

Fakes and Facsimiles: Problems of Identification

LEONARD RAPPORT

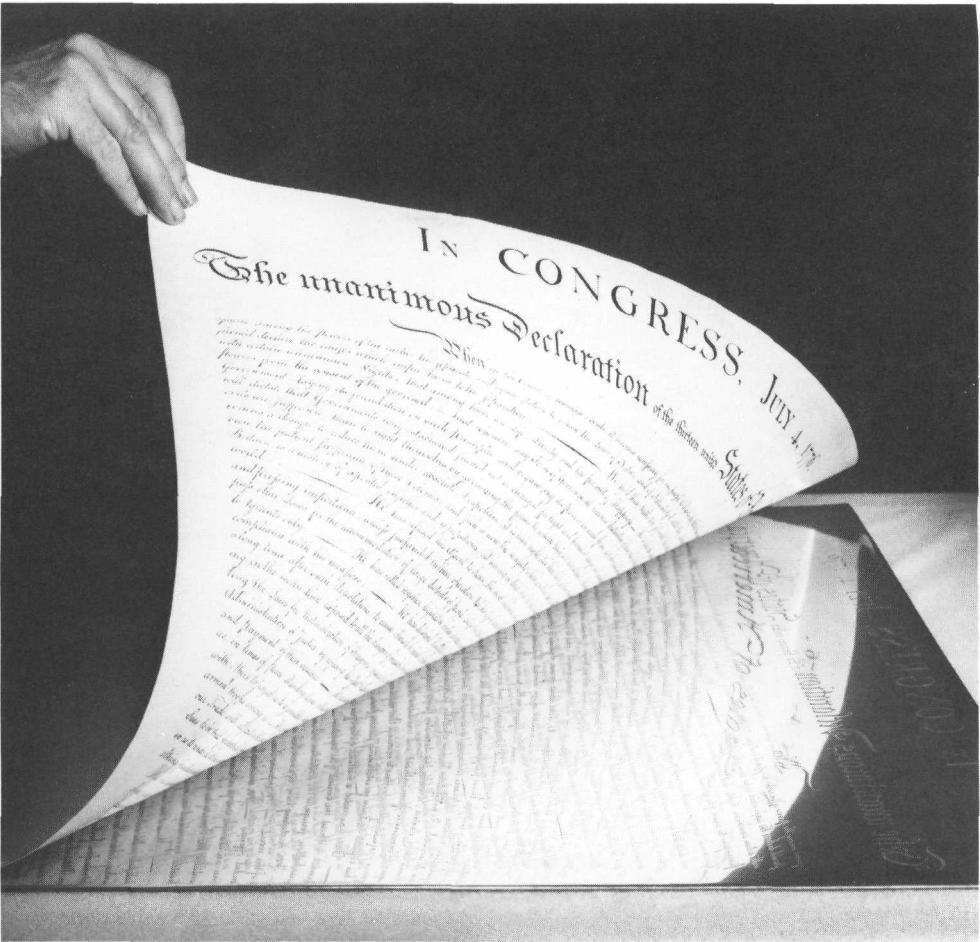


Figure 1 National Archives and Records Service
ORIGINAL AND FACSIMILE: The copperplate engraved from the Engrossed Declaration of Independence by William J. Stone in 1823. The paper copy is one of six struck from the plate in 1976. Both the engrossed Declaration and the copperplate are on display in the National Archives Building.

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ANYBODY WHO HAS ever had business in the New York Public Library Manuscript Division knows it isn't simple to pass through the locked wire-cage door. But one day in the 1950s a most unlikely person somehow talked her way through the door and into the room.

She was little, old, stooped, in a shapeless dress, and, as I remember, wore on her head a shawl. She spoke a broken English. Central Casting could have sent her for the role of a turn-of-the-century immigrant just out of steerage.

Walter Winchell, she said, had broadcast about a copy of the Declaration of Independence worth five hundred thousand dollars. She, she said, had that copy.

She took out a package wrapped in wrinkled brown paper. She opened out the folds. Finally she came to her copy of the Declaration.

Readers of the New York *Times* know that for years the *Times*, each Fourth of July, has reprinted a facsimile of the engrossed Declaration of Independence, complete with signatures of the signers. What she had was that Declaration, yellowing, cut out from a copy of the *Times* of twenty-five or thirty years before. On the back were the news columns and ads of the reverse page.

The staff members tried to explain to her what it was she had. She didn't hear them. She looked from one to another and said that she had worked hard all her life—and that was easy to believe—and that she needed the money. She kept saying it over and over. Finally, realizing that what they were telling her was not what she wanted to hear, she asked how much it would cost to go to Washington to show it to people there. I, being from there

and, like the others present, not wanting to see her waste her money, joined in to try to dissuade her. It was no use. Finally, she folded and rewrapped her Declaration and left, still determined to go somewhere where she would find somebody who would tell her that she had the document Walter Winchell was talking about and that she would be rich and that her old age would be taken care of and that she wouldn't have to work any more.

That old woman undoubtedly is dead and, long since, somebody has thrown away the wrapping paper and the piece of yellowed newsprint it enclosed. But not dead is the will to believe that one's Declaration or Gettysburg Address or Lee's General Order No. 9 or *Ulster County Gazette* is the original and worth a lot of money and that somewhere there is the right expert who will recognize it for what it is and will say just that.

Every archivist, curator, or manuscript librarian has met these people. They are the true believers. What they bring in or write in about is more often than not a copy of one of a relatively small group of newspapers and documents—totalling probably less than four dozen—that were extensively reproduced and circulated, mostly in the nineteenth century. When one of these particular items is found in an attic or among the effects of an ancient relative, there is little reason not to believe (or, at least, hope) that it is original, rare, and valuable. That hope has a way, sometimes, of growing into an obsession. What we saw in the old woman, though extreme, is not rare.

In dealing with these people we need more than a knowledge of the rules of historical evidence. We need considerable psychological insight. There are

some common traits and actions that we can anticipate.

First, there is a fair chance that the person whose heart we think we are breaking by saying, "It's a reproduction," has heard those words before. And the chances are only slightly less that no matter how convincingly we explain why it isn't the original, our true believer is going to continue to try to find someone who will say what he or she wants to hear.

One reason the true believers persist is that they have the determination that purity of heart endows them with. They aren't forgers, defrauders, or con-artists. If they were they wouldn't be coming to archivists, the experts. They would be out hunting naive marks with ready cash.

But forgers and true believers do share one characteristic. The provenance of their documents is always interesting. Wilson Harrison, author of the standard works on suspect documents, writes, "The Family Bible seems to be one of the most popular places for the discovery of unexpected hidden wills (probably intended to add an odour of sanctity to a palpable forgery). It is a good rule to regard with extreme suspicion every document to which is attached a romantic story of discovery."¹

The true believer's romantic story, unlike that of the forger, derives from no ulterior motive. Great grandpa lived in Ulster County, and that accounts for the discovery of the *Gazette* folded in a copy of the county's history. The presence in great grandma's Bible of Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby is understandable in light of the fact that great grandma was from Boston and must

have been a friend of that gold-star mother. These are family legends they believe in; any doubts we have we can keep to ourselves.

There is one other characteristic of true believers. Though they do not express as openly as our old woman the desire to exchange their documents for financial security, we do somehow often find ourselves somewhere along the way being called upon for an opinion of a document's intrinsic worth ("How much could I get for it?—not that I would sell it").

As for the documents and newspapers that have been extensively reproduced: what are their common characteristics? For one, they deal usually with persons or events of importance in American history, generally of the eighteenth century, the Revolution, or the Civil War. For another, there is the theme of death, single or en masse, and of battles: the Boston Massacre; the deaths of Washington, Lincoln, and Mrs. Bixby's sons; the slain at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Appomattox. The great men are George Washington, his farewell to the army, his first inauguration, and his funeral; Franklin, the first publication issued under his imprint and a letter he wrote but is believed not to have sent; Jefferson, his draft of the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration itself, and an innocuous letter that was reproduced in the 1930s in perhaps 50,000 excellent facsimile copies; Lincoln, his Gettysburg Address, the Bixby letter, a six-line letter about a lady whose two sons wanted to work, the New York *Herald's* account of his assassination, and the Ford Theatre program on the night of the assassina-

¹ Wilson Harrison, *Forgery Detection* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 50.

tion. Finally, there are the reproductions of first issues of newspapers, from the 1704 *Boston News-Letter* to the 1837 *Baltimore Maryland Journal*; plus hundreds of other first issues reproduced locally as part of a newspaper's fiftieth or hundredth anniversary, that circulated locally and that tended, because of the woodpulp of the anniversary issue, to eventual self-destruction. It is wise to examine closely any first issue.

The reproductions most often encountered are divided fairly evenly between the newspapers and the documents. Before photographic reproduction processes, the newspapers undoubtedly led and for an obvious reason. It was a simple matter for a printer to reproduce a newspaper, particularly the typical, small, four-page, eighteenth-century issues. He went to his font of type that most nearly resembled the original, reconstructed as well as he could the masthead, and, with his model before him, began setting type to imitate it. If the lines of the original and of the reproduction didn't always end with the same word it didn't greatly matter; he was interested in content and general appearance. Nor did it seem important to try to match the original paper. The variations in composition and paper are important clues when identifying reproductions of newspapers. And even when photoreproduction eliminated the differences in text and outward appearance, the paper on which the reproduction was printed remained an important clue.

Here I will say that any time you find anything, newspaper or document, dated in this country before the 1790s on paper other than laid paper—paper with chain and wire lines—you can charge it off as a reproduction. A small amount of wove paper—paper without chain and wire lines—was manufactured in England as early as 1755, but I know of no examples of it used in the United States before the 1790s. Thomas L. Gravell, who is collecting watermarks of all eighteenth-century American papers and has looked at more early paper than anybody else, has never seen wove paper from that period.²

Newspapers

The most famous newspaper reproduction, the issue most often reproduced, and the one we know most about (because R. W. G. Vail wrote an intriguing history of it³), is the 4 January 1800 *Ulster County Gazette*. (Figure 2.)

There seems to be no particularly persuasive reason why, of all the reports of Washington's death and funeral, this issue of an obscure newspaper was the one that got reproduced. It was probably the first such reproduction of an American newspaper. It was reproduced as early as 1825 in the office of the original publisher in Kingston, Ulster County, New York. This first copy obviously was of an original. Perhaps there was one other reproduction for which the compositor had before him an original. During the next hundred years there were

² A catalog of American watermarks from 1690 to 1830, by Thomas L. Gravell, is scheduled for 1979 publication by the Garland Publishing Company, New York.

³ R. W. G. Vail, *The Ulster County Gazette and Its Illegitimate Offspring* (New York: New York Public Library, 1951).

ULSTER COUNTY GAZETTE.

Published at KINGSTON, (Ulster County) BY SAMUEL FREER AND SON.

[Vol. II.]

SATURDAY, January 4, 1860.

[NUM. 88.]

AMERICAN CONGRESS.

TUESDAY, Dec. 19. The House, having arrived which the President appointed, Mr. SPEAKER, after a few moments' rest, proceeded to the President's house to present him their address in answer to his speech at the opening of the present session, and having returned the President's reply they were seated as follows:

Continuation of the Reply of John Adams.
 THIS very respectful address from the representatives of the people of the United States, at their first assembly, after a brief session, under the flag of the Union, and the publication and national seal, at this interesting and regular crisis of our public affairs, has excited my solicitude and receives my sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

As long as we maintain, with harmony and devotion, the honor of our country, confidently with its peace, externally and internally, while that is attainable, it is my duty, when that becomes necessary, to assert its independence and sovereignty, and support the constitutional energies and dignity of its government—we may be perfectly sure under the shield of Divine Providence, that we shall ultimately promote and extend our national interests and happiness.

The applause of the Senate and House of Representatives, so fully bestowed upon the volunteers and patriots, for their zeal and active co-operation with the judicial power, which has restored order and submission to the laws, as it comes from the right of the Legislature, cannot fail to have an extensive and permanent effect on the part of government, upon all those engagements, who receive direct benefit from the assistance and assistance of the Senate.

JOHN ADAMS.

U. S. Senate, 1799.

At the House of Representatives on Monday morning, 11th Dec. 1799. Mr. J. Parker, and Mr. Robert Page, from Virginia, appeared on Monday, were admitted, and took their seats.

Mr. Speaker on Monday, laid before the House, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, enclosing a statement of the accounts for the year 1799. Ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. J. Harper, John Caldwell, Dr. Gallatin, John Brown, Seneca, Otis, Platt, were appointed a standing committee of Ways and Means.
 Messrs. Harper, C. Goodrich, Bayard, Marshall and Sewall, were appointed a committee, in pursuance of a resolution passed on Monday, relative to the revision and amendment of the judiciary system.

SENATE.

This day at 12 o'clock the Senate is held by the President of the United States with the following address, in answer to his speech to both Houses:

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: ACCERT, Sir, the respectful address, in obedience of the Senate of the United States, for your speech delivered, to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the present Session.

While we devoutly join you in offering thanks to Almighty God for the return of health to our cities, and for the general prosperity of our country; we cannot refrain from lamenting that the arts and sciences of felicitous and designing men, have excited open rebellion a second time in Pennsylvania, and thereby compelled the employment of a militia to suppress the same. We authorize in the execution of the laws, we require that your vigilance, energy and well-grounded exertions, have effected to the suppression, and prevented the spreading of such treasonable combinations. The individual and undisciplined troops called to suppress this insurrection, deserve our highest commendation and praise, and a fervent belief in the spirit and a fervor with which our fellow citizens are ready to maintain the authority of our constitutional government.

Trusting as we do, that the United States are sincerely anxious for a fair and liberal execution of the treaty of amity,

commerce and navigation entered into with Great Britain; we learn with regret, that the progress of adjustment has been interrupted by a difference of opinion among the commissioners. We hope, however, that the justice, moderation, and the obvious interest of both parties will lead to satisfactory explanations, and that the business will then go forward to an amicable close after the differences and demands between the two countries. We are fully persuaded that the Legislature of the United States will cheerfully enable you to realize your true interest in performing on your part, arrangements with punctuality, and with the utmost good faith.

