

ANTIQUARY

T. & J. Swords.

Part One. Printers During the Federal Period to Doctors, Scientists, Friendly and Calliopean Clubbers, and other New York Literati, as well as High Churchists, and the Occasional Presbyterian.

T. & J. Swords became prominent publishers following the revolutionary war in the early years of the United States,¹

1. See *In Memory of James R. Swords. Notes of a Meeting of the New York Publishers' Association and others connected with the Trade, at Appleton's Building, Broadway*. June 20, [1855] 10; Charles E. Butler, "T. & J. Swords, Publishers," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 58 (1954) 89–90.

2. [Paul Johnston,] "T. & J. Swords, Early New York Printers," *The Book Collector's Packet* 1 (1932) 16–17. The last publications for the firm and its successors would seem to have been in 1859. The succession appears to be: T. & J. Swords (1786–1832); Swords, Stanford & Co. (1832–1842); Stanford & Swords (1843–1855); Thomas N. Stanford (1855–1857); Stanford and Delisser (1858–1859); and finally "Delisser and Procter, successors to Stanford & Swords" (1859). The last published two dozen or more books in 1859 and then apparently nothing further. See Appendix A for more information on the firm and its locations in New York City.

3. "Died on Thursday last Mr. James Swords, the oldest booksellers, publishers, and stationers in New York. They published the first monthly magazine." Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*. Edited, with an introduction, by Allan Nevins . . . in two volumes (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1927) 773. Cited in Butler, 92.

4. Dr. Samuel Miller in his *Brief Retrospect* describes the improvement in American printing at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "At the commencement of the period under review, there were but three or four Printers in the American colonies; and these carried on their business upon a very small scale, and in a very coarse, inelegant manner. But at present the number of Printers in the United States may be considered as near three hundred; and many of these perform their work with a neatness and elegance which are rarely exceeded in Europe. At that time the printing [of] an original American work, even a small pamphlet, was a rare occurrence, and seriously weighed, as an important undertaking; while the reprinting of foreign works was seldom attempted. But now at least one hundred American works, some of which are large and respectable, annually issue from our presses; and the republication of foreign books is carried on in almost every part of our country, and particularly in the capital towns, with a degree of enterprise, and to an extent which would not disgrace some of the most cultivated parts of the European world." Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century. Part the First; in Two Volumes: containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts and Literature during that Period*. By Samuel Miller, A.M.,

and continued in business for "more than eighty years."² The founders of the New York firm were brothers Thomas (1764–1843) and James Swords (1765–1846). The siblings produced high quality editions of scientific, medical and literary works, ranking them amongst the most prominent printers of the Federal Period. Their *New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository*, the first illustrated magazine published in New York, ran from 1790 through 1797, and counted among its first subscribers, the President, Vice President, and Chief Justice of the United States.³ They excelled in printing literary works, published the first American professional novelist, Charles Brockden Brown, and would become "the leading dealers of literary wares in the city" (Butler, 92). And contrary to popular misconception, their work was of very fine quality:⁴

The general belief is that Early American printing, if distinguished by anything at all, is to be discredited with slovenly press work, miserable paper, and bad types.... A few years ago we became interested in the printing of T. & J. Swords, printers and publishers, whose books were attractively done.... But T. & J. Swords, though they depended to a great extent upon religious, college, and state, printing for their bread and butter, were far from inactive in the production of such literary and poetical works as the budding Town had to offer. And it is in these literary works that they have produced their most attractive books (Johnston, 16).

The Swords were also dedicated Episcopalians, and their bookstore was after a fashion the unofficial headquarters for the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, and operated as that denomination's printing house in the city. However, for a few years at least, this commitment and position did not keep the Swords from publishing the occasional title by the city's most prominent Reformed and Presbyterian ministers. Sadly, the relatively peaceful relations that had existed between the Episcopalian and these other churches since the end of the Revolutionary War were strained when a controversy erupted in the press over "high churchism," and the latter took their work to other presses.

A LOYALIST FAMILY

The father of the Swords brothers, Lieutenant Thomas Swords, an Irishman, came to the colonies in 1756, serving under General Abercrombie. He continued in service to the British Army until 1766, when he resigned. At the time, the British government was encouraging reduction of troops in the colonies to save money, offering land and half wages as

incentives. The Swords settled in Saratoga County, New York and took up farming.⁵

The Swords were loyalists and attempted to remain neutral at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War; but Thomas Swords was arrested in May of 1776 for refusing to command colonial forces. He was typically granted a release to return to his family after eight months in prison. When and where he rejoined his family is unclear as his wife Mary had fled the family farm with the children, probably during July 1777 at the retreat of the American forces.⁶ On September 17–19, 1777, General Burgoyne's army was encamped by the

one of the Ministers of the United Presbyterian Churches in the City of New York, member of the American Philosophical Society, and Corresponding Member of the Historical Society of Massachusetts (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1803) 2.386.

5. Polly Hoppin, "The Thomas Swords Family: A Perspective on The Loyalists Of The American Revolution" (1976). <http://www.rootsweb.com/~nysarato/swords.htm>. Other sources say 1776 instead of 1766, but that apparently is incorrect. See *Prominent Families of New York*. Revised Edition (New York City: The Historical Company, 1898) 545. Butler, 89.

6. It would seem that the statement that Thomas and James Swords "came to Halifax in 1776" is incorrect. Marie Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751–1800* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1952) 615.

7. Charles W. Snell, *Saratoga National Historical Park New York: National Park Service Handbook Series No. 4* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, n.d. [1961?]) 13–14.

8. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (New York: B. Franklin, 1964?; repr. of 1874 ed.) 1.192–193, 313; 2.91–92, 120, 126–127.

9. While Hoppin gives the year as 1779, the Swords' broadside places the year of death as 1780.

10. *Thomas Swords, born at Marybarrow, (Queen's County,) Ireland, on Sunday, June 19, 1738:—Died at New-York, on Sunday, January 16, 1780* (New-York: Printed by Thomas and James Swords, 1782). The American Antiquarian Society owns an electrostatic copy of a privately owned original of this title: "Genealogical record of the Swords family, taken from the family Bible. Apparently printed during the Swords' apprenticeship; the firm of T. & J. Swords was established in 1786." *American Antiquarian Society Online Card Catalog*, <http://catalog.mwa.org/webvoy.htm>. Hereafter AASOCC. This was printed the year before Thomas and James went to Shelbourne in 1783. In 1782 the brothers were respectively about eighteen and seventeen years old. They returned to New York in 1786.

11. "The Port-Roseway Gazetteer and the Shelburne Advertiser. Printed at Shelburne, N.S., by James Robertson, Junior, and T. & J. Swords, 1784–1785, or later." Tremaine, 614. "The *Port-Roseway gazetteer* was printed in the same office and from the same fonts of type as the *Royal American gazette*. And while distinct from the older paper in title, numbering, and apparently in ownership, it served as a second weekly edition issued on Thursdays, of the *Gazette*, issued on Mondays. Some of the repetitive matter, e.g. advertisements, was printed from the same setting of type in both papers. In other matters they complement each other, reprinting different items from the same exchange paper, the *Gazette*, reprinting official publications and news, the *Gazetteer*, the more 'literary' items" (Tremaine, 615). Italics original.

Swords' farmhouse prior to the Battle of Saratoga (Hoppin, "The Thomas Swords Family"), and the house served as the general's headquarters.⁷

Although unsuccessful in obtaining a flag of safe passage to Canada, the elder Swords was granted one under which the whole family traveled to New York City. Most significantly for the Swords brothers, upon their arrival in New York, "Thomas and James, then thirteen and twelve, were apprenticed to James Robertson, renowned printer of Tory propaganda," who had come from Norwich, Connecticut, to New York after its capture by the British Army (Hoppin).

Robertson with his brother Alexander had come to the colonies from Edinburgh, and first printed in New York in 1768. After two years they moved to Albany where they printed until 1775. Robertson began a second operation in partnership with John Trumbull at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1773. In 1775 he ceased the Albany business and moved to Norwich when detected printing in favor of the royalist cause. Before coming to New York, Robertson published *The Royal Gazette* for a short time at Philadelphia.⁸

Sadly, possibly due to the ill effects of his imprisonment, Lieutenant Swords died in New York City, January 16, 1780, and the family separated. Mrs. Swords and the other children moved to Bergen, New Jersey, while the two boys remained with the Robertsons (Hoppin). In New York the Robertsons were printers of *The Royal Gazette*, and then *The Royal American Gazette*, which ran from 1777 to 1783. In 1782 the apprentices issued their first publication, a one page broadside: *Thomas Swords, born at Marybarrow, (Queen's County,) Ireland, on Sunday, June 19, 1738:—Died at New-York, on Sunday, January 16, 1780.*⁹ This was a family genealogy, which was no doubt a type of honor to their late father, as well as an exhibition of the young brothers' printing skill.¹⁰

In April of 1783, the Robertsons and their two apprentices along with other loyalists traveled in the first group of thirteen ships to settle a colony at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. The printers there resumed *The Royal American Gazette*, which ran until 1786 (Tremaine, 616). In 1784, the "establishment of *The Port Roseway Gazetteer and the Shelburne Advertiser*, printed by Thomas Jr. and James Swords with James Robertson, Jr. heralded the commencement of the magnificent career which lay ahead for the young brothers" (Hoppin).¹¹

In 1786 Mrs. Swords and the rest of the family joined the brothers at Shelburne. Mary Swords had left New York in the late summer of 1783 for London, where she spent some years attempting to gain compensation for the loss of the farm and for provisions supplied to General Burgoyne. She was granted a £40 annual pension, and after another trip in 1788 and more pleading, received a warrant of survey "in favor of the Widow Swords and her five children for six thousand two hundred acres of land in the Township of Chapham". Whether

this had any actual value as an executable land warrant is not clear (Hoppin).

Life in Shelbourne was evidently as miserable as life had been in America for the loyalists (Hoppin). In 1786 the Swords brothers returned to New York where they established their printing firm, T. & J. Swords. The family was reunited at some point, with Mrs. Swords following the brothers to New York in 1789 or thereafter. She died in 1798, age 55, during the yellow fever outbreak of that year (Butler, 90).

T. & J. SWORDS: NEW YORK

The new country to which the Swords returned, while holding great promise, was not known for, and was in great need of, progress on the cultural and intellectual front. "Little advance had been made throughout the country in transportation, in sanitation or in education since the colonial period. The United States still lacked a cultivated social group to occupy the responsible positions in government, to form the taste in letters and the other arts, to fill the ranks of the professions and to carry into higher spheres the education of the youth." As for the Swords' city of business, while it was "a rapidly growing and busy commercial city," it "differed from the rest of the nation only in degree of crudity." This "busy but uncultivated city" had no school system; Columbia College was small and struggling; and the "partisan newspapers" had little "literary value."¹² New York was

populous, but unsanitary; prosperous, but badly lighted; there was a small cultured class, but the entire population was helpless before the frequent epidemics of disease and was served with a very bad marketing system and an unclean water supply. Few people in the town had any great reverence for wisdom or had any keen desire to improve cultural, social, or sanitary conditions. In other words, New York and almost all American communities had achieved some success in gaining wealth, size, and commercial importance, but, having made these material beginnings, were unwilling to apply their energies or their resources in the more vital domain of the spirit (Hall, 6).

This condition of the new county would begin to change.¹³ While small, the educated and cultured class was highly motivated, perhaps obsessively so, to see their nation improve itself.¹⁴ It was a time of big ideas (as exhibited in the country's founding documents), and there was a great deal of activity with many gathering together formally and informally to read, discuss and debate. They formed private and public libraries, quickly formed societies to preserve documents important to the history of the fledging republic, and generally sought

self as well as national improvement.¹⁵ T. & J. Swords would participate in this general current of activity, and come to be one of the most noted publishers of that day.

Apparently the brothers Swords labored in the city for several years at trade printing before venturing out into publishing. In 1789 T. & J. Swords issued their first title, which was a reprint of a London edition of *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, a small work of just over seventy pages.¹⁶ The

12. Robert Courtney Hall, *A Scientist in the Early Republic, Samuel Latham Mitchill 1764-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) [6]-7.

13. See Thomas Bender's *New York Intellectual*. See Appendix B.

14. Many of the educated class in the new republic perhaps had an inferiority complex. Writing of Elihu Hubbard Smith's diary entries for the period, James E. Cronin notes: "It is quite evident from the diary that one of the strongest factors in directing his thoughts and those of his friends was what might be called 'chronic colonialitis.' This state of mind, a resentment that their lives and culture were neither understood nor appreciated in England (coupled with an occasional uneasy suspicion that the English might be right in ignoring them), accounted for much of their intellectual tension and continued effort to prove and improve themselves." James E. Cronin, "Elihu Hubbard Smith and the New York Friendly Club, 1795-1798," *PLMA* 64 (1949) 472. Another example of this is in Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect*. In an eighty page notice of his own country in "Nations lately become Literary" in the closing pages of that work, he apologetically begins: "The annals of American literature are short and simple. The history of poverty is usually neither very various, nor very interesting." And at the end of the section, he gives the causes, happily gradually declining, why the United States lagged behind European authors who were more 'learned, instructive, and elegant.' *Brief Retrospect*, 2.330; 404-409.

15. "The establishment of the Federal Government, in 1789, may be considered as the last grand epocha in the progress of knowledge in America. From this period public tranquility and confidence began to rest on a foundation more solid than before; wealth flowed in on every side; the extension of our intercourse with Europe, the great seat of civilization, refinement and literature, rendered us every day more familiar with trans-atlantic productions and improvements; and a sense of national dignity and independence becoming gradually more strong and general, all conspired to furnish the means, and to excite an ambition for enriching our own country with the treasures of knowledge. From this time till the end of the century, literary institutions of various kinds were multiplied with astonishing rapidity in the United States. Besides Colleges, Academies, and subordinate Schools, Scientific Associations were formed; Libraries began to be established in the most remote parts of the country; Printing Presses and Bookstores appeared in great numbers where they were never before known; Newspapers became numerous to a degree beyond all precedent; and the rewards of literary labour, though still small, were considerably augmented" (Miller, *Brief Retrospect*, 2.384-385).

16. AASOCC lists this one title from 1789, which appears to be the first published by T. & J. Swords: *A narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay* (New York: Reprinted by T and J Swords, 1789). Evans 22176. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from ... 1639 Down to ... 1820, with Bibliographical and Biographical Notes* (Chicago: [Blakely Press], 1903-1934; repr. New York: Peter Smith, 1941-1962).

title page notes the work as “London: Printed for J. Debrett. New-York: Re-Printed by T. and J. Swords, And Sold By All The Book-Sellers in the City.”¹⁷ Copies of this work complete with Booksellers’ advertising are rare, but an example owned by the University of Virginia has two pages attached to the end of the work, containing notices by the two booksellers,

17. While in the beginning it appears they were only a printing shop, T. & J. Swords were clearly selling other titles as well as their own by 1794, and so they may have functioned as a bookseller prior to that date. They dabbled for a time, or perhaps even continued to sell other merchandise. In 1798 they advertised that they carried in addition to books and stationery, an assortment of jewelry and plated ware, as well as “a number of Elegant Prints.” William Dunlap, *André; a tragedy in five acts* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1798) [bookseller’s advertisement] 112. Evans 33652. One mid 19th century writer, in a piece on New York publishing houses, notes that at the close of the Revolutionary War, the brothers “established themselves as printers, booksellers and publishers” at their first address, “No 43 Crown Street.” “The Book Trade. Publishers and Publishing in New York,” *Norton’s Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular*, New Series, volume 1 (April 1, 1854) 165.

