Universal- und kulturhistorische Studien – Studies in Universal and Cultural History

D.T. Potts Editor

Agreeable news from Persia

Iran in the Colonial and early Republican American press, 1712-1848



Universal- und kulturhistorische Studien. Studies in Universal and Cultural History

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This study owes its origin to a curious accident. About 4 years ago, I stumbled upon a notice referring to Mansfield Tracy Walworth's (1830–1873) novel *Delaplaine*. While far from a literary masterpiece, *Delaplaine* has two striking features. To begin with, much of it is set in the Second Russo-Persian War (1826–1828) and contains remarkable details of individual battles. Secondly, the Qajar crown prince 'Abbas Mirza, son of Fath 'Ali Shah, features prominently in the novel. As Walworth lived in Utica, New York, I began to wonder what sources on contemporary Persian history were available to him when he wrote his book. Certainly he could have accessed some studies of Qajar and Russian history from the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century in American libraries, as well as the *Annual Register*, which gave a yearly synopsis of political and military history. This led me to inquire into the extent to which contemporary Iranian affairs featured in the American press and to examine newspapers published in America at the time of the Second Russo-Persian War.

To my surprise, the quantity of material on the conflict in American newspapers was prodigious. Databases like *America's Historical Newspapers*, *NYS Historic Newspapers* and T.M. Tryniski's *Old Fulton New York Post Cards* have made available literally millions of pages of searchable, digitized newspapers. Coincidentally, one copy of the *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* from 9 December 1826, containing Nicholas I's Declaration of War against Persia, bears the signature of Walworth's father, Reuben Hyde Walworth of Saratoga Springs, New York, confirming how well-informed readers in a small, upstate New York town with a population of less than 10,000² were at that time. Fascinated by this unexpected discovery, I became equally curious about the period before the Second Russo-Persian War, extending my inquiry back to the very earliest newspapers in America, and carrying my searches through the reigns of Fath 'Ali Shah and Mohammad Shah. Because of the wealth of material from the mid- and the latenineteenth century (principally the reign of Nasr al-Din Shah), and because the advent of

¹Walworth (1871).

²Anonymous (1900: 15).

the telegraph in the 1840s changed news dissemination radically, I decided to use the death of Mohammad Shah as a cut-off point for the present inquiry.

The result of this research is an annotated collection of 2767 newspaper articles concerning Persia, published in 650 different American newspapers between 1712, soon after the establishment of the first regular newspaper in the colonies, the Boston News-Letter, and 1848, the year of Mohammad Shah's death. The names of these newspapers and their places of publication are listed after this Preface. Historians of Safavid and Oajar Iran have not, to my knowledge, exploited contemporary newspaper accounts of current events in Iran to any great extent. Yet, despite the exigencies of communication by land and sea, and the time it took for couriers from Constantinople to reach St. Petersburg, or letters on board ships from Smyrna to arrive in Venice and proceed overland to Amsterdam, Hamburg or London, the rapidly unfolding sequence of events involving Safavid, Afghan, Afsharid, Zand and early Qajar Persia featured on an almost daily basis in British and Continental European newspapers, copies of which were conveyed regularly to America. Thanks to the willingness of innumerable ships captains who arrived at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and other American ports bearing newspapers by then 6 weeks or more old, an enormous quantity of reportage on contemporary events in Iran—the fall of the Safavid dynasty, the Afghan occupation, the wars with the Ottomans and Russians, the diplomatic involvements of France and Britain, the rise and demise of Nader Shah, the struggle for supremacy in the Zand period and the reigns of the first three Qajars—reached newspaper offices scattered up and down the eastern seaboard of the American colonies and, later, the United States. After their initial publication in America, these stories were recycled and republished in many more newspapers scattered far and wide.⁴ The market for such news was clearly an expanding one. At the end of the American Revolution, there were only 35 newspapers in the thirteen American colonies, whereas by 1833, that figure exceeded 1200.5

For the most part, these news articles were either taken verbatim from their British or European sources or lightly rewritten. They came from many news outlets. Letters from

³ Schwarzlose (1989: 13) cites as unusual and innovative the visitation of ships arriving in Boston and New York by two local newspaper editors in the late eighteenth century in order to acquire news and intelligence, but countless examples quoted in the entries below show clearly that the provision of foreign newspapers to American editors by the captains of vessels arriving at American ports, many of whom are named as the providers of those newspapers, was a far older and more widespread practice than Schwarzlose suggests.

⁴Benjamin Russell's *Columbian Centinel*, for example, founded in Boston in 1784, was described by North 1884:37 as 'a vehicle of useful and accurate intelligence...superior to that of any other American newspaper. Russell had a peculiar mode of condensing and arranging the contents of foreign journals and presenting in the most readable shape all the incidents then (1790–1815) agitating Europe. Through the whole of this period, and for some years afterward, the Centinel was an indispensable source of news for the country printers, every one of whom relied upon it for matter to fill up the news department of his paper'.

