

SAMUEL SAUR (1767-1820) GERMAN-AMERICAN PRINTER AND TYPEFOUNDER

A third-generation member of the famed Sauer dynasty of German-American printers, Samuel Saur (1767-1820)¹ made his own significant contribution to the publishing history of North America. He was a printer and publisher in Chestnut Hill and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and in Baltimore, Maryland. In Baltimore he branched out into typefounding, achieving fame as the first American founder of the exquisitely-small diamond type; according to the pioneer printing historian Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), he was the first ever to succeed in the feat of casting the diamond type in italics.²

Although the subject of several articles and mentioned with respect in histories of printing, Samuel Saur has not received full biographical treatment. The present study surveys his life and work, using dependable previous research. It further draws on family correspondence and records, known only incompletely by earlier writers, to add informative details. It concludes with a listing of Samuel Saur imprints, intended to be comprehensive; because it is a pioneer effort, it may miss that mark. Despite possible shortcomings, the list demonstrates the wide range and diversity of Saur's publishing efforts. Clearly, his contributions as printer and typefounder merit renewed attention; his efforts place him within the ranks of outstanding German-Americans in the early National Period.

Early Life

The tenth and youngest child of Christoph Sauer II (1721-1784) and Catherine Sharpnack Sauer (d. 1778), he was the second to bear the name Samuel, a predecessor dying soon after birth. According to family records, Samuel was born in Germantown, north of Philadelphia, at 3:30 AM on March 20, 1767. By that time, his father had taken over the flourishing printing business of the grandfather, Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758), who had initiated the press in 1738. The most famous products of the press were the three editions of the German bible, issued in 1743, 1763, and

1776; the first edition was published by the grandfather and the second and third by Sauer II, Samuel's father.³

Samuel was ten years old when his prosperous father worked out the elaborate terms of his will as he prepared to retire from his publishing enterprise during the turmoil of the Revolutionary War: Samuel was to receive substantial real estate in Germantown and participate equally, with other siblings, in the proceeds from the sale of the printing operation in Germantown, given over, by the bequest of the father, to the older sons Christopher (1754-1799), the third to bear that name, and Peter (1759-1783). He was also, according to the terms of the will, to profit from the sale of the large number of printed books on hand, with exact directions provided for their safekeeping in good condition.⁴

This promising future for Samuel Saur, however, was blasted by the War of Independence, which saw the Sauer estate confiscated and auctioned off (in depreciated Continental currency) for the benefit of the revolutionary American government. Christopher Sauer II, on the basis of strained evidence, and his son Christopher III, on the basis of accurate evidence, had been solemnly declared Tory traitors in May, 1777, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and their substantial property subsequently seized. Despite laws protecting minors in such proceedings, the Sauer children never recovered their rightful inheritance, given the turbulence of the times and the presence of opportunistic patriots who knew well how to fish in troubled waters. Isaiah Thomas estimated that the senior Sauer lost \$90,000 by this confiscation. In 1792 the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a law granting to his heirs any residue of the confiscated estate that remained unsold; this produced little relief.⁵

In 1784 Samuel Saur wrote to his older brother Christopher (then in London seeking compensation as a Loyalist from the Commis-

sioners of American Claims) to tell of the death of their father, which occurred on August 26 of that year. Their mother had died some six years previously. These deaths in the immediate family were not to be the only ones suffered by young Sauer. Four years later Samuel married Sarah Landes, the first of three wives; she died already in February, 1791. His second marriage, to Hannah Schlosser, was also of short duration, again terminated by death. His third wife, Elizabeth La Motte (Lamotte), was the daughter of a Baltimore businessman, a trustee of the Dunker congregation there at Paca and Lombard Streets. She bore him his only child, a dearly-beloved daughter Maria (1796-1875). This third wife outlived him by more than forty years, dying in March, 1862.⁶