18. It is difficult to imagine that this is a typographical mistake. The Swords either moved or had space at 43 and 44 Crown Street. It appears throughout their early career that the brothers often had two addresses simultaneously, perhaps one serving as a bookshop, the other as a printshop?

19. [Bookseller’s Advertisement], *A narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay* (New York: Reprinted by T and J Swords, 1789). The author here thanks the University of Virginia, Special Collections, for providing a copy of the text of this rare, and possibly earliest, advertisement by T. & J. Swords. In this example, still in its unprinted pale blue wrapper, the advertising is appended at the back (Special Collection Call Number AC901.M33 v. 40 no. 4). The AASOCC/*Early American Imprints* copy lacks the two pages of Bookseller’s notices (*Early American Imprints, 1639–1800* [New York: Readex Microprint Corp., 1955–1969]).

20. Actually the firm published this directory from 1791 through 1798. A *New-York Directory* by David C. Franks was published by Shepard Kollock in 1786 and 1787, and a *New York Directory, and Register, Illustrated with an Accurate and Elegant Plan of the City of New-York* was published in 1789 and 1790 by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell. A new production by William Duncan was published by the Swords from 1791 until 1795, and evidently this was replaced by Longworth’s *American Almanack, New-York Register, and City Directory*, which the Swords published from 1796 through 1798.

21. See Appendix C.

22. Given the close relationship of Trinity Church and Columbia College, it is not surprising to see an increase in the number of publications for both the college and the Protestant Episcopal Church around the same period of time.

23. These works were for the aforementioned merchant Berry and Rogers, booksellers and sellers of hardware, medicines and other merchandise. They were *Concise observations on the nature of our common food*, a reprint of a short work published in London in 1787; a translation of a work by John Caspar Lavater, *Aphorisms on man*, which was a work of about 118 pages; and apparently, *An interesting narrative of the travels of James Bruce, Esq. into Abyssinia, to discover the source of the Nile. Abridged from the original work. By Samuel Shaw, Esq.*, a work of over 380 pages (Evans 22563, 22609

Hodge, Allen & Campbell, and Berry and Rogers, as well as a notice which reads:

T. and J. Swords, Printers, Respectfully inform their Friends and the Public, that, having established a PRINTING-OFFICE in this City, they intend prosecuting their Business in all its Branches, with Elegance and Propriety: They hope for a Share of the Public Countenance, and flatter themselves they will be able to give general Satisfaction.

All Favours will be thankfully received, and duly executed, at their Office, No. 44,¹⁸ Crown-Street; where HandBills, Cards, &c. with or without elegant Vignet Borders, may be had at the shortest Notice, and on the most reasonable Terms.¹⁹

Over the next several years the output of the firm would increase as they formed several important relationships. “We are sure, from what we have seen, that Thomas and James Swords were not long in gaining political favor in New York for they were printers of the *New York Directory* from 1794 [sic 1791] onwards.²⁰ They also had a strong following at Columbia University, printing an amazing number of *Inaugural Addresses* and *Dissertations* for the members” (Johnston, 17).

The longest and dearest relationship the Swords formed was with the Protestant Episcopal Church. “Thomas Swords was for thirty years an active member of the vestry of Trinity Church” in New York (Butler, 91). In 1791, the same year they began printing the *New York Directory*, the firm published their first work for the denomination, a sermon delivered in Trinity Church before the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The next year among several titles they published a piece by David Hosack, M.D., who became professor of Botany at Columbia College in 1795, and two medical dissertations.²¹ In 1793, perhaps building upon the connections made producing these publications, the Swords began their long relationship with Columbia College, publishing an “amazing number” of dissertations and addresses, becoming in 1795 “Printers to the faculty of Physic” (i.e. Medicine), which name they retained through 1812, though they continued publishing for the college through 1827.²²

THE SWORDS’ NEW YORK MAGAZINE

While these relationships were important to the Swords’ growth and success as publishers, the work they did in 1790 no doubt founded a reputation for fine craftsmanship, as well as a literary reputation, which would be necessary to attract and continue important publishing projects. That year the firm printed two or three works for another client,²³ but failed to

interest enough subscribers in an offering of their own.²⁴ However, another work, which they must have begun planning in 1789,²⁵ proved to be at least a critical success, and probably is the work which put them on the map as serious printers of quality work and led to their swift rise to become, by the beginning of the next century, “eminent printers and booksellers at *New-York*.”²⁶

In January 1790, T. & J. Swords began publishing a monthly serial, *The New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository*.²⁷ The magazine would continue through December 1797, and become the longest-running magazine in the country during the eighteenth century. Among the inaugural subscribers were George Washington, John Adams, John Jay, and John Pintard. The periodical was the first illustrated magazine published in New York City, and no doubt quickly earned them a good reputation and additional work.²⁸ And while one has speculated this publication and other serial endeavors could not have been financially significant to their business, the fact that the brothers would continue and attempt several serials over the years would at least indicate the work was worthwhile, and points to their sharing in the period’s thirst for self improvement.²⁹ Indeed one can see this in the published objectives for the new magazine wherein “the Swords brothers articulated an understanding of the purposes of a magazine that was shared” by the literati of the day.³⁰

The magazine was not undertaken, they averred, out of any ‘pecuniary motives,’ nor was the motive the ‘ambition of acquiring literary reputation,’ for, as they explained, ‘it will be our studied endeavor to remain unknown.’ ‘We plead,’ they wrote, ‘the cause of science.’ The pursuit of science, by which they meant the disciplined pursuit of general cultural interests, would, they reflected, give to their minds and to the minds of their readers ‘a certain refinement and delicacy of character.’ And they hoped to advance the cause of intellectual life in New York: ‘A well conducted magazine, we conceive must ... contribute greatly to diffuse knowledge throughout a community and to create in that community a taste for literature’ (Bender, 32–33).

The *New York Magazine* evidences at least the cultural and literary, if not “political,” connections the Swords were making, and how these were cooperating toward expanding the cultural and intellectual horizons of the new republic.

A NURSERY FOR THE SWORDS’ SUCCESS: LIBRARIES, BOOKSELLERS, AND LITERARY CLUBS

As already noted, the cultural and intellectual class of the

new nation was relatively small at this time. In New York in 1790, this would have included the politicians (most of the national government was then located in New York), the doctors, lawyers, ministers and other educated men of the city. However, again, while small, there was a great deal of activity and interest focused on improving the intellectual state of the city and nation. David Shields describes in detail the importance as well as the relationship between the booksellers, budding authors, and the libraries and literary societies that were formed at this time:

The complexity of the relationships between print, manuscript, and oral communication during the early Republic is fascinating. Consider how both the production and reception of print are tied to institutions of private society. Many newspapers and most

and 23228). The last may have been the Swords’ first work for Berry and Rogers. It lacks attribution to them as the printers, only reading “printed for Berry and Rogers...” But it would seem to have been their work nevertheless, as several years later the Swords list this title in a bookseller’s advertisement for their store appended at the end of their edition of *The Life of Benjamin Franklin* (1794, p. 216), under the heading, “The following Books Printed by T. and J. Swords, with a new type and on fine paper, may be had at their Printing-office, No 167 William-Street.” (Evans 27006).

24. The failed project is evidenced by a broadside for a work that was apparently never published: *New-York, July 5, 1790. Proposals for printing by subscription, in twelve volumes, sixteens, The children’s friend. Translated from the French of the celebrated Mr. Berquin* (Evans 22920). As broadsides are ephemera, it is possible there were other proposals which failed to garner a sufficient number of subscriptions to proceed.

25. It is certainly possible that the coming of the federal government to New York in 1789 spurred the Swords to venture out with these books, and particularly their magazine, to take advantage of the presence of most of the intellectual leaders of the day who had come to the city. It was anticipated that the government had a high probability of locating in the city, before a fight between New York and Philadelphia resulted in the carving out of the District of Columbia.

26. John Davis, *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America: during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (London, Sold by T. Ostell [etc.] and H. Caritat, New-York, for R. Edwards, printer, Bristol, 1803) 199.

27. Some have claimed that Noah Webster was the initial editor of *The New York Magazine*. This is likely a mistake; see Appendix D.

28. See Appendix E.

29. “In spite of the fact that none of their magazines—*The Christian Journal and Literary Register*, *The United States Christian Magazine*, *The New-York Magazine*, etc.—could possibly have brought them more than the most moderate income, the firm was highly successful, and from later mention of them it must be concluded that they prospered exceedingly.” Butler, 90. Some facts regarding the *United States Christian Magazine* are noted at the end of this article.

30. Bender connected this shared purpose specifically to Elihu Smith and the Friendly Club. He draws this connection by following the mistaken notion of earlier writers who have confused the Friendly Club with the Drone Club. See below and Appendix D.

magazines were edited and composed by “a society of gentlemen.” On the reception end, private corporations, styled “social libraries,” selected, collected, and maintained collections of books and periodicals. In Albany, Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Newport, and Charleston, library societies had formed before the Revolution. In the post-Revolutionary era these private corporations were supplemented by an array of “public” libraries in the 1790s maintained by municipalities. Around these institutions subsidiary constellations of reading circles and debating societies formed in ever increasing numbers from the 1790s through the 1830s. As Mary Kelley³¹ has shown, reading was often a profoundly social activity. The post-Revolutionary era also saw the coalescence of writers and readers in the society of the bookstore. In Philadelphia, for instance, Bell’s bookstore became the favorite haunt of printers, writers, and book purchasers.

Sometime during the 1790s, Asbury Dickens’s bookshop on Second Street eclipsed Bell’s as the center of Philadelphia’s literary firmament.³² Dickens’s shop became the haunt of poets John Blair Linn and Samuel Ewing, playwright Charles Jared Ingersoll, novelist Charles Brockden Brown, and the editor of the *Port Folio*, Joseph Dennie.³³

The Swords’ store in New York functioned in much the same way as the two Philadelphia stores. As one author recounted years later, the “store for a number of years was a rendezvous for professional men of different callings—divines, physicians, lawyers, with a sprinkling of the professed authors of those times...”³⁴ In fact, among the sprinkling of authors, the Swords shared at least one writer in common with Dickens—they would publish the first novel by Charles Brockden

Brown, who is styled America’s first professional novelist. A British traveler to New York, John Davis, who also supposedly met Brockden Brown, notes that he stopped in at the Swords’ store in 1801: “On coming to town, my first care was to discharge a bill I had incurred at *Swords*, [Eminent printers and booksellers at *New-York*] for magazines and reviews. Here I encountered the great Doctor Phlogiston, a gentleman of easy address, good habit of body, and a countenance that indicated the stoicism of a chymist.”³⁵ Another writes:

The old establishment of Messrs. Swords, at No. 160 Pearl street, was for long time a sort of literary exchange, as the store of Ticknor, Reed & Fields in Boston is now. Bishops Seabury and Moore, Dr. Samuel Miller, Dr. Linn, Dr. Abeel, Dr. Bowden, Dr. Stanford (the estimable father of the head of the present house), John Pintard, and nearly all the cotemporary philosophers, artists and men of letters in town, were in the habit of meeting at “Swords’s,” which was one of the recognized, characteristic and most indispensable New York “institutions.”³⁶

Shields goes on to describe the importance of the literary club to this climate of self-improvement:

One peculiarity of the bookstore community was that it never fully served the imperatives to sociability that the literati felt. Perhaps the competitive ethos of the marketplace could not be escaped in a commercial setting. Whatever the case, these companies tended to formalize their intercourse into clubs that met elsewhere. The Dickens bookshop group formed the nucleus of Philadelphia’s Tuesday Club.³⁷ Brown and Linn, when they were in New York, participated in the Friendly Club. These aggregations of authors and booktrade people became fixtures of nineteenth-century cultural life, with Washington Irving’s Cheshire Cheese and Oliver Wendell Holmes’s Saturday Clubs being the most conspicuous of a dozen or so such assemblies. What service did they perform in the world of letters? They provided a nonconfrontational place to work out problems of aesthetics, politics, and commerce affecting those interested in the production of literature. In print, the rhetoric of crisis or boosterism suffused criticism. Among members of a literary fraternity, one could dispense with adversarial or partisan posturing and collaborate on common problems and concerns. The diary of Elihu Hubbard Smith, a member of the Friendly Club, records the activity of his literary fraternity. Manuscripts of plays, novels, poems, and essays circulated among the membership

31. The author is referring to Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford, 1984).

32. The author cites John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (New York, 1909; Rpt of 1803 edition) 204.

33. David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1997) 322–323.

34. John W. Francis, M.D., LL.D., “Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New-York,” *International Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science and Art* 5.2 (1852) 262.

35. Davis, *Travels of four years and a half in the United States*, 199. See Appendix F.

36. “The Book Trade. Publishers and Publishing in New York” *Norton’s Literary Gazette*, 165.

37. Shields here cites Lewis Leary, “John Blair Linn, 1777–1805,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 4 (1947) 162.

for evaluation. New books were read in common and subjected to analysis. Debates about issues of the day took place ... (Shields, 323–324).

Of particular interest Shields writes:

Somewhere between amateurism and professionalism was the peculiar self-consciousness projected in print by the circle of writers who formed the New York Calliopean Society during the 1780s. The group provided the impetus for the *New York Magazine*; or, *Literary Repository*, which published from 1792 to 1796 [sic 1790–1797]. In each issue they supplied contents for a column titled “The Drone.” The offerings were the cream of belles lettres prepared to be read during the weekly dinner meetings of the club (324).