When we reflect upon the late uncertainty of the results of the late mission to France; and upon the uncertainty, extent, and aspect of the war now raging in Europe; which effectually interrupt our relations with the powers of that nation, which has changed the condition of those colonies our neighborhood; we are disposed with you, that the powers of that nation, which has changed our measures of defence, or of the safety of our preparations to repel aggression. Our inquiries and attention should be carefully directed to the various other important subjects which you have recommended to our consideration; and from our experience of your good faith and integrity, we participate with the highest confidence your strenuous co-operation in all measures which have a tendency to promote and extend our national interest and happiness.

To which the President made the following answer:

Continuation of the Speech.
 I thank you for this address. I wish you all possible success and satisfaction in your deliberations on the matter, which has been referred to you. I am confident that your candor and integrity will lead you to extend our national interest, and I assure you that I shall ever be ready to support you in all measures with the highest confidence on my part.
 The praise of the Senate so judiciously conferred on the patriotic and zealous of the country, which to suppress the late insurrection, as it falls from the hands of the Senate, will make a deep impression, both as to the wisdom and an encouragement to the disinterested and an encouragement to the disinterested.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, 1799.

NEW-YORK, December 22.

By the arrival of the *Posta from Philadelphia* we are enabled to publish the papers to the 20th of Dec. 1799. which contain the following judicious.

LONDON, Dec. 15.

WE learn from private letters, that the accounts brought by the Inspector of the war, and which we stated some days ago, were so far founded, that a partial engagement had taken place. Gen. Dundas on the 10th, attacked in person the right wing of the British forces upon an advanced post near Winkie, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester, with at least 6000 men and 6 pieces of cannon, and endeavored with every exertion to force his passage. To resist this formidable attack, the British, who had only 1200 men, chiefly consisting of the 35th and 42nd regiments, of cannon with which he forced the Dutch general to retreat, with the loss of 1000 men and 200 men killed. At the moment of this victory we have to lament that his highness seeing a body of French troops general and advancing upon him, he retired to support Dundas, he was under the necessity of falling back to Colburn, where his troops remained all night upon his highness, and the whole of the day, followed in light of the enemy, without his attempting any further attack. His highness upon this occasion lost only one man killed and nine wounded. During the action he had his horse shot under him, exposed to the greatest personal danger, and a heavy fire, being frequently in the front of the line, animating by his example the exertions of his troops, upon which

on this, as upon every other occasion where the British arms are brought into action, it is impossible to believe too much praise.

The Humbergher army, due Sunday last arrived this morning. It brings accounts of the events which took place in Switzerland in the latter end of Sept. except only those which relate to Marshal Szwarcow, of which we have no positive information. The Archduke, it appears, was rapidly advancing upon the Swiss which had been occasioned by his absence. His force was by private letters to consist of 20000 men, and he was at Schaffhausen, on the 10th. The army of Condé, consisting of 6000 men was the same day at Stuch.

These forces joined to the Bavarians and to the corps of Gen. Korsukow, are it must be judged, more than sufficient to secure the city of Genéva from all danger. We reject as seeing the consequences which we have from the first instance toward the probable continuation and the consequences of the history of the 15th of March, are confirmed.

The Humbergher mail which became due on Wednesday, had not arrived when this paper went to press.

(English Account of the battle of ZURICH.)

Obituary.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Deceased 31st Oct. 1799.

Dispositions, of which the following are a copy, have been received from Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay and Lieutenant Colonel H. Clinton, by the Right Hon. General G. Clinton, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

Colonel Ramsay to Lord Grosvenor, dated 31st October 1799, and Lord Grosvenor, dated 31st October 1799.

It is with extreme concern I inform you that an attack has been made on the Alsatian army, the result of which has been a severe loss to the enemy. The combined operations of the Allies, of which your Lordship is already informed, were intended to have taken place on the 10th and 11th, and the success of the attack, commanded by General Szwarcow, was directed to the 15th of March, the purpose of increasing the force desired to act in this quarter.

The enemy, who was, no doubt, apprised of this circumstance, attacked the Russian army on the 15th, at a very early hour in the morning; a brisk attack, which was successful, on our left in the neighborhood of Wallisau, accompanied by a command on our right, which appeared to proceed from the neighborhood of Baden. The attack on our left was merely intended for the purpose of drawing the attention from the true point; and the enemy passed the Limmat in great force in the neighborhood of Weinsingen, between Zurich and Baden. By this maneuver they broke the line in that quarter, cut off from the army the eight battalions of Gen. Mackay, and Durnast, who were posted between Weinsingen and the Rhine; and, after leaving a corps for the purpose of observing and attacking them they ascended the heights, being in consequence of the reluctance that had been sent away, and the troops that had been drawn to the left, the only force remaining in that part was the baggage was effected, the enemy advanced and arrived in the neighborhood of Zurich before they experienced any resistance of consequence; the plain in front of Zurich being thus left open to the enemy, which, having been passed to the Limmat, and the Limmat, which running parallel to the Limmat, from a continuation of the Alps, came time by a line of their infantry and cavalry, with a very numerous train of artillery, attacked with great vigor the troops in front of Zurich, and prevented their reaching to the right, the point on which their great efforts of the enemy were directed.

At a late hour in the forenoon some reinforcements arrived on this side of the Limmat, but the enemy were already masters of some of the principal heights which

commanded the town; and notwithstanding the bravery displayed by the Russians in their repeated attacks, the superiority in point of force and position on the side of the French rendered it impossible for them to regain that which had been lost. At sunset the French had made themselves masters of part of Zurich Berg and nearly surrounded the town. The attack on the position of General Heide had terminated entirely in favor of the Austrians; but Gen. Heide was unfortunately killed at the commencement of the action, and Gen. Kortsch was succeeded to the command of the army, having received in consequence of the loss he had sustained, to avoid an attack, which he expected the next morning, retreated in the night from Zurich. The situation of the Russian army was rendered extremely more critical, and it became absolutely necessary to abandon Zurich, and the position in that neighborhood without delay. On the 20th, in the morning the retreat took place, and the whole arrived in the morning at night in the neighborhood of Eggenwil, and had business without experiencing any loss of consequence during their march. We have to regret the loss of between two and three thousand killed, wounded and missing; and ten pieces of cannon, with a part of the baggage, fallen into the hands of the enemy. A brave equal number of French cannon were captured, which presented them from taking away their own, was the cause of their being obliged to leave these. The army under the command of General Korsukow is at present joined with its right to Eggenwil, and is left to the Lake of Constance, by a letter received from Field Marshal Szwarcow, it appears that he has taken the Mount Saint Gotthard, and has given a retreat towards Altdorf and Schwyz.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN RAMSAY.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay to Lord Grosvenor, dated 31st October 1799, and Lord Grosvenor, dated 31st October 1799.

Your Lordship has already, no doubt, received accounts, through France, of the calamities which have befallen us in this country, in which our losses are more and more exaggerated to a great degree. Aware of this I would it possible have your Lordship an exact account, but it was impossible for me to give a correct statement of the real state of things, which was much more so appearance when the army first arrived here than at present.

Gen. Franzach has retreated from the position between Zurich and Rheinfelden, where it is supposed he has already passed the Rhine, and this part of Switzerland may be considered a cruet for the present; it is a singular circumstance, as the success of Field Marshal Szwarcow would have rendered the success of the projected operation, if he had fortunately been able to retain our position. At present the Field Marshal's situation will be rendered very critical, if timely action has not been received by him of the retreat of the army. I am sorry to inform your Lordship, that from the reports I have received, there is reason to apprehend that the Swiss regiments of Bachmann and Revue have suffered considerably. I have as yet had no exact accounts, which will oblige me in making any report to your Lordship till another opportunity occurs, as I am in hopes that his loss has been drawn to the left, in which case it will probably every diminish.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay to Lord Grosvenor, dated 31st October 1799.

Having been directed by Lord Mulgrave to attend Field Marshal Szwarcow, to march to St. Gallen, and to remain to your Lordship accounts of this proceedings of the army, I have the honor to inform you, that it reached Tagone, about ten miles from this place, yesterday evening; having performed in 5 days a distance of 116 English miles. It was the Field Marshal's intention to have recovered, by the length of his marches, the 3 days lost by the false alarm for the safety of Locarno; the sufferings of miles which was ordered to be made of this place not being connected,

Figure 2
 ORIGINAL: One of two known original copies of the Ulster County Gazette, 4 January 1800, containing the news of George Washington's death and funeral from which an unknown number of facsimiles have been made.

more than a hundred editions, all copying from each other, with a total production of a million or more copies. One edition at the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876 sold, at five cents each, more than a hundred thousand copies. A rival Centennial edition, in what was then modern typeface, appeared in a first printing of fifty thousand copies. One authority attributes the printing of some of the editions to what may have been a custom of apprentice and amateur printers to set in type the 4 January 1800 issue as a test of their abilities as compositors.⁴

In spite of the many reproductions, no known original of the *Gazette* surfaced until 1930 when the Library of Congress bought a copy for \$50. In 1938 the American Antiquarian Society bought an original copy for \$60. No others have turned up since.⁵ The first actual facsimile of the *Gazette*, made from the Library of Congress original, appeared in 1932.

The story of the *Ulster County Gazette* suggests one of the problems archivists, curators, and librarians face in dealing with persons inquiring about their copies of the *Gazette*. Unlike a manuscript, which by its nature exists in a single original, a newspaper appears in multiple copies. Once we know the location of the original of Franklin's letter to Strahan (in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division) we know that any other copies that people bring in or write or call about are just

that—copies. Not so a newspaper. Though the last century and a half has seen of the *Ulster County Gazette* a million reproductions and two originals, there is always the chance, against astronomical odds, that the next arrival will be the third known original. And that the next after that could be the fourth known original.⁶

In 1931 Joseph Gavit of the New York State Library published *A List of American Newspaper Reprints*, which describes nearly three hundred early or historic issues that have been reproduced; and he tells where copies of these reproductions are.⁷

There is one other source to keep in mind. The Readex Corporation is issuing on microcards all surviving issues of all of the more than 2,000 newspapers published in the United States before 1821. This is a continuing project and, though it is far from complete, you may find reproduced on the microcards the original of the issue you need for a comparison.

Before leaving the newspapers and after having said that newspapers are published in multicopy editions, one exception should be noted. It is also perhaps the only deliberate forgery of an eighteenth-century American newspaper.

Guided more by faith and pride than by historical evidence, North Carolinians were once educated to believe that the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence of 20 May 1775 pre-

⁴ Clarence Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society, quoted in Vail, *The Ulster County Gazette*, pp. 20–21.

⁵ Vail, *The Ulster County Gazette*, p. 37. Writing in 1951, Vail thought a third copy, if one surfaced, would bring at most a hundred dollars.

⁶ For the obstinate *Ulster County Gazette* true believers, Vail's pamphlet furnishes the ultimate reinforcement. It gives tests that identify specifically 64 of the 100 or more variant reproductions.

⁷ Joseph Gavit (comp.), *A List of American Newspaper Reprints* (New York: New York Public Library, 1931).

ceded by more than a year the better documented Declaration of 4 July 1776. By the beginning of the twentieth century this faith was beginning to erode. A loyal supporter of the faith created his own evidence by printing the text of the alleged declaration in the Wilmington *Cape-Fear Mercury* of 3 June 1775, an issue of which there was neither then nor now any known surviving copy. (Figure 3.) It was a clumsy forgery which A. S. Salley, Jr., and Worthington C. Ford in 1906 took apart in the *American Historical Review*,⁸ whereupon the forger created another version of the issue, correcting some of his mistakes. There are three known copies of the second forgery, none of the first. Since there are collectors of forgeries as well as of the authentic, the three copies may have a value approaching that of an original.

Detailed descriptions of the seventeen most commonly reproduced newspapers have been assembled for convenience of reference, beginning on page 39.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts, unlike newspapers, are unique. Although each of us has written his own name thousands of times, none of us can write it twice so that one writing of it will exactly overlay another. So, when somebody brings in a letter of 27 November 1803 from Thomas Jefferson to Craven Peyton, obviously in Jefferson's handwriting, we can say with assurance, "That is a facsimile, a copy of the original." (Figure 4.) It has to be, because we know that the original and the letter-

press copy of the original are in the Manuscript Division of the University of Virginia Library. Yet true believers have stood in the Manuscript Division, facsimiles in hand, staring at the original and letterpress copy and ten or twelve facsimiles identical to theirs and still had trouble acknowledging that theirs were identical copies, modern facsimiles.

Just as, out of the hundreds of issues of newspapers that have been reproduced, we are liable to have to deal with only a dozen and a half, so out of the hundreds of manuscript documents that have been reproduced there are about the same number that we are most apt to encounter. Like the newspapers, most are of eighteenth and nineteenth-century documents; and most were reproduced in the nineteenth century.

Before photoprocesses of printing were developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, exact or near-exact reproductions of documents—facsimiles—were produced by engraving, etching, or other processes, on metal or stone. These were tedious, time-consuming, and expensive processes. A document had to be of special importance or interest to justify such.

The earliest American historical document of which I find an example of an entire exact or near-exact facsimile is a well-known letter Benjamin Franklin wrote (but may not have sent) to his English printer friend, William Strahan. Dated 5 July 1775, it concludes, "You and I were long Friends:—You are now my enemy,—and I am, Yours, B. Franklin." This letter (Figure 5) was dramatic and,

⁸ A. S. Salley, Jr., and Worthington C. Ford, "Doctor S. Millington Miller and the Mecklenburg Declaration," *American Historical Review* 11 (April 1906): 548–58.

THE CAPE-FEAR MERCURY:

Quod verum atque docens curat

et rego, et omnis in hoc Sum.

(FRIDAY, June 3rd 1775.)

N^o. 294.

in conformity to an order issued by the Council of Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina, a Convention assembled with unlimited powers, met at Charlotte, in said County, on the Nineteenth day of May, 1775, when Abraham Alexander was chosen Chairman, and John Mc Knitt Alexander, Secretary. After a free and full discussion of the objects of the Convention, it was unanimously resolved.

