

SOURCES OF "BORROWED" COPY IN AMBROSE HENKEL'S
VIRGINISCHE VOLKSBERICHTER (1807-1809)

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Just as a few people achieve a certain degree of fame merely by virtue of their longevity, early newspapers of which complete files are extant tend to find an inordinate amount of attention regardless of their success or failure. Thus much mention is made in local histories of the New Market, Virginia, weekly *Virginische Volksberichter und Neumarketer Wochenschrift* which lasted exactly from December 16, 1807 to June 14, 1809 while virtually nothing has been written about the much more original and important *Westliche Correspondenz* of Hagerstown, Maryland, which Johann Gruber launched in September 1796. Gruber's paper was still being published some thirty years later. Only scattered copies have surfaced despite diligent search. In contrast, Ambrose Henkel's short-lived *Volksberichter* is well documented. Not only have all issues been preserved, also his first (1807) and last (1809) subscribers' lists are available for research.¹ The *Volksberichter* issues contain no less than twenty "borrowed" articles which were attributed to Gruber's paper. Similar credit was given by Henkel to other "borrowings". The abundance of such references led to a systematic listing of all such reprints from other periodicals which is appended here to a brief description of Henkel's newspaper in the belief that it will provide other researchers with hitherto unknown or unidentified material from contemporary newspapers for which no or only scattered files are extant.

Ambrose Henkel (1786-1870) must have been unaware of the failure of his two predecessors, Matthias Bartgis in Winchester and John Wise in Staunton, whose German newspapers never found sufficient support,² when he decided to publish a weekly German newspaper in the hamlet of New Market. His enthusiasm for this venture was perhaps first sparked by the rudimentary journalistic experience he gained while working as an apprentice in the German and English printing office of J. P. Stark and Daniel P. Lange in Hanover Pennsylvania during the summer and early fall of 1807. While it is not entirely clear from the scant correspondence and few surviving notes from this period exactly what duties Ambrose was contracted to perform, it may be surmised from his subsequent activity in Virginia, that he spent no small amount of time setting type and working the presses for the *Hanover Gazette und Unpartheyische Wochenschrift*, one of that town's two weekly newspapers.

By early August of 1807 Ambrose had, in fact, already expressed his desire to establish a similar newspaper to his older brother Solomon Henkel, the founder and manager of the Henkel Press, and to his somewhat skeptical father, Pastor Paul Henkel. In a letter dated August 2, 1807 he promised to provide Solomon at once with some 40 copies of a prospectus he was preparing in order to begin soliciting subscriptions to the paper well in advance of its actual appearance. From this letter it is also evident that

Ambrose had originally intended to commence regular publication of his paper immediately upon return from Pennsylvania in late October of 1807. But, as he wrote to Solomon, a postponement to the following 6th of January might be required to enable the press to be properly set up.³

As it turned out, however, neither Ambrose nor Solomon had very long to wait for the first issue of the *Volksberichter* to appear. With a prospectus already in circulation among the Germans of Shenandoah, Rockingham and Augusta counties in Virginia and further south in North Carolina (as transported by Paul Henkel), Starck and Lange allowed their apprentice the use of their presses one final time to print the first issue of his paper just prior to returning home. Since the first issue was intended as much to attract subscribers as it was to provide an attractive array of news, it was accordingly numbered *Band I Numero 0* (Vol. I, No. 0), dated October 7, 1807. It was, in all likelihood, distributed free. He selected for his newspaper's masthead, perhaps from among a number of cuts offered him by Stark and Lange, an American eagle perched atop a motto curiously omitted from all future issues: "*Ich bin dem Patriot, Religion und Wahrheit treu; fände ich auch weder Gold noch Brot noch Ehr dabey*" ("I am true to the patriot, religion and truth; Though I might find neither gold, nor bread, nor honor by it"). The use of the American eagle as an adornment was quite prevalent in the age of Jeffersonian Democracy, particularly among the German backwoods population. Beginning, however, with the issue of February 3, 1808 (*Band I, Num. 8*), this cut was drastically but explicably altered to that of a postrider making his rounds and blowing his horn to the tune of "*Ich bring das Neu's! So gut ich's weiss!*" (I bring the news! As well as I know it!"). A week earlier Jacob D. Dietrich's German *Adler* (Eagle) began publication in Staunton with a masthead that was also dominated by the national bird. Despite this direct competition, Henkel's venture seemed promising at the start. The original subscribers' list comprises over 260 names, including those of people prominent in local and regional affairs.

