Cobden, still residing
among us, there is for the Spaniards
patriots to reach the conduct of French
emissaries—then we conclude that reader
to be an adherent of Britain.

EXTRACT.

If for any one most dear to me, were
destined to lose my or his life in a just
war, I know of no case in which I should
live would be lost with so little regret,
on my part, as in beholding the
TOWNS of America, and in BURKING
their unprincipled and UNLAWFUL un-
der the name.

These are the sentiments of a man
who reflected many years in Philadelphia
—who when he was fined for the libel
on Dr. Bull, had repeated offers to have

tells us that Indian chiefs would stalk into the office of the *Gazette* and gravely seat themselves there, holding a newspaper before their faces for hours at a time, in imitation of the actions of white men. When Bradbury was upon the upper river, somewhere near the present Bismarck, N. Dakota, he met a chieftain who at once lifted his buffalo robe before his face, and pretended to scan it, as though it were a newspaper. He recognized in Bradbury one of the white men whom he had seen peruse newspapers in the office of the *St. Louis Gazette*, and took this means of indicating his recognition.⁵⁰

ILLINOIS—1814.

When, in 1809, Illinois was detached from Indiana and erected into a separate Territory, Ninian Edwards, a young Kentucky lawyer, became its governor. The Territorial capital was the old French town of Kaskaskia, as yet without a printing office. The first edition of the Illinois Territorial Laws was printed in 1813 at the governor's old home, Russellville, Ky., by Matthew Duncan, the owner of a small journal entitled *Farmer's Friend*. The following year, Duncan, who in time came to be a prominent figure in Illinois politics, began the publication at Kaskaskia of the *Illinois Herald*, the first journal in the new Territory, which probably had not until this time an English-speaking population sufficient to support a newspaper in our language.⁵¹

In 1815, Duncan disposed of his newspaper interests to Robert Blackwell and Daniel P. Cook, who the following year changed the name of the *Herald* to *Western Intelligencer*. Two years later, it assumed the title of *Illinois Intelligencer*,

⁵⁰ John Bradbury, "Travels," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1903), v, p. 89.

⁵¹ It has been asserted that Duncan began a paper at Kaskaskia in 1809—see John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (Belleville, Ill., 1852), p. 310; Venable, p. 42. But the Russellville imprint of the Laws of 1813 has since been discovered—see Edmund J. James, "Territorial Laws of Illinois," in *Illinois Historical Library Publications*, ii, p. 8. There has also recently come to light a file of the *Illinois Herald* itself—see J. H. Burnham, "An Early Illinois Newspaper," in *Id.*, No. 8, pp. 179-189.

In 1830, Duncan electioneered for his brother Joseph, who was elected governor, and two years later participated in the Black Hawk War.

and in 1820 was removed to Vandalia, which had now become the capital of the State.

The second Illinois paper does not fall within our period; but it may be mentioned as a matter of interest that this did not appear until 1818, when Henry Eddy, a well-known lawyer and literary man of his day, established the *Shawnee Chief* at Shawneetown.⁵²

CONCLUSION.

We have seen that the early journalists of the Ohio Valley were often in sad straits because so far removed from their sources of supply. Press, types, paper, and ink are heavy, bulky articles, ill adapted to the rough methods of pioneer transportation by Conestoga wagons, pack horses, and flatboats.

The belated arrival of paper from the East often necessitated borrowing from more fortunate contemporaries; even stocks of government cartridge paper were occasionally loaned from the forts, to tide over the difficulty; and now and then the famine was so complete that publication must needs be suspended for weeks at a time. So pressing was the necessity for a trans-Alleghany paper-mill that one was established at the Kentucky hamlet of Royal Spring (now Georgetown) in 1793.⁵³

The proprietors were the Rev. Elijah Craig and two partners named Parker. Craig had achieved prominence as a Baptist preacher, first in Virginia, later in Kentucky; but in the latter State his ministerial reputation becoming somewhat clouded, he turned to secular enterprises, first beginning in 1787 a rope-walk at Frankfort. Believing that a paper-mill would be useful to the community, he determined to utilize therefor the power of a stream gushing from a great spring, which had been dubbed "Royal" because of its size. Experiments began in 1791, but it was not until March of 1793 that there were produced the first sheets of white paper, which were drawn out and finished by hand. Craig's advertisement for clean white rags

⁵²James and Loveless, "Newspapers in Illinois prior to 1860," *Id.*, No. 1, p. 64.

⁵³Venable p. 43.

appears in the Frankfort newspapers of that time. The product was of fair quality and supplied the Western market for many years. This first mill was burned about 1837. The second paper-mill west of the Alleghanies was established at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville, Pa.), in 1796, by Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless, who had received their training in Eastern Pennsylvania.⁵⁴ The earliest paper-mill north of the Ohio was opened in the Miami Valley in 1814.

It was 1820 before a type foundry was established in the trans-Alleghany. The newspaper publishers of the period now under consideration used their body fonts, which had been obtained at such great cost and toil from the Atlantic Coast, until they literally were worn out in the service. Many of the newspaper issues that have come down to us are scarcely legible, especially if the editor had been several years in business, or had secured his stock from some other Western printing office. Display type and cuts not infrequently were made by hand from basswood blocks, for the frontier publisher (usually his own compositor and printer) was of necessity a jack of many trades.

The pioneer printers had many ink-making recipes. Usually, imported powders were mixed with decoctions made from oak-galls and the bark of trees. The product, often indifferent in character, was daubed by hand on the type by means of inking-balls, cushioned with dog- or buck-skin.

The hand-presses in use by these printers were heavy and clumsy, and much fatiguing manual labor was required in pulling the paper through; seldom more than fifty to seventy-five sheets could in this manner be worked off in an hour.

Despite the varying origins and fortunes of the pioneer journals of the Ohio Valley, they possessed certain general characteristics. These were in part the outgrowth of local conditions in communities far removed from the tidewater centres of population, but in the main were such as are common to most American newspapers of the period, especially in the smaller towns.

⁵⁴Craig, *History of Pittsburgh*, p. 278.

Far less than the journals of to-day did they reflect the local point of view, for there is an almost complete dearth of home news: the columns being chiefly devoted to foreign and Eastern "intelligence," political correspondence and occasional discussion, selected or contributed essays and poetry, and the ever-valuable and suggestive advertisements.

At first, almost all of these early papers were hospitable to contributors expressing all shades of opinion on public affairs; but after a time, we find them usually becoming bitterly partisan, and offering little if any opportunity for the expression of opinions differing from those of the editor.

While there were few editorials, as we know them, the early publisher contrived to give to his journal an unmistakable mark of individuality; contributions, news-notes, clippings, head-lines, and even advertisements, were popularly supposed to reflect the taste and bias of the editor. His arrangement of matter was orderly and consistent, making it easy for the scholar of to-day to consult his files; while as to literary form, he was apt to display more dignity than the editors of similar papers in our own time. Save in the course of personal vituperation, we find his words well chosen; and while his style and that of his correspondents seems to us prolix and turgid, it was quite in line with prevailing taste. While they often amuse us, they quite as often instruct.

Considering the time and the place, the early papers of the Ohio Valley were not lacking in enterprise. The very fact of their inauguration under the difficulties confronting their projectors, was in itself a display of masterly energy born of optimism.