I. THAT whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

II. RESOLVED, that we, the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association, with that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

III. RESOLVED, that we hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

J. M. Alexander, Secretary,
Abraham Alexander, Chairman.
Adam Alexander, Henry Downs, D. Ochletree,
Hess. Alexander, John Flenniken, John Phifer,
Gara Alexander, John Ford, Thomas Polk,
Cass. Alexander, Wm. Graham, Ezeiel Polk,
Waidfill Avery, James Harris, Benj. Patton,
Wph. Brevard, Robert Irwin, John Quary,
Her. J. Balch, Wm. Kennon, David Rees,
Richard Barry, Mart. McCure, Zach. Wilcox,
John Davidson, Neill Morrison, Wm. Williams,
Wm. Davidson, Samuel Martin.

S A L E M, April 25.
The following is a list of the Provincials who were killed and wounded in the late war.

KILLED. Messrs. * Robert Munroe, Jonas Parker, * Samuel Hadley, * Jonathan Harrington, * Caleb Harrington, * Isaac Hazy, * John Brown, John Raymond, Samuel Wyman, and Jedediah Munroe, of Lexington.—Messrs. Jaion Russell, Jabez Wyman, and Jaion Winship, of Menotomy.
—Deacon Haynes, and Mr. —
—of Stoudbury.—Captain James Miles
—Colonel.—Captain Jonathan Willson of —
—Captain Davis, Mr. —Hof—
—Mr. and James Howard, of ADon—
—Mr. Asael Porter, and Mr. Daniel —
—of Woburn.—Mr. James Miller,
—Captain William Barber's Son, aged 14,

of Charlestown.—Isaac Gardner, Esq. of Brookline.—Mr. John Hicks, of Cambridge.—Mr. Henry Putman, of Medford.—Messrs. Abednego Ramdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, and Thomas Hadley, of Lynn.—Messieurs Henry Jacobs, Samuel Cook, Ebenezer Goldthwait, George Southwick, Benjamin Daland, jun. Jotham Webb, and Perley Putnam, of Danvers.—Mr. Benjamin Peirce, of Salem.

WOUNDED. Messrs. John Robbins, John Tiad, Solomon Peirce, Thomas Winship, Nathaniel Farmer, Joseph Comer, Ebenezer Munroe, Francis Brown, and Prince Easterbrooks (a Negro man) of Lexington.—Mr. —Hemmenway, of Framingham.—Mr. John Lane, of Bedford.—Mr. George Reed, and Mr. Jacob Bacon, of Woburn.—Mr. William Polly, of Medford.—Mr. Joshua Felt, and Mr. Timothy Munroe, of Lynn.—Mr. Nathan Putnam, and Mr. Dennis Wallis, of Danvers.—Mr. Nathaniel Cleaves, of Beverly.

MISSING. Mr. Samuel Frost, and Mr. Seth Russell, of Menotomy.

39 Killed. 20 Wounded. 2 Missing.
Those distinguished with this mark [*] were killed by the first fire of the enemy.

No certain account of the killed and wounded of the Regulars has yet appeared. General Gage, who best could give that information, has chosen to conceal the particulars, and spoken thereof in general terms; from which we may conclude that their loss was greater than he chose to declare. Soon after the action the spirited Committee of New-York, dispatched a concise account thereof in a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, as a proper channel of conveying it both to the public and the Parliament.

PHILADELPHIA, May 3.

The General Assembly of this province met on May 1, being the first assembly called on the continent for the purpose of considering Lord North's conciliatory motion; which motion was laid before them in a sensible and pathetic speech from the Governor—when the Assembly, in a polite and spirited answer, signified, that as that House had appointed Delegates to meet in Continental Congress, for considering the happiness of all the colonies collectively, they as a single Assembly, declined entering on the business.

The worthy Dr. Benjamin Franklin, agent for this province and Massachusetts-Bay, arrived here from London, and was by the Assembly, then sitting, appointed a Delegate in Congress.

Upwards of one hundred affidavits, by persons of rank and reputation, have appeared in all the public papers within the course of this month, proving that the Regulars fired first on a small body of Provincials, at Lexington; but had the fact been otherwise, it might in some degree have palliated, but would not have acquitted the Regulars of the

charge of commencing hostilities, which certainly commenced the moment they set out under arms, with the avowed design of plundering and destroying the property of the Provincials; and men who act upon the defensive are not to wait till their property is destroyed or taken from them, for that case they cannot be said to defend. Defence is prior to actual injury, and that which follows is not defence, but punishment or reprisal. Property, like life, can only be defended while we have it, not when we have lost it.

May 10. The delegates from the northward and eastward made their entrance into this city about noon, accompanied by a band of music, and escorted by the Captains of the several Companies newly raised here, the Rangers in their uniform, a body of the city volunteers with their bayonets fixed, a great number of Gentlemen on horseback, and amidst the loud acclamations of several thousand spectators.—The whole making a noble appearance.

NEW-JERSEY,

The General Assembly of this province met at the city of Burlington May 15th. Humanity is a strong principle in those who possess it extensively, and inclines them to exhibit things in their best colour, for the sake of peace. His Excellency's speech was a portrait of this cast—but the Assembly declined the business, on the same grounds with the Assembly of this province.

NEW-YORK,
In CONGRESS, at Philadelphia,
May 15, 1775.

The city and county of New-York having through Delegates applied to the Congress for their advice how to conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected there, the Congress took the matter in their most serious deliberation, and came to the following resolution:

"That it be recommended for the present to the inhabitants of New-York, that if the troops which are expected should arrive, the said colony act on the defensive, so long as may be consistent with their safety and security: That the troops may be permitted to remain in the barracks, so long as they behave peaceably and quietly, but that they be not suffered to erect fortifications, or take any steps for cutting off the communication between the town and country; and that if they commit hostilities, or invade private property, the inhabitants should defend themselves, and their property, and repel force by force.—That the warlike stores be removed from the town.—That places of retreat, in case of necessity, be provided for the women and children of New-York; and a sufficient number of men be embodied, and kept in constant readiness for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury."

A true copy from the Minutes,
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Figure 3

From photocopy in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History

FAKE: The Cape-Fear Mercury, 5 June 1775, a forged issue produced more than a century and a quarter after the date on the masthead in an attempt to furnish a contemporary account of the alleged Mecklenburg Resolves. The plate that produced this issue was destroyed in 1910.

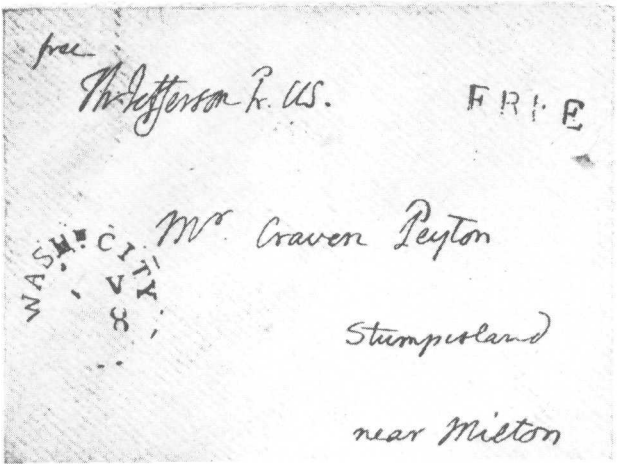
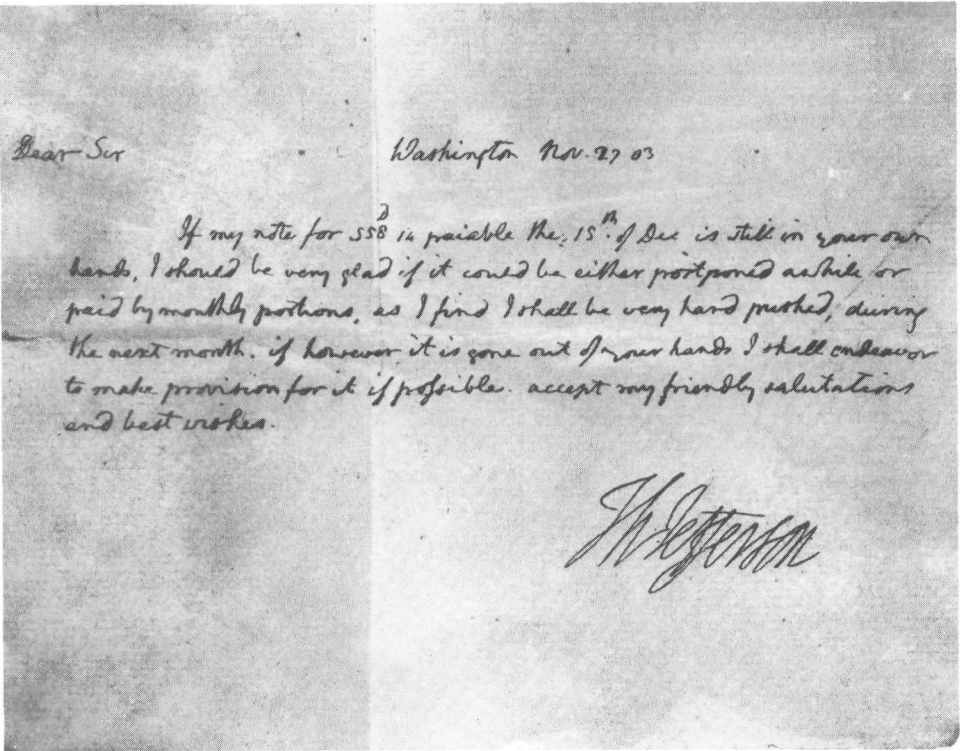


Figure 4
FACSIMILE: Thomas Jefferson to Craven Peyton, 27 November 1803, one of nearly 50,000 copies produced and distributed by the Morris Plan Bank of Virginia. The address, originally on the verso, was reprinted as an envelope, anticipating by forty years that means of enclosing letters. The original letter from which the facsimile was made is in the Manuscript Department of the University of Virginia.

2 Philad. July 5. 1775

W^m Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction. —
— You have begun to burn our Towns,
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my En-
emy, — and

I am,

Yours,

B^e Franklin

Figure 5

Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

ORIGINAL: Benjamin Franklin to William Strahan, 5 July 1775; one of the earliest exact facsimiles of an American document was made of this letter in 1818.

from the engraver's viewpoint, had the advantage of being legible, on a single page, and containing no more than seventy words. It is the sole such engraved facsimile in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, published in Philadelphia in 1818. When someone comes along with a copy of this facsimile, the fact that it is on wove paper is a dead giveaway. If the owner protests that the paper is obviously old, he or she may be quite right; if extracted from the 1818 edition, the paper was manufactured at least 160 years ago. But it is still a reproduction, not the original document.⁹ Not all facsimiles of this letter are that old. It has been reproduced many times since.

The year 1818 also saw the beginning of the greatest and most enduring love affair between the American people and a document. In that year appeared the first reproduction of the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence. (Figure 6.)

This copy, by Benjamin Owen Tyler, did not try to imitate exactly the original, except for the signatures. In 1819 John Binns produced another copy (Figure 7) which also imitated exactly only the signatures.

The following year, 1820, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, son of

one of the signers, commissioned William J. Stone to engrave an exact copy of the Declaration. The resultant copper plate involved, according to the *National Intelligencer*, "a labor of three years."¹⁰

The copper plate survives in the National Archives where it is presently exhibited not far from the original engrossed Declaration. (Figure 1)

The copper plate originally had across the top, "ENGRAVED by W. I. STONE, for the Dep^t of State, by order of J. Q. ADAMS, Sec^y of State, July 4th, 1823."¹¹ This appears on the two hundred copies that the Congress ordered imprinted on parchment or vellum (Adams later refers to them as being on parchment) and distributed as follows: two copies each to the President, Vice President, former President James Madison, the Marquis de Lafayette, and to each of the surviving signers; twenty copies for the two houses of Congress; 12 copies for the departments of government; two copies each for the President's house and the Supreme Court; one copy each for the governors of the states and territories; and one copy for each branch of the state legislatures and the legislative councils of the territories. The remaining copies were to go to "the different Universities and Colleges of

⁹ If in doubt about documents of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, or other famous Americans, keep in mind the various documentary editing projects of their writings now underway. The editors of these projects are aware of any reproductions. Usually from the date and addressee they know whether the questioned document is a reproduction. If it is, they can furnish the location of the original and something of the history of the reproduction. If a questioned document is an original, they will be most interested in it.

An alphabetical list of these projects, from the Adams to the Wilson papers, with editors' names and addresses, was published in the April 1978 issue of *The American Archivist*, pp. 244-46.

¹⁰ *National Intelligencer*, 5 June 1823, quoting the *City Gazette*. The process Stone used is a matter of surmise. The most common theory is that he used a wet process, drawing off some of the ink of the original. There is little to support such a theory, none of it contemporary.

¹¹ Until the seventeenth century or later the letter "I" was used for both "I" and "J." Stone's use of it here for his middle initial seems to be a holdover.