With his first issue of the paper, Ambrose Henkel initiated a series of brief editorial columns, written by himself, in which he pledged to include not only news from all neighboring states and abroad, but also to give "the particulars of deaths and accidents of public interest" as well as the latest weekly market prices for both New Market and Alexandria, Virginia, the last being a promise he was soon to regret.⁴

Once in New Market, Ambrose was immediately preoccupied with the burdensome task of printing and distributing the *Minutes of the Special Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministers in Virginia* which had just been held at the local Davidsburg Church. Presumably by mid-November the task was completed and Ambrose was free to begin the regular issues of his newspaper by Christmas-time. Thus, the first issue of the *Volksberichter* (*Band I, Num. 1*) printed in New Market appeared somewhat ahead of the schedule on December 16, 1807, the very week in which Jacob D. Dietrich also sought subscribers to his forthcoming German newspaper *Der Deutsche Virginier Adler* a few dozen miles to the south in Staunton.⁵

Whether Ambrose Henkel intentionally hastened publication of his paper by three weeks merely to eclipse Dietrich's efforts at attracting subscribers will probably never be known for sure. That these two Virginia-German printers were already acquainted, however, is certain; if not personally, then at least through each other's printed work. There are many

references to "*Herr Dietrich*" and the to Stauton papers, the *Eagle* and the *Adler*, throughout the course of the *Volksberichter* and one may assume the same was true for "*Herr Henkel*" in Dietrich's *Deutsche Virginier Adler* as well. Dietrich's name also appears as an exchange publisher on a second surviving subscribers' list—that for 1809—along with such fellow-printers as Gruber, Starck & Lange and Bartgis & Langan in Winchester.

Although the first regular issue of the *Volksberichter* was printed on the Henkels' original crude makeshift press, it was not so markedly different from the promotional issue printed at Stark and Lange's. The lighter weight of the press and the reliance on second-hand type acquired from Gruber often left an uneven impression on the pages. In both form and content the *Volksberichter* did not differ greatly from most other German-language newspapers of its day. From the surviving copies of such contemporary papers as Johann Ritter's *Readinger Adler*, Gruber's *Westliche Correspondenz* and Heinrich Benjamin Grimmeler's *Wahre Amerikaner* it is easy to see how alike these papers were. Most were printed on a standard 17" x 21" sheet of paper, folded lengthwise in-half to provide four pages of print; all included similar publication data prominently displayed on one of the first two pages; all carried an assortment of notices and ads, usually on pages 3 and 4; and all sold for a dollar (the price of the *Volksberichter*) or a dollar and a half per year.

Regarding its content, moreover, the *Volksberichter* could be described as having been conservative in its religious and political views. The most, in fact, that could be said was that it leaned heavily in support of President Jefferson and his Republican Party. In the prospectus issued on October 13, 1807, Ambrose Henkel had pledged not to devote any space in his paper to diatribes of a political or religious nature and to conduct it generally in an impartial fashion. This simply meant to adhere to an unquestioning and uncritical view of the government in domestic affairs and to a traditional "status quo" approach in foreign affairs.

Domestic issues dominated the news with particular notice given such controversial topics as slavery and restrictions on American free trade. The Henkels, like most Virginia Germans of their day, were caught up in the highly complex and disturbing debate surrounding the ownership and treatment of black slaves. It is known that although discouraged by Lutheran and other German clergy, slavery was not only tolerated, but practiced among those Virginia Germans who could afford slaves. Paul Henkel, for example, owned a number of black slaves at various times in his life and from a rare document surviving from 1827 it is known that Ambrose, too, once had slaves to trade.⁶ It is tempting to speculate that one of these slaves may have helped run the New Market press and printed copies of the *Volksberichter* which carried a scathing indictment of the continuing importation of African slaves (*Band I, Num. 9*). One should note, however, that the more weighty discussions on slavery rarely, if ever, came from the Henkels' own pens. In fact, of all the material in the *Volksberichter* itself, less than one-fourth, or one page per issue, was actually of local origin. As with most of its provincial contemporaries, nearly seventy-five percent of each issue of the paper came directly from other sources, chiefly from other German- or English-language newspapers.