⁵Copeland (1997b: 556).

correspondents in Isfahan, Tabriz, Tiflis, Constantinople, Smyrna, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Venice, Genoa, Naples, Hamburg, Vienna, Amsterdam, Lemberg, The Hague, Paris, London and elsewhere were published in British and European newspapers, providing first hand, often contradictory information. Reading these it is clear just how difficult a task reporting was when battlefields were distant and communication slow. Statements expressing doubt regarding the outcome of a battle, such as the following, are common: 'It is said that there has been an engagement between the Russians and Persians near Caucasus, in which the Persians were terribly beaten. This account, however, is not confirmed' (7.43). Moreover, intentional disinformation can be detected, as this example shows: 'the Turks lost most of their men, and their Reinforcement of 3000 Men were most of them cut to Pieces. But the Porte fearing the Fury of the Populace, has given out that the Army of the Schach Nadir was put to Flight' (5.119).

In general, little attempt was made by European and American newspaper editors to editorialize, although comments were sometimes appended querying a report or warning the reader that the news just reported could not be confirmed, such as 'the Persian News by Way of Constantinople is so variable, there's no being positive in any Particular' (1.14). In the main, however, the editorial policy seems to have been one of making everything that passed through the editors' hands available to readers, presumably in the belief that, as reports could not be confirmed or refuted by editors sitting in New York or Boston, there was no point in trying, and if something was inaccurate, it would be corrected sooner or later by a more authoritative account.

Not infrequently, one newspaper pre-dating another arrived in America, and its content was excerpted and printed days after a later newspaper's contents had already appeared, giving a contradictory account of an event. News travelled at variable rates. It was late May, 1725, for example, before the first account was published in America of the death of Peter the Great, on 8 February. In some cases, editors clearly dipped back into old newspapers for content, perhaps because they needed copy to fill the columns of their papers. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find an article reappearing a couple of years, even a decade, after its original publication. One of the more extreme cases of this practice is an article first published on 27 November 1740 in *The American Weekly Mercury* (4.206) that was reprinted on at least four occasions in 1789, as though it were a record of contemporary events.

The material collected here contains much that is not found in conventional, synthetic histories, particularly modern studies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The names of individual Russian and Ottoman military commanders, Persian diplomats in St. Petersburg and foreign envoys in Constantinople; the movements of Mahmud and Ashraf Ghalza'i, Tahmasp Mirza, Nader Shah, Karim Khan, Agha Mohammad Shah or 'Abbas Mirza; the size of the opposing forces facing each other at Erivan, Kars, Baghdad and Mosul; the number of victims from earthquakes at Tabriz, Shiraz and Kazerun; or cholera outbreaks in Qazvin and Tehran—these and a host of other details featured on an

almost daily basis in the early American press. Yet, although this study has brought to light several thousand newspaper articles relevant to the Safavid through early Qajar periods in Iran, it makes no pretence to completeness. Generally, articles were identified through keyword searches for terms like 'Persia', 'Tauris', 'Ghilan', 'Derbent', 'Kasben', 'Ispahan', 'Thamas', 'Sophi', 'Nadir', etc., and their variants, but not infrequently searches have failed to identify articles that had already been excerpted and it is clear that, because of the indistinctness of some of the scanned print images, and the illegibility of some letters or letter combinations, such searches cannot be assumed to capture every attestation of a keyword. Be that as it may, enough material has been found, it would seem, to suggest that no major historical events have escaped inclusion using this method.

Most studies of the Colonial and Early Republican American press have stressed its contribution to the formation of a new national identity and its relationship to political parties—particularly in the context of Federalists vs. anti-Federalists—and to the development of American political institutions. Yet even a cursory examination of early American newspapers reveals that a staggering amount of foreign content was published in them that had nothing to do with nascent Americanism, and everything to do with maintaining a strong connection to the rest of the world. Not only does this cast the literate public of the American colonies and early United States in a new light. It reveals how global the world was at a time when we tend to think of globalism largely in terms of international trade and trans-oceanic or trans-continental wars. In fact, political events, the comings and goings of royalty and aristocracy and military developments in Europe and Asia, presented with extraordinarily fine-grained detail, were sifted over and over again in the course of successive daily and weekly newspapers.

For convenience, this work is divided into 15 chapters, spread across three volumes as follows. The first volume covers the period from the reign of Shah Soltan Hoseyn to the death of Agha Mohammad Shah; the second volume is concerned solely with events during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah and the third volume examines the reign of Mohammad Shah. While somewhat arbitrary, the chapter divisions were deemed necessary to make the mass of material presented here more intelligible. The chapters are not divided strictly according to years or decades, but rather according to major historical events, such as the death or accession of a ruler. Invariably there is some overlap between chapters, given the time lag in the printing and reprinting of some pieces, such that articles that might have reported a momentous event in the autumn of one year, continued to appear sporadically into the spring and summer of the next. Each article excerpted below, with its title or byline, has been given a unique identifying number. For the most part, the articles are bulletins of current events—political, military, economic and social. These are presented in

⁶It is also important to note that there are curious lacunae, sometimes lasting years, in which no content concerning Iran seems to have been published. Whether this is a genuine reflection of newspaper coverage, or an artefact of the keywords used in searches for this work, is unclear.