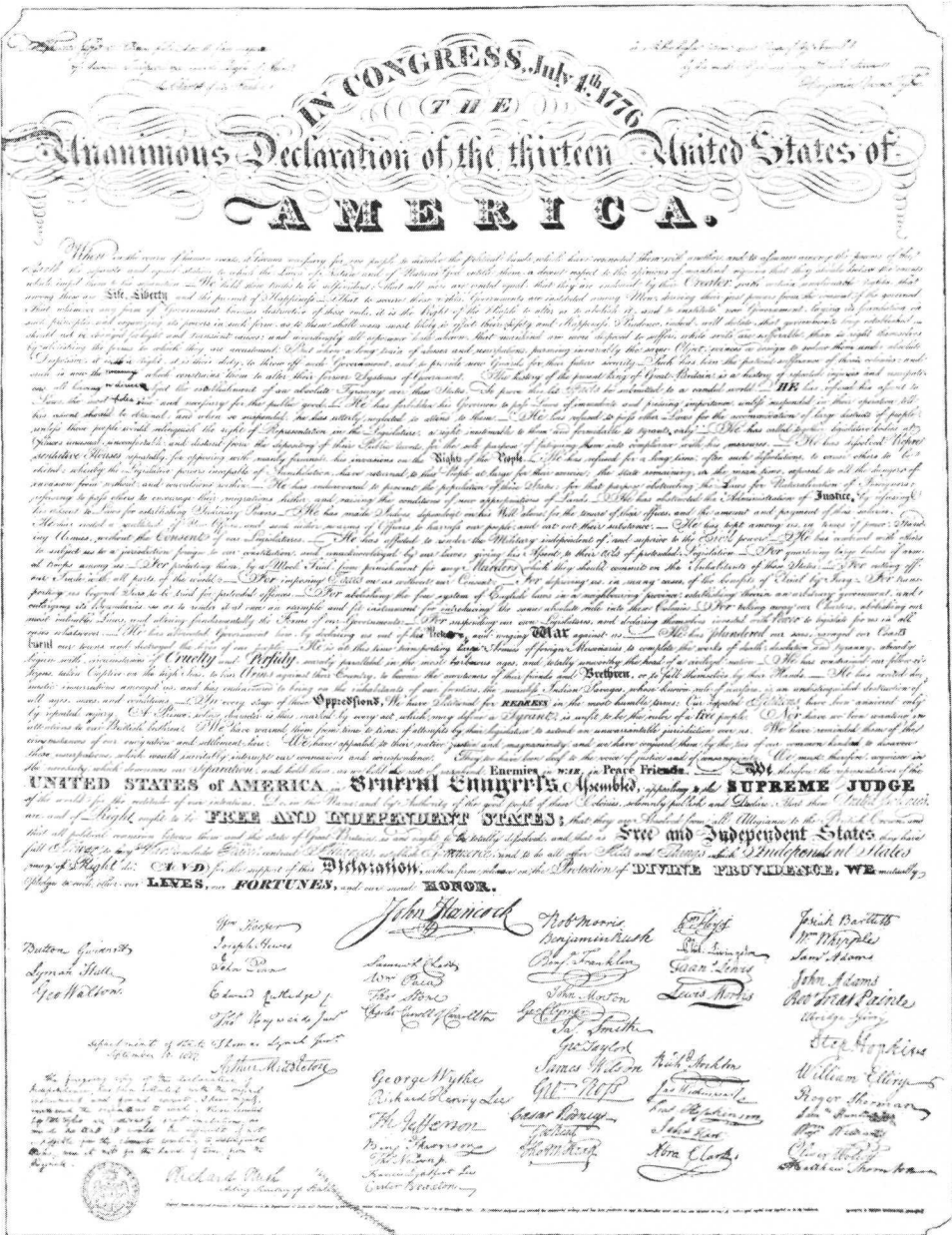


Figure 6 By courtesy of the trustees of the Boston Public Library
FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURES: The Benjamin Owen Tyler copy of the Declaration of Independence, 1818.



Figure 7

Library of Congress

FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURES: John Binns copy of the Declaration of Independence, 1819.

Downloaded from https://prime-pdf-watermark.prime-prod.pubfactory.com/ at 2025-06-29 via free access

the United States, as the President of the United States may direct.”¹²

Later the caption across the top of the plate was removed and “W. J. STONE SC. WASH.” engraved at the lower left. Sometime thereafter Stone struck perhaps 4,000 copies which he sold. About 1,500 of these were inserted in Peter Force’s *American Archives*.¹³

As late as the 1890s the original plate was used to strike occasional copies. In 1895, in order to save wear on the plate, the Coast and Geodetic Survey from the original plate made electrototype plates. The federal government’s reproductions thereafter were made from one of these.

From the original Stone copper plate engraving, directly or indirectly, stem all the millions—literally, millions—of facsimiles of the engrossed Declaration of Independence. Many are excellent reproductions. Many are on what the printers hoped would be taken for, and the present owners believe to be, parchment. But there can be only one original Declaration, engrossed and signed, and it is on exhibit in the rotunda of the National Archives. It is possible that individuals may have—how legally, it would be hard to say—some of the two hundred engraved copies distributed in 1825¹⁴. Such copies would undoubtedly sell high on the

market today. Those struck later by Stone from the copper plate or by the Department of State would be worth a few dollars (though a dealer with a flare for language can work miracles through a catalog description). The rest are of value only to the persons who have them.¹⁵

Thomas Jefferson Randolph doubtless had in mind this interest in the Declaration when in 1829 he included in his four-volume *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* a close facsimile of his grandfather’s original rough draft of the Declaration of Independence. He had Charles Tappan of Philadelphia engrave it, a four-page manuscript, on steel. (Figure 8.) With all its deletions, interlineations, marginal notes, and even a paste-in, engraving it must have been an even more demanding task for Tappan than engraving the finished document was for Stone. He probably took less time than the three years claimed for Stone, but he took long enough. Randolph noted in Volume 1 that he meant to insert the facsimile in its proper place in that volume, but it wasn’t ready. He inserted it finally in Volume 4.¹⁶ This four-page rough draft was reproduced in later collections of Jefferson’s works and perhaps separately.

¹² 4 Stat. 78.

¹³ Fifth Series, Volume 1 (Washington, April 1848). There is a dispute about those inserted in the Force volumes. They are somewhat smaller in size than other Stone facsimiles. Whether this was due to shrinkage in printing or whether there was another plate has not been settled.

¹⁴ These would have at the top “ENGRAVED by W. I. Stone, for the Dept. of State. . . .”

¹⁵ Though the public stood in line to view the Declaration and to buy copies, there was no such demand for the Constitution. That document, during the nineteenth century was neither exhibited nor facsimiled.

¹⁶ Thomas Jefferson Randolph, ed., *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies From the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (4 vols., Charlottesville, Va., 1829). The facsimile appears in Vol. 4, page 532. In the 1830 Boston edition it appears in place in Volume 1. In the 1829 London edition, it appears in place with the legend, “On stone by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle St.”

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{one} people to
~~dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to~~
~~assume among the powers of the earth the~~ ^{separate and equal} ~~position~~ ^{station} to
which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect
to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes
which impel them to ~~this~~ ^{the} separation.

We hold these truths to be ~~self-evident~~ ^{self-evident}, that all men are
created equal ~~independent~~ ^{that from that equal creation they derive}
~~unalienable~~ ^{unalienable} rights, that among ^{these} ~~these~~ are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ^{rights} ~~rights~~, go-
vernments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from
the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government
~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter
or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on
such principles & organizing it's powers in such form, as to them shall
seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed
will dictate that governments long established should not be ~~changed~~ ^{changed} for
light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shewn that
mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to
right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but
when a long train of abuses & usurpations [began at a distinguished period,
& pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~reduce~~ ^{reduce}
them ~~to absolute Despotism~~ ^{under absolute Despotism}, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such
government, & to provide new guards for their future security. such has
been the patient sufferance of these colonies; & such is now the necessity
which constrains them to ~~change~~ ^{alter} their former systems of government.
the history of ~~this~~ ^{the} present ~~republic~~ ^{King of Great Britain} is a history of ~~repeated~~ ^{repeated} injuries and
usurpations, among which, ~~appears no solitary fact~~ ^{appears no solitary fact} to contra-
dict the uniform tenor of the rest, ~~all of which~~ ^{all of which} have in direct object the
establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be
submitted to a candid world, [for the truth of which we pledge a faith
not sullied by falsehood]

Figure 8

Library of Congress

FACSIMILE: From Julian Boyd's book, first page of the four-page rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, in Jefferson's hand, with Franklin's and John Adams's changes. The original is in the Library of Congress.

When, in July 1776, after Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin had made their changes, Jefferson undoubtedly from this rough copy made a fair copy. Probably it was that copy that went on the evening of 4 July 1776 to John Dunlap, the printer. From it Dunlap struck the broadside edition, individual copies of which in recent years have sold for hundreds of thousands of dollars. The document from which Dunlap set type would be worth even more. But there is no record that it has ever been seen since Dunlap's print shop.

In a well-publicized episode several years ago a finder of the "missing" Declaration visited half a dozen repositories before he found one that gave him some basis for hope that he had an original document. Some months later the world learned that the copy was one of Tappan's facsimiles.¹⁷

The best way to prepare oneself for a visitor with the "Lost Declaration" is to have at hand Julian Boyd's book, *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text as Shown in Facsimiles of Various Drafts by its Author*, which the Library of Congress published in 1943. The Boyd photo-facsimile of the draft in question, made from the original manuscript which is among the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress, is so exact that it has, tipped in by hand, the finger-width slip of paper on which Jefferson pasted in a change. In addition Boyd published in the October 1976 *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* "The Declaration of Independence: The Mystery of the Lost Original," a brilliant reconstruction of what the missing draft probably was like (a folded four-page document

on paper watermarked *Pro Patriae Eiusque Libertate*). These two publications may not convince a really true believer, but they may cause him or her to doubt a little.

There seems to be a gap, insofar as common reproductions are concerned, of documents between the Declaration of Independence and the Civil War. There is a prelude to the last, the letters John Brown wrote on the eve of his hanging. Facsimiles of these, dated 13 November and 2 December 1859, occasionally turn up.

The Civil War reproductions open, chronologically, with a document dated on 20 December 1860, when the South Carolina Secession Convention agreed to an ordinance of secession, which it ordered engrossed on parchment and which the members signed. A Charleston firm produced lithographic facsimiles for convention members and for the public. Later, other lithographic copies were made from the original copies. Every month or so somebody offers or wants to sell to the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (which has the original) the "original" ordinance of secession.

The next reproduced document is a Lincoln letter of 17 October 1861 (Figure 9):

The lady—bearer of this—says she has two sons who want to work—Set them at it, if possible—wanting to work is so rare a merit that it should be encouraged.

The original of the above letter sold at auction in 1978 at almost a thousand dollars a word—\$30,000.

A few hours before he received the wounds that were to prove fatal,

¹⁷ After that the finder decided he had Jefferson's polygraph copy of the rough draft. However, the polygraph was invented after 1800, and Jefferson began using one in 1804.

Executive Mansion
Oct 17, 1861
Major Ramsey
My dear Sir
The lady - bearer of
this - says she has two sons.
who want to work - Set them
at it, if possible - Wanting
to work is so rare a merit,
that it should be encouraged
Yours truly
A. Lincoln

Figure 9

FACSIMILE: A. Lincoln to Major Ramsay, 17 October 1861, reproduced from one of the excellent R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company facsimiles.

Stonewall Jackson, at Chancellorsville, "Near 3 P.M." of 2 May 1863, wrote Robert E. Lee a dispatch having almost exactly the number of words as Lincoln's letter just quoted. This short message, the original of which is in the Archives Division of the Virginia State Library, was irresistible to the nineteenth-century facsimile makers.

Next comes the address Lincoln delivered at Gettysburg on 19 November 1863. There are five known versions in Lincoln's hand. They are known as the Nicolay Copy (the "First Draft") and the Hay Copy (the "Second Draft"), both written in November 1863 and both now in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, and three copies he wrote out in 1864 for Edward Everett, for George Bancroft, and for Colonel Alexander Bliss (Figure 10). The Everett copy is now in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, Bancroft's is now at Cornell University, and the colonel's is now in the Lincoln Room in the White House.

The simplest way to become an expert on the various Gettysburg Addresses is to get and keep at hand *Long Remembered: The Gettysburg Address in Facsimile* by David C. Mearns and Lloyd A. Dunlap.¹⁸ This reproduces in excellent facsimiles all five versions of the address, with a text giving all known facts about the creation of each. Your inquirer's copy will undoubtedly match one of these reproductions word for word, stroke for stroke. If the owner of a Bliss copy agrees that the text matches, but that the original in the White House is on three pages and his or hers is on two, that only suggests

that whoever reproduced the Bliss copy saw no need to dedicate a third page to four lines of writing, and so consolidated pages 2 and 3.

On 21 November 1864 Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter of condolence to a Boston widow, Mrs. Lydia Bixby, on the loss in the war of five sons (three of whom later turned up alive). The Boston *Transcript* on 25 November published the text of the letter. Lincoln kept no copy and Mrs. Bixby's copy has never been found.

In 1891 Michael F. Tobin of New York began selling an engraved copy of the letter, which was soon followed by a facsimile by Huber's Museum, also in New York. Huber's closely resembled Tobin's. All known reproductions derive from these two. (Figure 11.) Though similar to Lincoln's handwriting, both are believed to be homemade. Neither Tobin nor Huber ever produced the original from which he copied, and in several respects their texts differ from that of the *Transcript*.

If a comparison with these isn't convincing, refer to two books that discuss in detail these forgeries: William E. Barton, *A Beautiful Blunder* (Indianapolis, 1926), and F. Lauriston Bullard, *Abraham Lincoln and the Widow Bixby* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1946).

According to Mary A. Benjamin, well-known American autograph dealer, in a chapter "Facsimiles, Reproductions, Manuscript Copies,"¹⁹ there are in circulation forged editions of the program of *Our American Cousin* for Ford's Theatre the night of Lincoln's assassination.

A final reproduction relating to Lincoln is the issue of the New York *Her-*

¹⁸ Washington: Library of Congress, 1963.

¹⁹ Mary A. Benjamin, *Autographs: A Key to Collecting* (New York: R. R. Bowker, Co., 1946), pp. 111-41.

Address delivered at the dedication of the
Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers
brought forth on this continent, a new na-
tion, conceived in liberty, and dedicated
to the proposition that all men are cre-
ated equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war,
testing whether that nation, or any nation
so conceived and so dedicated, can long
endure. We are met on a great battle-field
of that war. We have come to dedicate a
portion of that field, as a final resting
place for those who here gave their lives,
that that nation might live. It is alto-
gether fitting and proper that we should
do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not ded-

Figure 10

Library of Congress photograph

ORIGINAL: The Bliss copy of the Gettysburg Address (page 1 of 3 pages). This is Lincoln's last known revision. It is now in the Lincoln Room in the White House.

Executive Mansion
Washington, Nov 21. 1864
To Mrs Bixby, Boston, Mass,
Dear Madam.