Despite the fact that the pioneer journalist in the trans-Alleghany was apt to be somewhat of an itinerant, occasionally an adventurer, and frequently unsuccessful as a business manager, almost always was he a man to be reckoned with, and usually won prominence in at least the political affairs of his community. Especially in Ohio, we find in this fraternity not a few brilliant lawyers, who in the editorial

office began honorable public careers. Taken as a class, these path-breakers for the Ohio Valley press reflected credit on the profession of journalism, and did admirable service in the early development of the Middle West. Until we come to know them and their work, we fail to appreciate some of the underlying forces of our history.⁵⁵

⁵⁵In collecting data for this sketch, I have been greatly aided by Dr. Louis Phelps Kellogg, my research assistant on the staff of the Wisconsin Historical Library.

I have also had valuable suggestions from Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Hon. E. O. Randall and Hon. Charles B. Galbreath of Columbus, Ohio, Hon. Jacob P. Dunn, Jr., and Hon. Demarchus C. Brown of Indianapolis, Prof. James A. James of Evanston, Ill., and Hon. Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis. The librarians of the several libraries mentioned in the Appendix, have also rendered me their debtors through prompt and generous responses to inquiries concerning their files. I have been particularly favored, in this regard, with the assistance of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, and Mr. William C. Lans, librarian of Harvard University.

APPENDIX.

On the following pages are listed in detail files of the newspapers of the Ohio River Valley—Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri—from the beginnings of the press in each state through the year 1812, as reported by the various libraries cited. No attempt has been made to cover the field exhaustively, but many local libraries, as well as the great national collections, have been examined.

The best files of these early Western newspapers are to be found in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society and of Harvard University. Isaiah Thomas, in the preparation of his *History of Printing in America*, published in 1810, undertook to gather files of all American newspapers. By dint of much correspondence he amassed a collection which comprehensively represented the entire country and was especially rich in initial issues. In 1813 he presented this collection to the American Antiquarian Society, which he had founded in the previous year. Working in a similar direction at the same time was another scholar, who though placed at great disadvantage because of distance seems to have been peculiarly successful in his undertaking. This was Christoph Daniel Ebeling, professor of history in Hamburg, Germany. One of the most important sources which he used in his great work on the *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika*, published at Hamburg from 1793 to 1816, were the newspapers of the various states. His collection, numbering some 300 volumes and especially strong in the last decade of the 18th century, was, after his death in 1817, purchased with the rest of his library and presented to Harvard University.

Of the newspapers treated in our list, the collection of the American Antiquarian Society is represented by 60 different journals with 1,118 issues, that of Harvard University by 39 papers with 1,454 issues, that of the Library of Congress by 25 papers with 285 issues, and that of the Wisconsin Historical Society by 12 papers with 463 issues.

In the following list the arrangement is by states and the order of presentation chronological.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pittsburgh *Gazette* (begun July 29, 1786).

American Antiquarian Society: 1789, Nov. 28; 1790, Jan. 9; 1793, Feb. 23, Mch. 2, 23, July 27, Aug. 24; 1795, Dec. 12; 1797, Apr. 8; 1799, Dec. 7; 1804, June 8; 1807, Mch. 10; 1809, May 17; 1810, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 2, Apr. 6, July 20, 27, Aug. 7, Sept. 28, Nov. 2; 1811, Feb. 15, 22, Mch. 22, Apr. 5, 26—May 10.

Library of Congress: June 30, 1807—July 2, 1813, 2 vols.

Harvard University: 1795, Feb. 21, Mch. 14, May 23, June 13, July 18, Aug. 1, Nov. 14, Dec. 26; 1796, Apr. 15, May 14, 21, 28, June 18-July 16, 30, Aug. 13-Oct. 8, 22, 29, Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 10-31; 1797, Jan. 14-Apr. 8, 22, 29.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: Aug. 26, 1786-May 8, 1790; Nov. 2, 1793-Nov. 14, 1795; June, 23, 1798-Dec. 21, 1804; Aug. 9, 1811-Dec. 25, 1812. Some numbers missing.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1786-87), nos. 6 (imperfect), 8 (facsimile), 16-18, 27-31, 33-36 (34 imp.), 38-46 (42 and 43 imp.); vol. 2 (1787-88), nos. 56-59, 62, 64, 65, 67-69, 72, 84, 92, 104; vol. 3 (1788), nos. 107, 109; vol. 9 (1796), no. 507 (May 21); vol. 26 (1811), no. 1303 (Nov. 22 imp.).

Washington, *Western Telegraphe* (begun Aug. 17, 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, Sept. 18 (vol. 4, no. 162), Oct. 16 (vol. 4, no. 166); 1802, Mch. 22 (vol. 7, no. 345); 1807, July 4 (vol. 12, no. 618); new series 1810, Aug. 9 (vol. 1, no. 44).

Harvard University: 1795, Aug. 24 (vol. 1, no. 2), Sept. 1, 8, Nov. 10, Dec. 29; 1796, Mch. 1, 15-29, Apr. 19, May 10-31, June 21-Aug. 30, Sept. 13-Oct. 25, Nov. 15, 29, Dec. 13; 1797, Feb. 7, 14, Mch. 21, 28, Apr. 4-25.

Greensburg, *Farmer's Register* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Aug. 13 (vol. 3, no. 12), Sept. 10 (vol. 3, no. 16).

Harvard University: 1803, May 28 (vol. 3, no. 1), June 11, July 2-Aug. 27, Sept. 10-Oct. 29, Nov. 19, Dec. 10-31; 1804, Jan. 7, 14, 28, Feb. 11-25, Mch. 10, 31, Apr. 7, 21-May 5, 12, 26, June 16, 30, July 14, 28, Aug. 4, 18-Sept. 22, Oct. 6, Nov. 3, 16, 30, Dec. 14, 21; 1805, Jan. 4-Feb. 1, 22-Mch. 8, 22, Apr. 5-May 3.

Pennsylvania Historical Society: 1799-1803.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: June 21, 1799-April 24, 1802 (20 numbers missing).

Washington, *Herald of Liberty* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, Mch. 23 (vol. 4, no. 163).

Pittsburgh, *Tree of Liberty* (begun 1800).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, June 13 (vol. 1, no. 44), Sept. 12 (vol. 2, no. 57); 1803, May 7 extra (vol. 3, no. 143), 14 extra (vol. 3, no. 144); 1805, Aug. 10-24 (vol. 6, nos. 261-263), Dec. 24 (vol. 6, no. 281).

Library of Congress: Nov. 22, 1800.

Harvard University: 1802, Dec. 4, 25; 1803, Jan. 1-Feb. 5, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 9, 23-May 7 (+ extra), 14 (+ extra), 21, June 4 (+ extra), 11 (+ extra), July 2, 9 (+ suppl.)-Aug. 13, 27, Sept. 10-Oct. 15 (+ suppl.), 22 (+ suppl.), Nov. 19 (+ extra), 26, Dec. 10, 24; 1804, Jan. 7, Feb. 18, Mch. 3, 24, Apr. 2 (extra), 7, 23, May 5, 19, 26, June 16-Aug. 4, 13, 25. Sept. 8, Nov. 10, 17, Dec. 8; 1805, Jan. 5-19, Feb. 2, 23, Mch. 2, 23-Apr. 6, 20, 27 (+ extra), May 4-June 22, July 6 (+ extra), 20-Aug. 24, Sept. 7-Oct. 3, 15-Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 10, 13, 17, 31; 1806, Jan. 14-Feb. 11, Mch. 4, 28, May 6.

Washington, *Western Missionary Magazine* (begun 1802).

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: 1803-04.

Union, *Genius of Liberty and Fayette Advertiser*.

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, July 14 (vol. 6, no. 14), 21 (vol. 6, no. 15).

Pittsburgh, *The Commonwealth* (begun July 24, 1805).