⁷See, e.g., Humphrey (1996), Copeland (1997a), Alexander (1998: 168).

chronological order, regardless of the fact, noted above, that some articles with a later dateline may have appeared in print before articles that predated them in the European press.

Articles that concern matters outside the stream of current events—reports on Persian customs, books related to Persia, vignettes drawn from Persian poetry, prospects for trade, earthquakes, cholera outbreaks and so forth—have been grouped at the end of each chapter, in chronological order, under the heading 'Miscellaneous'. Their titles are all listed in the Table of Contents. A further clarification is needed regarding Chap. 14 which concerns the activities of the American Presbyterian missionaries at Urmia. Chronologically, the material in this chapter overlaps that found in Chaps. 13 and 15. As much of the content ignores contemporary political events, however, it was felt that readers interested primarily in the American Mission would find it convenient to have all of the articles pertaining to it gathered in one chapter.

Pre-modern spellings, capitalization and italics have been maintained, as they appeared in the original, printed articles. Every attempt has been made to identify people, places and foreign terms that appear in these articles, with explanations given in the footnotes. Where an unfamiliar name appears without any further clarification, that is because none could be found. Obvious misspellings are indicated by [sic], and spelling variants are clarified where necessary. Given the range of subject matter in these articles, users of this book may come from widely disparate fields, from British Colonial and Indian history, to American, Russian, Ottoman, French, Austrian, Persian and Central Asian studies. Names, even ones with corrupted or variant spellings, that may be easily recognized by specialists in one field, may be wholly unintelligible to those in another. Therefore, variant spellings of names in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century English, French, German, Turkish or Russian orthography, which often differ from the twentieth and the twenty-first century conventions, are given in a Glossary just before Chap. 1.

It is probably accurate to say that few students of eighteenth and nineteenth century Iranian history would have expected to find the full texts of treaties between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, or Persia and Russia, on the front pages of newspapers in colonial and early Republican America; let alone realized that bulletins on the progress of the wars between Persia and the Porte and Persia and Russia during the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century appeared almost daily in the American press. It will be all too apparent to specialists in one or another field—Safavid, Qajar, Ottoman, Russian, British, American and other branches of history—that much more remains to be said by way of

⁸Following the advice of a colleague who is expert in all matters of Safavid and Qajar, I have opted not to include diacritics where a stricter, philological presentation of names and terms would have called for them. Scholars possessing competence in Persian and Arabic will know where they should be, while other users of this book will not particularly care, so long as they can read a given name. Needless to say, wherever I have quoted directly from another work, I have retained any diacritics given in the original. Personal names, too, present a challenge, and I trust that the use of Ahmed, rather than Ahmad, or Mehmed rather than Mehemet, will not cause undue trouble for the reader.

providing additional context or explication of events, motivations of personalities and consequences of developments alluded to in the articles presented here. Beyond providing explanatory notes and a brief introduction to each chapter, the work of achieving this is better left to the experts, however, who now have an additional corpus of contemporary evidence with which to work, differing from that found in eighteenth and the nineteenth century scholarly books and articles. It is my hope that this material, with all its flaws, will henceforth be exploited as a valuable source for the *Zeitgeschichte* of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Iran. It is salutary to consider that the trials and tribulations of the people of Iran, in many walks of life, engrossed the early American reading public, even if they seem to us a world away. With this body of material, historians and anyone interested in Iranian history can get some sense of what it was like, in real time, to live through the tumultuous eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Access to such a lens for the better understanding of any historical epoch ought to enrich the experience of research and appreciation, bringing a distant period that much closer to our own experience of the often messy, contradictory, rapidly evolving situations reported in the news media.

Before closing this Preface, I want to thank my wonderful wife Hildreth Burnett Potts who has lived with this work for the past 4 years, listening to countless anecdotes of the historical characters found on these pages and asking probing questions that improved the work immeasurably. I would also like to thank my friend and colleague Willem Floor, whose mastery of Safavid and Qajar history is second to none. He has answered many questions and been a valuable sounding board, particularly regarding the organization of the present work.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my grandchildren who may find it amusing, when they are old enough to use this book, to think that their grandfather went down so many rabbit holes when he was trying to identify the distant people and places whose unfamiliar names confronted early American newspaper readers in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century.