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully.

A. Lincoln

Figure 11

Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

FAKE: A. Lincoln to Mrs. Lydia Bixby, 21 November 1864. Imitation of Lincoln's handwriting. The original of the Bixby letter has not been found.

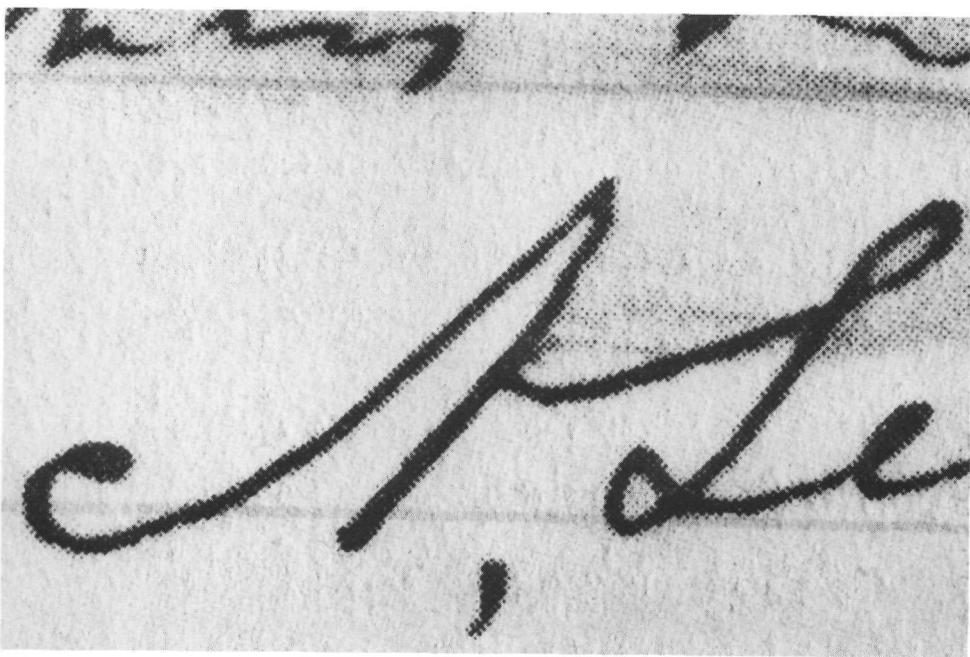


Figure 12

A 5-10 power magnifier reveals what the naked eye misses—the tell-tale dots of the screen process used to produce the high-fidelity facsimile on the facing page.

decreases, the dia. increases with a resulting reduction in power but an increase in viewing area.

Thus, you can have a magnifier with either a large dia. offering more viewing area and less power, or with a small dia. offering less viewing area and more power.

BASIC MAGNIFIER

BASIC MAGNIFY

appear 10 times larger... if you could see it! A magnifier's function is to make this close view possible. Since a focal length lens brings clear vision down to 1" from the eye, an object at this distance is clearly seen and appears to be 10 times larger than when viewed 10" away. Such a magnifier is commonly called 10X or 10 power. However, the actual magnifying power will vary slightly depending upon working distance, eye-relief distance, and the characteristics of the lens. The formulas are:

between metal & mineral; eliminates un digging. Capable of revealing whet quarter, half-dollar, or silver dollar at varying intensity level. 3-position swift dime at 6-7"; a 1" pipe to 18" deep in sand giant scan 8" waterproof search coil, check (test in 9V or 12V position); vern earphone jack, 4" visual meter, prote speaker, on/off line cntrl. Includes battery. **No. 80-248 \$2**

(D) "WILDCAT" VLF Discriminator
• Push-button "Insta-Tune"

Push-button "Insta-Tune"
A metal detector of the future, this ur-
instant tuning & true discrimination in v-
terrain. Has: 614" waterproof search coil
cntrl., ground compensation adjust, se-
criminate level cntrl., sensitivity adjust
normal discriminate selector, earphone
intensity meter, batt. test, total rejection
rate, ground adjust, recessed control;
scoping search rod, built-in speaker.
button "Insta-Tune" for quick adjust
cludes batteries. **No. 80,273 \$**

(E) The Fisher "Gemini" Transmitter/F
• Detects large metal or mineral depo
to 20 feet in depth

• **Great for ore & archaeological search**
Designed for professional treasure hunting
& researchers seeking large metal

deposits, the "Gemini" is one of the most instruments available. Housed in a 2-section, high-impact plastic case, this transmitter/receiver features moisture transistor circuits with superb penetrability. Has: on/off vol cntrl, battery meter, earphone jack, built-in speaker, detachable aluminum arm, serial No. 80,202.

... on above, see

The "King of the Magnifiers"—
Used Worldwide by Industry & Quality Assurance

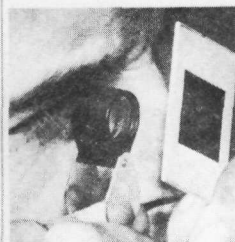


Figure 13

The most convenient magnifier is the 5-7 power linen tester (above) followed by the approximately 10-power triplex glass (below). These can be purchased at printers' supply houses or from Edmund Scientific Company, Barrington, New Jersey.

ald of 15 April 1865 reporting the assassination. Except for the *Ulster County Gazette* it may be the most frequently reproduced issue of an American newspaper. (See page 55).

Documents from Appomattox complete the list of most common reproductions of the Civil War. The most famous of the Grant-Lee Surrender Correspondence is Grant's 9 April 1865 letter to Lee outlining the terms of surrender. An excellent facsimile of this letter appeared in Volume 2 of Grant's *Memoirs*, which first appeared in 1886 and of which 600,000 copies were sold. The publisher's note reads, "The facsimile herewith shows the color of the paper and all interlineations and erasures." The reproduction in the *Memoirs* is of the second of three manifold copies (an early type of carbon copy) that Grant kept. That copy is in the New-York Historical Society; the other two original manifold copies are in the Princeton University Library.²⁰

The final Appomattox document is Robert E. Lee's General Order No. 9, his farewell to the Army of Northern Virginia. It was in the news in 1978 because two copies from the estate of a well-known collector were sold at auction. One copy, sold in the Spring installment of the sale, went for \$12,000. It turned up a few months later in a dealer's catalog at \$18,500. The second copy, sold in the Fall installment, brought \$10,500. Another copy of General Order No. 9 made the news that same year when a book dealer sued for fraud and collected several thousand dollars from somebody who had sold it to him as authentic.²¹

General Order No. 9 (Figure 14) represents a special problem because it seems to violate what was said earlier, that there should be a single original of a manuscript document. What, then, is the story of General Order No. 9?

The best explanation is that of the person who drafted it, General Lee's aide-de-camp and military secretary, Colonel Charles Marshall:

On the night of April 9th after our return from McLean's house General Lee sat with several of us at a fire in front of his tent, and after some conversation about the army and the events of the day in which his feelings toward his men were strongly expressed, he told me to prepare an order to the troops.

The next day it was raining and many persons were coming and going, so I was unable to write without interruption until about 10 o'clock, when General Lee finding that the order had not been prepared, directed me to get into his ambulance, which stood near his tent, and placed an orderly to prevent anyone from approaching us. I made a draft in pencil and took it to General Lee who struck out a paragraph, which he said would tend to keep alive the feeling existing between the North and the South, and made one or two other changes. I then returned to the ambulance, recopied the order and gave it to a clerk in the office of the Adjutant General to write in ink.

After the first draft of the order had been made and signed by General Lee, other copies were made for transmission to the corps commanders and the staff of the army. All these copies were signed by the General and a good many persons sent other copies which they had made or procured and obtained his signature. In this

²⁰ See Lloyd A. Dunlap, "The Grant-Lee Surrender Correspondence," *Manuscripts* 21 (Spring 1969): 78-91.

²¹ *Washington Post*, 13 July 1978.

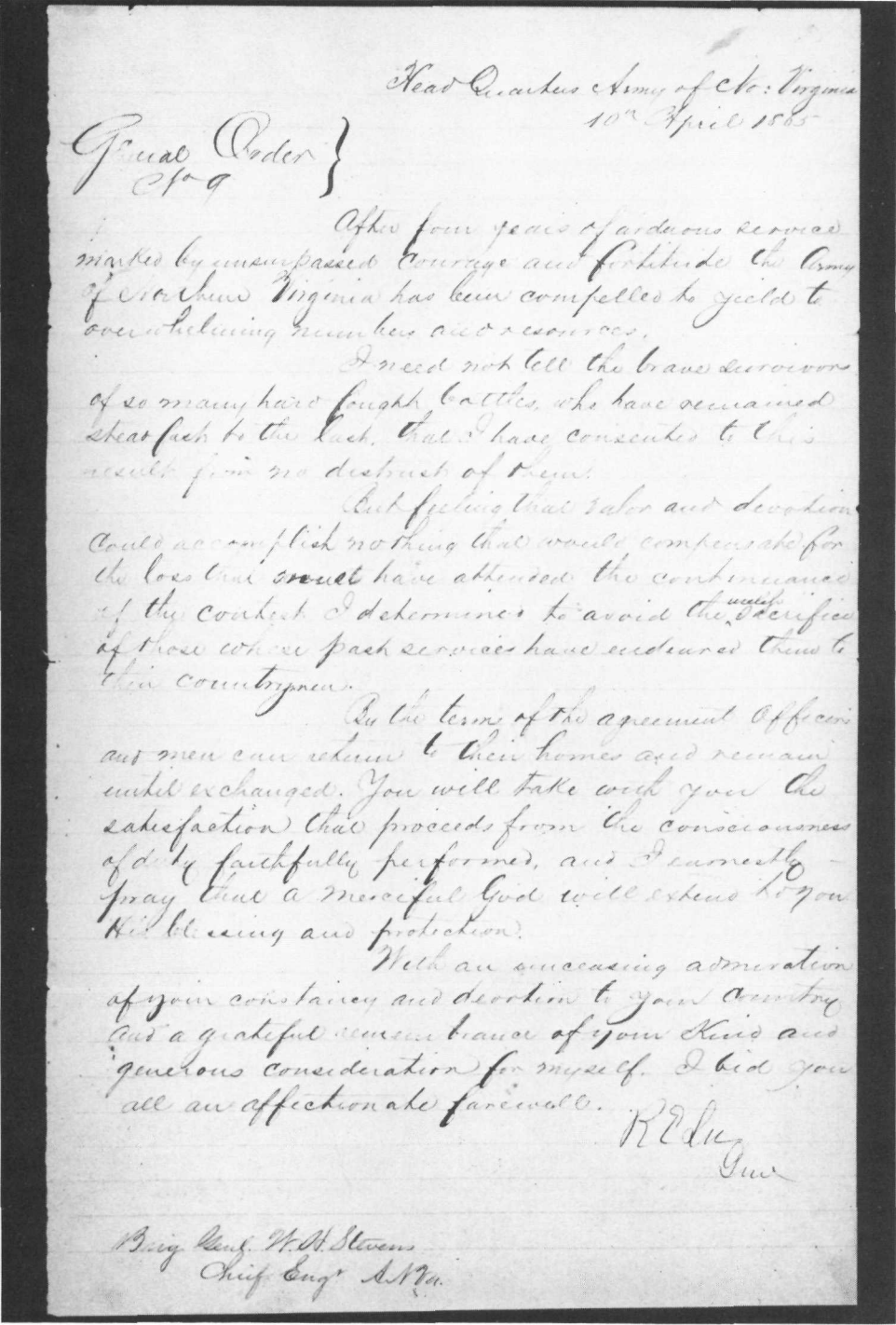


Figure 14

FACSIMILE: Another R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company reproduction. The original of this copy of Robert E. Lee's General Order No. 9 is presumably in the hand of a headquarters clerk, Army of Northern Virginia, and signed by Lee.

way many of the orders had the General's name signed as if they were originals.²²

The first draft, in Colonel Marshall's hand and with Lee's changes, was believed lost until it was found during the Civil War bicentennial. The copy reproduced on page 35 is of one of the copies presumably made by the clerks, signed by Lee, and sent to the Chief of Engineers, Army of Northern Virginia. There is only one known copy that Lee wrote out in his own hand. That copy is at Washington and Lee University where he served as president.

So there were, by the end of the day of 10 April 1865, the following copies: Colonel Marshall's draft, which Lee corrected and approved; a fair copy that Marshall made from the draft; a copy made from the fair copy and signed by Lee; and the official copies that the headquarters clerks made and that Lee signed and sent to his corps commanders and staff. Apparently the corps commanders made and transmitted copies to their divisions; and clerks at that level may have made copies for the regimental commanders. And perhaps the chain continued below that. By the end of the day there probably were still other copies, official and unofficial, copied from these. From that day on and as long as Lee lived, men who had served under him, and others, made copies for him to sign, which he seems to have done willingly on request. Many others made careful copies, imitating his signature, with no intent of fraud; they merely

wanted as exact a copy as possible of the farewell of the commander they idolized. And then there were the inevitable facsimiles. Louis Manarin, State Archivist of Virginia, who was with the Virginia and the North Carolina Bicentennial Commissions, is the person most familiar with the various versions. He estimates there may be between fifty and a hundred extant copies that Lee actually signed.²³

Any archivist, curator, or librarian who likes the excitement of living dangerously can have himself a ball by becoming involved as an expert witness for original signed copies of Lee's General Order No. 9. In the case mentioned of the alleged fraud, the sale was based on the opinions of a librarian and a historian. The news account quoted the librarian, "It appeared to be an original."²⁴

Almost all copies bear in Lee's hand only nine letters, "R. E. Lee, Genl." For making a decision as to authenticity, that isn't much to go on (or, for a forger, not much to practice on).

This is as good a point as any to discuss what expressing opinions about handwriting involves, particularly when other persons relying on such opinions may invest large sums of money. Consider the Clifford Irving-Howard Hughes case a few years ago. Irving, an established novelist of adventure some bent, with no experience as a forger, furnished McGraw-Hill, one of the largest and canniest of publishers, with a nine-page letter in what he said was Howard Hughes's own handwriting-

²² *An Aide de Camp of Lee/Being the Papers of Colonel Charles Marshall, Sometime Aide-de-Camp, Military Secretary and Assistant Adjutant General on the Staff of Robert E. Lee*, edited by Major General Sir Frederick Maurice (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1927), pp. 275-76.