These "borrowings" for the most part were copied straight from the pages of the most recent newspapers received by the Henkels. For not only did Solomon have access to various papers by running a local subscribers' service, he more than likely saw additional papers in his capacity as New Market's postmaster as well. Indeed, the practice of "bor-

rowing" copy was universal among American newspapers of the 18th and 19th centuries, especially before the founding of nationwide news services. As often as not these articles were credited to whatever could be considered their original source. Thus copy attributed to the *Kennebec Gazette* in distant Maine may have already been "borrowed" by a half dozen papers before reaching the pages of the *Volksberichter*. The translation was probably done weeks before in Pennsylvania. Other stories, however, especially those from a lesser distance, probably came directly from their credited sources. Because of the predominance of such "borrowings" many German readers in the Shenandoah Valley, who already subscribed to other publications, may have refused to support their local paper preferring to get their news by more direct means.

While the sources for many of these "borrowings" are readily known, an almost equal number of stories went entirely uncredited and so could very easily have passed for original material. Thanks to a chance discovery, however, it can now be said for certain that truly original stories were few and far between. In the issue of February 10th, 1808 (*Band I, Num. 9*) appeared a spirited editorial attack on the continued importation of African slaves. Undoubtedly such remarks could have very easily flowed from Pastor Paul Henkel's own pen. Indeed its style and manner are highly reminiscent of his evangelical sermons. It was, however, only after stumbling across a rather worn copy of Gruber's *Westliche Correspondenz* from the previous week (February 6, 1808), the *only* known copy of that paper from this particular time, that the source for this article was finally found.⁷ The texts were identical and one might likewise infer that Gruber could have also "borrowed" it from yet another undisclosed source. In light of the abundance of unattributed print, the accompanying list of periodicals used can by no means be considered a definitive index. It is meant, rather, to give an impression of the known extent of such "borrowings." In all probability it is the first such record compiled of any early German-language newspaper and thus may be of some value in future research, especially in such instances where few, if any, copies of the original paper survive.

For the most part what local news there was usually consisted of two types of stories; either very short pieces of general interest, such as reports of accidents, marriages and deaths; or somewhat lengthier comments based on current events, as perhaps best illustrated by an anonymous farmer's appeal for the local electorate to get out and vote (*Band I, Num. 45*). While such local copy was indeed fairly sparse, it still provides some insights into the composition and character of Virginia-German society of the time. Local advertisements and public notices, the important role of farming in the Shenandoah Valley from the services of carding machines to those of local grist mills; and from champion stud horses to itinerant harvest hands, all modes of rural life were reflected in the back pages of the *Volksberichter*. Then too, when spring thaws each year caused rivers and creeks to rise and the north-south mail rider was unable to meet his appointed rounds, the Henkels had to scramble about composing short articles to fill up remaining space, or, as often as not, simply copy excerpts out of books on their shelves. Here the works of the contemporary German pietist-philosopher Heinrich Jung-Stilling proved extremely well-suited, especially his *Heimweh* and *Leben* which could be easily abridged. So too such favorites as Matthias Bartgis' *Haus- und Stallarzt* and Johann Gruber's *Volksfreund und Hagerstauner Calender* seem to have contributed their share to the paper.

A short poem, usually from an unspecified source, was another weekly local feature of the *Volksberichter*. It customarily ran on page 4 under the heading of "*Harf der Musen*" and whereas contemporary classical German literature was then virtually unknown in Virginia, Schiller's poems *Der Mensch* and *Würde der Frauen* did appear on two separate occasions.⁸

The local news stories themselves were generally rather dull and lifeless. By far the most intriguing was the series of short reports which ran from the 11th to the 25th of May 1808 concerning the tragic drowning of young Catharina Kurz, the daughter of Friedrich Kurz of Winchester, a close personal friend of Paul Henkel's and herself a friend of Paul's daughter Sabina. Although the circumstances surrounding the girl's sudden death by falling from a horse into the swollen Shenandoah River were quite clear, many citizens of New Market were given to suspect foul play. Thus the unpleasant task befell Paul Henkel to dispell the nasty rumors by attributing the girl's mishap to the same bad spirits "as often overcome disbelievers like yourselves."⁹

Such controversy, however, could by no means be considered a trademark of the *Volksberichter*. In fact by comparison to some other German-language newspapers of that day, Ambrose Henkel gave his readers relatively little to dispute. He relied far too much on the continued support of all sectors of the Valley German populace to allow any sort of altercation to emerge from his paper.