New York, USA 29 June 2021 D. T. Potts

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Abbreviations

BAI Bulletin of the Asia Institute

BSO[A]S Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies

CHI Cambridge History of Iran

CRAIBL Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres

DNB Dictionary of National Biography
EnIrOE Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition

GJ The Geographical Journal

IJMES International Journal of Middle East Studies

IrSt Iranian Studies JA Journal Asiatique

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRGS Journal of the Royal Geographical Society

MES Middle Eastern Studies MH The Missionary Herald

PRGS Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society SEER The Slavonic and East European Review

StIr Studia Iranica

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

American Newspapers Excerpted in This Work

TitlePlace of PublicationL'AbeilleNew Orleans, LAThe AgeAugusta, MEAlbany ArgusAlbany, NYThe Albany ChronicleAlbany, NYAlbany Evening JournalAlbany, NY

xviii Abbreviations

Albany Gazette	Albany, NY
The Albany Register	Albany, NY
The Albion	New York, NY
Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer	Alexandria, VA
Alexandria Gazette [& Daily Advertiser]	Alexandria, VA
The Alexandria Herald	Alexandria, VA
The American	New York, NY
American Advocate [& General/Kennebec Advertiser]	Hallowell, ME
American Apollo	Boston, MA
The American Beacon and Commercial Diary	Norfolk, VA
American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily	Norfolk, VA
Advertiser	NOTIOIR, VA
American [&] Commercial Daily Advertiser	Baltimore, MD
American Citizen [and General Advertiser]	New York, NY
American Federalist Columbian Centinel	Boston, MA
American Freeman	Prairieville, WI
The American Journal	Ithaca, NY
The American Journal and General Advertiser	Providence, RI
American Patriot	Portland, ME
The American Minerva [and the New-York Advertiser]	New York, NY
American Repertory	St. Albans, VT
American Repertory & Advertiser	Burlington, VT
American Sentinel	Middletown, CT
American Telegraphe	Bridgeport, CT
American Traveller	Boston, MA
American Watchman [and Delaware Advertiser]	Wilmington, DE
The American Weekly Mercury	Philadelphia, PA
The Amherst Journal and the New-Hampshire Advertiser	Amherst, NH
Andrews's Western Star	Stockbridge, MA
The Argus, or Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser	New York, NY
Argus of Western America	Frankfort, KY
Arkansas Intelligencer	Van Buren, AK
Arkansas State Gazette	Little Rock, AK
The Atlas	New York, NY
Auburn Journal and Advertiser	Auburn, NY
Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser	Augusta, GA
Augusta Herald	Augusta, GA
Aurora General Advertiser	Philadelphia, PA
The Balance, and Columbian Repository	Hudson, NY
The Balance, & New-York State Journal	Albany, NY
Ballston Spa Gazette, and Saratoga Farmer	Ballston Spa, NY
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Abbreviations xix

The Baltimore Daily Intelligencer	Baltimore, MD
Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser	Baltimore, MD
Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser	Baltimore, MD
Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser	Baltimore, MD
Bangor Register	Bangor, ME
The Baptist Advocate	New York, NY
Barre Gazette	Barre, MA
Barre Patriot	Barre, MA
Bartgis's Maryland Gazette, and Frederick-Town Weekly	Frederick, MD
Advertiser	Flederick, MD
	Poston MA
Bay State Democrat	Boston, MA
The Bee	New London, CT
Bellows Falls Gazette	Bellows Falls, VT
The Berks and Schuylkill Journal	Reading, PA
Berkshire County Whig	Pittsfield, MA
The Berkshire Chronicle	Pittsfield MA
Berkshire Gazette	Pittsfield, MA
The Berkshire Reporter	Pittsfield, MA
Binghamton Courier	Binghamton, NY
Black River Gazette	Lowville, NY
Boston Courier	Boston, MA
Boston Daily Advertiser [& Patriot]	Boston, MA
Boston Daily American Statesman and City Register	Boston, MA
The Boston Daily Atlas	Boston, MA
The Boston Evening-Post	Boston, MA
The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal	Boston, MA
The Boston-Gazette [or, Weekly Journal]	Boston, MA
The Boston-Gazette, and Weekly Republican Journal	Boston, MA
Boston Intelligencer & Evening Gazette	Boston, MA
The Boston [Weekly] News-Letter, and New-England	Boston, MA
Chronicle	
Boston Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser	Boston, MA
Boston Press and Post	Boston, MA
Boston Recorder	Boston, MA
The Boston Semi-Weekly Atlas	Boston, MA
Boston Weekly Messenger	Boston, MA
The Boston Weekly Post-Boy	Boston, MA
Brattleboro' Messenger and Farmers and	Brattleboro, VT
Manufacturers' Public Journal	
The Bristol County Register	Warren, RI
The Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat	Brooklyn, NY
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xx Abbreviations