²³ Manarin is planning to publish an account of the various versions of General Order No. 9 which will include their locations.

²⁴ *Washington Post*, 13 July 1978.

ing. To get an opinion on its authenticity, McGraw-Hill gave this sample to the best-known American document examiners, a third-generation firm. After comparing this sample with exemplars, known examples, of Hughes's handwriting, the experts reported:

... in spite of the prodigious quantity of writing contained in the questioned documents, careful study has failed to reveal any features which raise the slightest question as to the common identity of all the specimen and questioned signatures and continuous writing.

Their conclusion was:

These basic factors, we believe, make it impossible as a practical matter, based on our years of experience in the field of questioned handwriting and signatures, that anyone other than the writer of the specimens could have written the questioned signatures and continuous writing.²⁵

Another expert assured McGraw-Hill, "The chances that another person could copy this handwriting even in a similar way are less than 1 in a million."²⁶

As a result of these assurances McGraw-Hill got a \$750,000 lesson in handwriting identification, and Clifford Irving eventually went to prison.

This is not to say that keepers of documents should not express opinions; it is to say that they should be aware of the possible consequences.

An archivist with the courage of his convictions about his ability as a handwriting expert should be prepared to find himself in a darkened courtroom with two slide projectors projecting side by side on a screen a greatly magnified

Lee signature known to be genuine, and the signature in question. At that point it won't be enough to tell a judge or jury that the signatures look alike. The archivist is entering a specialist's world of style characteristics, variations, slope, size, letter design, letter structure, letter spacing, initial strokes, terminal strokes, connecting strokes, terminal spurs, pen lifts, hiatuses, shadings, line quality, alignment, and so on. In terms such as these he will be expected to explain why he is positive that the same hand wrote both signatures. Waiting to cross-examine him will be a lawyer, perhaps with long experience, determined to destroy the archivist's credibility. And following him will be a document examiner, a veteran who has attacked the authenticity of hundreds of signatures on wills and checks, who will painstakingly point out, in those technical terms already mentioned, why not a single hand but separate hands wrote the two signatures, "R. E. Lee, Genl.," that appear side by side on the screen.

The Civil War documents are the last, chronologically, that give much trouble. Reproductions of twentieth-century documents seem not to attract the true believers. None have yet tried to sell back to the National Archives reproductions of Richard Nixon's letter of resignation, for example. One reason is that most institutions such as the presidential libraries who make and sell reproductions of their modern documents now clearly label them as facsimiles. Another may be that it is hard to come up with a plausible romantic story about the discovery of an

²⁵ Stephen Fay, Lewis Chester, and Magnus Linklater, *Hoax* (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 130.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

important document dated within one's own lifetime.

However, the twentieth century has seen some superb reproductions of a few eighteenth and nineteenth-century documents. Mary Benjamin discusses some of these. She expresses a tempered admiration of a good facsimile and the perfectionist who produced it. "That the latter should get a rating of 'Excellence' for his work and the honesty of his intentions is a fact that will not cheer collectors who years after pay handsome sums for his items and then learn they do not own genuine originals."²⁷

A good example of the kind of reproduction she had in mind was produced in Richmond, Virginia, ten years before the publication of her book. It was a facsimile of a brief letter that Thomas Jefferson on 27 November 1803 wrote to Craven Peyton. (See Figure 4.)

In this letter Jefferson suggested that he might pay a debt to Peyton on the installment plan. This sentiment appealed to the Morris Plan Bank of Virginia. In 1936 the bank printed and distributed to its customers 30,000 copies, with an accompanying letter that began: "In 1803 Thomas Jefferson needed the Morris Plan." A year or two later the bank ordered a second printing of 17,000. Later there were several smaller printings.

The Richmond printers, using a line engraving, made a careful reproduction, imitating the texture, color, crease lines, and imperfections, including the broken edges.

Though the paper appears authentic it has a modern watermark, "Sulgrade Laid." Also, the backing of the

single-sheet original letter is reproduced separately as an envelope, with the addressee's name, address, postmark, and presidential frank. This anticipates by about forty years the use in this country of the separate envelope.

By 1941 one of the facsimiles was front-page news in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* under the headline "Letter Found in An Old Chest Believed Penned by Jefferson." This resulted, before the truth emerged, in two front-page articles, two editorials, a photographic illustration of the letter, and 1,500 lines of publicity. The newspaper's switchboard lit up with 106 calls from Virginians having the same letter.

By 1944 *Time* was reporting "an original Jefferson letter was found last week in a Virginia mountain cabin." Meanwhile the owner of the original, a resident of Staunton, Virginia, had to defend his claim against those who were convinced that theirs, not his, was the true original.

In 1955 the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was reporting the discovery of the letter. In the same year somebody found it, with the usual publicity, in an old desk in Knoxville, Tennessee. In 1961 the press services reported that a housewife in Vincennes, Indiana, opened a book once owned by her grandmother and there it was. This find made *Newsweek*, which reproduced the letter and a picture of Jefferson, pen in hand. There have probably been other publicized findings. There is no reason to believe there won't be others in years to come.

The original of the letter is now in the Manuscript Division of the Alderman Library at the University of Vir-

²⁷ Benjamin, *Autographs*, pp. 183–86.

ginia. There, also, is Jefferson's letter-press copy of the letter, along with a number of the facsimiles.

The art of reproducing historic American documents reached its highest state in five facsimiles created in recent years by the Graphic Conservation Department of the R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company. Fortunately for all concerned, Donnelley marks its reproductions as facsimiles. The documents reproduced, always in limited numbers and for special purposes, are the John Dunlap official printing of the Declaration of Independence, Washington's letter of 14 April 1789 to John Langdon accepting the presidency, Lincoln's letter about the two sons who wanted to work, the Everett copy of the Gettysburg Address, and one of the first-day copies of General Order No. 9.

Finally, the National Archives was offered some documents which, if accepted, would have involved a difficult determination of authenticity. The offer came eventually to me. Following, in full, was my answer:

Dear Mr.____:

Your letter concerning a possible repository for certain writings you believe to be in the handwriting of God has been forwarded to this office.

What to do? As a good bureaucratic federal archivist, I was able, by calling on the provisions of the 1950 Records Act, to avoid having to determine whether these writings were gospel, facsimile, fake, or phony.

The National Archives is the repository for the permanently valuable records of the Federal Government only. Documents such as you have would not, therefore, be eligible for deposit here.

Thank you for calling these documents to our attention.

Common Newspaper Reproductions

These descriptions include the tests to apply to each that distinguish between an original and a reproduction. These descriptions are based on issuances that the Library of Congress Serials Division drafted and has used for years to answer inquiries. They include locations of known copies of originals. This last may come in handy for the hardcore true believers. You can invite them to journey to the nearest such location and make their own comparisons.

The Boston News-Letter
24 April 1704

This is the first issue of the first regularly published American newspaper. John Campbell, postmaster of Boston, supplied written newsletters to the governors of the New England colonies for at least a year before he made use of the printing press. His weekly was "Published by Authority," "Printed by B[artholomew] Green," and "Sold by Nicholas Boone, at his Shop near the Old Meeting-House." It was printed on both sides of a single sheet of foolscap size. (Figure 15.)

With as small an edition as this first *News-Letter* must have had, it is surprising to find evidence of two type-settings, but a copy at the Massachusetts Historical Society varies from other known originals in many details although the type font is the same. Possibly the type was pried before the desired number of copies had been printed, and thus had to be reset. Among many variances it is enough to note that in the first printing the first paragraph of the "Advertisement" at the end of page 2 in soliciting advertising states that "all persons . . . may have the same Inserted at Reasonable Rate; from Twelve Pence to Five Shill-

D. C. Numd. 17

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Post from Decemb. 21. to 4th. 1703.

Letters from Scotland bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in a City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the present Danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That it is its swarm in that Nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, and that of late many Scores of Priests & Jesuits are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of the Country. That the Ministers of the Highlands and North gave in large Lists of them to the Committee of the General Assembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.

It likewise observes, that a great Number of other ill-affected persons are come over from France, under pretence of accepting her Majesty's Gracious Indemnity; but, in reality, to increase Divisions in the Nation, and to entertain a Correspondence with France; That their ill Intentions are evident from their talking big, their owning the Interest of the pretended King James VIII. their secret Cabals, and their buying up of Arms and Ammunition, wherever they can find them.

To this he adds the late Writings and Actions of some disaffected persons, many of whom are for that Pretender; that several of them have declared they had rather embrace Popery than conform to the present Government; that they refuse to pray for the Queen, but use the ambiguous word Sovereign, and some of them pray in express Words for the King and Royal Family; and the charitable and generous Prince who has shew'd them so much Kindness. He likewise takes notice of Letters, not long ago found in Cypher, & directed to a Person lately come thither from St. Germain.

He says that the greatest Jacobites, who will not qualify themselves by taking the Oaths to Her Majesty, do now with the Papists and their Compagnions from St. Germain set up for the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to their own Principles, but merely to keep up a Division in the Nation. He adds, that they aggravate those things which the People complain of, as to England's refusing to allow them a freedom of Trade, &c. and do all they can to foment Divisions betwixt the Nations, & to obstruct a Redress of those things complain'd of.

The Jacobites, he says, do all they can to persuade the Nation that their pretended King is a Protestant in his Heart, tho' he does not declare it while under the Power of France; that he is acquainted with the Mistakes of his Father's Government, will govern as more according to Law, and endear himself to his Subjects.

They magnifie the Strength of their own Party, and the Weakness and Divisions of the other, in order to facilitate and hasten their Undertaking; they argue themselves out of their Fears, and into the highest assurance of accomplishing their purpose.

From all this he infers, That they have hopes of Assistance from France, otherwise they would not be so impudent, and he gives Reasons for his Apprehensions that the French King may send Troops thither this Winter, 1. Because the English & Dutch will not then be at Sea to oppose them. 2. He can then best spare them, the Season of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a considerable number to joyn them, may encourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men if he can but send over a sufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the rest of his Letters to answer the foolish Pretences of the Pretender's being a Protestant and that he will govern us according to L.W. He says that being bred up in the Religion and Politics of France, he is by Education a stated Enemy to our Liberty and Religion. That the Obligations which he and his Family owe to the French King must necessarily make him to be wholly at his Devotion, and to follow his Example; that if he sit upon the Throne, the three Nations must be oblig'd to pay the Debt which he owes the French King for the Education of himself, and for Entertaining his supposed Father and his Family. And since the King must restore him by his Troops, if ever he be restored, he will see to secure his own Debt, before those Troops leave Britain. The Pretender being a good Proficient in the French and Romish Schools, he will never think himself sufficiently aveng'd, but by the utter Ruine of his Protestant Subjects, both as Heretics and Traitors. The late Queen, his pretended Mother, who in cold Blood when she was Queen of Britain, advis'd to turn the West of Scotland into a hunting Field, will be then for doing so by the greatest part of the Nation, and no doubt, is at Pains to have her pretended Son educated to her own Mind: Therefore, he says, it were a great Madness in the Nation to take a Prince bred up in the horrid School of Ingratitude, Persecution and Cruelty, and filled with Rage and Envy. The Jacobites, he says, both in Scotland and at St. Germain, are impatient under their present Straits, and knowing their Circumstances cannot be much worse than they are, at present, are the more inclinable to the Undertaking. He adds, That the French King knows there cannot be a more effectual way for himself to arrive at the Universal Monarchy, and to ruin the Protestant Interest, than by setting up the Pretender upon the Throne of Great Britain, he will in all probability attempt it; and tho' he should be persuaded that the Design would miscarry in the close, yet he cannot but reap some Advantage by imbroiling the three Nations.

From all this the Author concludes it to be the Interest of the Nation, to provide for Self defence; and says, that as many have already taken the Alarm, and are furnishing themselves with Arms and Ammunition, he hopes the Government will not only allow it, but encourage it, since the Nation ought all to appear as one Man in the Defence

Figure 15

American Antiquarian Society

ORIGINAL: The first issue of the first regularly published American newspaper, The Boston News-Letter of 24 April 1704.

ings, and not to exceed: Who may agree with Nicholas Boone for the same . . .,” whereas the second type-setting directs them to “agree with John Campbel Post-master of Boston.”

There have been more than ten reprints of this paper. Several reprints are broadsides with additional matter on margins and back such as: “The First Steam Railroad Passenger Train in America,” “First Newspaper ever Printed in America,” “Authorities or Proof,” “Antique Curiosities,” “The First American Flag,” etc. Reprints are easily distinguished from the original, as follows:

1. The title in the original is of well-formed Roman capitals and lower case letters. The reprint title is a roughly cut imitation with heavier, uneven letters: e.g., the “s” in “News” slants decidedly instead of standing upright.
2. The period after the title is round in the original and roughly diamond shaped in the reprints.
3. The original has the catchword “of” below column two of the first page against the right margin; this is not found in the reprints.
4. The line of Gothic type, “Published by Authority,” under the title in the original, has in its final word a 2-shaped letter “r”. This ancient form of the “r” does not appear in any reprint examined.
5. The colophon or imprint at the bottom of page 2 in the original has a length equal to the width of the type page; in the reprints this line is shorter.²⁸

The American Antiquarian Society has suggested a further test: The original has “Defence” as the last word of

the last line of the front page, with the catchword “of” underneath; the facsimile does not have the catchword.²⁹

Originals have been reported at the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New-York Historical Society, and fragments at the Harvard College Library and the Library of Congress.

The New-England Courant, Boston
11 February 1723

The New-England Courant, No. 80, 11 February 1723, was the first publication issued under the imprint of Benjamin Franklin. The date line reads “From Monday February 4. to Monday February 11. 1723.” The *Courant* was established by James Franklin on 7 August 1721 as the third regularly issued newspaper in Boston. In its columns James Franklin gave offense to the Massachusetts General Court, which ordered his imprisonment and the suppression of the paper. To avoid this censorship, Benjamin Franklin, who had been his older brother’s apprentice, was released from his indenture and the paper was printed thereafter under his name.