THE CALLIOPEAN SOCIETY

The Calliopean Society, with the Friendly Club, were the two most important of the literary societies in New York at this time. T. & J. Swords had a direct link to the first. One finds that James Swords was a member of the Calliopean, founded in 1788, and this relationship apparently was useful as a muse for the *New York Magazine*. The MSS minutes record that James Swords was proposed for membership on Tuesday, May 31, 1791. He was very active for a few years but his name becomes less prominent in 1793 and its final mention would appear to be at the meeting of October 8, 1793.³⁸ James’ involvement evidences that the Swords were plugged into the self-improvement milieu of the day. Such connections may have played a more significant role in expanding their business, than so called “political connections.” James Swords membership and activity at this time did result in material which was run in the *New York Magazine*. Eleanor Bryce Scott describes this society in some detail:³⁹

According to available information, the Calliopean, a union of “the former Juventor Society” and “the former Calliopean Society,” holds the unique and enviable record of fairly continuous activity for at least forty-three years. The manuscript minutes of its meetings from its founding on November 20, 1788, to March 10, 1795, are preserved in the New York Historical Society Library; Columbia University has a copy of the Constitution and By-laws printed in New York in 1829, with lists of officers and new members from 1811 through 1829 and pencil corrections through 1831, including the names of officers elected in that year. William Irving, during the early period, was a leading spirit in

the organization, and his home was said to be the “genial resort” of this “knot of wits and humorists.” ... Peter Irving served as vice-president more than once—also as anniversary speaker and librarian. William Paulding, older brother of J. K. Paulding, was also prominent as censor, orator, vice-president, and president. Woodcarver, poet and essayist, the eccentric Richard B Davis was the first secretary of the society, donor of its bookplate, originator of the club signature, “The Drone.” He and Peter Irving also worked on the committee of publication. The Rev. Benjamin Moore was later president of Columbia College. David Hosack became widely known as an eminent physician, founder of the Elgin Botanical Garden, patron of literature and the other fine arts. Among later members might be mentioned Lindley Murray the grammarian, S. L. Mitchill, Jr., William Kent....

What is clear from examining these names is that T. & J. Swords published a number of items by members of the Society. Of those members mentioned by Eleanor Bryce Scott, the Swords published the previously mentioned sermon preached in Trinity Church where Benjamin Moore served, and the paper on drowning by Dr. David Hosack. They would subsequently publish several more items by Dr. Hosack, and of course many titles for the Protestant Episcopal Church, including five or six pieces by Moore. Among other members noted in the description of the manuscript, the Swords published *Inaugural Dissertations* for the degree of Doctor of Physic from Columbia College, for Peter Irving (1794),

38. This information is based upon copies of several pages of the MSS minutes of the “Proceedings of the Calliopean Society, Founded for the express purpose of improving Education.” Copies were provided by Ana Djordjevic, Manuscript Department, Library, New-York Historical Society, who gives the opinion in a cover letter that it appears James Swords became inactive after the October 8, 1793 meeting. Correspondence from Ana Djordjevic to Chris Coldwell, 2 March 2006. However, no doubt a thorough examination of the minutes is warranted to make a final determination as to the exact period of Swords’ involvement. The MSS minutes end with entries for March 1795. A “Mr. Miller” is noted as present at the October 8, 1793 meeting, but more work with the MSS beyond the few pages sent the author is needed to determine if this is “Samuel” Miller or some other. The MSS collection of the society is described as containing: “Minutes of meetings from its founding in November, 1788 to March, 1795. Included are: titles of the society’s debates; decisions; names of books purchased; administrative matters; names of members, et al. The Society was founded ‘for the express purpose of improving education.’” Arthur J. Breton, *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The New-York Historical Society*, “1222. CALLIOPEAN SOCIETY, New York City” (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972) 1.204.

39. Eleanor Bryce Scott, “Early Literary Clubs in New York City,” *American Literature* 5 (March, 1933) 12–13.

Charles Buxton (1793), Jotham Poſt (1793), and Joseph Youle (1793). As for Mitchill and Kent, they will be noticed in their connection to the Friendly Club.

Scott continued describing the Society, and the Drone Club, a subset of writers within the group which contributed material to the Swords' *New York Magazine* ("Early Literary Clubs," 13–15):

The Calliopean, something of a secret society, by the way, was a very businesslike organization, with initiation fee, annual dues, system of fines; a seal, club stationery, ballot box with white balls and black; and more important than these, a library for which each member was taxed a shilling a quarter and which by February, 1793, contained two hundred and twelve volumes. Originally, meetings were held weekly throughout the year at six o'clock on Tuesday evenings; later the club indulged in a summer recess. Membership, according to the printed constitution, was limited to sixty.

Founded "for the express purpose of improving education," the Society devoted its programs to original compositions, recitations, orations, and the "disputing" of some scientific or literary question. Controversial subjects in theology and politics were strictly barred....

Reference has already been made to the club signature adopted on March 13, 1792, "The Drone." The manuscript record books seem to me to clear up the matter of the so-called "Drone club," which, accordingly, was not a separate organization, as is usually stated, or a society founded by former members of the Friendly

Club,...⁴⁰ but merely a group within the Calliopean Society who contributed for several years to *The New York Magazine*. In July, 1792, the publication committee presented resolutions as follows: that all compositions selected bear a general signature to distinguish them as the work of the Society; that each member adopt a particular mark—a letter or typographical character—to distinguish his own work; that the committee be empowered to look through the books of the recorder and librarian and choose suitable material.

The work of this little writing club appeared in *The New York Magazine* from 1792 through 1796, volumes three through seven, twenty-nine papers in all.... Particularly pleased one evening with the talk on fashionable amusements, Mr. Martlett [R. B. Davis] had proposed that their observations be collected and published. The outcome was the first paper in the Drone series, an essay on the moderate use of amusements, signed "Z." A secretary, chosen at each meeting, took notes and later wrote them up in his own manner. Though some members worked independently, most of the contributions grew thus out of club discussions.

So it appears the Calliopean Society may have played some part in the growing number of titles published by T. & J. Swords, and perhaps connections made within the society laid the foundation for their later success. Of course it is difficult to say which relationships were primary. Benjamin Moore was the assistant pastor of Trinity Church from 1775 until 1800, when he became rector, and as already noted Thomas Swords was for many years connected to that church. Indeed, the small cultured class of the city could not help but cross paths in many different connections.

THE SMALL WORLD OF THE NEW YORK INTELLIGENTSIA

For instance, one important point of intersection was the New York Society Library. Formed in the mid eighteenth century, but decimated by the end of the Revolutionary War, the library reopened in 1789 in Old City Hall. That year *The Charter, Bye-laws, and Names of the Members of the New-York Society Library* was published to re-establish the charter and rights of the library which had been granted previously by the King of England.⁴¹ Among the prominent members listed are Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, and of significance to this study, William Linn, Robert R. Livingston, Benjamin Moore, and John Pintard. In 1793 the charter was reissued, with an updated membership roll, by T. & J. Swords.⁴² Among the membership that year we find John Pintard (recording secre-

40. Although Eleanor Bryce Scott's article appeared in 1933, confusion between the Friendly and Drone clubs has continued. Most of the mistake may be traceable to the comments of Dr. Francis ("Reminiscences of Printers," 262; and *Old New York, or, Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years* [New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1866] 69). It is repeated in Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise and Progress* (New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1877–1880) 2.519; Adolf Growoll, *American Book Clubs: Their Beginnings and History, and a Bibliography of Their Publications* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1897) 14–15; Oral Sumner Coad, *William Dunlap: A Study of his Life and Works and of his Place in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962) 19n; and more recently in 1987 by Thomas Bender, *New York Intellectual*, 32.

41. *The Charter, Bye-laws, and Names of the Members of the New-York Society Library. With a catalogue of the books belonging to the said library* (New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at his book-store and printing-office, at the Bible, in Hanover-Square, [1789]). Evans 22018.

42. *The Charter, Bye-laws, and Names of the Members of the New-York Society Library, with a catalogue of the books belonging to the said library* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1793). Evans 25915.

tary), Samuel Miller (corresponding secretary),⁴³ the Right Reverend B. Moore (first vice president), as well as: Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, William Johnson, Dr. David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker and William Woolsey (the latter two having been members in 1789 as well). Other members included John M. Mason, William Linn, John Henry Livingston, William Dunlap, and Thomas Swords.

Some of the same individuals came together to form the New-York Historical Society (NYHS) in 1804 under the prompting of John Pintard, with help from others such as Samuel Miller. In fact one sees over and over again the same names associated coming together to form new societies and endeavors to improve the city. As one writer noted recently regarding the NYHS,⁴⁴

The founders of the society were that small but remarkably energetic band of cultured New Yorkers who also created or promoted New York Hospital, the Free School Society, the New York Society Library, the American Academy of Fine Arts, and the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, and who promoted the Erie Canal.

The same names pop up over and over again in connection with these things—Pintard, Mitchill, DeWitt Clinton, Dr. David Hosack. For these men, the American Academy of Fine Arts and the Erie Canal were of a piece. Each in its way furthered New York, speaking to different though equally important components of what makes a city great.

THE FRIENDLY CLUB

As noted, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was one of the small number of influential “cultured New Yorkers” of the period. He was associated with one of the most important literary groups of the 1790s, the New York Friendly Club, “about which an astonishing amount has been written, most of it false...” (Cronin, *Diary*, 15). According to one writer, this club contained “perhaps the most brilliant of all the organizations of earnest and enlightened young men” in the country at the time.⁴⁵

The group began about the time of the arrival in the city of Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith, who would be the most dedicated member of the club,⁴⁶ and who described the group in 1798 as follows (Cronin, “Elihu Hubbard Smith,” 471):

There exists in this city, a small association of men, who are connected by mutual esteem, & habits of unrestricted communication. They are of different professions and occupations; of various religious or moral opinions; & tho’ they coincide in the great outlines of

political faith, they estimate very variously many of the political transactions of the men who have, from time to time directed the councils of the nation. This diversity of sentiment, however, as it has never affected their friendship, has made them more active in investigation; & tho’ they may have formed different judgments concerning the facts, has led them to a general concurrence in the facts themselves.

Judging from Smith’s diary, the group formed sometime between September 1793 and September 1794 (Cronin, 473). The membership varied from its founding but around 1795 came to consist of Smith, lawyer William Johnson, businessmen William and George Woolsey, lawyer James Kent, professor of law at Columbia College, who would become Chancellor of New York and the “first American judge to achieve international reputation” (Cronin, 474), and dramatist and artist William Dunlap. It was a close knit group as Cronin describes:⁴⁷

This was a tight little group. William Woolsey, who was twenty-seven in 1793, was at the beginning of a successful career. He became president of a fire insurance company, a bank, a railroad, and a Bible society, as well as the father of Theodore Dwight Woolsey, president of Yale (1844–1871). George Muirson [Woolsey] also became prosperous but not quite so spectacularly. Dunlap, who was twenty-seven, had during the previous year inherited from his father a looking-glass and china store which served to keep him financially sound, although he was far more interested in portrait painting and playwriting. He was to become a kind of one-man American dramatic movement. Dunlap was married to Elizabeth, sister of the Woolseys. Timothy Dwight was married to Elizabeth’s half-sister. And William Woolsey was married to Timothy Dwight’s sister. It seems probable that their acquaintance with Smith began during the year which

43. Miller had arrived in the city to receive the call from the United Presbyterian congregations only in January 1793.

44. Francis Morrone, “New York’s Mother Museum,” *The New York Sun*, November 1, 2005. Online version: <http://www.nysun.com/article/22342>.

45. Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) 233–234.

46. Catherine Kaplan writes, “Between 1795 and 1798, the years he kept his diary, Smith was perhaps the most dedicated member of the Friendly Club....” Catherine Kaplan, “Document: Elihu Hubbard Smith’s ‘The Institutions of the Republic of Utopia,’” *Early American Literature* 35.3 (2000) 304.

47. James E. Cronin, ed., *The Diary of Elihu Hubbard Smith* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973) 12.

he spent at Greenfield Hill.⁴⁸ Thomas Mumford married Mary Smith on January 29, 1795.

The club was not formally organized as was the Calliopean, and it “was more a coterie than a society” (Bender, 28). While it had regular meetings, several of the band of friends would meet often together, almost daily, two or three, socially for discussion as well as for business (31). And while it had ‘regular’ members,⁴⁹ whose duties mainly were alternately playing

48. Smith was the youngest graduate from Yale at age 15 and nine days, where he seems to have met and become good friends with William Johnson, his future roommate in New York and others, including James Kent. Too young to do anything professional at his age, Smith was sent by his father in 1787 to Timothy Dwight’s Academy at Greenfield Hill, where his other connections were formed. Cronin notes: “Somewhere in these early years Elihu learned English grammar and the skills for sophisticated composition; it is more likely that these came to him at Greenfield Hill rather than at Yale. More important was the influence that Dr. Dwight exercised on his mind, a point to which Smith repeatedly testifies in his ‘Diary.’ Certainly from about this time Smith shared with Dwight the conviction that it was the duty of an intelligent man to interest himself in everything concerned with the betterment of the human race. He also began to emulate Dr. Dwight the poet” (Cronin, *Diary*, 4). Just prior to moving to New York, Smith had published the first collection of American poetry, which included contributions by Dunlap and Dwight. [Elihu Hubbard Smith,] *American Poems, Selected and Original* (Litchfield, Conn.: Printed by Collier and Buel, 1793). Volume 1 of only 1 published. The preface is dated June 1793. Evans 25104.

49. There is significant variation in the recounting of the membership of the club: and the informal nature of the club and the termination of Smith’s diary make it difficult to be sure who may have been official members after the period he covered. Dunlap gives two different lists in two different works, and James Kent’s account written in his old age is full of inaccuracies (Cronin, *Diary*, 15).

50. Dr. Edward Miller’s membership is attested to by the fact that he ‘hosted’ the meeting for May 5, 1798. At the same meeting Samuel Miller and Dr. Mitchell are noted as guests (Cronin, *Diary*, 443). Smith does not record Samuel Miller often as a guest, and it is likely this is at least due to the fact that the group meet on Saturday nights, when a preacher should have other things to do and on his mind than the kinds of discussions of interest to the club.

51. See *The Medical Works of Edward Miller, late professor of the practice of physic in the University of New-York, and resident physician of the city of New-York collected, and accompanied with a biographical sketch of the author, by Samuel Miller* (New York: Collins and Co., 1814) xxix. Cited in Samuel Miller (1816–1883), *Life of Samuel Miller, D.D. LL.D.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869) 1.111.

52. Italics in the original. It may be that Samuel Miller did not attend enough meetings to recall that they took place on Saturday, the day always noted in Smith’s Diary; or perhaps after Smith’s death the meetings were moved to Tuesday nights. As noted previously, Saturday night would not have been a good meeting night for a minister. This account by Miller was written less than ten years after the club’s demise, and it is hard to imagine it being a slip of memory. Interestingly enough, the meetings of the Calliopean Society took place on Tuesdays; which may perhaps be yet another reason for the confusion over the membership of the Friendly and Drone Clubs.

host to the meetings of the club, it also had frequent and even regular guests. Bender notes that four “others were associated with the group, but they apparently were not ‘members’ of the club: Samuel Lathrop [sic] Mitchell, Anthony Bleecker, John Wells, and Samuel Miller” (29). Others included novelist Charles Brockden Brown, who was considered a member when he visited New York, and Samuel Miller’s physician brother Edward, who joined the coterie when arriving in New York in 1796, and would become a member in 1798 shortly before Smith’s death.⁵⁰ As to the importance of the distinction between membership and guest status, it is interesting that Samuel Miller, in mentioning the Friendly Club, notes those who associated with each other at the time, rather than giving a tally of the membership of the club itself.⁵¹

Soon after his establishment in *New York*, Doctor *Edward Miller* became a member of a literary association, which had been for some time known to those who participated in its pleasures and advantages, by the unostentatious name of “the Friendly Club.” The meetings were held in rotation at the respective houses of the members, on Tuesday evening of each week....⁵²

The associates of Dr. [Edward] *Miller* at this invaluable period, the first years of the club, were *William Dunlap*, then manager of the New York theatre; *James Kent*, the recorder of the city, and now chief justice of the State of New York; *Anthony Bleecker*, attorney and counselor at law and master in chancery; *Charles Brockden Brown*, the author of *Wieland*; *William Walton Woolsey*; Doctor *Elihu Hubbard Smith*; *George Muirson Woolsey*; Doctor *Samuel Latham Mitchell*; *John Wells*, attorney and counselor at law; *William Johnson*, attorney and counselor at law, and reporter to the supreme court of the State of New York; and the reverend *Samuel Miller*, D.D.