Chestnut Hill

As a young man Samuel Saur became a carpenter ("housewright") and then an apothecary; finally in 1790, at the age of twenty-three, he saw his way clear to take up the family trade of printing. In that year he received a small inheritance through trustee Justus Fuchs or Fox (1736-1805), a typefounder who had worked with his father. In the same year he borrowed \$267 from his brother Daniel (1755-1818). Evidently he used these funds to set up a printshop in Chestnut Hill, a village just north of Germantown. It was located "near the tenth milestone, where the Reading and North Wales roads meet;" this was identified by local historians as the Barge house at 8502 Germantown Avenue, earlier used as a printshop by printer Nicholas Hasselbach after 1764.⁷

Samuel Saur issued a prospectus for a weekly newspaper, **Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift**, on October 8, 1790, to cost five shillings per annum.⁸ This is thought to have begun publication in December, 1790, and continued into 1794. It contained many articles favoring a nonresistant or pacifist position, reflecting Saur's Dunker training and harsh wartime experiences. One of Saur's first publications was the traditional cash cow for printers, an almanac for 1791. The title was *Der Neue Hoch Deutsche Americanische Calender*, picking up the title of his grandfather's

famous almanac; Saur was to publish this with considerable success each year (although in three different locations) through 1807. The cover page for the 1792 almanac showed the interior of a printing shop, with a press, compositor's table, and three printers at work. A flying figure of Mercury bore a sheet of paper with the inscription: "Was ich jetzt nicht offenbar, bring ich dir das nächste Jahr."⁹

Saur issued at least sixteen other imprints at his Chestnut Hill shop from 1790 through 1794. Included, among other items, were an ABC book, a Lutheran catechism, a compilation of folk medicine, accounts of supernatural appearances, pietistic essays, and Matthew Carey's account of the yellow fever epidemic that struck Philadelphia in 1793. He continued the tradition of his grandfather and father by printing hymnals for the Brethren and other sectarians, with the sixth edition of *Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel* (1791) and the small but influential first edition of *Die Kleine Harfe* (1792), which contained original hymns of the Brethren.¹⁰

Likely a best seller was the useful pocket book of calculations by Daniel Fenning, *Der Geschwinde Rechner, Oder: des Händlers Nützlicher Gehülfe* (1793), the only book he also published in the English language, using the title *The Federal, or New Ready Reckoner*. Following a typical pattern for newspaper publishers, Saur also carried on a bookselling business. An issue of his newspaper for March 20, 1792, offers nearly 200 titles of literature for sale. During this Chestnut Hill period, Samuel carried on business as well with his older brother Daniel, according to records in the latter's daybook.¹¹

Philadelphia

In 1794 he moved from Germantown Avenue in Chestnut Hill to 71 Race Street, Philadelphia, between Second and Third Streets. This location was next door to that of his brother David (1764-1835), who had maintained a business as a wholesale and retail grocer at 73 Race Street. David Sauer had fallen ill during the yellow fever incident; his long illness and generally poor economic conditions forced him to liquidate his stock and settle all his debts and liabilities, includ-

ing many notes he had co-signed. After 1794 he began a book and stationery business nearby with a partner, William Jones. It is not known why Samuel Saur's stay in Philadelphia was so brief. Perhaps the relationship with his brother did not develop as planned; perhaps also, the lively publishing activity of other German-American printers, such as Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer in Germantown or Carl Cist and Melchior Steiner in Philadelphia made for too much competition. At any rate, by early 1795 he had moved to Baltimore, where there was no one currently printing both in German and in English.¹²

In the brief months in Philadelphia, Samuel Sauer was not idle: he continued the almanac, began another weekly (*Das Philadelphier Wochenblatt*), and printed and published at least four books. These included ABC books for Reformed and Lutheran children, a sermon on James 1:25, and prophetic reflections about the French Revolution.¹³

Baltimore

On March 27 Saur announced in the *Federal Intelligencer* that he intended to begin a newspaper from his office on the "south-west corner of Howard and Fayette streets" of Baltimore; he was already selling copies of the *Ready Reckoner*, likely brought with him from Philadelphia:

Samuel Sower, printer, lately of Philadelphia, respectfully informs the public, that he has established a German and English printing office, at the south-west corner of Howard and Fayette Streets, Baltimore, and that he has commenced the publication of a German weekly paper at 10s. per annum: those gentlemen who may please to favor him with advertisements, it is presumed, will receive an ample benefit from a general advertiser. Handbills, &c. in German and English, will be executed with punctuality and dispatch, at the above-mentioned office.¹⁴

The announced newspaper had the title *Der Neue Unpartheyische Baltimore Bote und Märyländer Staats-Register*, possibly implying that he was continuing one or more previously published papers. One earlier German language periodical has been recorded for Baltimore, issued by Henry Dulheuer in 1786, although no copies are extant and the

exact title is unknown. Only one issue of Saur's paper has been preserved, but it has been calculated that the first to leave the press was probably dated March 25, 1795. The periodical continued until ca. 1798.¹⁵

Saur may have contemplated the move to Baltimore and his issuance of a newspaper two years before. According to Klaus Wust, printer Matthias Bartgis began a German-language newspaper in Frederick, *Bartgis's General Staatsbothe*, early in 1793 because "Samuel Saur was about to move to Baltimore and was trying to solicit one thousand subscribers before starting a German newspaper." Wust's interpretation is that Bartgis's initiative succeeded in delaying Saur's enterprise but not in totally discouraging him.¹⁶

Saur's first Baltimore imprints revealed that he was still printing for his brother David in Philadelphia, and that he had established early business connections with the Baltimore firms of Samuel Keating, bookseller, and of Thomas [Ebenezer T.] Andrews, and [John West] Butler.¹⁷ By 1797 at the latest (and probably sooner) he was also in the book-binding business; by 1799 he had moved his establishment to 190 Baltimore Street.

From the beginning of his Baltimore stay in 1795 he launched an ambitious printing and publishing program, about evenly divided between the German and English languages, but also in French. A bibliographical checklist of Saur imprints numbers some eighty different entries for the period from 1795 through 1807, counting newspapers only once per year (see appendix). Many of his books were religious in content. He printed doctrinal works, hymnals, catechisms, prayer books, psalters, minutes, and sermons for the Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Reformed, Friends, Brethren, and Swedenborgians, as well as general pietistic and theological essays.

An ambitious work was for the Brethren, the group with which he was loosely affiliated. This was Jeremias Felbinger's *Christliches Handbüchlein*, bound with Alexander Mack's two foundational works *Rechten und Ordnungen des Hauses Gottes* and *Grundforschende Fragen... nebst Antworten* (1799).¹⁸ One of the

intriguing publications was his reprint in 1798 of the autobiography of Dr. George de Benneville (1703-1793), the English physician of Huguenot parentage, who was an early leader of Universalism in Pennsylvania.¹⁹

In addition, he published gothic novels, poetry, farriers' handbooks, anatomical works, songsters, young people's literature, conversation cards, booksellers' catalogues, and other secular pieces. He printed for the Free Masons and the Baltimore General Dispensary. In short, his publication program gives evidence that he lived up to his claim, in a printer's card issued about 1797, that "printing and binding [was] done with neatness and dispatch, by Samuel Sower, Fayette-Street."²⁰

The summary judgment by Dieter Cunz, although overly harsh, does describe the miscellaneous nature of Saur's publications: "They certainly had no literary value, for they were schoolbooks and account books, or books with moral, religious or patriotic content." Cunz qualified his critique by adding: "However, Samuel Sower's modest attempt to turn the attention of his fellow citizens to things beyond their daily lives must not be underestimated." He seems to have gone beyond simple job printing by seeking out material to publish on his own or with other entrepreneurs.²¹