Although the second surviving subscribers' list of 1809 suggests an increase in readership by the spring of that year, the *Volksberichter* had become a losing proposition. Whether it simply was due, as Ambrose Henkel maintained, to a lack of funds and insufficient readership is difficult to say. Certainly what had started with great hopes ended in bitter disappointment barely thirty months later, with the issue of June 14, 1809 (*Band II, Num. 78*). Perhaps it was as Jacob D. Dietrich also discovered, that the rural German population of the Shenandoah Valley was not learned enough to appreciate a regular weekly German paper. It could likewise have been that those with both time and interest enough preferred to read English-language papers instead. This latter argument would certainly bolster the claim that by 1800 English was making significant inroads at the expense of standard High German, although dialects persisted well into this century.¹⁰

Yet, while the *Volksberichter* died on a sobering note, German language printing in the valley continued to flourish and actually only peaked a full decade later.*

¹ Fairly complete files of the *Virginische Volksberichter* may be found at the following institutions: University of Virginia Library; Duke University Library; The College of William & Mary, and the Rockingham County Historical Society in Harrisonburg, VA. The latter also preserves the 1807 subscribers' list. The 1809 subscribers' list is at the University of Virginia Library. See also Klaus Wust, "German Printing in Virginia: A Check List, 1789-1834," *The Report, SHGM, XXVIII* (1953), particularly p. 58. A revision and updating of the check list is being prepared by the author of this article.

² Klaus Wust, "The English and German Printing Office: Bilingual Printers in Virginia and Maryland," *The Report, SHGM, XXXII* (1966) 24-37.

³ Ambrose Henkel to Solomon Henkel, August 2, 1807 (Henkel Papers, Virginia State Library). For additional information on the Henkel New Market Press see C.O. Miller, "The Henkel Press of New Market, Virginia," *Henckel Family Records XIV* (New Market, Va., 1939) 601-28, 687; and Albert Sydney Edmonds, "The Henkels, Early Printers in New Market, Virginia," *WMQ 2nd Series XVIII* (1938) 174-95.

⁴ In a brief statement in the April 6, 1808 issue of the *Volksberichter* Ambrose Henkel agreed to cease quoting market prices. This was apparently in direct response to accusations from farmers and traders that the prices they realized in Alexandria turned out to be substantially lower than those quoted.

⁵ For Dietrich see *The Report, SHGM, XXXII* (1966) 32-34. Several of Jacob D. Dietrich's Hagerstown and early Staunton imprints have turned up among books once owned by members of the

Henkel family; this includes a copy of *Dr. Martin Luther's Shorter Catechism* from 1808 with marginal notes in Paul Henkel's handwriting, some of which were later incorporated in the Henkels own catechisms (Copy: Rockingham County Historical Society).

⁶ Record of 1827 Slave Trade Between John Hoyle, Jr. & Ambrose Henkel," in Manuscripts Department, University of Va. Library.

⁷ From *Westliche Correspondenz* (Num 450), copy located in the Virginia-German Imprints Collection, The Rockingham County Historical Society, Harrisonburg, Va.

⁸Schiller's *Der Mensch* appeared on August 10, 1808 (Band I, Num. 35) and *Würde der Frauen* on February 8, 1809 (Band II, Num. 61).

⁹ *Volksberichter*, May 18, 1808 (Bond I, Num. 23).

¹⁰See Christopher Dolmetsch, "Studies in Shenandoah Valley German: A Critical Survey," *Journal of German-American Studies* XII (Spring 1977) 25-33.