The Broome Republican	Binghamton, NY
The Brunswick Gazette	New Brunswick, NJ
The Burlington Advertiser or Agricultural and Political	Burlington, NJ
Intelligencer	
Burlington Hawk-Eye	Burlington, IA
Camden Gazette and Mercantile Advertiser	Camden, SC
Carey's United States' Recorder	Philadelphia, PA
The Carlisle Gazette, and the Western Repository of	Carlisle, PA
Knowledge	
Carolina Centinel	New Bern, SC
The Carolina Gazette	Charleston, SC
The Cayuga Patriot	Auburn, NY
The Centinel of Liberty, and George-Town and	Georgetown, DC
Washington Advertiser	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
The Charleston Courier	Charleston, SC
Chelsea Courier	Norwich, CT
Chittenango Herald	Chittenango, NY
Christian Herald	Exeter, NH
The Christian Intelligencer	New York, NY
Christian Messenger	Middlebury, VT
The Christian Mirror	Portland, ME
Christian Observer	Philadelphia, PA
Christian Reflector	Worcester/Boston, MA
Christian Register	Boston, MA
Christian Secretary	Hartford, CT
Christian Watchman	Boston MA
Christian Witness and Church Advocate	Boston, MA
Chronicle Express	New York, NY
Christian Witness	Boston, MA
The Cincinnati Daily Gazette	Cincinnati, OH
City Gazette and/or [the Commercial] Daily Advertiser	Charleston, SC
City of Washington Gazette	Washington, DC
Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser	Philadelphia, PA
Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer	Cleveland, OH
The Columbia Washingtonian	Hudson, NY
Columbian Centinel [& Massachusetts Federalist]	Boston, MA
Columbian Courier, or Weekly Miscellany	New Bedford, MA
Columbian Gazette	Utica, NY
The Columbian Herald or, the New Daily Advertiser	Charleston, SC
The Columbian Herald or the Patriotic Courier of	Charleston, SC
North- America	

Abbreviations xxi

Columbian Minerva	Dedham, MA
Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser	Savannah, GA
Columbian Register	New Haven, CT
Columbian Reporter	Taunton, MA
The Columbian Star	Washington, DC
The Commentator	Frankfort, KY
Commercial Advertiser	New York, NY
Concord Gazette	Concord, NH
Concord Observer	Concord, NH
Connecticut Courant [and, Weekly Intelligencer]	Hartford, CT
Connecticut Gazette	New London, CT
The Connecticut Gazette, and the Commercial	New London, CT
Intelligencer	
The Connecticut Gazette, and the Universal Intelligencer	New London, CT
Connecticut Journal [and New-Haven Post-Boy]	New Haven, CT
Connecticut Mirror	Hartford, CT
Connecticut Observer	Hartford, CT
The Constitution	Middletown, CT
The Constitution	Washington, DC
The Constitutional Gazette	New York, NY
The Constitutional Telegraphe	Boston, MA
The Country Journal and the Poughkeepsie Advertiser	Poughkeepsie, NY
The Corrector	Sag-Harbor, NY
The Courier	Norwich, CT
The Courier	New Orleans, LA
Courier des États-Unis	New York, NY
Courier of New Hampshire	Concord, NH
The Daily Advertiser [Political, Historical and	New York, NY
Commercial]	
The Daily Chronicle	Philadelphia, PA
Daily Chronicle & Sentinel	Augusta, GA
Daily Commercial Bulletin	St. Louis, MO
Daily Democrat	Rochester, NY
Daily Georgian	Savannah, GA
Daily Herald	New Haven, CT
Daily National Intelligencer	Washington, DC
Daily National Journal [= National Journal]	Washington, DC
Daily Ohio State Journal	Columbus, OH
The Daily Picayune	New Orleans, LA
The Daily Sanduskian	Sandusky, OH
Daily Sentinel and Gazette	Milwaukee, WI

xxii Abbreviations

The Dayspring Dedham Gazette The Delaware & Eastern Shore Advertiser The Delaware Gazette The Delaware Register The Democrat The Democrat The Diary or Loudon's Register Dundee Record Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet; see The Pennsylvania	Boston, MA Dedham, MA Wilmington, DE Delhi, NY Wilmington, DE Boston, MA Philadelphia, PA New York, NY Dundee, NY Philadelphia, PA
Packet The Dutchess Observer The Eagle of Maine The Eastern Argus The Eastern Herald [and Gazette of Maine] Eastern State Journal Easton Gazette Easton Star Eastport Sentinel Edes' Kennebec Gazette Edwardsville Spectator The Emancipator The Emancipator The Emporium The Enquirer Epitome of the World Essex Gazette The Essex Gazette The Essex Journal and [Merimack Packet, or,] the Massachusetts and New-Hampshire General Advertiser Essex Register The Evening Gazette	Poughkeepsie, NY Kennebunk, ME Portland, ME Portland, ME White Plains, NY Easton, MD Easton, MD Eastport, ME Augusta, ME Edwardsville, IL Boston, MA New York, NY Trenton, NJ Richmond, VA Bennington, VT Haverhill, MA Salem, MA Newburyport, MA Haverhill, MA Salem, MA Boston, MA Albany, NY
The Evening Journal The Expositor Exchange Advertiser Farmers' Cabinet Farmer's Gazette The Farmer's Library: Or, Vermont Political & Historical Register	Albany, NY Geneva, NY Boston, MA Amherst, NH Barre, MA Rutland, VT