In 1799 he made plans to include his older brother Christopher in his operation; the latter had successfully prosecuted his Loyalist claims in London in 1784 and had received an appointment as king's printer and postmaster at St. John, New Brunswick. His involvement there in local politics had not been happy, so he decided to move to Baltimore to join in his youngest brother's business; wartime passions had cooled, so that a return to the United States seemed feasible. Thus, with his oldest son, Brooks Watson Sower (1783-1861), he left New Brunswick in late March, 1799, intending to bring the rest of his family after them once settled in Baltimore. However, Christopher Sower became ill and died "of an apopleptic fit" on July 19, 1799. The fifteen-year old son stayed in Baltimore, working with his uncle Samuel; he was particularly noted for his accuracy in composition of type, scarcely needing a proofreader. He later also pursued

the printing trade independently with modest success. His mother and siblings arrived in Baltimore in 1801, where Samuel Saur saw to their care.²²

One of the reasons Saur reached out to a relative was his growing wish to withdraw from the active trade of printing, the better to concentrate on a related field of endeavor, that of typefounding. An advertisement appeared in the *Baltimore Telegraph* on October 30, 1799, offering to sell a German and English printing office, almost certainly that of Samuel Saur. The description provides insight into the equipment required by an active printer at that time:

To printers. A person wishing to decline the printing business, offers for sale a German and English printing office. Consisting of two complete mahogany presses, one standing press, about 30 fonts of letter, 62 pair of letter cases, and three pair of font ditto, twelve stands, thirty-two chases, 2 imposing stones, 7 composing sticks, eight double and single copperbottomed galleys, and many other articles in his line of profession.²³

At any rate, in 1800 Saur entered into a partnership with William Gwynn, a Baltimore businessman and later editor/owner of the *Federal Gazette*, who invested several thousand dollars in the typefounding business as a silent partner. It was to this enterprise that Samuel Saur was to devote most of his undoubted skills and energies for the future, while still continuing a modest business in printing and publishing. He continued for a time to produce fewer than ten imprints from his press each year, with the number sinking to three for 1804 and 1805, and to one (the almanac) in 1806 and 1807, after which that too was given up. The almanac under the original title was continued until 1812 by the printer Christian Cleim.²⁴

In 1800 Samuel Saur published by subscription a successful book, *Washingtonia*, capitalizing on the idolization of the young nation's first chief executive. In its more than 300 pages it contained a biography of George Washington, a copy of his will, a listing of his property, details of his funeral procession, and other pertinent material. By 1800 Saur had also, after a lapse of time, relaunched a German-language newspaper, this one called

the *Baltimore Post* (or *Baltimore Postbote*). This was published in two formats, three times a week on a large half-folio page, or twice a week; he charged two and one-half dollars for the first option per year, and twelve shillings and six pence for the second option. He was hoping to be able to put it out as a weekly in large folio page size by February 1, 1800, if enough persons subscribed.²⁵

At about this same time he branched out in an auction and lottery business with Samuel Cole, which business continued until it was dissolved in 1806. He also developed a bookstore with Cole. The two partners advertised in 1804 that they carried a large assortment of English books and continually imported books from Germany. One year later they announced the sale of several thousand volumes that had belonged to the late bookseller John Rice. Saur was also associated with J. W. Butler, and again with Andrews, Thomas, and Butler in publishing ventures.

Typesetting

As mentioned previously, Saur became active in the typesetting business during the first decade of the century, assisted by a generous silent partner. When he heard of the death in Germantown of the typesetter and designer Justus Fuchs (Fox) in 1805, Saur began an intensive correspondence with the heir, Emanuel Fox. The negotiations resulted in the purchase in 1806 of Justus Fuchs' typesetting. Inasmuch as the gifted artisan had secured much of this from the forced Sauer auction of 1777, by this transaction, Samuel, the youngest son, was able to retrieve some of his late father's original equipment. It is said that some other of this foundry gear had been preserved by his brother Daniel on his farm near Phoenixville and that this, too, came to Samuel in Baltimore.²⁶

A letter of December 7, 1808, to his sister Catherine Harley in Pennsylvania reveals the extent of the business:

Whether I like it or not, I find myself chained down now more than ever—I am employing the two Kämpfers, a journeyman and a young learner [Joseph Kämpfer and Jacob Kämpfer], besides the stamp cutter and six to seven apprentices, and expect to employ one or two more journeymen. All these would have to

remain idle if I went away from home, for my partner will not bother himself with the business. As he has already invested between seven and eight thousand dollars in buildings, etc., you will very readily realize under what obligations I am to him.²⁷

Saur confided that he had undertaken to cast the "smallest type that has yet been used in the world;" this diamond type was so fine that it would take "four to five thousand spaces to weigh a pound." They had an order from New York to produce enough characters of this font to enable the printing of a bible. Concurrently, they were preparing a shipment of note type for Albany, New York, to be used in printing a hymnal. Altogether, at that time they had about 5,000 pounds of type on order. If enough antimony were found, they could produce much more. The typesetting had prepared a catalogue of their type, which was being circulated. Saur believed that no one had ever seen a "neater specimen of type." Shortly before the war cut off supplies from France, Sower announced in 1812 that he had secured a large supply of antimony, enabling him to accept orders for a variety of fonts, including diamond, French canon, music, script, and German.²⁸

Isaiah Thomas reported in 1815 that Saur's small type was used in printing a "small pocket Bible which was lately printed in that city," meaning Baltimore. This was the bible published by John Hagerty and printed by Brook Watson Sower in 1812. The title page states that this was the first edition in America to use the diamond type. The printer, Brook Watson Sower, it will be remembered, was Samuel Saur's nephew and former employee.²⁹

The economic success of the typesetting had its price. In the same letter (December 7, 1808) Samuel Saur complained that his eyes were beginning to grow dim from the strain of crafting matrices, and that his fingers were covered with blisters and blood from his long hours, day and night, at his demanding tasks. In a summary at the end of the letter, Saur related that he had eleven apprentices and six journeymen at work, and expected to need to hire yet another journeyman to take care of the blossoming enterprise. He felt fortunate in the trust extended to him by his silent partner.

Latter Years

Matters were not quite as happy in his domestic situation. His daughter Maria had decided to marry a Richard B. Spalding of the Roman Catholic faith; he was thought to be related to the well-known archbishop, Martin John Spalding (1810-1872). Samuel Saur, raised in the Dunker tradition, was not pleased by this potential mixed marriage, although he had nothing but praise for the character of his prospective son-in-law, a merchant who had read law. Saur was not a strict member of the Brethren faith, enjoying for example his attendance at Methodist class meetings and worship services; nevertheless, the projected union caused him serious conscientious concern. Despite his hesitation, he did not forbid the marriage, which took place in 1813. He could not resist recording in a later letter to a relative his sentiment that the tragedy of the stillbirth of the marriage's first offspring might have been caused by the questionable nature of the pairing.³⁰

The year 1814 brought high excitement to Baltimore, when the British shelled the town in September during the War of 1812. This reminded him of his experience as a lad during the battle of Germantown, on October 4, 1777, which raged right in front of the Sauer dwelling. He commented some weeks afterward: "We who have gone through the years of the Revolution ought not to become so easily frightened. We ought to leave that to those who have since been born and find these things strange and awful." Fearing invasion or bombardment, Saur had taken the precaution of burying much of his typefoundry equipment in the yard of his shop and moving other parts to the country. This protected his valuable equipment but also meant that he was not in a position to earn money during the crisis. He was also burdened with the care of the Kämpfer family.

Four years later found the aging Saur still complaining of poor health and of eyetrouble; evidently casting the minute diamond type had caused lasting damage to his eyesight. His family situation was not the best; although he praised the affection that his daughter showed for him, he lived apart from his family. He was gradually closing down his

typefoundry; at that point he employed only one caster, one of the Kämpfers. He complained that there was little market for his backstock, which was worth nearly \$6000. Yet, despite his troubles, he was able to take a philosophical attitude, consonant with his pietistic faith:

I don't wish to interfere with others myself —Jesus and my small chamber are a world for me; and my neighbors are all good friends. I am not molested by seals, laws, etc. etc. And though I am very feeble and suffer much from pains and colic, still my night's rest is seldom disturbed. I am indifferent to most things. The Lord has helped me along so far and I have given assistance whenever I could, without asking any in return. I have always had food and clothing and with them I am satisfied.³¹

On October 12, 1820, Samuel Saur died. His funeral services were held at the home of John H. Ewaldt on the Reister Town Road, Baltimore, probably the family with whom he had been living during his last years. His son-in-law, Richard Spalding, took over the firm, then known as the Baltimore Type Foundry; this continued to maintain its reputation for quality, under a variety of owners, until it became part of the American Type Founders Company in 1892.³²

Conclusion

The progenitor of the Sauer printing dynasty, Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758), supposedly expressed a deathbed wish that his printing business might be perpetuated indefinitely by his descendants and never leave the hands of the family. Although the disruption of the Revolutionary period put paid to that pious desire, it was in fact the case that a large number of his descendants did continue the printing tradition. A notable chapter in that story was written by his grandson, Samuel Saur, printer, publisher, and typefounder, who in the third generation made his own distinctive contribution.³³

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NOTES

¹As with other members of the family, the question of the spelling of the printer's surname is problematic. The German versions "Sauer" and "Saur" are the most common, along with the English version "Sower." Samuel used the spellings "Saur" and "Sower" interchangeably. We will use the German spelling "Saur," the form used by the latest bibliography of German-American imprints, recognizing that "Sower" might just as well be chosen; see Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States: Volume 1 (1728-1807); Volume 2 (1808-1830)*, comps., Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989), pp. 308ff.

²Most studies of printing in the United States, of the Sauer family, and of German-Americans in Maryland contain passages on Samuel Saur, usually repeating the same material. Some of the most important include, in chronological order: Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970), pp. 421-422, originally printed in 1810; Martin G. Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), pp. 432-433; William McCulloch, "Additions to Thomas's History of Printing," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Series 31 (1921), 89-171; James O. Knauss, "Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in German Newspapers Published in America," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 29 (1922); Douglas C. McMurtire, *A History of Printing in the United States: Volume II, Middle & South Atlantic States* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), pp. 68-86, originally published in 1932; Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790...* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938), pp. 57ff.; Edward W. Hocker, "The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 53 (1948), 120-123; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 168-170; Rollo G. Silver, *Typefounding in America, 1787-1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), pp. 41-46. Few articles have been devoted solely to the Pennsylvania and Maryland printer. These include: [Oswald Seidensticker], "Synopsis of Prof. O. Seidensticker's Address [on Samuel Sower]," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 3 (1888-1889), 9-17; J. M. Henry, "Pathfinders in Maryland, 14/15: Samuel Sower," *Gospel Messenger* (Aug. 18, 1934), 7-8 and (Aug. 25, 1934), 20-21; Siegfried Taubert, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen und deutschsprachigen Buchdrucks und Buchhandels im Ausland: Samuel Sower, Baltimore, Maryland," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, 9 (December 4, 1953).

³A comprehensive genealogical record (though containing some inaccuracies) is Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower, Printer, of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: C. G. Sower, 1887). The most recent summary of the Sauer printing story is Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Fam-

ily: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 23 (1988), 31-40, with bibliographical references to many of the important sources.

⁴The text of the will has been published three times: Dieter Cunz, ed., "Two Christopher Sower Documents," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 69 (1945), 60-70; [Klaus Wust, ed.], "The Last Will of Germantown Printer Christopher Sower of March 23, 1777," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 32 (1966), 61-64; and Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), pp. 389-395.

⁵The story is told in Thomas, *History*, pp. 410-414; Brumbaugh, *History*, pp. 414-422; Hocker, *Printing House*, pp. 90-106; and Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 399-405, and most recently in Stephen Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981).