American Antiquarian Society: 1805, July 24-Aug. 21 (vol. 1, nos. 1-5), Sept. 7 (vol. 1, no. 9), 21 (vol. 1, no. 14), Oct. 2 (vol. 1, no. 16), 23 (vol. 1, no. 22), Nov. 20-Dec. 4 (vol. 1, nos. 26-28); 1806, Feb. 5, 12 (vol. 1, nos. 37, 38), Mch. 5 (vol. 1, no. 41), Apr. 16 (vol. 1, no. 47), 23-May 28 (vol. 1, nos. 48-53), June 11 (vol. 1, no. 55), July 2 (vol. 1, no. 58), 9 (vol. 1, no. 59), 23 (vol. 1, no. 61), Aug. 20, 27 (vol. 2, nos. 65, 5), Sept. 17 (vol. 2, no. 8), 24 (vol. 2, no. 9); 1807, Feb. 13 (vol. 2, no. 31), Apr. 15 (vol. 2, no. 38), June 10 (vol. 2, no. 46); 1810, Aug. 20 (vol. 6, no. 33).

Harvard University: 1805, Nov. 6, 13; 1806, Jan. 1, 8, 29-Feb. 12, Mch. 12-Apr. 2, 30-May 21, June 4, 11, 25, July 9-23, Aug. 13, Sept. 24, Oct. 22, Nov. 19, Dec. 24; 1807, Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 7-Mch. 11, Apr. 22-May 6, June 24, July 15, Aug. 12, 19, Sept. 16, Oct. 21-Nov. 7, 18, Dec. 23, 30; 1808, Jan. 13, 27-Feb. 17, Mch. 2-16, 30, Apr. 6, 20-May 4, 18, June 15-July 6 (+ extra), 13-27, Aug. 17, 24, Sept. 7-21, Oct. 19, Nov. 2-16.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: July 15, 1811-Dec. 30, 1812.

Washington, *The Reporter* (begun Aug. 15, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Aug. 22-Sept. 19 (vol. 1, nos. 2-6), Oct. 10 (vol. 1, no. 9), 24 (vol. 1, no. 11).

Washington, *Western Corrector* (begun 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Nov. 6 (vol. 1, no. 42); 1811, Jan. 8 (vol. 1, no. 51), Feb. 12, 19 (vol. 2, nos. 55, 56).

Pittsburgh, *The Mercury* (begun Sept. 26, 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 26-Nov. 23 (vol. 1, nos. 1-7); 1812, Feb. 15 (vol. 1, no. 19), 29-Apr. 4 (vol. 1, nos. 21-26), Aug. 6 (vol. 1, no. 5), 27-Sept. 10 (vol. 1, nos. 8-10), Oct. 8 (vol. 1, no. 14), 22 (vol. 1, no. 16), Nov. 5 (vol. 1, no. 18), 19 (vol. 1, no. 20), 26-Dec. 10 (vol. 1, nos. 21-23).

Harvard University: 1811, Dec. 7; 1812, Jan. 25, Feb. 8, 15, Mch. 21, 28.

Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh: July 9-Dec. 31, 1812.

Beavertown, *Western Cabinet* (begun Sept. 28, 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 28 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 7 (vol. 1, no. 2), 21 (vol. 1, no. 4); 1812, Feb. 24 (vol. 1, no. 21).

KENTUCKY.¹

Lexington, *Kentucke Gazette* (begun Aug. 11, 1787).

American Antiquarian Society: 1794, Mch. 15, July 12; 1799, Nov. 7, 14; 1800, Jan. 23, 30, Oct. 27, Nov. 10, Dec. 22; 1801, Dec. 5, 25; 1802, July 23, Sept. 10, 17, 24; 1803, June 21, Aug. 9, 16, Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 11, Dec. 27; 1804, Jan. 3, 10, Feb. 21, Mch. 6, Apr. 3, 10, June 19, July 10, 17 (supplement only), Aug. 7 (with supplement), 14, Oct. 16, Nov. 13, 27, Dec. 25; 1805, Feb. 12, May 7, June 25, Aug. 27, Sept. 17, Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 14; 1806, Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 (with supplement), Feb. 6 (with supplement), 13, 19, 22, 26, Mch. 1, 5, 8, 12, 26, Apr. 2, 5 (with supplement), 9, 16, 19, 30, May 3 (with supplement), 6, 13, 17, 20, 31, June 3, 7, 10, 14, 21, 28, July 5, 26, 29, Aug. 2, 7, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, Sept. 25, 29, Oct. 6, 9, 13, 27, Nov. 3, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, Dec. 1, 15, 18, 22, 25; 1807, Feb. 14, 28, Mch. 31 (supplement only), Apr. 4, 28, May 2 (supplement only), 5, 19, 26, July 21, Aug. 18, 25, Dec. 29; 1808, Jan. 26, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 1, 15, Apr. 5-May 10, 24-June 14, 28-July 26, Aug. 23, 30, Sept. 13, Oct. 4-18, Nov. 1-15, Dec. 5, 20; 1809, Jan. 10, Feb. 7, 20, 27, Mch. 13, 21-Apr. 11, 25, May 9-30, June 13, 20, July 11, 25, Aug. 1, 15, Sept. 12, 19, Oct. 17, Nov. 21, 28, Dec. 19, 26; 1810, Jan. 16-Feb. 13, 27, Mch. 6-20, Apr. 24, May 8, June 5, Sept. 18.

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 24, no. 1279 (May 8, 1810).

Harvard University: 1796, May 28, June 4, 18, 25, July 2-30, Aug. 13-27, Sept. 10, 17 (+ extra), 24, Oct. 22 (+ extra), 29 (+ extra), Nov. 5, 12 (+ extra), 19-Dec. 3 (+ extra)-31; 1797, Jan. 4-11, 28, Feb. 1-25, Mch. 4-29, June 3, 7, 14, July 8, 12, 29, Aug. 2, Sept. 2, 6, 16, 27, 30, Oct. 4, 21, 28, Nov. 1, 4, 11-25, Dec. 2, 6; 1798, Jan. 10, 24, Feb. 7, 14, Apr. 11, 25, June 20, 27, July 4, 18, Aug. 1 (+ extra); 1799, May 23, June 20, July 4, 18, 25, Aug. 1, 8, 22-Oct. 24, Nov. 7; 1801, Dec. 5-25; 1802, Jan. 1-Mch. 5, 19, 26, Apr. 9, 16, May 14, 28, June 4-July 2, 16-Sept. 24, Oct. 5-Dec. 7, 21, 28; 1803, Jan. 4-Apr. 19, May 10-July 19, Aug. 2, 9, 23, 30, Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 4, 18-Nov. 15, 29-Dec. 27; 1804, Jan. 10, 17, Feb. 7-28, Mch. 13, 27, Apr. 10 (+ extra), 17, 24, May 8, 15, June 25, July 3 (+ extra), 10 (+ extra)-31, Aug. 28, Sept. 4-Oct. 9, 23-Nov. 27; 1805, Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 12, 26, Mch. 12, 19, Apr. 2, 16, 30, May 7, 28, June 4, 28, July 2-23, Aug. 13-Sept. 17, Oct. 21, Nov. 7, 14, 28; 1806, Jan. 2-23, Feb. 22, 26, Mch. 1, 5, Apr. 2, 5, 12, 16, 19, May 6, 13, 27, Aug. 2, 7, 11, 14, 22, Oct. 6, 9, Nov. 3, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 18; 1807, Feb. 28, Apr. 5, 12, May 9, 16, July 21, Aug. 18, 25, Oct. 13, Dec. 8, 29; 1808, Jan. 5, Feb. 16, 23, Mch. 15, Apr. 12, 19, May. 10, 24, 31, June 7-28, July 12-Aug. 9, 23-Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15, 29, Dec. 5; 1811, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 3-31; 1812, Jan. 5, 14, Feb. 18, Mch. 24, 31, Apr. 7, 14, 21, June 23, Aug. 18, 25, Sept. 15, 22, 29, Oct. 27.