This issue has been reprinted nine or more times. Several of the reprints carry the notice, “Fac-Simile of the first Paper ever issued by Franklin.” Such reprints were printed in 1856, 1876, 1888, and 1896, and still others have no date and no notice.

Reprints differ from the originals in various details. The text of the original reads as follows:

Page 1, column 1, line 1: “The late Publisher of this Paper, finding so many”.

²⁸ Library of Congress. Reference Department. Serial Division. *Information Circular 5* (Revised 1957). Hereafter cited as *LC Information Circular*.

²⁹ Joyce Ann Tracy, Curator of Newspapers, American Antiquarian Society, to the author, 17 May 1978.

Page 1, column 1, last line: "his Face, which splits it from his Forehead in a".

Page 1, column 2, last line: "Body of Forces in readiness to embark on the first No"; and below this at the right lower corner is the catchword "tice" to show the beginning of the first line at the top of page 2.

Copies that do not agree in these details are reprints.³⁰

Originals are reported at American Antiquarian Society, the British Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Rutgers University Library.

The New-England Weekly Journal, Boston

8 April 1728

The New-England Weekly Journal was established by Samuel Kneeland at Boston, 20 March 1727. On 3 July of that year, Timothy Green became associated with him. The issue of 8 April 1728 (Figure 16), volume "B, Numb. LV." has been reprinted. The reprint is a very close copy of the original, but the two can be distinguished from each other by the following points:

1. The original is on rag paper, having as watermarks a double fleur-de-lis and parallel chain lines that are alternately 1 inch and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch apart. The reprint is also on rag paper but lacks the watermarks.
2. The type of "The New-England" in the title of the original measures $\frac{1}{4}$ inch high, while the same letters in the reprint measure only $\frac{3}{16}$ inch high.

Copies of the reprint are rather numerous.³¹

Originals are reported at Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Athenaeum, Library of Congress, Boston

Public Library, Clements Library (University of Michigan), and Harvard University.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Philadelphia

24 December 1728

This issue of this newspaper is "Numb. I." of the second newspaper to be published in Philadelphia. Published by Samuel Keimer, the full title was *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette*. On 2 October 1729, when Benjamin Franklin and Hugh Meredith became the publishers, the title was shortened to *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

Reprints are on heavy modern rag paper showing a ribbed effect against the light.³²

The three known copies of the original issue are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The New-Hampshire Gazette, Portsmouth, New Hampshire

7 October 1756

The New-Hampshire Gazette, With the Freshest Advices Foreign and Domestic, Numb. 1, Thursday, 7 October 1756 was the first newspaper published in New Hampshire. It was established by Daniel Fowle, who went to Portsmouth after a brief imprisonment in Boston, where he was charged with printing and selling a pamphlet severely criticizing some members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The Library of Congress has four reprints which seem to be from a single typesetting, although no two are on the same quality paper. On 6 October

³⁰ LC Information Circular 9 (Revised 1955).

³¹ LC Information Circular 10 (Revised 1955).

³² LC Information Circular 14 (Revised 1955).

B

NUMB. LV.

The NEW-ENGLAND
Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the most Remarkable Occurrences Foreign & Domestick.

Monday April 8. 1728.

There are Measures concerting for rendering this Paper yet more universally esteemed, and useful, in which 'tis hop'd the Publick will be gratify'd, and by which these Gentlemen who desire to be improv'd in History, Philosophy, Poetry, &c. will be greatly advantag'd. We will take the liberty at this time to insert the following Passage of History.

Jamaica II. His Excellency ROBERT HUNTER Esq; Captain General, &c. His Declaration in Council the 31st of January, 1727-8.

Gentlemen,
I AM not Insensible of the Difficulties which at this time Attend the Execution of that Trust which the KING has Honour'd me, nor how unequal I am to it; but since he has thought fit to do it, I shall try no more of that, but do my best: I think I am safe and secure in my Intentions, as to Failings or Errors in Judgment, your Seasonable Advice, (to which I assure you I shall ever pay all Due Regard) may either prevent or rectify them.
You, Gentlemen, lie under the same Obligations with me, to give all Attention to the Interest and Ease of His Majesty's Government here, as you are also deeply Intereasted in preserving the Peace, and promoting the Prosperity of Your Country, which are far from being Incompatible; and whoever sets about to separate them, even in his Thoughts, must do it upon the odious Supposition of Lawless Power on the one Hand, or a Spirit of Sedition on the other.

There are some Instructions which I am Commanded to Communicate to you, which I shall do, so soon as You have more Leisure, and shall Expect and Rely upon Your Advice in some Matters of Confidence to His Majesty's Service, and the Interest of this Country.

The Council's Answer.

May it please your Excellency,
WE thank Your Excellency for this Your Kind Declaration, and do with the greatest Sincerity Congratulate Your Excellency's safe Arrival to this Country. We must gratefully Acknowledge His Majesty's Wisdom in His Choice of Your Excellency for our Governour at this critical Juncture, which necessarily required a Person of Your Excellency's Abilities & Known Experience in Government.
We return our most hearty Thanks to your Excellency for the favourable Sentiments you are pleas'd to entertain of us. We hope our Conduct has been, and will be, always such as must demonstrate, that we have no View or Inclination of running into the Extreams, either of being Arbitrary on the one Hand, or of turning Liberty into Licentiousness on the other.

We beg Leave to assure Your Excellency that we shall, to the utmost of our Power, both by our Advice & Assistance, endeavour to promote His Majesty's and the Country's Interest, which We take to be the only Means of rendering Your Excellency Easy and Happy during Your Administration.

His Excellency's Reply.

Gentlemen,
I AM Extremely Obliged to you, and give you my hearty Thanks for the good Opinion you are pleas'd to entertain of me, but more for the Kind Assurances you have given me of your Advice and Assistance in the Execution of the Trust reposed in me. From the Confidence I have in the good Effect of that I flatter my self with the Prospect of Ease in my Administration and Government, and Prosperity to those who are to live under it.

London, October 28.

On Wednesday last a Patent pass'd the Seals, constituting the Rt. Hon. the Lord St. George, Vice Admiral of the Province of Consaught in the Kingdom of Ireland.
The Beginning of this Week Dr. John Friend, and Dr. Alexander Stewart were introduced to their Majesties, and had the Honour to kiss their Hands on being appointed Physicians in Ordinary to the Queen.

LaR

Figure 16 Library of Congress

ORIGINAL: Often reprinted, the 8 April 1728 issue of The New-England Weekly Journal contains the history of the invention of the "Stocking Loom."

Downloaded from https://prime-pdf-watemark.prime-prod/pubfactory.com/ at 2025-06-29 via free access

1856, *The Gazette* held a centennial celebration and reprints of its first issue were made and distributed from the original press, which was set up in a hayrack and operated during the parade. This reprint was probably copied by those produced later, since all examined have the same variances from the original. One reprint carries below its imprint this line: "Stereotyped by H. O. Houghton & Co., Riverside, Cambridge, 1856."

A fifth reprint, made from plates borrowed from the New Hampshire Historical Society, appears in *The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal*, volume 26, April 1872, as an illustration for "The New-Hampshire Gazette, the Oldest Newspaper in America," communicated by Frank W. Miller, Esq. The separate printing of the same article, Boston, 1872, also has the reproduction.

A comparison of the several reprints in the Library of Congress with a photostat of the original in the Massachusetts Historical Society shows that they differ in various details. The original reads as follows:

Title uses a hyphen in "New-Hampshire."

Page 1, paragraph 4, line 3, "Knowlege" is spelled without "d."

Page 1, last line, "Complaint on that Score."

Page 2, line 5, "gence, provided they be sent free from Charge."

Page 2, column 1, paragraph 4, last line, "French between 4 & 5000."

Page 2, column 2, paragraph 6, last line, "ries eight Guns, besides Swivels, and is a good Sailer."

Copies differing from these details are reprints.³³

The only known originals are at the Portsmouth Athenaeum and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal 12 March 1770

Among the five newspapers published in Boston in 1770, *The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal* of 12 March 1770, published by Edes & Gill, (Figure 17) gave the fullest account of the Boston Massacre, which had occurred on 5 March. Its story was set between heavy mourning leads and illustrated with a cut of four coffins from a plate made by Paul Revere.

There were two four-page editions of the *Gazette* for 12 March 1770. The first was accompanied by a supplement of the same date carrying advertising; the second had pages 1, 2, and 3 identical with the first, but page 4 carried advertising taken in part from page 4 of the first edition and in part from the supplement. To distinguish between these two editions it is only necessary to note the first item on page 4, column 1. The first edition has "To the New England Man," and the second edition, "Just published and sold by Edes & Gill . . . North-American Almanack, and Massachusetts Register, for the Year 1770."

There are a dozen or more spurious reprints of the second edition, but they are not exact facsimiles. The Library of Congress recommends that the following tests be applied to a copy to determine whether or not it is an original:

1. In the caption beneath the title on page 1, "freshest" is set with two old-style letters "s".

³³ LC *Information Circular 11* (Revised 1957).

2. Page 1, column 1, the two-line quotation from Shakespeare has the *first* line indented farther than the second.
3. Page 1, column 1, paragraph 1, line 5 ends with "has".
4. Page 1, column 1, paragraph 2, line 3, first word is "production," not "publication."
5. Page 1, column 2, paragraph 8 (third from bottom), line 3 ends with "Lillie," instead of carrying last syllable, "lie," down to the fourth line with resulting displacement of "all" and "&" in the two following lines.

The line-up of the paragraphs on pages 2 and 3 of all reprints examined differs greatly from that of the original. Some examples follow:

6. Page 2, column 2, last line in original, "of this horrid Massacre, the Bells were set a Ringing and".
7. Page 2, column 3, last line in original, "Meeting was Dissolved".
8. Page 3, column 1, paragraph 1, last line in original, "in the Commander's Assurances have happily prevented".
9. Page 3, column 1, paragraph 2, last line in original, "the bloody Massacre of the Monday Evening preceeding!"
10. Page 3, column 1, paragraph 3, last line in original, "surpass Description".³⁴

Originals are reported at American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Athenaeum, Boston Public Library, New York Public Library, Library of Congress, Harvard University, Yale University, New York Historical Society, British Library, Clements Library (University of Michigan), New York State Library, Duke University Library, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Maryland Journal, and the Baltimore Advertiser

20 August 1773

The Maryland Journal, and the Baltimore Advertiser of Friday, 20 August 1773, is the first issue, "Vol. I, Numb. I," of the first newspaper published in Baltimore. William Goddard was the editor and publisher. It has been reprinted eight or more times.

All reprints have the announcement by William Goddard, "To the Public" filling the first column of the first page, and the heading, "My Lord," at the top of the second column. In the original, the Goddard article runs over two inches into the second column.³⁵

Another difference to be noted is that the word *Public* in the original is set in regular type; in reprints it is in italics. Most reprints appear to be copies of the first reprint, which was not an exact facsimile of the original.³⁶

Originals are reported at the Maryland Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society.

The Massachusetts Spy Or, American Oracle of Liberty, Worcester, Massachusetts 3 May 1775

The Massachusetts Spy Or, American Oracle of Liberty of Wednesday, 3 May 1775, is "Vol. V, Numbr. 219." (Figure 18.) It was published by Isaiah Thomas, an outstanding newspaper editor and publisher of the time, after his removal from Boston to avoid the British troops. At least one facsimile has been made.

The type of the words "Massachusetts Spy" in the title is elaborately ornamented with flourishes which often cause it to be misread "Massachusetts

³⁴ LC Information Circular 4 (Revised 1957).

³⁵ LC Information Circular 7 (Revised 1957).

³⁶ R. W. G. Vail, Librarian, American Antiquarian Society, to Joseph Gavit, 17 December 1931.


Massachusetts Spy
 Or, American ORACLE of Liberty.

VOL. 3. WORCESTER, WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1775. (NUMB. 219.)

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Sun." Above the title are the words, "Americans!—Liberty or Death!—Join or Die!"

The Library of Congress has the first two pages of an original of this issue printed on rag paper showing the usual parallel chain line watermarks an inch apart. A facsimile reproduction is readily distinguished from the original by the absence of the chain lines. The lower margin of the first page of the reprint bears the notation, "This Newspaper is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester—Isaiah Thomas." This inscription shows that the reproduction was made from the original in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, since that copy bears Thomas's note. Possibly the facsimile was made in 1876.³⁷

Originals are reported at American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Library of Congress, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Worcester Public Library, New York Public Library, Harvard University, University of Chicago, and the Western Reserve Historical Society.

The New-York Morning Post
7 November 1783

The issue of *The New-York Morning Post* of 7 November 1783, "Vol. III, Numb. 155," (Figure 19) containing Washington's farewell to the Army, has been reprinted several times. Reprints differ from the original in numerous respects. The following details are sufficient to distinguish the originals from the reprints:

1. The rules immediately above and below the date line in the original have breaks near the right-hand end.

2. The index hand at the left of the printer's notice in the heading of the original is small and in outline; that in the reprints shows the closed fingers.
3. In the fourth column of page 1, Samuel Loudon's "To the Public" is divided into six paragraphs in the original; reprints have five paragraphs only.
4. On page 3 of the original, "General Washington's Farewel Orders to the Armies of the United States" fills column 1 and all but three lines of column 2; in reprints it continues some 2 ½ inches into column 3.³⁸

Originals are reported at the American Antiquarian Society and the British Library.

Gazette of the United States, New York
2 May 1789

The issue of the *Gazette of the United States* bearing the date line, "From Wednesday, April 29, to Saturday, May 2, 1789," (Figure 20) has an account of Washington's first inauguration on Thursday, 30 April 1789. For this reason it has been reprinted several times.