This band of friendly associates probably met up fairly quickly in 1793. Samuel Miller visited New York for a month in June of 1792 while entertaining a call to the United Presbyterian Churches there, and upon accepting the call, moved to New York in January of 1793. James Kent arrived in New York about the same time, and “became an attendant upon the ministry of the Collegiate Presbyterian pastors...” (*Life of Samuel Miller*, 1.89). As already noted, Elihu Smith arrived in the city in September of that year, and already knew Dunlap via his connection to Timothy Dwight and the Woolseys. On November 13, 1793, Smith, George Muirson Woolsey and Samuel Miller were all proposed for membership at the quarterly meeting of the Manumission Society (Cronin, *Diary*,

13). Woolsey's brother William, William Johnson and William Dunlap were already members (Coad, 23–24).⁵³ James Kent was presented for membership in May, 1794, the same meeting Noah Webster was admitted. The chief work of the society was the support of the African School, of which Dr. Smith became a trustee in May of 1794 (Dunlap had become a trustee in 1793). Dr. Mitchill may also have been a member of the Manumission Society as he accompanied Dr. Smith to the “monthly Examination of the African School” on at least one occasion (Cronin, *Diary*, 289).

Regarding Miller and Smith Cronin writes: “Miller, two years older than Smith, was a Presbyterian minister.... Despite his profession he became a frequent visitor of Smith with whom he enjoyed long arguments. He was a brother of Smith's associate Dr. Edward Miller who came to New York in 1796” (Cronin, *Diary*, 13 n. 49). Smith met Dr. Mitchill almost immediately upon coming to New York, as he was part of the board that examined him to practice medicine in the city. Mitchill was a native of New York and had returned to the city after graduating from medical studies in Edinburgh in 1786. While Dr. Smith passed the exam, and took over a practice, he let it dwindle away, in favor of following his literary pursuits and his own self improvement (Cronin, *Diary*, 13).

Now, it is fairly certain the Swords had no direct connection with the Friendly Club; neither Sword was a member or a guest on any occasion. But they had connections with many of the members, the earliest with Dunlap and Mitchell.

WILLIAM DUNLAP AND SAMUEL L. MITCHILL

William Dunlap, who was a painter, did an illustration for a work the Swords published in 1793, executed by the engraver Cornelius Tiebout.⁵⁴ From November 1794 through April 1796, there also appeared in the Swords' magazine eleven theatrical reviews under the title “The Theatrical Register.” These have been credibly attributed to Dunlap by Mary Rives Bowman, who notes as well that the “editors of the *New-York Magazine* evidently valued his work, for of the eleven numbers of the ‘Register’ which appeared, seven occupied the lead-off position in the publication, and three more had the second place.”⁵⁵ Dunlap made many contributions to periodicals of the day, including four signed pieces for the Swords' which appeared from December 1795 through November 1797 (Coad, 296–297).⁵⁶ The Swords would later publish three works by Dunlap, and were booksellers for three others.⁵⁷

Samuel Latham Mitchill “was a doctor, editor, United States senator and representative, studied under Dr. Samuel Bard, and completed his training in Edinburgh. On his return he studied law and entered politics” (Cronin, *Diary*, 13 n42). He “was still in his twenties when he became professor, in Columbia College, of botany, natural history, chemis-

try and agriculture, but he easily devoted himself to zoology, geology, and anthropology in addition ... his work on the fishes of New York, entitles him to be considered the father of American ichthyology.”⁵⁸ In 1794, the Swords published two works by Dr. Mitchill as “printers to the faculty of physic of Columbia College,” and subsequently several more works from 1795 to 1802.⁵⁹

THE MEDICAL REPOSITORY

Perhaps the most important production of the period to come forth from the members of the Friendly Club and from T. & J. Swords was the publication of the *Medical Repository*. Robinson writes:

In the days when New York was a cross between a Dutch-English trading village and a rising American metropolis ... three doctors strolled along the leafy lanes of Broadway, discussing a daring project. They were young, unmarried, and idealistic, and they talked about starting the first medical journal in America.

They felt the time was ripe for such a periodical, for terrifying and highly destructive epidemics,

53. Coad notes that there is some notice of this in the Sword's *New York Magazine* for 1793. “A board of trustees was chosen from the society, whose duty it was to inspect the school every month, and recommend such measures as seemed necessary.” *New York Magazine*; or, *Literary Repository* 4 (1793) 258.

54. *The Dramatist, a Comedy, in Five Acts. Written by Reynolds, Esq. Author of Werter, etc. As performed at the theatre, New-York, by the Old American Company* (New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, no. 27, William-Street, for John Reid, bookseller, no. 17, Water-Street, 1793). Evans 26070.

55. Mary Rives Bowman, “Dunlap and the ‘Theatrical Register’ of the *New-York Magazine*,” *Studies in Philology* 24 (1927) 413.

56. The specific issues of the *New York Magazine* were those of December 1795, January 1796, October 1797, and November 1797. The first two items are translations of German poetry. Coad, 296–297.

57. See Appendix G.

58. Victor Robinson, M.D., *The Story of Medicine* (New York: The New York Home Library, 1943; First edition, 1931) 459.

59. *The Present State of Learning in the College of New-York* (1794). Evans 27331. *Nomenclature of the New Chemistry* (1794). Evans 27330. *Remarks on the Gaseous Oxyd of Azote or of Nitrogene, and on the effects it produces when generated in the stomach, inhaled into the lungs, and applied to the skin: being an attempt to ascertain the true nature of contagion, and to explain thereupon the phenomena of fever. By Samuel Latham Mitchell, M.D. F.R.S.E. Professor of chemistry, natural history and agriculture in the College of New-York* (1795). Evans 29089. *The Present State of Medical Learning in the City of New-York* (1797). Evans 32488. *Explanation of the Synopsis of Chemical Nomenclature and Arrangement: containing several important alterations of the plan originally reported by the French academicians* (1801). Shaw & Shoemaker 940. *Hints Towards Promoting the Health and Cleanliness of the City of New York* (1802). Shaw & Shoemaker 2403.

especially of yellow fever, aroused the apprehensions of the public and quickened the zeal of the physicians.... Their circular address—with its curious blending of old-fashioned farm-medicine and the modern experimental method—was dated November 15, 1796, and signed by Samuel L. Mitchill, Columbia College; Edward Miller, 158 Broadway; and E. H. Smith, 45 Pine Street.

Delays, inevitable and excusable in a pioneer publishing venture, occurred and recurred, but on July 26, 1797, American medical journalism was born; on that day, there came from the press of T. & J. Swords, the first issue of the first American medical journal—the *Medical Repository* (455–456).

A more scholarly account written for the 200th anniversary of the birth of the *Repository* appeared in the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

The blockade by the British during the war for American independence “created shortages of European medical periodicals and books as well as of drugs and medicines.”⁶⁰ This no doubt brought home the need to be less dependent on Europe for these things. Indeed, before “the appearance of the *Medical Repository* there was no medical journal in the United States. As a specialized form of publication, the medical journal brought ‘a new element of timeliness to the dissemination of medical information,’ writes historian James Cassedy,⁶¹ ‘one that invigorated and greatly accelerated the processes of medical change ... [and] became a locus of medical influence and authority as well as a measure of medical professionalism.’”

There were many reasons to begin an American medical journal. Chief among them were the desire for cul-

60. Richard J. Kahn, Patricia G. Kahn, “The *Medical Repository*—The First U.S. Medical Journal (1797–1824),” *The New England Journal of Medicine* 337:26 (December 25, 1997) 1926–1930.

61. The authors cite J. H. Cassedy, *American medicine and statistical thinking, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) 1–24.

62. The authors cite P. Middleton, *A Medical Discourse or an Historical Inquiry into the Ancient and Present State of Medicine: the Substance of which was Delivered at Opening the Medical School in the City of New York* (New York: Hugh Gainé, 1769) 68.

63. The authors cite B. Waterhouse, *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Medicine: a Discourse* (Boston, Mass.: Thomas and John Fleet, 1792) 28.

64. The authors cite N. Webster, *A Collection of Papers on the Subject of Bilious Fevers, Prevalent in the United States for a Few Years Past* (New York: Hopkins, Webb, 1796).

tural independence and the medical and economic impact of major epidemics in the coastal cities. Even before the British colonies in America became independent, there were those who encouraged the writing and publication of the “American medical experience.” In 1769 Peter Middleton, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at the new Medical School at King’s College, in New York, wrote: “The physicians of this country have still more forcible reasons, for imparting to the World, such Medical Remarks as may seem instructive or uncommon: For our Climate, Way of Living, and other Circumstances, which ought always to be regarded in the Treatment of Diseases, are so very different from those of the Countries....”⁶² In 1791 Benjamin Waterhouse delivered a discourse entitled “The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Medicine” to the Middlesex Medical Association of Boston, stating that “A country so completely independent in other respects as the United States, however ready to receive information in the higher grades of science ... should blush to be indebted to foreign seminaries for the first principles of professional instruction.”⁶³

In New York on October 31, 1795, Noah Webster, a layman, published a circular that included the following appeal: “To the Physicians of Philadelphia, New-York, Baltimore, Norfolk and Newhaven.... As malignant fever has, for three summers past, raged in different parts of the United States, and proved fatal to great numbers of our fellow-citizens, and extremely prejudicial to the Commerce of the Country.... To decide on the origin and nature of the Yellow Fever, we want the evidence of facts [about] epidemics in the United States....”⁶⁴

The papers Webster sought in that circular were edited and published by him in 1796 as *A Collection of Papers on the Subject of Bilious Fevers, prevalent in the United States for a few years past*. [Webster, *ibid.*] Webster did not receive as many communications as he had hoped. Asked in July 1796 to advertise for more papers for another edition, he wrote: “... I have neither inclination nor leisure to devote much time to this object: nor am I convinced that the object itself will reward a continuance of my labors....” [Webster, *ibid.*]

Webster’s decision to abandon this project proved crucial to the creation of the *Medical Repository*. Six weeks later, on August 11, 1796, a young New York City physician named Elihu Hubbard Smith wrote in his diary: “... I think, as Mr. Webster has relinquished his plan of

continuing his collection, of taking it up myself . . . & publishing an annual volume; the principal object of which will be the preserving & collecting of the materials for a History of the Diseases of America, as they appear in the several seasons. . . ." [Cronin, *Diary*, 201] The *Medical Repository* was conceived.

Given all the connections the various associates of the Friendly Club had with the Swords, as well as their reputation as publishers of the *New York Magazine*, and of medical titles, it is not surprising that when Drs. Miller, Mitchill and Smith agreed to undertake creating the first medical journal for the United States, they took the prospectus to T. & J. Swords.⁶⁵ Smith writes in his *Diary* in a memorandum dated November 14, 1796 (Cronin, *Diary*, 246):

Finished my Prospectus of a Medical Repository. Several errands took up much time after dinner. Called on Dr. Mitchill. We went to Dr. Miller's. Read, & agreed on the Prospectus; & to have 300 copies printed to distribute privately; & then to have the Address published in all the News Papers. Went to T. and J. Swords—& bargained for the impression."

However, as previously noted, the first issue of the *Repository* did not come off the press until July 26, 1797. In the meantime, Dr. Smith was not idle. In January 1797, he arranged for the Swords to publish an opera he had written: "Called at Swords—respecting the printing of my opera" (Cronin, *Diary*, 286), which was issued forth on March 1797 (298, 305).⁶⁶ About the same time, the Swords printed Samuel Miller's address to the Manumission Society for April 1797, which was his fourth published work, but the first by the Swords. "Samuel Miller was the Orator. His Discourse was handsome, but the auditory was small" (309). Smith would give the annual address the next year.⁶⁷

After working some months on the text of the first volume of the *Repository*, Smith notes on Monday June 19, 1797, the same month he records having read Miller's Manumission discourse published by the Swords (Cronin, *Diary of Elihu Hubbard Smith*, 326):

Visit to Mitchill & [Edward] Miller—who has just returned. Long conversation. Medical, chemical & agricultural; & on our Repository. At the Hospital as usual. Dined at Dunlap's. . . . Went to Sword's [sic] & bargained about the printing of our Medical Repository.

In a letter to Philadelphia Bookseller Joseph Dennie, Junior, Smith adds the following postscript (Cronin, *Diary*, 327):

The materials for the First No. of The Medical Repository are nearly ready for the Press. We expect to put them into the printer's hands the first of July. I believe I sent you our Proposals. If I did not, I will just inform you that each No. will contain about 100 8vo. Pages—& will be sold for 50 cents. If you can procure subscribers, with you, the Nos. shall be regularly forwarded."

One interesting day, Wednesday, July 19, 1797, Smith records the following (333–334):

Medical visits & calls. Learnt that Mitchill was in town. Went to Mrs. Miller's, to the College, & to Mrs. M's again, in vain search after him. Visited Dr. Miller, who is unwell. A long visit from Dr. Wheaton. Pursued the reading of Moseley' [sic] book. Went to the Printer's, & busy there, some time, in correcting the press &c. Found Mitchill here, when I returned. . . . Dr. Mitchill & I went in search of an Austrian Professor who is now here. We did not find him. We drank tea

65. Samuel L. Mitchill, Edward Miller and Elihu Hubbard Smith. *Address, &c. After a Continued Struggle of Many Centuries against the Absurd Systems of Ancient Physicians . . .* (New York: s.n., 1796). Signed on page 8 and dated November 15, 1796. Shipton & Mooney 47834; Early American Medical Imprints, 1317 (R. B. Austin, *Early American Medical Imprints: a Guide to Works Printed in the United States, 1668–1820* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, 1961]). Smith corrected the proposal the next March: "Thursday, 9.—Corrected my proposals for 'The Medical Repository,' & with Dr. Miller's approbation, gave them to our printer" (Cronin, *Diary*, 298).

66. *Edwin and Angelina; or The Banditti. An Opera, in three acts* (1797). Evans 32843. Tuesday, January 31, 1797. "Called at Swords—respecting the printing of my opera" (Cronin, *Diary*, 286).