¹It is a matter for regret that the writer finds himself unable to obtain a report on the condition and extent of the Kentucky newspaper files in the large private library of his friend, Col. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville; but Colonel Durrett's recent illness has left him unable to undertake, at the present time, the considerable task of examining them for this publication. The Colonel, however, who is doubtless the best living authority on Kentucky history, kindly examined the manuscript of the section of the paper devoted to the press of his State and made several helpful suggestions. Assistance has been derived from Perrin's *Pioneer Press of Kentucky* as well as William Nelson's list of early Kentucky papers printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, ser. 1, vol. ii, p. lxxviii.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Lexington Public Library: Almost complete set.

Library of Congress: Mch. 1, 1788; April 18-June 20, July 4-Dec-26, 1798; Jan. 2-April 11 (Jan. 18, extra), 25, May 2, 9, 1799; Feb. 16, 1801; April 11 (supplement), 1807; June 20, 1809; Jan. 30, 1810; Mch. 17, 1812.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1787-88), nos. 16, 26, 27, 29 (imp.)-32, 35, 40-52; vol. 2 (1788), nos. 1-3, 6-14; vol. 4 (1791), no. 26 (Feb. 26); vol. 26 (1812, new series vol. 3), nos. 16, 18, 24, 36, 39, 42, 47.

Frankfort, *Kentucky Journal* (begun 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1795, Dec. 5 (vol. 1, no. 5).

Lexington, *Stewart's Kentucky Herald* (begun 1795).

American Antiquarian Society: 1801, Aug. 18 (vol. 7, no. 341), Sept. 15 (vol. 7, no. 345), Oct. 27 (vol. 7, no. 351), Nov. 3 (vol. 7, no. 352).

Harvard University: 1797, Feb. 14 (vol. 3, no. 105); 1803, Apr. 26, May 17, Aug. 2 [nos. following published at Paris]; 1805, Nov. 25, Dec. 2, 16, 30; 1806, Jan. 13, 20, Mch. 6, 27.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Sept. 25, 1798; April 21, 1801.

Paris, *Rights of Man, or the Kentucky Mercury* (begun 1797).

Harvard University: 1797, Aug. 30 (vol. 1, no. 14), Sept. 6, 27, Oct. 11, 25, Nov. 8, 15; 1798, Jan. 10.

Washington, *The Mirror* (begun 1797).

Library Company of Philadelphia: 1798, July 21 (vol. 1, no. 45), Aug. 25, Sept. 8, Dec. 14.

Frankfort, *Guardian of Freedom* (begun 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, June 19 (vol. 1, no. 7) Oct. 30 (vol. 1, no. 26); 1802, July 7 (vol. 3, no. 42); 1803, June 15 (vol. 4, no. 37), Aug. 3, 17, 24 (vol. 4, nos. 44, 46, 47), Dec. 28 (vol. 5, no. 13); 1804, May 26 (vol. 5, no. 242).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 4 (1803), nos. 37 (June 15), 48 (Aug. 31), 49 (Sept. 7).

Harvard University: 1801, Oct. 2, Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 11, 25; 1802, Jan. 1, 5, 22, 29, Feb. 6, 12, 26, Mch. 12, 19, 26, Apr. 2, 9, May 13, 19, 26, June 9-July 7, 21, 28, Aug. 4, 18, 25, Sept. 8-Oct. 13, 27-Nov. 10, Dec. 22; 1803, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, Mch. 2, 16, 30, May 11, June 8, 22, July 13, 27, Aug. 17-31, Sept. 7, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 23, 30, Dec. 14, 21; 1804, Jan. 18, Feb. 15, 29, Mch. 17, 24, Apr. 14-28, May 5, 12, June 9-30, July 21, Aug. 4, Sept. 3, Oct. 13-27, Nov. 28; 1805, Jan. 4, 21, Feb. 4, 11.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: May 8-Dec. 27, 1798; Jan. 3-Feb. 28, 1799.

Frankfort, *The Palladium* (begun Aug. 8, 1798).

American Antiquarian Society: 1798, Dec. 25 (vol. 1, no. 21); 1803, Feb. 24 (vol. 5, no. 30), July 21 (vol. 5, no. 51), 28 (vol.

5, no. 52); 1804, May 26 (vol. 6, no. 43), June 30 (vol. 6, no. 48); 1805, Feb. 9, 16 (vol. 7, nos. 27, 28), Mch. 2, 9, (vol. 7, nos. 30, 31), Apr. 20 (vol. 7, no. 37), May 11, 18 (vol. 7, nos. 40, 41), June 1 (vol. 7, no. 43); 1807, Nov. 5 (vol. 10, no. 17); 1810, July 14 (vol. 12, no. 51), Sept. 29 (vol. 13, no. 10), Oct. 20 (vol. 13, no. 13); 1811, Mch. 2 (vol. 13, no. 32), May 4 (vol. 13, no. 41), Aug. 17, 24 (vol. 14, nos. 4, 5), Sept. 21, 28 (vol. 14, nos. 9, 10), Oct. 5, 18, 25 (vol. 14, nos. 11, 13, 14), Nov. 1-22 (vol. 14, nos. 15-18), Dec. 18 (vol. 14, no. 22); 1812, Jan. 15 (vol. 14, no. 26), July 29 (vol. 15, no. 2).

Harvard University: 1801, Dec. 4-25; 1802, Jan. 1, 22-Feb. 5, 25, Mch. 4-Aug. 26, Sept. 9-Oct. 7, 21-Dec. 30; 1803, Jan. 13-Feb. 10, 12 (extra), 17-Mch. 17, 31, Apr. 7, 14, May 5, 12, 26-June 9, 23, 30, July 14, 28-Aug. 11, Sept. 8-29, Oct. 8, 15, 29-Nov. 12, 26, Dec. 3, 17-31; 1804, Jan. 7-Mch. 3, 17, 31, Apr. 14, 21, May 5-19, June 9, 23-July 21 (+ extra)-Sept. 1, 22-Oct. 13, Nov. 3-24, Dec. 8, 15; 1805, Jan. 5, 12, Feb. 2, 23, Mch. 9, Apr. 13, 16, 20, 27, May 4, 18, 25, June 8, 22, 29, July 6, 20, 27, Aug. 10-Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 11-Dec. 1, 16, 23; 1806, Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30, Feb. 20, 27, Mch. 6, 13, 27, Apr. 3 (+ extra)-24, May 22, 29, Aug. 7-28, Sept. 18, Oct. 2, Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 8 (extra), 11, 18, 25; 1807, Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 5; 1811, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, Mch. 2, 16, 30, Apr. 6-20, May 4, 18, 25, June 1, 15, 29, July 6, 20, 27, Aug. 3-17, 31, Sept. 21, 28, Oct. 5-Nov. 8, 27; 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 22, 29, Feb. 19, Mch. 11, Apr. 1-22, May 20, 27, June 24, July 1, 5, 19, 26, Aug. 5, 19, 26, Sept. 16, 30, Nov. 4, 11, 18, Dec. 2, 9, 16.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: April 21, 1801; Feb. 19, Mch. 5, Apr. 16, June 4 (half sheet), Aug. 27, Sept. 7, Dec. 10, 1807.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1798-99), nos. 1-27, 31-35, 41-52 (nos. 1, 25-27 are imperfect; set includes extra of Jan. 17, 1799); vol. 2 (1799-1800), nos. 1-52 (includes extra of Aug. 8, 1799); vol. 3 (1800-01), nos. 1-52 (includes extras of Sept. 11, 1800 and April 21, 1801); vol. 4 (1801-02), nos. 1-25, 27-52 (no. 36, Apr. 8, 1802, imp.); vol. 5 (1802-03), nos. 1-52 (nos. 38 for Apr. 21, 1803, and 39 for Apr. 28, imp.); vol. 6 (1803), nos. 1-11.