Abbreviations xxiii

E	Walnala NIII
Farmer's Museum, or Lay Preacher's Gazette	Walpole, NH
Farmers' Museum, or Literary Gazette	Walpole, NH
The Farmers' Register	Chambersburg, PA
Farmers' Register	Troy, NY
Farmer's Repository	Charles Town, WV
Federal Galaxy	Brattleboro, VT
The Federal Gazette	Baltimore, MD
The Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser	Philadelphia, PA
Federal Orrery	Boston, MA
Federal Spy	Springfield, MA
Fincastle Mirror	Fincastle, VA
The Floridian	Tallahassee, FL
Frankfort Argus	Frankfort, KY
Franklin Gazette	Philadelphia, PA
Franklin Gazette and Public Advertiser	Greenfield, MA
Franklin Post and Christian Freeman	Greenfield, MA
Federal Intelligencer, and Baltimore Daily Gazette	Baltimore, MD
Federal Republican	Baltimore, MD
Fredonian	Chillicothe, OH
Freedom's Sentinel	Schenectady, NY
Freeman's Friend	Portland, ME
The Freeman's Journal	Cooperstown, NY
The Freeman's Journal or The North-American	Philadelphia, PA
Intelligencer	
The Free Press	Auburn, NY
The Friend	Salem, MA
The Gazette	Syracuse, NY
The Gazette	Portland, ME
Gazette Française	New York, NY
Gazette of Maine	Portland, ME
Gazette of Maine. Hancock Advertiser	Buckstown, ME
Gazette of the United States, and [Philadelphia] Daily	Philadelphia, PA
[Evening] Advertiser	
The General Advertiser [and Political, Commercial,	Philadelphia, PA
Agricultural and Literary Journal]	
The Genesee Farmer	Rochester, NY
Geneva Advertiser	Geneva, NY
The Geneva Gazette [and General Advertiser]	Geneva, NY
Geneva Palladium	Geneva, NY
The Genius of Liberty	Leesburg, VA
The Georgetown Gazette	Georgetown, SC

xxiv Abbreviations

Georgia Courier Augusta, GA Georgia Gazette Savannah, GA Georgia Journal Milledgeville, GA The Georgian Savannah, GA The Georgia Telegraph Macon, GA The Globe Washington, DC Greene County Republican Catskill, NY The Greenfield Gazette & Franklin Herald Greenfield, MA Greenfield Gazette. Or, Massachusetts and Vermont Greenfield, MA *Telegraphe* New York, NY Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register New York, NY Peacham, VT The Green Mountain Patriot Green & Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser Boston, MA Greensburgh Gazette Greensburgh, PA The Groton Balance Groton, NY Guardian of Freedom Haverhill, MA Hallowell Gazette Hallowell, ME Hampden Federalist & Public Journal Springfield, MA Hampden Patriot [and Liberal Recorder] Springfield, MA Hampden Whig Springfield, MA Hampshire Federalist Springfield, MA Hampshire Gazette Northampton, MA Hampshire Sentinel Belchertown, MA The Harbinger New York, NY/Boston, MA The Hartford Times Hartford, CT Haverhill Gazette, and Essex Patriot Haverhill, MA The Herald Greenfield, MA The Herald Sandy-Hill, NY The Herald; A Gazette for the Country New York, NY The Herald of Liberty Washington, PA Herald of the United States Warren, RI Herald of the Valley Fincastle, VA Hillsborough Recorder Hillsborough, NC Hingham Patriot Hingham, MA Hornet Frederick, MD The Hudson River Chronicle Ossining, NY Illinois Intelligencer Vandalia, IL Impartial Herald Newburyport, MA Impartial Herald Suffield, CT