67. Samuel Miller, A.M., *A Discourse, delivered April 12, 1797, at the Request of and before the New-York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting Such of Them as Have Been or May Be Liberated* (1797). Evans 32477. E. H. Smith, *A Discourse, delivered April 11, 1798, at the Request of and before the New-York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting Such of Them as Have Been or May Be Liberated* (1798). Evans 34554. Elihu Smith read Miller's discourse on June 10, 1797 (Cronin, *Diary*, 322). Dr. Smith's address was given in the collegiate Presbyterian Church on Wall Street. "Dr. Miller called on me. Sometime after I called on him, & his brother the clergyman, & we went to the Presbyterian Church in Wall St. where, notwithstanding the violent storm of wind & rain, more than 300 gentlemen, and some ladies were assembled—to whom I delivered my Oration" (436). [May] "Wednesday, 16.—At our printer's, into whose hands I put the copy of my 'Manumission Oration'" (445). The oration must have been in print by late May. "[May] 29th Rain continues. Read Smith's discourse before the Manumission Society deliver'd while I was at Phil (*Diary of William Dunlap 1766–1839. The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian* [New York: Benjamin Blom, 1960. Repr. of 1939 edition] 263).

at Mrs. Miller's. Parson Miller was there.⁶⁸ Conversation of morals, &c. Mr. Miller & I walked on the Battery. Conversation continued. System of Godwin, of the french [sic] philosophers &c. Medical visit.

ELIHU HUBBARD SMITH AND
CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN

In addition to the *Medical Repository*, Dr. Smith continued his publishing endeavors as editor of works by his friend Charles Brockden Brown. With the work on his opera and the ongoing work of the *Repository*, Smith became a regular visitor to T. & J. Swords. The firm is often styled in his Diary as "our printers." Not surprisingly, when Smith determined to have the first work by Brown published, he chose the Swords. In a letter to Richard Alsop dated December 18, 1797, he writes, "I am about publishing, by subscription, a performance of our friend Charles B. Brown." Nine days earlier he had recorded: "I opened my subscription for 'Alcuin' to-day."⁶⁹ While he does not say that this was via the Swords, he mentions visiting his printer on the fourth of December, and was "occupied in business of the Repository" on the eighth, which may have involved visiting the Swords; and on twelfth he "prepared some copy for our printers" (Cronin, *Diary*, 399–401, 406).

68. Mrs. Miller, with whom Smith often had tea, is not Mrs. Samuel Miller as Cronin identifies her in the index to the diary. She may have been the wife of some relation of the Millers, or the widow of the doctor, who took ill, and possibly passed away, whose practice Dr. Smith took over shortly upon coming to New York (Cronin, *Diary*, 13 and n44). The dwelling is apparently always referred to by Smith as "Mrs. Miller's." Comparing various diary entries makes it clear that Parson Miller is Samuel Miller. The bachelor Miller brothers were living together in New York from Edward's arrival in 1796 to some time shortly after Samuel brought his new bride to New York in 1801 (*Life of Samuel Miller*, 1.167).

69. Charles Brockden Brown, *Alcuin; a Dialogue* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1798). Evans 34553.

70. Charles Brockden Brown, *Wieland; or The Transformation. An American Tale* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1798). Evans 33461.

71. See Appendix H.

72. See Appendix I.

73. "This was, for the greater portion of the time it existed, truly a 'friendly club'; but after a continuation of most perfect and cordial communion for a few years, the demon, whose infuriated and blasting influence is unceasingly exerted to mar the blessings of our envied country, party politics, found his way among the 'friendly club,' and the institution died a lingering death." *Life of Samuel Miller*, 1.111. Some write that the club ended with Smith's death. "Its leading spirit was the physician and aspiring author Elihu Hubbard Smith, whose early death in 1798 ended the club" (May, 233). But as Miller indicates, the club continued beyond 1798, and their work with Brown's *Monthly Magazine* seems to indicate the same. It may have lasted until 1802 when the magazine ended, but probably no later than 1805 when Dunlap left New York.

On March 12, 1798, he writes: "Corrected the first proof of 'Alcuin.' Visit to Dr. Miller. Went with Dunlap to our printer's, on business..." The two following days, in addition to more work proofing *Alcuin*, he worked on the *Repository*, correcting some proofs, and also corrected proofs for another work he was seeing through the Swords' press, an edition of Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden* (430). Later in July of 1798 Smith notes the Swords' work on Brown's second published work, for which he was the editor: "Arranged the foreign news for the Repository, & was at our printer's. The Swords' commenced the printing of Charles's 'Wieland,' this day."⁷⁰ Isaac Riley is either agent for the purchaser, Caritat,⁷¹ or in part purchaser as well as Agent" (457). In the second to the last entry in his Diary, two days before taking ill with the Yellow Fever, Smith notes: "Brown's 'Wieland' was published to-day" (464).

When Smith died shortly after the publication of *Wieland*, the associates of the Friendly Club were hit hard by the loss. They first determined that they needed to find continued employment for Brown's talents, and the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* was founded (1799–1800), with Brown as contributor and editor. Within a couple of years, this publication was renamed and continued two more years after as *The American Review, and Literary Journal* (1801–1802). The publishers were by T. & J. Swords. However, by 1802 Brown had returned to Philadelphia, and the publication ceased.⁷²

With the passing of Elihu Smith, the Friendly Club lost the main glue which held them together. Samuel Miller notes that it was "party politics" which eventually drove the group to a lingering death.⁷³ Also, most of the members began their association unmarried, and the dynamics probably began to change as each left the single life—Mitchill in 1799, Samuel Miller in 1801, and Brown in 1803. Dunlap, who had married about 1795, moved away from New York in 1805 when his theatre business folded.

NEW YORK CLERICAL ASSOCIATION
AND OTHER SOCIETIES

As indicated previously the period's rather small community of New York literati included practically all the prominent ministers of the city, and many of them took part in some of the societies and clubs already noted. A list of these men includes Samuel Miller and Philip Milledoler of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA); John N. Abeel; John Henry Livingston and William Linn of the Dutch Reformed; John Mitchell Mason of the Associate Presbyterians; and Alexander McLeod of the Reformed Presbyterians. These men would have met often during this period as they took part in joint educational and religious endeavors.

In particular, the Presbyterian ministers of the several denominations in the city would meet regularly together. In a

letter written to Dr. Sprague (for inclusion in his biography of Dr. McLeod), Dr. Miller remarked:

My acquaintance with Dr. McLeod commenced in the year 1801, soon after he had accepted a pastoral charge in the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the city of New York, where I then resided.... At the period of which I speak, there was a Clerical Association in the city of New York, which was in the habit of meeting on Monday morning of each week. This Association comprehended most of the ministers of the different Presbyterian denominations in the city. The exercises consisted of prayer, conversation, both general and prescribed, and reading compositions on important subjects. In this delightful Association I was so happy as to enjoy, for ten or twelve years, the privilege of meeting with Dr. McLeod weekly, and seeing him in company and conversation with the Pastors venerable for their age and standing, in that day ... (Sprague, "Reformed Presbyterian," *Annals*, 9.24).

SCHOOLS / TRUSTEES OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE

Another point of connection was Columbia College, as many of the ministers of the period served as trustees. These included Dr. Mason (1795–1821); Dr. Miller (1806–1813); John Henry Livingston (1787–1810); and John N. Abeel (1799–1812). There were other more personal educational projects. In 1805, McLeod, with Drs. Miller and Mason and Abeel, took "part in establishing a select grammar school, of a superior kind, in New York," in which two of the men would visit the school monthly to monitor the progress of the students (*Life of Miller*, 1.199).

NEW YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Other ecumenical endeavors included the New York Missionary Society, in which Samuel Miller took a great interest and part in founding in 1796. This society "embraced several Calvinistic denominations.... Among its officers, the Presbyterian Church was represented by Dr. John Rodgers, Dr. John McKnight, and Mr. Miller; the Reformed Dutch, by Dr. John H. Livingston, Dr. William Linn, and Rev. Messrs. John N. Abeel and Gerardus A. Kuypers; the Associate Reformed, by Dr. John M. Mason; and the Baptist, by Dr. Benjamin Foster" (*Life of Samuel Miller*, 1.104–105).

THE OCCASIONAL PRESBYTERIAN PUBLICATION

It is interesting to note that from about the same period the

Swords' business began to grow in earnest, that they also began to publish the occasional title from amongst this group of Presbyterian and Reformed ministers. It is not hard to imagine that their reputation for fine work at least would have attracted this business, but also that those who first used the firm may have recommended them to others as they socialized over the years in the various venues just mentioned. Certainly, Samuel Miller took the most advantage of the Swords' press, which is not surprising given his connection as well to the Friendly Club. From 1795 through 1806 the Swords published more than two dozen titles by Presbyterian and Reformed ministers or churches.⁷⁴

The Swords' first two titles by a Presbyterian or Reformed minister were by William Linn, published in 1795 and 1796. This is interesting given that Linn's son was the poet and Presbyterian minister John Blair Linn, who was a friend of Charles Brockden Brown and an occasional visitor to the Friendly Club. Also in 1796 the Swords published a title for the Associate Presbyterians, as well as the inaugural address and constitution of the previously-mentioned New York Missionary Society in which Samuel Miller took such an interest in forming. Of the more than two dozen titles the Swords would publish by this section of the New York community, they published the majority for the Associate Reformed Presbyterians and John M. Mason (eleven titles) and for Samuel Miller (seven titles).

Amongst the Swords' Presbyterian and Reformed productions, more than a couple of items have had enduring interest. Some of the works are among the most noteworthy of the several men the Swords published. Mason's *Letters on Frequent Communion* began the long move of much of the Presbyterian world away from infrequent observance of the Lord's Supper—what critics have regarded as an unwarranted bondage to traditions built up around the communion season as it was practiced at the end of the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ McLeod's *Messiah Governor of the Nations*, a "triumphant vindication of the Universal Government of the Lord Jesus Christ" (Sprague, "Reformed Presbyterian," 9.23), stands out amongst the two productions from his pen and from this sermonic material in

74. Brief biographies and listings of these titles are given in Appendix J.

75. Perhaps the first blast against practices institutionalizing infrequent communion was John Erskine's "An Attempt to Promote the Frequent Dispensing the Lord's Supper," *Theological Dissertations* (Edinburgh, 1808; first edition, 1765) 267–339. Mason references Erskine a number of times. Old habits die hard and forty years after Mason wrote, the *Princeton Review* saw need still to condemn the same abuses. "Review of *Letters on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* By Samuel Bayard, Esq.," *The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review for the year 1840*. Volume XII. Issue 1 (Philadelphia: M. B. Hope—Education Rooms, no. 29 Sansom Street; J. Bogart Printer—Princeton) 18ff. For more information in addition to these works, see Leigh Eric

general.⁷⁶ Miller's sermon on the death of George Washington was not necessarily the best of the many eulogy sermons at the time, but it is of historical interest, and was a particularly nice printing by the Swords. The sermons on the folly of suicide probably are the best of the Miller sermons from this period when the Swords published Presbyterian material.⁷⁷

JOHN M. MASON AND THE *UNITED STATES*
CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

An interesting connection between John M. Mason and the Swords' firm is worth noting. In 1795 Dr. Mason wrote a letter to the Philadelphia bookseller William Young on behalf of the editors of a proposed Christian periodical, soliciting his aid in obtaining subscribers in that city.

New York, August 25, 1795

Dear Sir,

I have taken the liberty to request your interference in behalf of the U. S. Christian Magazine of the proposals for which I enclose you two copies. You would greatly oblige the editors, & it is hoped, do some service to the interests of religion if you will engage to become their agent in the business for the city of Philadelphia. The method they wish you to adopt, if your convenience will permit is, to employ a person in the first instance to go through the city with the proposals in order to obtain subscribers and afterwards to carry round the Nos as they appear, receive the money, and deliver it to

you for remittance. You need not hesitate about the expence necessary in hiring a sober, trusty person: this, with your own commissions as agent, will be cheerfully paid, as well as all expences accruing on the carriage. [four or five words struck out] If you incline to meet our wishes on this subject, or to decline the proposal, please to drop me a line immediately. If you will cooperate with us, we request you to send about the subscription paper, without delay. It is understood as an indispensable condition that the money be punctually paid on the delivery of each No. You may consider this as written by the editors; & myself, if you please, as responsible for the contents—I am Sir, yours respectfully,
J[ohn] M. Mason.⁷⁸

The proposal mentioned in this letter was published by none other than T. & J. Swords and "Communications" were to be "directed to Messrs. Thomas & James Swords ... for the editors."⁷⁹ Similar to the contributions of the Drone Club to the Swords' *New York Magazine*, the contributors, as well as the editors in this case, were all anonymous.

The editors' laudable objectives as stated in the preface to the first issue were "the explanation and support of the doctrines of the Reformation," "the detection and refutation of contrary errors," and "the promotion of vital, practical piety."⁸⁰ However, trouble was intimated with the second issue as a "fund destined for the support of the Magazine" had "been withdrawn," and the editors were "compelled to resort to subscriptions" (*United States Christian Magazine* 1.2, 78). This was no doubt the reason for Mason's letter to Young. Whether he was more involved or provided any material for the publication is not ascertainable given the anonymity of the contributors. It is interesting though, that Mason's known venture into periodical publishing was called *The Christian's Magazine*. This ran to four volumes (1806–1811), the first issue of which began Mason's refutation of 'divine-right episcopacy,' which so riled the advocates of 'high churchism' in the City of New York.⁸¹

Clearly though the endeavor would have been something that may have been undertaken by a group of Reformed or Presbyterian individuals, or even ministers. It is interesting that the third and last issue closed with a notice of "domestic intelligence" describing the organizing of the New York Missionary Society, including a reproduction of Macwhorter's address, and a detailing of the rules and officers. At the head of the officers, "John M. Mason, Secretary," appears in large letters, with the following listing: John Rodgers, President; John H. Livingston, Vice President; Alexander Robertson, Treasurer; and John N Abeel, Clerk. Among the other directors were William Linn and Samuel Miller. These all appear

Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2001); D. G. Hart and John R. Muether, "The Lord's Supper: How Often?" *Ordained Servant*, 6.4 (October 1997) 97–98. *Ordained Servant* is online at http://www.opc.org/OS/Ordained_servant.html.

76. The other McLeod piece published by the Swords was an 1801 sermon against slavery. See Appendix J.

77. See these titles in Appendix J. The Swords' edition of Miller's sermon on the fire at the Richmond theatre, published in 1813, is the one lone piece that falls outside the period in question, and probably is the most important and interesting of the small productions, if it is taken under consideration with the earlier sermons.

78. John Mitchell Mason to William Young, 25 August 1795, MC 2001.5, Box 1, Folder 01, William Young (1755–1829) Archive, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College. The author here records his thanks to the college archives for providing a copy of this letter.

79. *New-York, Feb. 10, 1795. Proposals for Printing by Subscription, a Magazine, entitled, The United States Christian Magazine* (New York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, 1795). Shipton & Mooney 47439.

80. *United States Christian Magazine* 1.1 (1796) 1.

81. This controversy will be the subject of the second and concluding part of this series on T. & J. Swords. See Mason's description of the matter and the controversy on page 88 of this journal.

on the last page of the short lived *United States Christian Magazine*.