Louisville, *Farmer's Library, or Ohio Intelligencer* (begun Jan. 7, 1801).

Harvard University: 1801, Dec. 7 (vol. 1, no. 47).

Lexington, *Independent Gazetteer* (begun March 29, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Apr. 19, 26 (vol. 1, nos. 4, 5), May 31 (vol. 1, no. 10), July 26 (vol. 1, no. 18), Sept. 6, 27 (vol. 1, nos. 24, 27), Dec. 20 (vol. 1, no. 39); 1804, Jan. 9, 17 [*sic*], 24 (vol. 1, nos. 42, 43, 44), Feb. 21 (vol. 1, no. 48), Mch. 16 (vol. 1, no. 51), Apr. 6 (vol. 2, no. 54), 13 (vol. 2, no. 55), Oct. 26 (vol. 2, no. 83).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1 (1803), no. 18 (July 26).

Library of Congress: June 14, 1803.

Harvard University: 1804, Oct. 19, Nov. 2-23, Dec. 7, 14, 21; 1805, Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1-15, Mch. 8, 15, 20, Apr. 12, May 10, 17, June 14, 21, July 12, Nov. 16.

Washington, *Weekly Messenger* (begun June 2, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, June 16, 23 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 4), Sept. 15 (vol. 1, no. 16), Oct. 6 (vol. 1, no. 19).

Bardstown, *Western American* (begun Sept. 6, 1803).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Sept. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 1, 2), Oct. 13 (vol. 1, no. 6), Nov. 3-18 (vol. 1, nos. 9-11), Dec. 16-30 (vol. 1, nos. 15-17); 1804, Feb. 17 (vol. 1, no. 24), Mch. 2 (vol. 1, no. 26), June 1, 22, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 39, 42, 43), Oct. 19, 26 (vol. 2, nos. 59, 60), Nov. 2, 16 (vol. 2, nos. 61, 63), Dec. 7, 28 (vol. 2, nos. 66, 69); [1805-06 published at Louisville]; 1806, Feb. 6, 13, 27 (vol. 3, nos. 2, 3, 5), Apr. 9 (vol. 3, no. 11), 16 (vol. 3, no. 12), May 7-21 (vol. 3, nos. 15-17), June 4, 25 (vol. 3, nos. 19, 22), July 16, 23 (vol. 3, nos. 25, 26), Sept. 11 (vol. 3, no. 32).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 2 (1804-05), nos. 64 (imp.), 65 (imp.), 79, 81, 87-89.

Library of Congress: Apr. 23, 1805.

Danville, *The Mirror* (begun Sept. 3, 1804).

Harvard University: 1804, Sept. 3 (vol. 1, no. 1).

Danville, *The Informant* (begun 1805).

36, 47, 48; vol. 2 (1806), nos. 1, 12, 13.

Harvard University: 1805, Dec. 10 (vol. 1, no. 14); 1806, Jan. 21, Sept. 16, 23, 30, Oct. 14, 21.

Paris, *Kentucky Herald* (begun Apr. 17, 1806).

Harvard University: 1806, Apr. 17 (vol. 1, no. 1), May 8 (also vol. 1, no. 1).

Frankfort, *Western World* (begun July 5, 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Sept. 6-20 (vol. 1, nos. 10-12), Oct. 4-Nov. 27 (vol. 1, nos. 14-22), Dec. 18 (vol. 1, no. 25); 1807, Jan. 8 with supplement (vol. 1, no. 28), Feb. 5, 12 (vol. 1, nos. 32, 33); 1810, Apr. 27 (vol. 4, no. 200), June 8 (vol. 4, no. 206).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 2, no. 80 (Jan. 7, 1808).

Harvard University: 1806, Sept. 13, Oct. 18, Nov. 2, 15, 27, Dec. 11-25; 1807, Jan. 8, 22, Feb. 12.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Feb. 19, 26, Mch. 5, May 14, Sept. 17, 1807; Jan. 26, 1810.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1806-07), nos. 17-23, 25-27, 29-40; vol. 2 (1807-08), nos. 77, 79-81; vol. 3 (1808), nos. 119 (imp.)-124.

Russellville, *The Mirror* (begun Nov. 1, 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Nov. 7, 14 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3); 1807, Feb. 27 (vol. 1, no. 8), Mch. 13, 27 (vol. 1, nos. 20, 22), Apr. 3-17 (vol. 1, nos. 23-25), May 1, 8 (vol. 1, nos. 27, 28), July 18 (vol. 1, no. 36), Aug. 8, 22-Sept. 12 (vol. 1, nos. 39, 41-44), Oct. 20 (vol. 1, no. 49), Dec. 1 (vol. 2, no. 54); 1808, Mch. 24 (vol. 2, no. 67); 1809, Jan. 5, (vol. 2, no. 103).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 28 (May 8, 1807); vol. 2, nos. 80 (June 30, 1808), 81 (July 7).

Harvard University: 1806, Nov. 1 (vol. 1, no. 1), 7, 21, Dec. 12, 19; 1807, Jan. 9, 30, Mch. 13, Apr. 3, June 27, July 4, 18, 25, Aug. 8, 15, 22, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 20; 1808, Mch. 24, June 2, 16, 23, July 14, 21, Oct. 10, 27, Nov. 10, Dec. 8, 15.

Bairdstown, *Candid Review* (begun 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Sept. 1, 8 (vol. 1, nos. 30, 31), Oct. 7 (vol. 1, no. 35); 1809, June 20 (vol. 3, no. 119), Dec. 12 (vol. 3, no. 144); 1810, July 9 (vol. 4, no. 171), Aug. 27 (vol. 4, no. 178).

Harvard University: 1807, July 14 (vol. 1, no. 23).

Washington, *Republican Auxiliary*.

Library of Congress: Aug. 15, 1807.

Louisville *Gazette and Western Advertiser* (begun Nov. 24, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Dec. 1, 8, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3, 4); 1808, Jan. 12, 19, 26 (vol. 1, nos. 8, 9, 10), Feb. 2 (vol. 1, no. 11), Mch. 1 (vol. 1, no. 15); 1809, Apr. 5 (vol. 2, no. 72).

Library of Congress: Jan. 4, 1809.

Wisconsin Historical Society: Mch. 15, 1811.

Frankfort, *Argus of Western America* (begun 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Nov. 16 (vol. 1, no. 42) 1809, Feb. 6, 18, 25 (vol. 2, nos. 53, 54, 55), Mch. 11, 18 (vol. 2, nos. 57, 58), Apr. 8-22 (vol. 2, nos. 60-62), May 16, 30 (vol. 2, nos. 65, 67), June 7 (vol. 2, no. 68), July 19 (vol. 2, no. 74), Aug. 2 (supplement only), Sept. 6 (vol. 2, no. 81); 1810, Jan. 13, 27 (vol. 2, nos. 99, 101), Mch. 10 (vol. 3, no. 107), July 7 (vol. 3, no. 124), Sept. 29 (vol. 3, no. 135), Oct. 20 (vol. 3, no. 139); 1812, Sept. 19 (vol. 5, no. 242).