Boston, MA

The Independent Advertiser

Abbreviations xxv

Independent American	Georgetown, DC
Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot	Boston, MA
The Independent Chronicle [and the Universal	Boston, MA
Advertiser]	
The Independent Gazetteer; or, the Chronicle of Freedom	Philadelphia, PA
Independent Journal	New York, NY
Independent Statesman	Portland, ME
The Indiana State Sentinel	Indianapolis, IN
Ithaca Journal & General Advertiser	Ithaca, NY
The Jamestown Journal	Jamestown, NY
The Jeffersonian	Portland, ME
Jeffersonian Republican	New Orleans, LA
Jenks' Portland Gazette	Portland, ME
Kalamazoo Gazette	Kalamazoo, MI
The Kennebec Gazette	Hallowell, ME
Kentucky Gazette	Lexington, KY
Kinderhook Herald	Kinderhook, NY
Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette	Carlisle, PA
The Ladies' Weekly Museum, or Polite Repository of	New York, NY
Amusement and Instruction	
Lancaster Journal	Lancaster, PA
Lexington Gazette	Lexington, KY
The Liberator	Boston, MA
The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette	Cincinnati, OH
The Lincoln Intelligencer	Wiscasset, ME
Litchfield Monitor	Litchfield, CT
The Litchfield Republican	Litchfield, CT
Literary Cadet, and Saturday Evening Bulletin	Providence, RI
The Livingston Register	Geneseo, NY
Livingston Republican	Geneseo, NY
The Long Island Farmer [and Queens County Advertiser]	Jamaica, NY
The Long Island Star	Brooklyn, NY
Louisiana Advertiser	New Orleans, LA
Louisiana Courier	New Orleans, LA
The Lutheran Observer	Baltimore, MD
The Lynchburg Virginian	Lynchburg, VA
Lyons Advertiser	Lyons, NY
Macon Georgia Telegraph	Macon, GA
The Madisonian	Washington, DC
The Mail; or, Claypoole's Daily Advertiser	Philadelphia, PA
Maine Cultivator and Hallowell Weekly Gazette	Hallowell, ME
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xxvi Abbreviations

Manufacturers and Farmers Journal The Maryland Gazette Manyland Herald The Maryland Herald and Elizabeth-Town Advertiser The Maryland Journal [and Baltimore Advertiser] The Massachusetts Centinel [and the Republican Journal] The Massachusetts Gazette/ And Boston News-Letter/and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser Massachusetts Mercury The Massachusetts Spy [and/or Worcester County Advertiser/Worcester Gazette] The Massachusetts Spy [and/or Worcester County Advertiser/Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Worcester, MA Wew Bedford, MA New Bedford, MA New York, NY The Mercury and New-England Palladium Georgetown, DC Detroit, MI The Middletown, CT Miller's Weekly Messenger Millon, NC Millon, NC	Maine Intelligencer	Brunswick, ME
The Maryland Gazette Maryland Herald The Maryland Herald and Elizabeth-Town Advertiser The Maryland Journal [and Baltimore Advertiser] The Massachusetts Centinel [and the Republican Journal] The Massachusetts Gazette/ And Boston News-Letter/and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser Massachusetts Mercury Massachusetts Spy [and/or Worcester County Advertiser/Worcester Gazette] The Massachusetts Spy [and/or Worcester County Advertiser, MA worcester, MA wordentice, NY hew York, NY hew Hercury and New-England Palladium Metropolitian Georgetown, DC Detroit, MI Middletown, CT Miller's Weekly Messenger Millon Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser Millon, NC Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee Dedham, MA The Miner's Journal, and Schuylkill Coal & Navigation Register The Miner's Advertiser The Minerva & Mercantile Evening Advertiser The Minerva & Mercantile Evening Advertiser New York, NY The Mirror Russellville, KY Mirror of the Times, & General Advertiser Neither Tale, MS Mississippi Herald & Natchez Gazette, Extra Natchez, MS Natchez, MS Little Falls, NY Schenectady, NY The Moral and Political Telegraphe: or, Brookfield		
Maryland Herald The Maryland Journal [and Baltimore Advertiser] The Maryland Journal [and Baltimore Advertiser] The Massachusetts Centinel [and the Republican Journal] The Massachusetts Gazette/ And Boston News-Letter/and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser Massachusetts Mercury Massachusetts Spy [and/or Worcester County Advertiser/Worcester Gazette] The Mercury Maysville, KY Utica, NY The Webedley or Newbedford Marine Journal Meercantile Advertiser New York, NY The Mercury and New-England Palladium Metropolitan Georgetown, DC Michigan Herald Detroit, MI Middletown, CT Millen's Weekly Messenger Pendleton, SC Milton, NC Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee Journal Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee [Daily] Sentinel Milwaukee, WI Milwaukee WI Charlotte, NC Pottsville, PA Register The Minerva The Minerva & Mercantile Evening Advertiser New York, NY The Mirror Concord, NH Russellville, KY Mirror of the Times, & General Advertiser Natchez, MS Mississippi Free Trader Mississippi Free Trader Mississippi Free Trader Natchez, MS The Mohawk Courier Little Falls, NY Schenectady, NY The Moral and Political Telegraphe: or, Brookfield	·	
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Abbreviations xxvii