[To be continued and concluded in a second part in the 2007 issue, D.V.]

APPENDIX A. STANFORD AND SWORDS

See footnote 2. There seems to have been at least two Stanford brothers connected with T. & J. Swords at some point. Edward Stanford was the son of a minister (Butler, 91), presumably John Stanford, A.M., a prominent Baptist minister in New York City, who authored more than a dozen works published by the Swords from 1791 to 1821. John Stanford married Sarah, the daughter of Abraham Ten Eyck who was a vestryman of Trinity Church at the time of his death. The Swords published a biography of the elder Stanford: *Memoir of the Rev. John Stanford, D.D. Late Chaplain to the Humane and Criminal Institutions in the City of New-York*. By Charles G. Sommers, Pastor of the South Baptist Church in New-York.... (New-York: Swords, Stanford, and Co., 1835). Another son, Thomas N., who is clearly identified as a son of John Stanford, was a prominent bookseller in New York (William B. Sprague *Annals of the American Pulpit* [New York, 1869] 6.249). He appears to have taken over the firm upon the death of James R. Swords in 1855. A grandson of Thomas Swords was named Stanford Swords. Butler writes (91–92):

James Swords, it is stated, “retired from the publishing business in 1832.... On his retirement from the house, its style became Swords, Stanford and Company.” Edward Stanford was the son of a minister, and had been in the employ of the firm for several years, and it was natural that Thomas Swords, the remaining senior partner, should associate himself with an active and younger member of the organization. That the relationship of the new partners was close is attested to by the fact that the grandson of Thomas Swords, who was born in 1853, was given the Christian name of Stanford. There was another Swords in the firm at this time, Edward, the eldest son of Thomas....

When Thomas Swords retired, his “place in the firm was taken by two of his sons, Edward and James, but in a short time, it appears, Edward withdrew to devote himself to ‘the Printing Department,’ and the firm became known” as “Stanford and Swords.” (Butler, 92).

As noted the firm of T. & J. Swords first located at 43 Crown Street. Going by titles listed at AASOCC, from 1791–1793 the Swords address was 27 William Street, with one title reading 167 William Street. In 1794 they use both addresses. In 1795 the Swords are using 128 Pearl Street and 99 Pearl Street, and

continue using the 99 Pearl Street address through 1827. Also between 1803 and 1821 they are using 160 Pearl Street as well. In 1827 the Swords moved to Broadway and the firm or its successors had the addresses: 127 Broadway (1827–1831), 152 Broadway (1832–1843), 139 Broadway (1843–1848), 137 Broadway (1849–1853), and 167 Broadway (1853–1857). During the times where it appears the Swords are using two addresses, it may be that one was for the print shop and the other for the bookstore.

APPENDIX B: EARLY NEW YORK INTELLECT

See footnote 13. King’s (Columbia) College and the New York Society Library had been founded, but organizations and attempts to improve intellectual conditions in the city and country had stalled out during the war. “The revolutionary war was no sooner terminated by the peace of 1788, than the friends of literature began to feel more than ever the importance of encouraging institutions for diffusing useful knowledge among the people” (Miller, *Brief Retrospect*, 2.380). A more recent author summarizes: “When George Washington arrived in New York City in 1789 to assume the presidency of the newly established national government, the cultural landscape of New York looked far different than it had in 1750. [William] Livingston and [Samuel] Baird had substantially raised the general prestige of their respective professions, and they had probably raised the level of technical competence as well. But it is also clear that many inferior and inadequately trained doctors and lawyers continued to offer their services to New Yorkers. The establishment of the library and college were essential first steps in the creation of a serious general intellectual culture in New York City, but they fell far short of the impact imagined by their projectors. One cannot dispute the sardonic judgment of the French traveler Brissot de Warville in 1788 that ‘this city does not abound in men of learning,’ though he noted that a good deal of intellectual excitement could be found ‘at the moment’ because ‘the presence of Congress attracts the most celebrated persons from the various parts of the United States.’” Thomas Bender, *New York Intellectual, A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987) 27. See also, Samuel Miller, *Brief Retrospect*, 2.354–358.

APPENDIX C: SWORDS PUBLICATION FOR 1792

See footnote 21. Henry M. Van Solingen, *An inaugural dissertation on worms of the human intestines. Submitted to the examination of the Rev. William Linn, D.D. P.T. president; and to the trustees and faculty of Queen’s College, New-Jersey; for the degree of Doctor of Medicine* (Evans 24953). Jonas Smith

Addoms, *An inaugural dissertation on the malignant fever, which prevailed in the city of New-York during the months of August, September, and October, in the year 1791. Submitted to the examination of the Rev. William Linn, D.D. P.T. president; and to the trustees and faculty of Queen's College, New-Jersey; for the degree of Doctor of Medicine, with the rights and immunities thereunto appertaining* (Evans 24024). David Hosack, M.D., *An enquiry into the causes of suspended animation from drowning; with the means of restoring life* (Evans 24409). Richard C. Moore, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, *A sermon, delivered in Trinity Church, on the 11th day of October, 1791, before the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New-York* (Shipton & Mooney 46223).

APPENDIX D. NOAH WEBSTER AND THE NEW YORK MAGAZINE.

See footnote 27 and 30. The editor of the Swords' *New York Magazine*, initial or otherwise, was in all likelihood not Noah Webster as suggested by Bender (Bender 32), who relies on a note in William Alexander Duer's address before the St. Nicholas Society [William Alexander Duer's. LL. D., *New York as it was, During the Latter Part of the Last Century. An Anniversary Address Delivered Before The St. Nicholas Society, of the City of New York, December 1st, 1848* [New York: Stanford and Swords, 1839] 46). Speaking of his friend William Johnson, Duer, who was nearly seventy at the time, adds a note, "He was a contributor, together with the late John Wells, Anthony Bleecker, William Dunlap, Dr. E. H. Smith, Dr. Edward Miller, and others, to a literary magazine, edited by Noah Webster." Bender assumes this is a reference to the *New York Magazine*. Duer does not name the publication, but if this is the case, then he obviously was confusing the *New York Magazine* with the *American Magazine*. Webster founded and published the latter in New York, which ran from December 1787 to November 1788. About the same time he helped found the New York Philological Society, which ended sometime after he left New York in 1789. William Dunlap and Samuel Mitchill were members with Webster in the Philological Society, and some of Webster's orations to this group appeared in his *American Magazine*.

Dunlap and Mitchill and the other men in this listing by Duer were later members of the Friendly Club (formed no earlier than September 1793). Webster, an acquaintance of many of these men, did not return to New York until 1793, the same year as the arrival of Smith and Johnson in the city. He by all accounts was not a member of the club. In December 1793 Webster founded the first daily newspaper for the city (the *American Minerva*, later renamed the *The Commercial Advertiser*). Some of the individual members of the Friendly Club may have contributed to various periodicals of

the period; however, if there was a society supportive of the Swords' publication, it was the Calliopean/Drone Club.

The publication that does appear to have been a child of the Friendly Club was *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*, founded to give some employment to their friend Charles Brockden Brown. It ran for 27 issues between 1799 and 1800. It is possible that Duer is confusing Webster's publication with Brown's given the clear relationship the latter had with the the Friendly Club, and that it is Bender's mistake in presuming the confused reference was to the Swords' *New York Magazine*. As it is, one author notes that Bender "overstates the relationship between the Friendly Club and the *New York Magazine*." (Catherine Kaplan, "Document: 'Elihu Hubbard Smith's 'The Institutions of the Republic of Utopia,'" *Early American Literature*, 35.3 [2000] 304, n1). However, this is really due more to Bender's conflating of the Friendly Club with the Drone Club, for which see more in the body of this article.

APPENDIX E. THE OLD BOOKSELLERS OF NEW-YORK

See footnote 28. "The publishers of the *New York Magazine* were Thomas and James Swords, of No. 44 Crown Street, known for many years as publishers of books relating to the Episcopal Church. They recite in their preface that the proposed work will be printed with beautiful new type cast by the ingenious Mr. Caslon, on good American manufactured paper, that it will consist of 64 pages, and be published the first of each month. 'Each number,' they add, 'will contain one or more copper plates representing some particular passage in the work.' ... The publishers appear to have launched their literary craft with some mental misgivings, and in an address to the public they humbly solicit the countenance and support of the native and free-born Americans, 'whose characteristic has ever been to foster and cultivate the arts, and to reward honest industry by the bounty of a liberal hand.' In conclusion they state that if 'this appeal for support is merely sufficient to defray expenses the magazine will live; if it is inadequate it must DIE.' ... The literary feast which the editors of the *New York Magazine* spread before its readers was sufficiently diversified to suit the most catholic tastes. It embraced meteorological observations, historical sketches, essays, travels, hints on gardening, short stories, tales of adventure, Congressional reports, foreign and domestic intelligence, marriages and deaths. A large portion of its space was devoted to poetical effusions, and the editors appear to have made every effort to foster the budding American muse, and assist in its laborious ascent of Mount Parnassus." William Loring Andrews, *The Old Booksellers of New York, and Other Papers* (New York: Author, 1895). Cited from pages 10 and 11 of an online version: <http://>

//www.americanexchange.com/NewAE/aemonthly/article.aspx?f=2&tid=174&page=10&start=.

APPENDIX F. JOHN DAVIS.

See footnote 35. It seems unlikely that John Davis would have met Joseph Priestley (often caricatured as Dr. Phlogiston), in New York in 1801 as his health was in decline the last few years of his life before his death in 1804 and he lived in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. Also, it was in March 1801, while in Philadelphia for Jefferson's inaugural, that he suffered his first serious illness and nearly died, and it seems unlikely he would have been in New York a few months later. While Davis may have met Priestley on some occasion, this seems to be one of his many fabrications and embellishments. For some background on Davis, and his relationship to the French bookseller Caritat, see George Gates Raddin, Jr., *Hocquet Caritat and the Early New York Literary Scene* (Dover, N.J.: The Dover Advance Press, 1953). "The story of Caritat's association with Davis is complicated by the tales told in the volume of Davis's travels in the United States, published in Bristol, England, in 1803. And, since Davis apparently is the only one who has left a detailed personal account of Caritat, it is necessary—in order to sift the grains of truth from the chaff of sheer fabrication—to devote more attention to the rogue than his literary merit deserves. On the other hand, no matter how tedious and objectionable he was to his contemporaries, his antics today furnish an amusing and well-balanced picture of early New York literary life. Davis was a young man of very ordinary talent, very modest creative ability, and very limited education, whose sensitive spirit was sustained by an irrepressible vanity.... His greatest weakness was the impulse to create impressive personal history out of facts that were very often dull and commonplace. He could not tell the plain, simple truth if it did not place him in a most conspicuous position or set his affairs in a hopelessly exaggerated light." Raddin, 62. For a less censorious handling of Davis, see Thelma Louise Kellogg, M.A., "University of Maine Studies Second Series, Number 1, The Life and Works of John Davis 1774–1853," *The Maine Bulletin* 26 (June 1924).

APPENDIX G. SWORDS' PUBLICATIONS FOR WILLIAM DUNLAP

See footnote 57. *The archers, or Mountaineers of Switzerland; an opera, in three acts, as performed by the Old American Company, in New-York; to which is subjoined a brief historical account of Switzerland, from the dissolution of the Roman Empire, to the final establishment of the Helvetic Confederacy, by the Battle of Sempach* (1796). Evans 30369. *Tell truth and shame the Devil: a comedy, in two acts, as performed by the Old*

American Company, New-York, January, 1797 (1797). Evans 32066. *Andre; a tragedy, in five acts: as performed by the Old American Company, New-York, March 30, 1798. To which are added, authentic documents respecting Major Andre; consisting of letters to Miss Seward, The cow chase, proceedings of the court martial, &c. Copy right secured* (1798). Evans 33652. August von Kotzebue, *The virgin of the sun: a play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original* (New York: Printed by G.F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, no. 84 Maiden-Lane; T. and J. Swords, no. 99 Pearl-Street..., 1800). Evans 37763. *The wild-goose chase: a play, in four acts. With songs. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original* (New York: Printed by G.F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap, and sold at the office of the printer, no. 84 Maiden-Lane; T. and J. Swords, no. 99 Pearl-Street..., 1800). Evans 37766. *Pizarro in Peru; or, The death of Rolla. A play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original* (New York: Printed by G.F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, no. 136 Pearl-Street, T. and J. Swords, no. 99 Pearl-Street..., 1800). Evans 37757. Miller writes: "Towards the close of the century no dramatic writer in the German language was so generally popular as Kotzebue...." He then expands in a note on the moral tendencies of the German dramas, and their potential for corrupting the principles and virtues of those who contemplate their productions (*Brief Retrospect*, 2.221).

APPENDIX H. HOCQUET CARITAT.

See footnote 71. Hocquet Caritat was a Frenchman who came to New York in 1797. He opened up a bookstore and one of the largest private circulating libraries of the time. After using the Swords for *Alcuin*, it "was only natural, therefore, when Brown turned over the manuscript of his first novel, *Wieland; or the Transformation*, to Caritat in the summer of 1798 he should have suggested the Swords firm as printers; Caritat had never used them before. The arrangement was made by Caritat or Brown, or by Caritat alone, with the three friends, Smith, Johnson, and Dunlap, out of the financial end of it." LeRoy Elwood Kimball, "An Account of Hocquet Caritat, XVIII Century New York Circulating Librarian, Bookseller, and Publisher of the first two novels of Charles Brockden Brown, 'America's First Professional Man of Letters,'" *The Colophon A Quarterly For Collectors and Lovers of Books* 18 (1934) [2–3]. The title page notes: "Articles are listed in order of placement. The making of signatures by various presses at different times and places prevents folio pagination". Kimball's piece appears first. There is no evidence Caritat published *Alcuin*, the subscription of which as noted above, was managed by Dr. Smith.

Kimball did not have the advantage of access to Smith's diary which was not published until 1973. See Cronin's note on Isaac Riley for background on this gentleman who was Richard Alsop's brother-in-law (Cronin, *Diary*, 457, n49).

APPENDIX I. BROWN'S *MONTHLY MAGAZINE*.

See footnote 72. Smith, Johnson, Brown and Dunlap actually discussed founding a Monthly magazine in the August before Smith's death, to be published by the Swords. In December Brown read Dunlap a proposal for a magazine. *Diary of William Dunlap*, 323; 355. Miller recalls the venture: "After the yellow fever had passed away, Mr. Brown's friends in New York, the Friendly Club in particular, busied themselves to find him employment, and a means of support, agreeable to his literary tastes. He was accordingly encouraged to establish 'The Monthly Magazine and American Review,' the first number of which bears the date of April, 1799. We find Mr. Miller writing, December, 24, 1798 to Dr. Morse, to solicit his influence in behalf of this proposed publication. He says, 'You may rest assured, this is not an ordinary, nor a catchpenny, plan...' Dr. Morse demurred, expressing his fears, as it would seem, that the work might be too Democratic in its bearing. To this Mr. Miller replied, April 3, 1799, 'The principal editor of the American Monthly Magazine is a Mr. Charles B. Brown, lately of Philadelphia. You may, I believe, fully confide in him as a Federalist. Of his learning and taste there can be no question. There is a society, or club, of some ten gentlemen, who meet once a week to consult about the magazine, and concert plans to make up its contents and to promote its interests. Of these ten, seven are decided Federalists; the other three are a little Democratic, but remarkably mild and moderate men. I am not at liberty to mention their names, but am persuaded you need be under no apprehension respecting the work in a political point of view'" (*Life of Miller*, 1.119–120).