Library of Congress: April 21, 28, 1808; Jan. 27, 1810; Oct. 31, 1812.

Harvard University: 1810, Sept. 1-29, Oct. 20-Nov. 3, 17, Dec. 14; 1811, Jan. 21, Feb. 13-27, Mch. 13, 20, Apr. 3-24, May 15, 29, June 5, 12, July 2 (extra), 3, 10, 14 (extra), 17, Oct. 2, 3 (extra), 9, 16, 30, Nov. 6, 15, Dec. 18; 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 29, Feb. 19, Mch. 11, 18, Apr. 1, 8, 15, May 20, June 24, July 1, Aug. 5, 19, Sept. 26.

Paris, *Western Citizen* (begun 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Dec. 24 (vol. 1, no. 47).

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Dec. 31, 1808.

Lexington, *The Reporter* (begun March 12, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Mch. 12 (vol. 1, no. 1), 19-Apr. 30, Aug. 13-Sept. 8, 19, Oct. 3-17, Nov. 7, 14, Dec. 5-15; 1809, Jan. 23-Feb. 3, 21, 28, Mch. 18-Apr. 1, 15, 29, May 13, 27, June 3, 20, July 1, 8, 18, 25, Aug. 19-26, Sept. 9, 16, Oct. 21, 24, 31, Nov. 7, 11, Dec. 2, 5, 9, 16, 23, 30; 1810, Feb. 2, 17-Mch. 3,

17, 24, Apr. 7, 28, May 12, June 2, 15, 30, July 14, 21, Aug. 18-Sept. 8, 22-Oct. 27, Nov. 10-Dec. 15; 1811, Jan. 5-Feb. 2, 16-Mch. 2, 23, Apr. 6, 13, 27, May 4, 25, June 8-July 6, 20, Aug. 3-Sept. 14, Oct. 5, 12, Nov. 2-26, Dec. 7-14, 21-31; 1812, Jan. 4-18, 25, Feb. 1, 15-29, Mch. 14-Apr. 14, 21, May 9, June 6, 13, July 4, Aug. 1, 8, 22, Sept. 5, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 25, Dec. 12 (vol. 5, no. 67).

Chicago Historical Society: Jan. 28, 1809; Sept. 1, 1810; May 4, 1811; April 7, 1812.

Cincinnati Public Library: Mch. 12, 1808-Dec. 30, 1809.

Library of Congress: May 14, 1808; Mch. 30, Dec. 10, 1811.

Harvard University: 1808, May 14, 21, June 4, July 9, Aug. 13, Sept. 1, 8, 26, Oct. 3, 17, Nov. 7; 1809, Jan. 26, Apr. 1; 1810, Sept. 15, Oct. 6, 20, 27, Nov. 5, 17, 24, Dec. 15; 1811, Jan. 12, June 8, 15, July 20, Aug. 3-17, 31, Sept. 14-Oct. 12, 26, Dec. 14, 17, 21; 1812, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 4, Mch. 21, 24, 31, Apr. 4, 11, 25, June 13.

Lancaster, *Political Theatre* (begun Nov. 11, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1808, Nov. 18, 25 (vol. 1, nos. 2, 3), Dec. 3, 10 (vol. 1, nos. 4, 5); 1809, Jan. 17 (vol. 1, no. 10), Feb. 7 (vol. 1, no. 13).

Library of Congress: July 26, 1809.

Washington, *The Dove*.

Harvard University: 1812, Mch. 21 (vol. 4, no. 179).

Russellville, *The Farmer's Friend* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 14 (vol. 2, no. 41).

Library of Congress: Oct 2, 1809; May 25, Oct. 26, Dec. 14, 1810.

Richmond, *The Globe* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Jan. 24 (vol. 1, no. 12), July 12 (vol. 1, no. 36), Aug. 1 (vol. 1, no. 39), Oct. 17 (vol. 1, no. 50).

Chicago Historical Society: Jan. 24, 1810.

Frankfort, *American Republic* (begun June 27, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, July 3 (vol. 1, no. 2), Oct. 5, 19 (vol. 1, nos. 15, 17); 1811, Mch. 1, 8, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 36, 37, 40).

Chicago Historical Society: Oct. 19, 1810.

Kentucky Historical Society: A few numbers.

Library of Congress: Dec. 28, 1810.

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1 (1810-11), nos. 19, 20, 23 (one leaf), 24 (one leaf), 26, 27, 32.

Lexington, *Impartial Observer* (begun 1810).

Harvard University: 1810, Sept. 15 (vol. 1, no. 4), 22, Nov 3, 10, 17, Dec. 10; 1811, Jan. 1, 8, 22.

Louisville, *The Western Courier* (begun 1811).

Chicago Historical Society: Aug. 28, Oct. 15, Nov. 5, 1812.

Lexington, *American Statesman* (begun July 20, 1811).
 American Antiquarian Society: 1811, July 20 (vol. 1, no. 1),
 Aug. 31 (vol. 1, no. 7), Sept. 7, 21, 28 (vol. 1, nos. 8, 10, 11), Nov.
 2, 9 (vol. 1, nos. 16, 17); 1812, Apr. 18 (vol. 1, no. 41).
 Library of Congress: Oct. 12, 26, 1811.
 Harvard University: 1811, July 20, 27, Aug. 31.

Georgetown, *The Telegraph* (begun 1811).
 American Antiquarian Society: 1811, Sept. 25 (vol. 1, no. 10).

Richmond, *The Luminary* (begun 1811).
 American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Jan. 18 (vol. 1, no. 26),
 Feb. 8, 22 (vol. 1, nos. 29, 31).
 Harvard University: 1811, Aug. 14 (vol. 1, no. 5).

Lexington, *Evangelical Record and Western Review*.
 Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati: 1812,
 1 vol.

OHIO.²

Cincinnati, *Centinel of the North-Western Territory* (begun Nov.
 9, 1793).

Harvard University: 1795, June 7, 27, July 4, Aug. 1, Oct. 31,
 Dec. 26; 1796, Apr. 9, 23, 30.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: Nov. 23, 1793-1796.

Ohio State Library: Nov. 9, 1793-Nov. 8, 1794 (lacking vol.
 1, nos. 15, 37, 38, 41-47, 50).

Cincinnati, *Freeman's Journal* (begun June, 1796).

American Antiquarian Society: 1797, Mch. 25 (vol. 1, no. 40).

Harvard University: 1796, July 9 (vol. 1, no. 4), 23, 30, Aug.
 6-Sept. 3, 17, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 5, 12, 26, Dec. 3-31; 1797, Mch. 4-
 25; 1799, Mch. 5.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: Oct. 27, 1798; Oct.
 1, 1799.

Ohio State Library: Oct. 27, 1798.

Cincinnati, *The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* (begun
 May 28, 1799).

American Antiquarian Society: 1803, Aug. 10, 17, (vol. 5, nos.
 2, 3); 1804, Sept. 12 (vol. 6, no. 7); 1807, Apr. 13 (vol. 8, no. 38)
 [this and following nos. called *Western Spy* and *Miami Gazette*],
 May 4 (vol. 8, no. 41), Sept. 21 (vol. 9, no. 9), Nov. 30 (vol. 9, no.
 19), Dec. 7 (vol. 9, no. 20); 1808, Aug. 13 (vol. 10, no. 2).

Library of Congress: Feb. 11, 1801; Aug. 21, 1805.

Harvard University: 1801, Jan. 7.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society: 1799-1806 (odd
 numbers).

²In locating early files in Ohio libraries, I have been much assisted by Charles
 B. Galbreath's *Newspapers and Periodicals in Ohio* (Columbus, 1902).