⁶Christopher Sower to Samuel Sower, London, January 2, 1785; MS 91, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. The letter is published in Brumbaugh, *History*, pp. 426-429; Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 421-423; and Cunz, "Sower Documents," pp. 60-70. Data on Samuel Saur's marriages are found in Sower, *Genealogical Chart* and Henry, "Pathfinders," (Aug. 18, 1934), 8.

⁷For the Chestnut Hill period, see, besides previously-cited works the following: Samuel Fitch Hotchkiss, *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill* (Philadelphia: P. W. Ziegler, 1889), pp. 418-422, based on material sent the author by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker and Charles G. Sower; John J. MacFarlane, "History of Early Chestnut Hill," *Philadelphia History. Volume III* (Philadelphia: City Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 115-117; Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933* (Germantown: author, 1933), p. 124. The receipt of inherited money is found in MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA; the reference to the borrowed money is in Daniel Sower's Daybook, Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania Library.

⁸References to this and other imprints of the Samuel Saur press are found in the previously cited sources, as well as in the following bibliographical works: Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, pp. 308ff. [this supplants the earlier listing by Oswald Seidensticker, ed., *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia: German Pionier-Verein, 1893) and its supplements]; Thomas R. E. Idle and Claude W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 45 (1935), 230-231, 268; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), p. 514; Milton Drake, ed., *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962), pp. 985-986.

⁹Samuel Saur's work with illustrations is included in the comprehensive survey, Elizabeth Carroll Reilly, *A Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1975).

¹⁰For detailed information on the Brethren hymnals,

see Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, *The German Hymnody of the Brethren, 1720-1903* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1986), pp. 41 ff.

¹¹On January 19, 1791, Daniel Sower noted: "Mr. Youngman Dbt. to Daniel Sower on New Account To 2 Dozen of Almanacs = 0/12/0;" [Jan. 20, 1791] "Send Cash by Wm. Colman — to Samuel Sower for Almanacs = 12/0/0;" [January 12, 1792] "Settled with Mr. Youngman & Received Cash for Br. Samuel Sower for 26 Doxen of almanac's for the year 1791 & 1792 — after deducting commission 10% Cent, viz. 15/7 - 7/0/5;" [Dec. 23, 1792] "Received of Samuel Sower by the stage 145 Almanacs in sheets paid Cash to Colman for the same — 10d" (Daniel Sower Daybook, Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania).

The relationship between printers and bookselling is described in great detail in Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984).

¹²On David Sower, see M. Auge, *Lives of the Eminent Dead and Biographical Notices of Prominent Living Citizens of Montgomery County, Pa.* (Norristown: author, 1879), pp. 388-401.

¹³See Arndt/Eck, *First Century*, pp. 382ff.; Arndt/Olson, *Newspapers*, pp. 577-578.

¹⁴The notice is printed in a basic source for Samuel Saur's work in Baltimore: A. Rachel Minick, *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949), p. 101; her essay on Saur is on pages 99-109, with detailed entries on the Saur imprints in the bibliographical appendix of the monograph. See also Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland. A Check List, 1768-1950," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 27 (1950), 9-70.

¹⁵Information on Dulheuer (also Dulhire) is found in Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 167, and Minick, *History*, p. 100. This shadowy figure was involved in various promotional activities in the late eighteenth century; the most curious was a grand scheme to resettle large numbers of German Mennonites on the Ohio frontier; he forwarded a petition to Congress to this effect, but it failed to take action. See Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Religion and Revolution: Options in 1776," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 1 (June, 1978), 8-9, and James O. Lehman, "A Grand Migration Scheme," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 59 (1985), 383-397.

Information on the Saur newspaper is based on the essay by George C. Keidel, *The Earliest German Newspapers of Baltimore: I. The Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: author, 1927). Keidel cites the work by Eduard F. Leyh, *Baltimore: Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschen Elements* (Baltimore: C. C. Bartgis & Bro., 1887), pp. 298-299, which reports on a 1799 issue of a second Saur newspaper, the *Baltimore Post*, Cunz correctly points out that Keidel was mistaken in hinting that the *Post* may have begun publication in 1780 but mistakenly doubts that Saur was connected with such a newspaper at any point — *Maryland Germans*, p. 167, fn. 28. Keidel also supplied information on the early Dulheuer newspaper, pp. 5-7.