APPENDIX J. THE SWORDS' PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED PUBLICATIONS

See footnote 74. As noted in this article, T. & J. Swords occasionally published Presbyterian and Reformed works from the pens of some of the most prominent men in New York City.

82. Edward Tanjore Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America (formerly Ref. Prot. Dutch Church) 1628–1878* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1879) 75–79. For more information on Linn, see Philip J. Anderson, "William Linn, 1752–1808: American Revolutionary & Anti-Jeffersonian," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 55 (1977) 381–394; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1869) 9.75; Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of the Middle Colonies* (Worcester, 1957) 262; Alfred Nevin, *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1884) 432.

WILLIAM LINN, D.D.

William Linn (1752–1808) was ordained to the gospel ministry by the Donnegal Presbytery (later Carlisle) about 1776 when at the same time he was serving as a Chaplain to General Thompson's regiment. He served Presbyterian pastorates at Big Spring and briefly at Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, with a two year stint as headmaster of an Academy in Somerset, Maryland, in between. After only a few months at Elizabethtown he received and accepted a call in 1786 to be one of the associate pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church in New York. He became one of the most prominent ministers of the city, and "one of the most attractive and impressive preachers of his day."⁸² The sudden death in 1804 of his son the Rev. Dr. John Blair Linn affected his already weakening health and he resigned his charge and moved to Albany, where he died in 1808. Dr. Linn was the first chaplain of the House of Representatives, a friend of General and Mrs. Washington, and served variously as Regent of the University of the State of New York, as acting President of Queens College (Rutgers), and briefly before his death, as President of Union College in Schenectady.

The Swords published the following three sermons by Dr. William Linn:

A discourse, delivered on the 26th of November, 1795; being the day recommended by the governor of the state of New-York to be observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, on account of the removal of an epidemic fever, and for other national blessings (1795). Evans 28974.

A discourse, delivered at Hackinsack, June 28, 1796, on occasion of the meeting of a commission of synod to compose certain differences in the congregations of Hackinsack and Schralenburgh (1796). Evans 30697.

A discourse on national sins delivered May 9, 1798; being the day recommended by the president of the United States to be observed as a day of general fast (1798). Evans 34003.

JOHN MITCHELL MASON

John M. Mason (1770–1829), was one of the most distinguished ministers in the City of New York. He attended Columbia and received his bachelor's degree in 1789. Upon his father's decease in 1792 he became pastor of the church on Cedar Street in New York. Princeton University granted him the doctor of divinity degree in 1794. In 1804 he founded the first seminary for the Associate Reformed Church, which is now Union Theological Seminary. He was also a trustee for Columbia University from 1795 to 1811, and served as provost from 1811 until 1816. "While serving as provost, Mason became minister of the Murray Street Church in New York City in 1812. Declining health from excessive work forced him to

take leave of his duties in 1816, and then again after suffering a slight stroke upon his return. Following a second recovery, Mason accepted a position as president at the newly reopened Dickinson College, beginning his term in the fall of 1821.”⁸³ After continued ill health and suffering the deaths of his son and wife in 1822, he resigned in 1824. He died in New York City, December 26, 1829.⁸⁴ T. & J. Swords published three works by Dr. Mason:

Hope for the heathen: a sermon, preached in the Old Presbyterian Church, before the New-York Missionary Society, at their annual meeting, November 7, 1797 (1797). Evans 32438.

Letters on frequent communion: addressed particularly to the members of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America (1798). Evans 34062.

Pardon of sin in the blood of Jesus: a sermon, preached in Philadelphia, on the evening of the Sabbath, the 31st of May, 1801 (1801). Shaw & Shoemaker 885.

SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.

Before taking up his long post as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Princeton in 1813, Dr. Miller served as one of the pastors of the United Presbyterian Churches in the City of New York from the time of his ordination there in 1793. He became one of the prominent ministers of the city.⁸⁵ The Swords published the following by Dr. Miller.

Discourse, delivered April 12, 1797, at the request of and before the New-York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting Such of Them as Have Been or May Be Liberated (1797). Evans 32477. Sparkman 005.0.⁸⁶

Sermon, delivered May 9, 1798, recommended, by the president of the United States, to be observed as a day of general humiliation, fasting, and prayer (1798). Evans 34109. Sparkman 006.0.

Sermon, delivered December 29, 1799, occasioned by the death of General George Washington, late president of the United States, and commander in chief of the American armies (1800). Evans 37964. Sparkman 008.0.

Sermon, delivered before the New York Missionary Society, at their annual meeting, April 6th, 1802 (1802). Shaw & Shoemaker 2660. Sparkman 010.0.

A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century (1803). Shaw & Shoemaker 4654. Sparkman 013.0.

The guilt, folly, and sources of suicide: two discourses, preached in the city of New York, February, 1805 (1805). Shaw & Shoemaker 8903. Sparkman 014.0.

Sermon, delivered January 19, 1812, at the request of a number of young gentlemen of the city of New-York, who had assembled to express their condolence with the inhabitants of Richmond (1812). Shaw & Shoemaker 26082. Sparkman 030.1.⁸⁷

OTHER PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED TITLES

BY T. & J. SWORDS

John Henry Livingston (1746–1825). *A sermon, delivered before the New York Missionary Society, at their annual meeting, April 3, 1804; to which are added, an appendix, the annual report of the directors, and other papers relating to American missions* (1804). Born in 1746 in Dutchess County, near Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Livingston graduated from Yale College in 1762, and sailed to Amsterdam to study for the ministry. The Classis of Amsterdam ordained and licensed Livingston in April of 1770. In May he was given a doctor of theology degree by the University of Utrecht and returned the same year to America where he became a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York. The aforementioned Dr. Linn joined Livingston in 1786 as a co-pastor of the church. Livingston is known as the Father of the Dutch Reformed Church in America.⁸⁸

Alexander McLeod (1774–1833), Pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation in the city of New-York: *Negro Slavery Unjustifiable* (1802).⁸⁹ Shaw & Shoemaker 2572. *Messiah, Governor of the Nations of the Earth* (1803). Shaw & Shoemaker 4574. McLeod, a native of Scotland, came to this country in 1792. He graduated from Union College in 1798,

83. See the brief biography of Dr. Mason at the website for Dickinson College, which also has online the full four volumes of his works. <http://deila.dickinson.edu/theirrownwords/author/MasonJ.htm>.

84. In earlier days in New York City, John Pintard was an acquaintance of Dr. Mason's. He writes in a letter dated Tuesday, December 29, 1829: "The Rev. Dr [John M. Mason], perhaps the most eminent Divine, in his prime, died on Sunday aged 60, & is to be buried this P.M. I fear the weather will be too unfavourable for me to attend. I was once intimate with him." *Letters from John Pintard to his Daughter* (New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1940–41) 3.115.

85. A brief life of Dr. Miller was in the previous issue of this journal, along with an Annotated Bibliography of his publications, and a first time transcription from manuscript of one of his earliest sermons. *CPJ* 1 (2005) 9–10.

86. See Wayne Sparkman, "The Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller October 31, 1769–January 7, 1850 An Annotated Bibliography," *CPJ* 1 (2005) 11–40.

87. This was also published in New York in 1812 by Whiting and Watson and D. & G. Bruce. It is unclear to this author which was the first edition, but Miller was using Whiting and Watson at this time and had not published with the Swords since 1805 and the outbreak of the "High Churchism" controversy.

88. Sprague, *Annals*, "Dutch Reformed," 9.52–66.

89. Interestingly enough, James Swords as late as 1810 was a slave holder. "Quite a few slaveowners included in the 1810 census lived in the northern half of the Fifth Ward and 'commuted' to work somewhere on the southern tip of Manhattan—James Swords, the printer and bookseller, lived at 410 Greenwich but had his shop at 160 Pearl...." Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1991) 46.

studied theology under James McKinney, and was licensed by the Reformed Presbytery in 1799.⁹⁰ Dr. Miller notes that he became so well known, “far beyond the bounds of his own ecclesiastical denomination, that several of the most wealthy and respectable churches in the city, in succession, invited him to take the pastoral office over them” (Sprague, 9.24). Despite his fame, however, Dr. McLeod remained a Reformed Presbyterian.

Alexander Macwhorter (1734–1807), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Newark: *The blessedness of the liberal: a sermon, preached in the Middle Dutch Church, before the New-York Missionary Society, at their first institution, November 1, 1796* (1796). Evans 30733. The Swords published several items for the New York Missionary Society, including the Address and constitution of the New-York Missionary Society which may have originally appeared in print along with this sermon by Macwhorter (see Evans 30883), and the three sermons by Miller and Mason and Livingston noted above.

Philip Milledoler (1775–1852), *A discourse, delivered in the Presbyterian Church in Wall-Street, March 23, 1806: for a society of ladies instituted for the relief of poor widows with small children, and published at their request* (1806). Shaw & Shoemaker 10871. Milledoler was born in New York in 1775 and graduated from Columbia in 1793. He was pastor of the German Reformed Church on Nassau Street in New York from 1795 to 1800, and then of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia (1800–1805). At the time of this discourse Milledoler was pastor of Rutgers Street Presbyterian Church in New York (1805–1813). The main object of his call to this ministry was the need for a fourth minister to aid in the duties of the collegiate pastors of the United Congregations in New York City (PCUSA). Dr. Samuel Miller preached at Milledoler’s installation.⁹¹ Rutgers Street was split off from the united congregations; with Milledoler serving as its sole pastor, it soon grew to become one of the largest churches in the PCUSA by 1813 (*Life of Miller*, 1.198). In that year, he left

90. Sprague, *Annals*, “Reformed Presbyterian,” 9.9–25.

91. Sprague quotes the following anecdote from Dr. Milledoler regarding Dr. Miller going back to the year 1795 prior to the former taking the pastorate at the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia: “We frequently passed each other on the Sabbath, Mr. Miller going to the Brick Church, and I to my charge in Nassau street. Mr. Miller’s appearance was very youthful—I had just passed my nineteenth year. Being dressed in full canonicals, not omitting the three-cornered hat, we were called the ‘boy ministers.’” Cited in *Life of Miller*, 1.89.

92. See John McClintock and James Strong, *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, “Milledoler, Philip, D.D.” (Harper and Brothers, 1867–1887; Reprint. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981) 6.264. “Leadership on the Banks: Rutgers’ Presidents, 1766–2004. Philip Milledoler, 1825–1840.” http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/libs/scua/university_archives/milledoler.shtml. See also the entry in Sprague, *Annals*, volume 9, and in Corwin’s *Manual of the Reformed Church*.

to serve the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church in the city, and remained there for a dozen years. He taught at and was president of Rutgers College from 1825 until 1840.⁹²

THE SWORDS PUBLISHED THE FOLLOWING
DENOMINATIONAL TITLES:

PCUSA. Presbytery of New York. *An address from the Presbytery of New-York to the churches under their care, on the subject of educating poor and pious youth for the gospel ministry* (1805). Shaw & Shoemaker 9189.

Associate Reformed Presbyterians. In addition to other pieces, the Swords published extracts of the minutes for the Associate Reformed Synod for the years 1797, 1798 and 1801, and for 1802 and 1804, after their reorganization as the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. The titles are:

A draught of an overture for the government, worship, & discipline of the Associate-Reformed Church in North America (1796). Evans 30002.

Extract from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate Reformed Synod, met at Philadelphia, May 29, 1797, and continued by adjournments. Published by order of synod (1797). Evans 31755.

Extracts from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate Reformed Synod, met at Philadelphia, May 30, 1798; and continued by adjournments. Published by order of Synod (1798). Evans 33319.

Extracts from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate-Reformed Synod, met at Philadelphia, May 27, 1801, and continued by adjournments (1801). Shaw & Shoemaker 79.

Extracts from the minutes of the acts and proceedings of the Associate-Reformed Synod; at their meeting, held in the city of New-York, October 21st, 1802, and continued by adjournments. With an appendix, containing sundry documents (1803). Shaw & Shoemaker 3694 and 3695. AASOCC describes this as: “Extracts from the proceedings which resulted in the division of the Associate Reformed Synod (1782–1801) and its reorganization as the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (1802–1822).”

Extracts from the minutes of the proceedings of the first General Synod of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America; held at Greencastle, Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1804, and continued by adjournments (1804). Shaw & Shoemaker 5733 and 5734.

A Letter to the members of the Associate Reformed Church, illustrating the act of synod concerning a synodical fund (1798). Evans 33995.

The Constitution and Standards of the Associate-Reformed Church in North-America (1799). Evans 35119.

CHRIS COLDWELL ■

*In Brief: Samuel Miller's Sermon on the
Death of George Washington*

Our beloved and deplored WASHINGTON was, emphatically, A MAN WHOM GOD HAD MADE GREAT. Without the tinsel ornament of titled nobility—without the advantage of what is called distinguished and honourable birth, he was raised by the Governor of the world to a degree of greatness, of which the history of man has furnished but few examples. He was not, indeed, endowed with those brilliant and dazzling talents, which many erroneously imagine to be alone estimable. His mind was of an higher order. Providence designed him to move in a sphere in which a dignified prudence, soundness of judgment, firmness, self command, and uniformity, were especially needful; and, therefore, these were the leading features of his character....

When the encroachments and oppressions of Britain prompted our countrymen to throw off her yoke—when a few infant colonies rose up to contend with a gigantic, rapacious, and haughty parent, you saw him step forth, their patriotic leader, in asserting their precious rights, and in braving all the ills of a perilous and doubtful conflict. And, though little versed in the art of war; though placed at the head of a raw and undisciplined army; though contending with skilled, veteran, and more powerful foes, you saw his wisdom, his perseverance, and his valour, rise superior to the most formidable difficulties. You saw him lead on his fellow-citizens, from time to time, to conquest and triumph; until the fair fabrick of Independence was completely reared over the tomb of tyranny....

The admired hero, and the beloved sage, notwithstanding all his greatness, must, at length, lie down in the dust. There, according to the high decree of heaven, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the honoured and the despised, must become the common food of corruption and worms. Candidates for immortality! *So number your days, that you may apply your hearts unto wisdom.* What will it avail you to receive the applause of man, *whose breath is in his nostrils*, and to be loaded with those honours which soon fade away, if, after all, you have no inheritance secured beyond this little span of existence? There is a kingdom which is *not of this world*, offered and secured to all the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ. There is a glorious exaltation tendered to them, *without money, and without price*;—an exaltation in comparison with which the objects of earthly ambition are insignificant trifles. To this felicity and glory, then, let each of us aspire. Let us seek after reconciliation with God, through the atonement of his dear Son; and a conformity to his image, by the power of the Holy Spirit. Let it be our highest ambition *to be found of him at last in peace, without spot, and blameless: that when He who is our life shall appear, we also may appear, and live and reign with him in glory, forever and ever.* AMEN! (pp. 28–29; 38–39). ■

A
SERMON,
Delivered December 29, 1799;
OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF
GENERAL
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
LATE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND
COMMANDER IN CHIEF
OF THE
AMERICAN ARMIES.