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LIST OF KNOWN CONTRIBUTING SOURCES TO THE *VIRGINISCHE VOLKSBERICHTER* (1807-1809)

I. GERMAN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Amerikanische Staatsbothe*, (1800-33?) Lancaster, Pennsylvania; publ. Georg & Peter Albrecht; after January 18, 1809 Anton Albrecht (ad in *Volksberichter*).
I/22,1 I/29,3
2. *Baltimore Correspondent*, (1809) Baltimore, Maryland; publ. Christian Sleim [No known copy exists].
II/65,2 [March 8, 1809] II/71,4
3. *Deutsche Virginier Adler*, (1807-09) Staunton, Virginia; publ. Jacob D. Dietrich; also listed as: *der Virginische Deutsche*, possibly also as: S(tauton) Ad(ler) [I/29,4], *Virg. Zeit.* [II/67,2], (these latter may refer to the English edition, *Staunton Eagle*, which continued to appear during the period of the German paper's suspension).
I/10,4 I/12,3 I/18,2-3 I/25,3
I/31,2 I/43,2
4. *Eastoner-Deutsche Patriot*, (1805-14) Easton, Pennsylvania; publ. Jacob Weygandt u. Co., also listed as: *Weygandts Zeitung*.
I/5,3 I/9,4
5. *Freymüthige Libanoner*, (Jan. 1, 1807—Nov. 30, 1808) Lebanon, Pennsylvania; publ. Jacob Schnee; also listed as: *Libanon Zeit.*
I/32,2 I/35,4 II/53,2 [Dec. 14, 1808;
indicates approx. two week delay in receiving
and reprinting from this newspaper]
6. *Hannover Gazette und Unpartheyische Wochenschrift*, (1805-64) Hanover, Pennsylvania; publ. J. P. Starck & Daniel P. Lange [earliest copy previously found: Aug. 8, 1811], listed as: *Han. Gaz.*
I/4,1 I/24,3 I/35,2 I/36,4
II/76,3
7. *Der Haus- und Stallarzt*, first published 1784, reprinted 1794, 1796, 1805; publ. Matthias Bartgis, Frederick, Maryland.
I/31,3
8. *Medizinische und Landwirtschaftliche Register*, [No information available; most likely a Pennsylvania publ.]
I/30,2

9. *Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz*, (1801-12) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. John Geyers; listed as: *Hr. Geyers Zeitung*.
I/26,4
10. *Northampton Correspondent*, (1806-1903) Eastern, Pennsylvania; publ. Christian Jacob Hütter; also listed as: *aus Herrn Hütters Zeitung*.
I/4,2 II/58,3
11. *Pennsylvanische Republikaner*, (Jan. 27, 1808-1809) Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; publ. Richard White & Frederick Geob [No copy of the German edition of this paper has been found].
I/8,2 [Feb. 3, 1808] I/28,1 I/31,1
I/35,1
12. *Readinger Adler*, (1796-1913) Reading, Pennsylvania; publ. Johann Ritter.
I/2,2 I/16,2
13. *Readinger Zeitung*, could be the above, or *Standhafte Patriot*, (1806-16) Reading, Pennsylvania; publ. Gottlob Jungmann; or *The Weekly Advertiser*, (1796-1816) Reading, Pennsylvania; publ. Gottlob Jungmann.
I/3,3
14. *Unpartheyische Amerikaner*, (1807-14) Carlisle, Pennsylvania; publ. Friedrich Sanno.
I/24,2
15. *Unpartheyische Härrisburger Morgenröthe*, (1799-1840) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; publ. Benjamin Mayer & Conrad Fahnestock; usually listed as: *Härrisburger Morgenr.*
I/0,3 I/14,2 I/21,3 II/56,2 [Jan. 4, 1809:
"aus der H. Mr. vom Sten Dec."] II/58,2
16. *Wahre Amerikaner*, (1804-38) Lancaster, Pennsylvania; publ. Heinrich Benjamin Grimmer; also listed as: *Lancaster Wahre Americaner*, and *Herr Grimmlers Zeitung*.
I/1,4 I/11,1 I/21,1 I/24,1
I/26,3 I/27,3 I/34,4 I/39,2
I/43,3 II/54,4 II/63,3 II/65,3
II/68,2 II/77,3
17. *Weltbothe und Unpartheyische Libanoner Wochenschrift*, (Jan. 3, 1809-1810?) Lebanon, Pennsylvania; publ. Solomon Mayer [who once solicited a partnership with Ambrose Henkel, Oct. 1809].
II/65,3 II/66,2 II/72,4 II/74,3
18. *Westliche Correspondenz und Hägerstauner Wochenschrift*, (1795-1830) Hagerstown, Maryland; publ. Johann Gruber; also listed as: *Grubers Zeitung* and *Hägerstauner Zeitung*.
I/1,3 I/3,3 I/5,2 I/10,3
I/14,3 I/25,3 I/28,3 I/31,2
I/35,3 I/42,1 I/43,3 I/49,3
I/50,2 I/52,4 II/53,4 II/54,4
II/56,4 II/57,3 II/59,1 II/65,2

II. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS:

1. *Albany Register*, (1788-1820+) Albany, New York; publ. Solomon Allen jun.
I/24,2
2. *Alexandria Advertiser*, (1800-08) Alexandria, Virginia; publ. Samuel Snowden;
listed as: *Alexandria Zeitung*.
I/3,2
3. *Aurora*, (1794-1820+) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. William J. Duane &
Co.; also titled: *General Advertiser*.
I/6,2 I/8,1 I/10,3 I/14,2
I/22,2 I/26,2-3 I/33,3 I/35,1-2
I/36,1 I/51,2 II/57,2 II/64,1
II/65,2 II/66,2
4. *Baltimore American*, (1799-1820+) Baltimore, Maryland; publ. William Pechin.
I/3,2 I/11,3 I/13,3 I/15,3
I/24,2 I/34,3 I/44,2 I/63,2
5. *Baltimore Evening Post*, (1805-11) Baltimore, Maryland; publ. (Hezekiah)
Niles & (Leonard) Frailey; also listed as: *Baltimore Abendzeitung*, and
Baltimore Abendpost.
I/0,3 I/8,4 II/53,3
6. *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, (1796-1820+) Baltimore, Maryland; publ. John
Hewes.
II/78,3
7. *Boston Gazette*, (1800-1820+) Boston, Massachusetts; publ. Russell & Cutler;
also listed as: *Bostoner Gazette and aus der B.G. vom 17ten October*
(I/48,1 November 9, 1808).
I/5,3 I/15,2 I/36,2 I/48,1
I/51,2
8. *Cumberland Impartialist*, (estbl. Jan. 1808-1809) Cumberland, Maryland; publ.
G.P.W. Butler [only issue found: Vol. I, no. 52, January 24, 1809].
I/2,3
9. *Democrat*, (1804-09) Boston, Massachusetts; publ. Benjamin Parks.
II/13,3
10. *Democratic Press*, (1807-20+) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. John Binns;
listed as: *Demokratische Presse*.
I/3,3 I/22,2 II/61,1 II/70,4
II/72,3
11. *Federal City*, (date unknown) Washington, D.C.; publ. unknown [NOTE: This
newspaper may have been an extension of Charles Cist's *Washington City*
Gazette of ca. 1800 of which no copies are now in existence save a circular
advertising the paper, dated July 21, 1800.] The *Federal City* is also cited
as a source by Johann Gruber in his *Westliche Correspondenz* (see list
I/18) of 6 Feb. 1808.
I/32,2 II/63,2
12. *Freeman's Journal and Philadelphia Mercantile Advertiser*, (1804-20+) Phila-
delphia, Pennsylvania; publ. William M'Corkle & James Elliot; also listed
as: *Mer. Adv.* and *Handlungs Advertiser*, possibly also *Kaufmanns Adv.*
(I/33,4).
I/33,2 II/57,1-3 II/68,3 II/71,3