¹⁶Klaus Wust, "The English and German Printing Office: Bilingual Printers in Maryland and Virginia," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 32 (1966), 24-37, esp. p. 28, citing the *Staatsbothe* (March 2, 1793).

The recent German-American bibliography by Arndt and Eck lists a Saur imprint in Baltimore in the year 1794, that is in the year prior to his move from Philadelphia. This has previously been assigned to 1795. It is not clear how this anomaly can be explained. See Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, p. 370, and Reichmann, "German Printing," no. 31.

¹⁷See Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, pp. 388ff. Detailed information on Saur imprints after 1800 are found in Roger P. Bristol, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1953), pp. 6ff.

¹⁸For information on Felbinger, see J. William Miller, "Felbinger, Jeremias," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, ed. D. F. Durnbaugh (Oak Brook, IL, and Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-1984), p. 482. American editions of the Felbinger treatise are listed in Donald F. Durnbaugh and Lawrence W. Shultz, "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963. Two Hundred Fifty Years of Brethren Literature," *Brethren Life and Thought*, 9 (1964), pp. 21, 25. There is a recent English edition. J. William Miller, trans., *Christian Handbook and Rights and Ordinances* (Berne, IN: Economy Printing Concern, 1975).

¹⁹For information on De Benneville, see D. F. Durnbaugh, "Benneville, George de," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, p. 117.

²⁰Quoted in Minick, *History*, p. 105.

²¹Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 169-170.

²²For information on Christopher Sauer III, see James O. Knauss, "Christopher Saur the Third," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Series 41, part 1 (1931); J. Russell Harper, "Christopher Sower: King's Printer and Loyalist," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, 14 (1955), 67-109; and Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 386-423.

²³Quoted in Minick, *History*, p. 105.

²⁴Silver, *Typefounding*, pp. 41-46; Drake, *Almanacs*, pp. 220ff.

²⁵Keidel, *German Newspapers*, pp. 8-9, quoting from Saur's almanac for 1800, printed in 1799: "Der Herausgeber dieses Calendars bedienet sich gleichfalls dieser Gelegenheit, dem geehrten Publikum kund zu thun, dass er wieder seith geräumer Zeit eine deutsche Zeitung herausgiebt...." The quotation was reprinted in Minick, *History*, 102-103. Both Keidel and Minick incorrectly assumed that this referred to the earlier paper.

²⁶Samuel Sower to Emmanuel Fox, Baltimore, March 17, 1804; Samuel Sower to E. Fox, Baltimore, July 6, 1805; Samuel Sower to Emanuel Fox, October 9, 1805; Samuel Sower to Emanuel Fox, October 17, 1805. The correspondence is found in MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. The reference to material from Daniel Sower is in Hocker, "Printing House," p. 115.

"Samuel Sower to Catherine [Sower] Harley, Baltimore, December 7, 1808; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA

²⁸Silver, *Typefounding*, p. 44.

²⁹Thomas, *History*, p. 422.

³⁰Samuel Sower to Catherine Harley, Baltimore, November 10, 1813, with additional notes from January 12, 1814, and February 25, 1814; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. It seems unlikely, as several authorities claim, that Sower was ever called to the Brethren ministry. The claim seems to be based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Sower's letter of November 10, 1813, in which he reported that he had been urged while on a visit in Germantown to take up preaching, wh ich he declined.

³¹Samuel Sower to Catherine Harley, Baltimore, January 7, 1815; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA.

³²Silver, *Typefounding*, pp. 45-46.

³³A summary of the Sauer descendants who were related to printing and publishing is given in Dumbaugh, "Sauer Family." More detailed information is found in Sower, *Genealogical Chart*, and Hocker, "Printing House."

PUBLICATIONS OF SAMUEL SAUR/SOWER (1767-1820) FROM 1790 TO 1807

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