Ohio State Capitol (relic room): Sept. 31, 1799.

Young Men's Mercantile Library, Cincinnati: Aug. 26, 1806-
July 2, 1808.

Chillicothe, *Scioto Gazette* (begun 1800).

American Antiquarian Society: 1800, May 10 supplement; 1801, Aug. 2 extra, Oct. 17 supplement; 1803, Taxation for 1803 extra, Oct. 8-Nov. 19 (vol. 3, nos. 175-181), Dec. 3, 10 (vol. 3, nos. 183, 184); 1804, Jan. 2, 16, 23, Feb. 20, Mch. 12, Apr. 16, 23, 30, May 14, 28-June 25, July 9-23, Oct. 15, 29, Nov. 5, 19-Dec. 3, 10; 1805, Mch. 11, 18, Apr. 1, 15-May 6, 13, 27, June 10, 24-Nov. 7, 28; 1806, Jan. 23-Mch. 13, 27-June 5, 26-July 10, Aug. 7, 28, Sept. 4, 18, Oct. 9, 23-Nov. 27, Dec. 25; 1807, Jan. 8, Feb. 5, 12, Mch. 5-19, Apr. 9, June 11, July 30, Aug. 20-Sept. 17, Oct. 1-15, 29, Nov. 19, Dec. 21; 1808, Jan. 4, 11, Mch. 21, Apr. 4-18, May 16-June 6, 20, July 11-26, Aug. 9, 23, Sept. 6, 23, Dec. 26; 1809, Jan. 16, 30, Feb. 6, 13, 27-Mch. 27, Apr. 24, May 8, 29, June 5, 12, 26, July 10, 17, Aug. 7, Sept. 11, 25-Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 13-Dec. 20; 1810, Jan. 3-Mch. 21, Apr. 11-25, May 9-23, June 6, 27-July 11, Aug. 1, 22, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Nov. 7, 21, 28, Dec. 12, 19; 1811, Jan. 9, 23, Feb. 6, 13, Mch. 13, 27, Apr. 17-May 15; 1812, Sept. 30 (vol. 12, no. 608).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 6 (1806), nos. 289-292; vol. 8 (1807), no. 372; vol. 11 (1810), no. 510.

Library of Congress: Apr. 10, 1802 (imp.); Mch. 5, 1807.

Harvard University: 1801, Oct. 17 (vol. 2, no. 78), Dec. 5; 1803, Feb. 26, July 30, Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 17, 24, Oct. 1, 8, 15; 1804, May 14, June 11, 25, July 9, 16, Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 3; 1805, Mch. 18, 25, Apr. 8, 15, 22, May 6, 13, 20, June 10, 24, July 1, 8, 22, 29, Aug. 19, 26, Sept. 2, 23, 30, Oct. 7, 24-Dec. 5, 29; 1806, Jan. 9.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland: Dec. 12, 1810.

Marietta, *Ohio Gazette and Territorial and Virginia Herald* (begun Dec. 1801).

American Antiquarian Society: 1802, Jan. 1, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 5), Feb. 5 (vol. 1, no. 8), Aug. 17 (vol. 1, no. 35), Aug. 31-Sept. 14 (vol. 1, nos. 37-39), 28-Oct. 19 (vol. 1, nos. 41-44); 1806 Apr. 24 (vol. 1, no. 47) [this and following nos. called *Ohio Gazette and Virginia Herald*]; 1809, Feb. 20, (vol. 3, no. 154), Mch. 20 (vol. 4, no. 157), Apr. 3, 10 (vol. 4, nos. 159, 160); 1810, May 21 (vol. 4, no. 198), Oct. 5 (vol. 4, no. 206); 1811, Oct. 14-Dec. 9 (vol. 5, nos. 211-215).

Chicago Historical Society: March 20, 1809.

Cincinnati, *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury* (begun Dec. 4, 1804).

American Antiquarian Society: 1806, Oct. 21 (vol. 2, no. 98), Nov. 18 (vol. 2, no. 102), Dec. 16 (vol. 3, no. 105); 1807, Jan. 20 (vol. 3, no. 111), Feb. 3 (vol. 3, no. 113), Mch. 3, 31 (vol. 3, nos. 117, 121), Apr. 14, 28 (vol. 3, nos. 123, 125), June 2 (vol. 3, no. 130); 1809, Feb. 16 (vol. 5, no. 221); 1810, Aug. 8 (vol. 6, no. 298); 1812, June 23 (vol. 8, no. 396), July 11 extra, 14, 21, 28 (vol. 8, nos. 399, 400, 402 [sic]), Aug. 4-18 (vol. 8, nos. 403-405), Sept.

15, 21, 25, 29 (vol. 8, nos. 409, 410, 411, 412), Oct. 13 (vol. 8, no. 414), Nov. 3-24, (vol. 9, nos. 417-420), Dec. 8 (vol. 9, no. 422).

Library of Congress: Sept. 21, 1807; Nov. 26, 1808-Apr. 3, 1811.

Harvard University: 1812, Sept. 15, Oct. 13, Nov. 3, 24.

Ohio State Library: Dec. 16, 1805 (vol. 2, no. 54)-Nov. 19, 1808 (lacking vol. 2, nos. 57, 64, 79, 86, 87, 90-92, 97, 98, 101; vol. 3, nos. 107, 115, 124, 143; vol. 4, nos. 170, 175-178, 180, 185, 190, 196-198, 206, 207).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 7 (1811), nos. 334 (imp.), 339 (imp.), 340 (imp.), 342 (imp., and supplement), 343, 344 (imp.), 346, 347 (imp.), 348 (imp.), 349 (and supplement), 350-352 (all imp.), 358 (imp.), 359; vol. 8 (1811-12), nos. 367 (imp.), 371-389 (mostly imperfect; 384 has extra), 391-416 (several imperfect; 406 has supplement); vol. 9 (1812), nos. 417-419 (with supplement), 421-425.

Young Men's Mercantile Library, Cincinnati: Dec. 4, 1804-Apr. 6, 1809.

Chillicothe, *Ohio Herald* (begun July 27, 1805).

American Antiquarian Society: 1805, July 27 (vol. 1, no. 1), Aug. 17 (vol. 1, no. 3).

Harvard University: 1805, July 27, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 21; 1806, June 28, Aug. 2, 30, Oct. 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15.

Lancaster, *Western Oracle and the Farmers Weekly Museum* (begun Nov. 1806).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Feb. 6 (vol. 1, no. 16).

Harvard University: 1807, Mch. 20, 29, Apr. 10, 17, 24.

Steubenville, *Western Herald*.

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Nov. 5, 12 (vol. 6, nos. 47, 48).

Chillicothe, *The Fredonian* (begun Feb. 19, 1807; see also under 1811).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Mch. 7 (vol. 1, no. 3), May 2 (vol. 1, no. 11), Aug. 7 (vol. 1, no. 25); 1808, July 22-Aug. 5 (vol. 2, nos. 65-67).

Library of Congress: Mch. 14, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808 (imp.).

Harvard University: 1807, Feb. 19 (vol. 1, no. 1), Mch. 7, 14, Apr. 4-25, May 9, 16, June 6, 13, 26, July 31, Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 25, Oct. 16, 23, Nov. 20, 27.

Wisconsin Historical Library: July 22, 1808.

Lebanon, *Western Star* (begun Feb. 13, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Feb. 13 (vol. 1, no. 1); 1808, June 30 (vol. 2, no. 18).

Marietta, *The Commentator*; and *Marietta Recorder* (begun Sept. 16, 1807).

American Antiquarian Society: 1807, Sept. 16 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 14, 29 (vol. 1, nos. 3, 5); *The Commentator* 1809, June 10 (vol.