13. *Eastern Argus*, (1803-20+) Portland, Maine; publ. Willis & Douglas.
II/61,3
14. *Herald*, (1794-1820 +) Norfolk, Virginia; publ. James O'Connor.
I/13,3
15. *Intelligencer*, (1799-1820 +) Lancaster, Pennsylvania; publ. William Dickson.
I/24,4
16. *Kennebec Gazette*, (1800-10) Augusta, Maine; publ. Peter Edes.
I/14,3
17. *Luzerne Federalist und Susquehannah Intelligencer*, (1801-11) Wilkesbarre,
Pennsylvania; publ. Charles Miner.
I/3,4
18. *Maryland Gazette*, (1745-1820+) Annapolis, Maryland; publ. Frederick &
Samuel Green.
II/76,2
19. *Missouri Gazette*, (1800-20+) St. Louis, Missouri; publ. Joseph Charless [to
Volksberichter via Paris, Kentucky paper of *Hr. Johnson* (?)].
I/40,4 II/62,2
20. *Monitor*, (May 12, 1808-09) Washington, D.C.; publ. J. B. Colvin.
I/33,1 [July 27, 1808] I/43,3 II/76,2
21. *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, (1800-20+) Washington,
D.C.; publ. Samuel Harrison Smith.
I/21,1 I/34,4 II/53,4 II/62,2
II/69,1-2
22. *New Orleans Gazette*, (1804-20+) New Orleans, Louisiana; publ. John Mowry.
I/49-3
23. *New York Evening Post*, (1801-20+) New York City, publ. Michael Burnham;
also listed as: *New Yorker Abend Zeitung*, *Neu Yorker Abendpost*, *die*
Neuyork Zeitung, *Nuing Post*.
I/0,2 I/17,2 I/25,3 I/26,3
I/31,2 I/34,3 I/37,3 I/50,1
II/61,1-3
24. *New York Gazette*, (1795-1820+) New York City; publ. (John) Lang &
(John) Miner.
I/2,3 I/11,3 I/36,2 I/42,3
II/58,2
25. *L'Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, (1808) New York City; publ. John Negrin &
Joseph Desmoues.
I/9,4 I/10,1 I/33,2 I/40,3
26. *Pennsylvania Correspondent and Farmers' Advertiser*, (1804-20+) Doylestown,
Pennsylvania; listed as: *Doylstaun Correspondent*.
II/76,3
27. *Philanthropist*, (1806-09) Winchester, Virginia; publ. Matthias E. Bartgis &
Joseph A. Lingan.
I/36,3
28. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, (1786-1820) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; publ. John Scull.
I/2,3

29. *Political and Commercial Register*, (1804-20+) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. William Jackson; also listed as: *Major Jackson's Zeitung, eine federalistische Zeitung in Philadelphia; Philadelphia Register; Politischer Register*.
I/36,2 II/54,3 II/77,3
30. *Paulson's American Daily Advertiser*, (1800-20+) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. Zachariah Poulson; listed as: *aus Poulsons Zeitung*.
I/40,3
31. *Relfs Philadelphia Gazette*, (1803-20+) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; publ. Samuel Relf.
I/19,1 II/63,2 II/64,3
32. *Republican*, (1799-1820+) Petersburg, Virginia; publ. Edward Pescud.
I/13,3 I/17,2
33. *Richmond Enquirer*, (1804-20+) Richmond, Virginia; publ. Thomas Ritchie.
II/57,2
34. *Rutland Herald*, (1794-1820) Rutland, Vermont; publ. William Fay.
I/25,2
35. *Salem Gazette*, (1790-1820+) Salem, Massachusetts; publ. Thomas C. Cushing.
I/34,4 I/43,2-3
36. *Temperate Zone and Chester & Delaware Advertiser*, (June 1808-July 1809) Downingtown, Pennsylvania; publ. Charles Mowry.
I/36,3
37. *Trenton Federalist*, (1798-1820+) Trenton, New Jersey; publ. George Sherman.
II/76,3
38. *Trenton True American*, (1801-20+) Trenton, New Jersey; publ. (James J.) Wilson & (Silas) Halsey(Jr.).
I/18,3 I/19,1
39. *United, States' Gazette*, (1804-18) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Publ. E(nos) Bronson.
II/67,2
40. *Washington Expositor*, (November 14, 1807- 1809?) Washington, B.C.; publ. (Richard) Dinmore & (William) Cooper.
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41. *Washington Federalist*, (1800-09) Washington, D.C.; publ. John S. Findlay.
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42. *Western Citizen*, (1808-20) Paris, Kentucky; publ. J(ohn) A. Grimes.
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Several other references to publications could not yet be identified. They include the following:

1. *Canadiagua Zeitung* (I/52,2), probably *Genesee Messenger* or *Western Repository* in Canadiagua, New York.
2. *Carleil Zeitung* (I/49,4).
3. *Chillicothe Zeitung* (I/50,3).
4. *Lancaster Zeitung* (I/21,1).
5. *Richmonder Zeitung* (I/9,4).
6. *R I Zeitung* (I/7,3).
7. *Stär* (sic). No location (I/8.2)
8. *Utica Zeitung* (I/27,2), probably *Columbia Gazette* or *Patriot*, Utica, N.Y.