By SAMUEL MILLER, A. M.
One of the Ministers of the United Presbyterian Churches in the
City of New-York.

Published by Request.



NEW-YORK:
Printed by T. & J. SWORDS, No. 99 Pearl-street.

1800.

Mr MILLER'S
SERMON
ON THE DEATH OF
GENERAL WASHINGTON.

ABOVE: Detail of the cover (half-title) and title pages of Samuel Miller, *Sermon, delivered December 29, 1799, occasioned by the death of General George Washington, late president of the United States, and commander in chief of the American armies* (1800). There is an ornamental tailpiece on the last page of the sermon, which is reproduced on page 256.

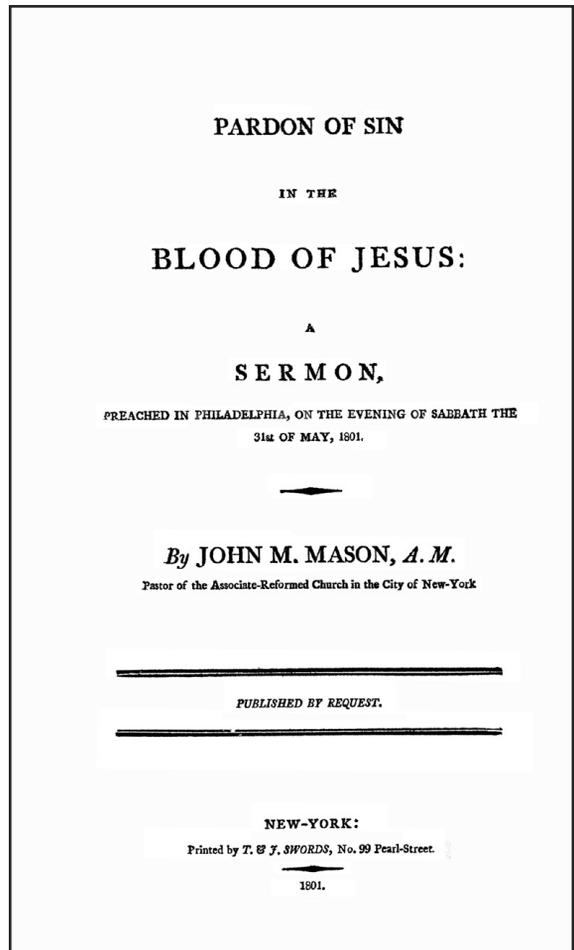
In Brief: Extract from John M. Mason, *Pardon of Sin in the Blood of Jesus* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1801).

While our souls rejoice in this plenteous redemption, and the forgiveness which it secures, let us lift up our eyes to the source from whence both proceed. This is the

III. And last part of my discourse. We have redemption and forgiveness *according to the riches of Jehovah's grace*. Such is the plan of salvation, that while sinners are delivered from going down to the pit, *the Lord alone shall be exalted*. In the pardon of sin, the voice of human pretension must, not be heard. *Grace, mere grace*, the riches of grace, is the burden of our song. The text suggests infinite arguments of this truth. 1. Sin is such an evil, that nothing but the *grace of God* could have projected its pardon. Sin! Ah! my brethren, who can develop the meaning of the horror-smiting term? Canst thou dive into its depths, and display its hidden hells? *One sin* changed legions of holy spirits into devils. *One sin* brought perdition on our wretched race. Make thy suit to the benevolence of angels; lay before them, in its true colors, the least of thy provocations, and thy best hope will be *as the giving up of the ghost*. Not one of them would dream of mercy for thee. It belongs not to creatures to show *such* forgiveness. Herein he is glorious, herein he is seen to be **GOD**, that when he alone has a full view of the sinfulness of sin, he alone can think of its pardon.

2. As nothing less than divine grace could forgive sin, so the purpose of it *originated* in no exterior cause. Many, whose affections are, touched with the love of Christ, entertain forbidding thoughts of the austerity of the Father. This is a great error. Christ purchased not the Father's love. On the contrary, it was the Father's love which appointed and sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. Grace is its own reason. *He loved us, because he loved us*. Here is the original fountain, here the overflowing ocean, from which forgiveness issues. Had it depended upon anything external, no Redeemer had been known, no hope revealed, no sinner saved.

3. The most ineffable effect of the Father's grace, its *riches*, its *infinite expression*, is the forgiveness of sin at the expense of the blood of Jesus. Had he given the universe beside, it would have been little, it would have been nothing, in comparison of his Son. With all holy reverence be it spoken, grace can go no farther. Sinners, here is the very heart of God! Here he has uncovered the profound of his compassions. *God so loved the world that he gave his ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON*—for whom? for rebels; for those who were *enemies to him by wicked works*. For what? *That whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but might have everlasting life*.



4. In the *application* of forgiveness through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, *grace is exceedingly abundant*.

Not only is it beyond our desert and expectation, but far above all that we are able so much as to think. The forgiveness which the gospel reveals, is the forgiveness of God. We can form no conception of the generosity, the extent, the riches of forgiveness, unless we consider the wonderful redemption through which it flows. Grace went every length in giving the Lord Jesus for an atoning sacrifice; and it goes every length in pardoning them that believe in his name.

The doctrine which I have now laid before you, brethren, is not a lofty speculation which you may admire without adopting; It is truth of everlasting moment; truth essential to your happiness; and for which you shall soon, very soon, give an account at the bar of God. I address you as sinners who need forgiveness; who perish without it; and shall never obtain it but through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. In his great name, therefore, allow me to demand what reception you will give to the gospel of his cross. *Exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel, and forgiveness of sins,*

he waiteth to be gracious; and tenders to the chief of sinners, without money and without price, all the benefits of his covenant. *Behold*, they are his own blessed words, *Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: If ANY MAN hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me*. Let no sinner, then, exclude himself from mercy which is offered in the gospel, as directly to him, as if there were not another sinner under heaven: and offered with such marvelous grace, that nothing but his *acceptance* is wanting to place him forever beyond the reach of the curse. The corrupt heart will invent a thousand pretexts to palliate its neglect of the great salvation, and has even the effrontery to charge its sin upon the holy God. But be it known unto you, that if, after all your means and opportunities of grace, you die in your iniquity, you will be found, at last, to have been your own destroyers; and the real, the guilty cause of your rejecting Christ Jesus, to have been your own **VOLUNTARY, CHERISHED UNBELIEF**. **YE WILL NOT come to him that ye might have life**; for the mouth of the Lord path spoken it!

Some who have been religiously educated, and who add to a general profession of Christianity all the exterior decencies of life; who are sober, just, humane; active in their temporal vocations; at peace with themselves, and respected by others; may consider as inapplicable to them, remonstrances which imply an impious character and a dangerous state. Supposing their religion to be sufficiently correct, they give to the wind all their anxieties about their present pardon or their future condition: while, at the same time, they are strangers to the power of godliness, nor ever understood the meaning, by enjoying the mercy, of *passing from death unto life*. Be not deceived. The salvation of God is not so slight a matter, nor so slightly to be possessed. The Christian name, the charitable opinion of men, the outward privileges of God's people, embellished with the whole train of social morals, fall far short of that *holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord*. All this will not prove forgiveness of sin, nor the sanctification of the Holy Ghost. To a hope which shall not become the mock of death, more, my brethren, much more is necessary. You must be divinely convinced of your natural enmity against God. This enmity must be slain, and you reconciled to him by the death of his Son. You must receive, as condemned rebels, a pardon written in his atoning blood. You must be renewed by his Spirit, and conformed to his image; be united with him by that faith which purifies the heart and works by love; be communicants in his death and the power of his resurrection; and become, in virtue of this union and communion, fruitful branches of the true vine, or—*ye have no life in you*.

In some who congratulate themselves on their escape from the bondage of superstition, and who remit religious care to minds incapable of liberal research, this doctrine of forgiveness may perhaps, excite only a smile of scorn. Yet with all

their contempt for what they call vulgar prejudice, and all their superiority to religious belief, they must allow me one moment to expostulate. *We rejoice in the salvation of Christ Jesus: it is our greatest happiness that we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace*. You affect to pity and despise us, while you reject our Redeemer's cross, and *put him to an open shame*. To justify this violence, your own hope ought to be better founded and more animating than ours. Is this the fact? Are you sure that you have committed no offence which, without forgiveness, must ruin you forever? Are you *sure* that there is forgiveness with God in any other manner than through the redemption of the Saviour's blood? or that the gospel which reveals it may not prove true at last? Are you *sure* that your own sins are pardoned? or that you run no hazard of any judgment to come? Can you produce a single instance of pardoned sin except through the obedience and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ? On what, then, do you presume? I shut up this volume of inspiration, and challenge your hope. What is its nature? and where is its warrant? Is it in these heavens? Is it in that deep? Is it inscribed on any page of creation's book, or engraven on the tablets of conscience? Unbeliever! give glory to God, and homage to his truth. Thou knowest that on all these points, on all that awaits thee beyond the grave, thou art tossed from conjecture to conjecture, and thy most flattering expectation is, at best, but dread uncertainty. Upon such slender ground, in the love and indulgence of a thousand lusts, thou art about to take the adventurous leap into a world of everlasting retribution! And, with all this, thou art a man of reason, a philosopher, who never believes but on evidence, nor acts but from conviction, and looks down with disdain upon the Christian faith! God have mercy on thee, poor fanatic! Yet thou canst not altogether stifle thy secret misgivings. There are times when, like Felix, thou tremblest! Guilt, with all thy boastings, makes thee a coward. Nor wilt thou ever find relief but in the precious blood of Jesus Christ. Be persuaded to try this happiest of all experiments. He is rich in mercy, and ready to forgive even thee. A refusal will cost thee thy soul; and thou wilt perish under that most fearful condemnation which will follow the rejection of eternal life, when it was near, *even at the door*.

Here, then, we part, and I turn to a voice of anguish which pierces my ear. Who is this that standeth afar off, with his eyes downcast to earth, smiting his breast, and crying, in broken accents, *God be merciful to me a sinner!* What aileth thee? Have the terrors of the Almighty seized upon thy spirit? Are thy sins set in order before thee? And while thou art compelled to sue for pardon, art thou filled with apprehensions lest thy suit be refused? Come to a forgiving God in the name of Jesus, and dismiss thy fears. Let no enormity of transgression be an obstacle to an *immediate acceptance of his unspeakable gift*.

Sinners entertain most injurious thoughts of forgiving mercy. They measure it by their own contractedness. Be persuaded, brethren, that Jehovah is as far above you in grace as he is in majesty. You profess to believe that there is merit enough in Jesus to save you, but doubt his *willingness* to apply it to *such* sinners. This is accursed pride, veiled in the garb of humility. "If you were not such atrocious offenders, you would more easily take courage." That is, if you had less unworthiness, or, which is the same thing, were more worthy. You wish to come with a price in your hands. You are not reconciled to a salvation of which Christ Jesus shall have all the glory. Here is the secret. Men affect to doubt *his* willingness, but they are not willing. Let them take eternal life as a free gift, and it is theirs. O brethren! never question the superabounding grace of God in Christ. *Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.* This glorious forgiveness is too high to be reached by carnal or merely rational apprehension. The mind will still shrink back from it as more desirable than credible? "Is this the manner of man? Is there any resemblance to it among the creatures? How can it be true? How can it be possible?" No, it is not the manner of man; there is nothing like it among the creatures; and yet it is possible, and yet it is true. Hear the word of Jehovah, O ye of little faith: *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near: Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and lett him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will ABUNDANTLY PARDON.* "Thou hast multiplied sins upon sins," saith God, "and I will multiply pardons upon pardons." Ah! Lord God! I could not pardon with the ten thousandth part of such goodness, my brother that is as mine own soul; and how canst *thou* pour down such pardons upon *me*? "Because thou art a man, and I am God. Let not the thankless objection again pass thy lips, nor rise in thy heart." For *my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.* Let the doubting, disconsolate sinner throw himself, with all his guilt and vileness, into the arms of this forgiving mercy. It never yet repulsed any who came in the faith of the Mediator's blood, and it will not begin its repulses with thee. Go without delay; go with all boldness in this blood; and thou shalt find as cordial a welcome as grace can give thee.

This forgiveness of sins in the redemption of Jesus, imposes infinite obligations upon them who have *believed it to the saving of their souls.* Whoever disparage the doctrine of sovereignty, it must not be such as owe to it all their present interest in the salvation of God, and all their hope of his eternal glory. But such are we. *By nature the children of wrath even*

as others; alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that was in us; rushing madly on in the paths of death; grace, unsought, undesired, met us; opened our eyes to our folly; hedged up our way with thorns; turned us back into the path of righteousness. Our wounded consciences and wearied hearts found healing and rest in Jesus Christ. His precious blood was the remedy of our guilt. How soothing the voice which whispered to our troubled spirits, *Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace!* Shall we ever forget that we deserved everything the reverse of what we have received? *That our birth and our nativity was of the land of Canaan, our father an Amorite, and our mother a Hittite? That we were cast out in the open field, to the loathing of our persons?* And that the compassionate Saviour passed by us, and saw us polluted in our own blood; and said unto us when we were in our blood, *LIVE* yea, said unto us when we were in our blood, *LIVE!* If we have fled from the wrath to come; if we are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; if we have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, *ABBA, Father;* all this, and all the glory which is yet to be revealed in us, are the blessed fruits of forgiveness through the redemption of the blood of Jesus. Sweetly constrained by his love, shall we not judge, with the Apostle of the Gentiles, that we must *henceforth live, not unto ourselves, but unto Him that died for us, and rose again?* The sum of our duty and happiness, O believer! is comprised in this precept—*As ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so WALK YE IN HIM.* The blood of sprinkling, kept by faith in the conscience, is the sure preservative from guilt; the holy secret of a comfortable and familiar walk with God. In this privilege let us go *from strength to strength,* lifting up our eyes to the hills *from whence cometh our help; showing forth the righteousness and the salvation of Jehovah all the day long;* and waiting for that great consummation, when, all the sorrows of earth's pilgrimage ended, and all its defilements washed away,

"Heaven lifts her everlasting portals high,
And bids the pure in heart behold their God!"

[The text of this extract is taken from Mason's sermon as printed in *The Complete Works of John M. Mason, D. D. in Four Volumes. Edited by His Son, Ebenezer Mason.* Volume 3 (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849) 187–198. This edition of the Works of Mason are online at <http://deila.dickinson.edu/theirrownwords/title/0057.htm>. ■