Morning Chronicle	New York, NY
Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer	New York, NY
Morning News	New London, CT
Nantucket Inquirer	Nantucket, MA
The Nashville Gazette	Nashville, TN
The National Advocate	New York, NY
National Ægis	Worcester, MA
The National Era	Washington, DC
National Gazette and Literary Register	Philadelphia, PA
The National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser	Washington, DC
National Journal	Washington, DC
National Messenger	Georgetown (Washington,
Ŭ	DC)
The National Register	Washington, DC
The National Republican, and Ohio Political Register	Cincinnati, OH
National Standard	Middlebury, VT
Newark Daily Advertiser	Newark, NJ
New-Bedford Gazette & Courier	New Bedford, MA
New-Bedford Mercury	New Bedford, MA
New-Bedford Register	New Bedford, MA
New Brunswick Fredonian	New Brunswick, NJ
Newburyport Herald [and Country Gazette]	Newburyport, MA
The New-England Courant	Boston, MA
New-England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine	Boston, MA
New England Puritan	Boston, MA
The New-England Weekly Journal	Boston, MA
The New-Hampshire and Vermont Journal: Or, The	Walpole, NH
Farmer's Weekly Museum	
New-Hampshire Gazette	Portsmouth, NH
The New Hampshire Gazette and Republican Union	Portsmouth, NH
The New Hampshire Gazetteer	Exeter, NH
New-Hampshire Inelligencer	Haverhill, NH
New-Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette	Concord, NH
New-Hampshire Repository	Concord, NH
New-Hampshire Sentinel	Keene, NH
New-Hampshire Statesman and Concord Register	Concord, NH
The New-Haven Gazette [and the Connecticut Magazine]	New Haven, CT
The New-Jersey Journal [and Political Intelligencer]	Elizabethtown, NJ
New London Democrat	New London, CT
The New-London Gazette [and General Advertiser]	New London, CT
Newport Mercury	Newport, RI

xxviii Abbreviations

New-York Advertiser New-York American [for the Country] New-York American [for the Country] New-York Columbian New-York Daily Gazette New-York Evangelist New-York Evening Post New-York Evening Post New-York Gazette [revived in the Weekly Post-Boy] New-York Journal, or the General Advertiser New-York Observer [and Religious Chronicle] New-York Observer [and Religious Chronicle] New-York Spectator New-York Spectator New-York Weekly Journal New-York Weekly Journal Norfolk Advertiser [and Independent Politician] Norfolk Advertiser [and Independent Politician] Dedham, MA Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger North American The North American and Daily Advertiser Baltimore, MD; Philadelphia, PA North American and United States Gazette The North River Times North Star Danville, VT The Northern Budget Northern Post The Northern Standard [The] Northern Whig Norwalk Gazette Norwich Courier Norwich Courier Norwich Courier New York, NY New York New York New York, NY New York New York, NY New York New York, NY New York, NY New York, NY New York New York, NY New York, NY New York New York, NY New York New York, NY New York
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The Norwich Packet and the Connecticut, Massachusetts, Norwich, CT
New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island Weekly Advertiser
The Norwich-Packet, or The Country Journal Norwich, CT
The Norwich Republican and Stonington Telegraph Norwich, CT
The Observer Cortland, NY
The Observer Haverhill, MA
Ohio Monitor Columbus, OH
The Ohio Observer Hudson, OH
The Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette Columbus, OH
Old Colony Memorial Plymouth, MA

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Olive Branch Sherburne, NY Oneida Observer Rome, NY Oneida Whig Utica, NY Onondaga Register Onondaga Hollow, NY Onondaga Register & Syracuse Gazette Syracuse, NY Ontario Repository Canandaigua, NY L'Oracle Charleston, SC L'Oracle and Daily Advertiser New York, NY The Oracle of Dauphin [and Harrisburgh Advertiser] Harrisburg, PA The Oracle of the Day Portsmouth, NH Goshen, NY Orange County Patriot; or, The Spirit of 'Seventy Six *Oriental Trumpet* [or the Town and Country Gazette] Portland, ME Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertiser New Orleans, LA Osborne's New-Hampshire Spy Portsmouth, NH Oswego Palladium Oswego, NY Otsego Herald: or, Western Advertiser Cooperstown, NY Painesville Telegraph Painesville, OH The Palladium of Liberty Morristown, NJ Patriot Utica, NY Pawtucket Chronicle [and Rhode-Island Pawtucket, RI and Massachusetts Register] The Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser Philadelphia, PA Pennsylvania Correspondent, and Farmers' Advertiser Doylestown, PA The Pennsylvania Gazette Philadelphia, PA Philadelphia, PA Pennsylvania Inquirer and Daily Courier Pennsylvania Inquirer and Morning Journal Philadelphia, PA Pennsylvania Journal, or, Weekly Advertiser Philadelphia, PA The Pennsylvania Mercury, and Universal Advertiser Philadelphia, PA The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser Philadelphia, PA The Pennsylvania Packet, and/or the General Advertiser Philadelphia, PA Pennsylvania Telegraph Harrisburg, PA The Pennsylvanian Philadelphia, PA Pensacola Gazette [and Florida Advertiser] Pensacola, FL The People's Advocate New London, CT The People's Friend & Daily Advertiser New York, NY The People's Friend & Gazette Little Falls, NY Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer Peoria, IL Perry Democrat Bloomfield, PA Petersburg, VA Petersburg Intelligencer The Phenix; Or, Windham Herald Windham, CT The Phenix Westfield, NY