1, no. 34), June 24 (vol. 1, no. 36), July 1 (vol. 1, no. 37), Nov. 25 (vol. 2, no. 2); 1810, Jan. 16 (vol. 2, no. 9), Mch. 13 (vol. 2, no. 17), Apr. 8, 17 (vol. 2, nos. 20, 22), June 5, 26 (vol. 2, nos. 27, 30).

Harvard University: 1807, Oct. 14; 1808, May 25, Aug. 25.

Dayton, *Repertory*.

Dayton Public Library: 1808-1809.

New Lisbon, *Ohio Patriot* (begun 1808, re-established Nov. 4, 1809).

Ohio State Capitol (relic room): Dec. 2, 1809.

Chillicothe, *The Supporter* (begun Sept. 29, 1808).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, July 21 (vol. 1, no. 42); 1810, Jan. 6 (vol. 2, no. 66), Mch. 31 (vol. 2, no. 78), June 30 (vol. 2, no. 91), Oct. 13 (vol. 3, no. 106).

Ohio State Library: Dec. 8, 1808 (vol. 1, no. 10)-July 18, 1812 (vol. 4, no. 198) (lacking vol. 1, nos. 12-16, 18-28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37-45, 48-50, 52; vol. 2, nos. 53, 55, 61, 62, 66, 72, 75, 85, 87-91; vol. 3, nos. 111-113, 120, 131, 153, 155; vol. 4, nos. 164, 165).

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland: May 13, 1909.

St. Clairsville, *Impartial Expositor* (begun March 25, 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Mch. 25 (vol. 1, no. 1).

Cincinnati, *The Whig* (begun Apr. 13, 1809; formerly *Western Spy*, begun 1799).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Apr. 13 (vol. 1, no. 1), May 11 (vol. 1, no. 5), July 19 (vol. 1, no. 15), Sept. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 22, 23); 1810, Feb. 28 (vol. 1, no. 45), Apr. 25 (vol. 1, no. 52).

Wisconsin Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 2 (April 20, 1809).

Chillicothe, *The Independent Republican* (begun Sept. 8, 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1809, Sept. 8-25 (vol. 1, nos. 1-3), Oct. 9, 30 (vol. 1, nos. 5, 8), Nov. 27 (vol. 1, no. 12); 1810, Jan. 4-25 (vol. 1, nos. 17-20), Feb. 8 (vol. 1, no. 22), Mch. 1-22 (vol. 1, nos. 25-28), May 24 (vol. 1, no. 37), June 28 (vol. 1, no. 42), July, 5, 19 (vol. 1, nos. 43, 45), Sept. 27 (vol. 2, no. 55) Dec. 27 (vol. 2, no. 68); 1811, May 9 (vol. 2, no. 87).

Library of Congress: Nov. 20, 1809: Feb. 1, 1810.

Harvard University: 1811, May 23, 30, June 6, 27, Aug. 1, 3.

Ohio State Library: Sept. 13, 1810-Sept. 13, 1811 (lacking vol. 2, nos. 98, 100).

Zanesville, *Muskingum Messenger* (begun 1809).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Jan. 6 (vol. 1, no. 8), Feb. 17 (vol. 1, no. 11), Mch. 31-Apr. 21 (vol. 1, nos. 17-20), May 5-July 14 (vol. 1, nos. 22-32), Aug. 25-Sept. 8 (vol. 1, nos. 38-40), Oct. 6, 13 (vol. 1, nos. 44, 45), 27-Dec. 1 (vol. 1, nos. 47-52); Dec. 8-26 (vol. 2, nos. 53-55); 1811, Jan. 2, 9, 23, 30 (vol. 2, nos. 56, 57, 59, 60), Feb. 20 (vol. 2, no. 63), Mch. 16 (vol. 2, no. 65), Apr. 6-May 29 (vol. 2, nos. 68-76), June 19-July 3 (vol. 2, nos. 79-81), 17-Aug. 6 (vol. 2, nos. 83-86), 28-Dec. 4 (vol. 2, nos. 89-104), 11-25 (vol. 3, nos. 105-107); 1812, Jan. 1, 8, 15 (vol. 3, nos. 108, 5, 6), 29-Feb.

19 (vol. 3, nos. 8-11), Mch. 4 (vol. 3, no. 13), Apr. 8 (vol. 3, no. 15), June 3-July 15 (vol. 3, nos. 22-28), Aug. 5, 19 (vol. 3, nos. 31, 33), Sept. 2 (vol. 3, no. 35), 16-30 (vol. 3, nos. 37-39), Oct. 14 (vol. 3, no. 41,) Nov. 4, 18 (vol. 3, nos. 44, 46), Dec. 2-30 (vol. 3, nos. 48-52).

Cincinnati, *The Advertiser* (begun June 13, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, June 13 (vol. 1, no. 1), 27 (vol. 1, no. 3).

Lancaster, *Political Observatory, and Fairfield Register* (begun 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 8, 15 (vol. 1, nos. 7, 8).

Cincinnati, *Western Spy* (begun Sept. 1, 1810).

American Antiquarian Society: 1810, Sept. 1 (vol. 1, no. 1), Oct. 6 (vol. 1, no. 5), Dec. 1 (vol. 1, no. 12); 1811, Feb. 9, 16, 23 (vol. 1, nos. 22, 23, 24), Mch. 23, 30 (vol. 1, nos. 28, 29), June 15 (vol. 1, no. 40), July 20 (vol. 1, no. 45), Sept. 28 (vol. 2, no. 55); 1812, Mch. 21 (vol. 2, no. 8), Dec. 19 (vol. 3, no. 119).

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Harvard University: 1810, Nov. 13, 20; 1811, Jan. 14, Mch. 5, 12, May 4, June 8, 29, July 6, 23, Aug. 3, Sept. 7, 21, Oct. 8, 26, Nov. 2, 11, Dec. 21; 1812, Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1, 15, 29, Mch. 21, May 2-23, July 11, 18, Aug. 8, Oct. 17.

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American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Sept. 12 (vol. 2, no. 70).

Chillicothe, *The Fredonian* (begun Sept. 19, 1811, continuation of *Independent Republican*; removed to Circleville, Oct. 3, 1811; removed to Chillicothe, Aug. 25, 1812).

American Antiquarian Society: 1812, Sept. 16 (vol. 3, no. 51).

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Ohio State Library: 1811, Sept. 19 (no. 106), Oct. 16 (vol. 3, no. 5)-1812, Aug. 11 (vol. 3, no. 47), 1812, Aug. 25 (vol. 3, no. 48)-Dec.

Worthington, *Western Intelligencer* (begun 1811).

Harvard University: 1812, Dec. 16.

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Warren, *Trump of Fame* (begun 1812).

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Zanesville, *Express and Republican Standard* (begun 1812).

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American Antiquarian Society: 1804, Aug. 7-28 (vol. 1, nos. 2-5), Oct. 23 (vol. 1, no. 13); 1805, Aug. 7, 14 (vol. 1, nos. 44, 45).

Harvard University: 1804, Aug. 7-21, Sept. 11-Oct. 2, 16, 23.

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American Antiquarian Society: 1809, May 13 (vol. 2, no. 26); 1810, July 21 (vol. 3, no. 30), Aug. 4 (vol. 3, no. 32).

Chicago Historical Society: vol. 1, no. 10 (Sept. 5, 1807).

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American Antiquarian Society: 1808, July 26 (vol. 1, no. 3) [facsimile]; 1809, Mch. 22 (vol. 1, no. 35), May 24 (vol. 1, no. 44).

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