The Library of Congress has an original of this issue and three different reprints. The original is on rag paper showing chain line watermarks one inch apart. The reprints are:

1. A true facsimile but on wood pulp paper.
2. A reprint on poor paper having on page 1:
 - a. in center, a portrait of Washington;
 - b. on right margin, "Gen. Geo. Washington's Inauguration, Our First President, 1789";
 - c. below title, "Copyright by Back Number Budd, 1280 Broadway, N.Y."
3. Another, probably from the same plates as no. 2, but without the copyright no-

³⁷ LC Information Circular 8 (Revised 1957).

³⁸ LC Information Circular 13 (Revised 1955).



Figure 20

Library of Congress

ORIGINAL: The Gazette of the United States, 2 May 1789, containing account of George Washington's first inauguration.

tice, having on left margin of the first page, "For Sale at Back Number Budd's, 1280 Broadway, M.A. Burr's, 74 Allan Street, and all Newsdealers."

4. A reprint not in the Library of Congress is reported to be found in the *Chicago Daily Times* of April 30, 1889.³⁹

Originals are reported at Duke University, Ohio Historical Society, Jersey City Public Library, Library of Congress, Princeton University, Philadelphia Free Library, Dartmouth University, Rutgers University, and the Connecticut Historical Society.

Ulster County Gazette

4 January 1800

The *Ulster County Gazette* was established 5 May 1798, at Kingston, New York, by Samuel Freer and Son. It was a weekly, supporting the Federalist Party. Publication continued until 1803, when the title was changed to *Ulster Gazette* and the publisher was Samuel S. Freer, the "Son" of the earlier partnership.

Reproductions of the issue for 4 January 1800 (Figure 2) are well known to librarians and dealers in old books through the great number of reprints that are scattered over every part of the country. There are probably more than a hundred or more such reproductions, often differing from each other only in minor details. Almost every private owner of one of these honestly believes that he has an original copy.

The reproduction of the issue of 4 January 1800 began during the first half of the nineteenth century, probably as early as 1825. These early reprints were made in smaller numbers and, as regards the paper and type used, represent a somewhat more careful imitation of a newspaper

printed in 1800 than do those of later years. The Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia saw the beginning of the wholesale output of the reprints. At least one printing firm had a regular contract for supplying them and they were sold on the Exposition grounds by the armful as historical souvenirs. In 1877, a centennial exposition at Kingston, New York, offered a similar opportunity. Since then, various enterprising individuals have continued to flood the market with cheap and poor reproductions. Most of the reprints from 1876 to date are in clear, modern type and are on machine-made paper, calendared, thin, and brittle.

It was not until November 1930 that the first original copy was found. This is now in the Library of Congress. Another original is now in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. These are the only originals known.

Owners of copies should apply the following tests:

1. It should be printed on the "laid" paper used in 1800, hand-made from rags, soft, pliable, and rough in texture.
2. Besides the slender parallel chain lines which appear throughout, $1 \frac{1}{16}$ to $1 \frac{3}{16}$ inches apart, this paper should have as a watermark a double fleur-de-lis measuring $3 \frac{1}{8}$ by $1 \frac{15}{16}$ inches.
3. Title in italic capitals should measure $6 \frac{15}{16}$ inches in length.
4. The abbreviations "VOL." and "NUM." in the date line should be printed in capitals and small capitals.
5. Print should show the blurred edges of hand-inked, hand-press work.
6. Second column on page 1 should measure $2 \frac{1}{16}$ inches in width between rules.

³⁹ LC Information Circular 6 (Revised 1957).

7. The old-style "s" should appear frequently as in the words "Published" and "Ulster" in the heading, and in the words "President," "House," "Representatives," and many more in the text.
8. The last line of page 1, column 1, should read "liberal execution of the treaty of amity,".
9. One full-length mourning slug should appear on page 1, column 2; two full-length and five short slugs on page 2; and two full-length slugs on page 3.
10. Mourning rules should be used between columns and across top and bottom and along outer edge of pages 2 and 3.
11. The "Last Notice" on page 3, column 2, concerns "the estate of Johannis Jansen" and should be signed by "Johannis T. Jansen, Executor."⁴⁰

The American Antiquarian Society suggests a single, conclusive test. Unless the first line of the fourth column of page 1 reads, "command the town, and not withstanding", it is not an original.

The Sun, New York
3 September 1833

The Sun, New York, of Tuesday, 3 September 1833, is the first issue, "Number 1," of that newspaper. It was published daily by Benj. H. Day, printer, and has been reprinted by later publishers on various anniversaries: 3 September 1853, 1883, 27 February to 7 March 1931, 2 September 1933, and others. Some of the reprints bear notices to that effect, but others are without such notice. All reprints, however, appear to have numerous variations from the original.

The text of the original reads as follows:

Page 1, column 1, last line of the masthead has "Three Dollars" capitalized.

Page 1, column 1, second advertisement, line 2, "steamboats" plural.

Page 1, column 1, second advertisement, line 7, "Captains" plural.

Page 1, column 1, third advertisement, line 5, "Catharine" not "Catherine".

Page 1, column 1, third advertisement, line 10, "hour" singular.

Page 1, column 1, fourth advertisement, line 2, "master" lower case.

Page 1, column 1, fourth advertisement, line 4, "captain" lower case.

Page 1, column 1, fifth advertisement, line 2, "Tallahassee" not "Tallahasse".

Page 1, column 1, sixth advertisement, line 1, "packet ship" not "Packet ship".

Page 1, column 2, next to last line, "tribble the sum" not "treble the sum".

Page 1, column 3, second article, line 2, misspelled "charriot".

Page 2, column 1, paragraph 3, line 2, "almshouse" lower case.

Page 3, column 3, third advertisement, "J. Bleeker & Sons" not "J. Bleecker & Sons".

The reprints differ from the original in some if not all of these details.⁴¹

Originals are reported at Alabama Department of Archives and History, Los Angeles Public Library, Bancroft Library, Yale University Library, Huntington (L.I.) Historical Library, Nebraska State Historical Society, and Newark Public Library.

Public Ledger, Philadelphia
25 March 1836

Volume 1, number 1 of the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, for Friday morning, 25 March 1836, has been reprinted. The original is on rag paper and is distinguished from the reprints by certain details in the cut of a loco-

⁴⁰ LC Information Circular 1 (Revised 1958).

⁴¹ LC Information Circular 17 (Revised 1955).

motive which appears twice on page 1 and once on page 3. In the original the front of the locomotive forms a vertical line with the front of the smokestack; the rear wheel is larger than the front wheel; and the bell-like top on the back of the locomotive has two slanting lines projecting from its base toward the rear. The following reprints have been identified:

1873. This edition, printed on thin white rag paper, shows a man standing on the rear platform of the locomotive, and the wheels of the locomotive are of the same size.

1876. This edition, distributed at the U.S. Centennial Exposition, is the same as that of 1873, except that it is printed on a slightly heavier grade of paper which has shown a tendency to deteriorate.

1886. Except for being on newspaper (sulphide) stock, this reprint is the same as the two earlier ones.

1906. The regular edition of the *Public Ledger* of 25 March 1906 mentions a reprint of this date issued as a supplement and gives its dimensions as $9 \times 13 \frac{1}{2}$ inches. (The dimensions of the original are $10 \frac{1}{2} \times 14 \frac{3}{4}$ inches.)

1926. This Sesquicentennial Edition is printed on newspaper stock and does not show a man on the locomotive platform. In addition, an asterisk appears at the bottom of the last column of the last page.

1936. This is identical with the above except that it bears two asterisks.

A reduced facsimile appeared in the *Public Ledger Almanac*, 1889.

The Library of Congress also has a most unusual copy of volume 1, number 1, dated Thursday morning, 24 March 1836. Its contents vary from those of the 25 March issue only on page 2, column 4, and page 3, columns

2, 3, and 4. It seems to be an advance number of which only a few copies were printed.⁴²

Originals are found at many libraries.

The Sun, Baltimore, Maryland
17 May 1837

The Sun, Baltimore, of Wednesday, 17 May 1837, is the first issue, "Vol. I, No. I" of that newspaper. It was published by A. S. Abell & Co.

The original and the reprints are readily distinguished from each other by the paragraphs at the bottom of the second and third columns on page one. In the original they are as follows:

The last paragraph in the second column begins "The Public Hotels in New York . . ." The last paragraph in third column begins "The Mayor of New York . . ."

In the reprints these two paragraphs are both in the third column, "The Public Hotels in New York" being at the bottom; and the last paragraph in the second column begins "It is thought that the Proclamation of the President. . . ." One of the reprints also bears the word "Facsimile," but usually they are without this label.⁴³

Originals are reported at Historical Society of Delaware, Boston Public Library, Maryland Historical Society, and Historical Society of Harford County, Maryland.

The Chattanooga Daily Rebel
9 August 1862

This issue of *The Chattanooga Daily Rebel* is known to have been reprinted. No original copy has been located.

The Library of Congress has two different reprints, one entitled *The*

⁴² LC *Information Circular 15* (Revised 1965).

⁴³ LC *Information Circular 16* (Revised 1957).

Daily Rebel; the other *The Rebel*. They measure 10 ½ by 17 inches in size, but vary somewhat in the arrangement of the text, although both copies carry the same general news.

The Library's earliest original copy is that of 10 September 1862, volume 1, number 37. It is entitled *The Chattanooga Daily Rebel* and was published by Franc. M. Paul. This issue consists of one sheet (two pages) and measures 16 ½ by 21 ⅞ in size. This issue is published on rag paper, while the reprints are on a poor grade of wood pulp paper.⁴⁴

The Daily Citizen, Vicksburg, Mississippi

Wallpaper Editions

The Daily Citizen (Figures 21 and 22) was edited and published at Vicksburg, Mississippi, by J. M. Swords. Like several other newspapers of the Civil War period, its stock of newsprint paper became exhausted and the publisher resorted to the use of wallpaper. On this substitute he printed the following known issues: 16, 18, 20, 27, 30 June and 2 July 1863. Each was a single sheet, four columns wide, printed on the back of the wallpaper.

On 4 July, Vicksburg surrendered, the publisher fled, and the Union forces found the type of the *Citizen* still standing. They replaced two-thirds of the last column with other matter already in type, added the note quoted below, and started to print a new edition. Evidently, after a few copies (how many is not known) had been run off, it was noticed that the masthead title was misspelled as "CTIIZEN." The error was corrected, although other ty-

pographical errors were allowed to stand, and the rest of the edition printed.

NOTE

JULY 4, 1863

Two days bring about great changes, The banner of the Union floats over Vicksburg. Gen. Grant has "caught the rabbit;" he has dined in Vicksburg, and he did bring his dinner with him. The "Citizen" lives to see it. For the last time it appears on "Wall-paper." No more will it eulogize the luxury of mule-meat and fricassed kitten—urge Southern warriors to such diet never more. This is the last wall-paper edition, and is, excepting this note, from the types as we found them. It will be valuable hereafter as a curiosity.

The prophecy contained in the note has been fulfilled. The original copies are treasured, and there have been over thirty reprints of this issue. The genuine originals can be distinguished by the following tests:

Single type page, 9 ⅛ inches in width by 16 ⅞ inches in length.

Column 1, line 1, title, THE DAILY CITIZEN, or THE DAILY CTIIZEN in capitals, *not* capitals and lowercase, or capitals and small capitals.

Column 1, line 2, "J.M. Swords, Proprietor." Notice the comma (or imperfect dot) and six periods.

Column 1, last line, reads: "them as they would the portals of hell itself".

Column 3, line 1, reads: "Yankee News From All Points".

Column 4, line 1, reads: "tremity of the city. These will be defended".

Column 4, paragraph 3, line 7, first word is misspelled "Secossion".

Column 4, article 2, line 2, word 4 is spelled "whistle".

⁴⁴ LC Information Circular 2 (1957).

Column 4, last article before Note, final word is printed with the quotation mark misplaced, 'dead' instead of dead".

Column 4, Note, line 1, comma following the word "changes" rather than a period.⁴⁵

Originals are reported at the Library of Congress, the Minnesota Historical Society, the University of Indiana, and in a private collection.

The New York Herald
15 April 1865

The *New York Herald* of Saturday, 15 April 1865, carried a good account of the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln; for this reason it has been reprinted many times.

President Lincoln was shot at 9:30 P.M., Friday, 14 April 1865, while seated in a box at Ford's Theater. At about the same time, Secretary of State Seward, one of Seward's sons, and a servant were knifed by an assassin who invaded their home. Lincoln was removed to a house across the street where he died at 7:22 A.M. Saturday morning.

News of the attacks reached the *New York Herald* by telegraph in time to make the first edition. Several other editions were issued during the day, reporting later developments, Lincoln's death, and the inauguration of Vice President Andrew Johnson as President.

The several original editions, six columns wide and printed on rag paper, can be distinguished by variations in the arrangement of textual material and captions, especially on page 1. Four editions have been identified; they are categorized by the time of the

latest news bulletin contained, as follows:

2:00 A.M. Regular edition. 8 pages. A one-sentence "Two o'clock a.m." bulletin appears just above the caption "Press Despatches" in the third column and "The State Capital" appears near the top of the fourth column of the first page.

3:00 A.M. Special edition. 8 pages. The first, second, and third columns on page 1 are same as the 2:00 A.M. edition. In the fourth column the caption "The State Capital" has been replaced by "The Latest News" and contains a sub-heading, "Secretary Stanton to General Dix, War Department, Washington, April 15—3:00 a.m." "The State Capital" has been moved to the sixth column.

10:00 A.M. Special edition. 4 pages, the inside ones being identical to pages 4, 5, and 8 of the 2:00 A.M. and 3:00 A.M. editions, and so numbered. The fifth column of the first page is headed "Postscript . . . Death of the President." This is the first edition with heavy column lines, which are limited to a portion of the fifth column.

2:00 P.M. Inauguration Edition. 8 pages, pages 2 through 7 being the same as the 2:00 A.M. and 3:00 A.M. editions. All columns on the first page have heavy lines; captions in the fifth column under "Postscript" same as 10:00 A.M. Special Edition, with the addition of a reward notice. The caption "The Rebels" has slipped from the fifth column to the sixth column, displacing other items. The eighth page has been significantly changed by the addition of a bold-faced caption "Extra" in the second column and "Inauguration of

⁴⁵ LC Information Circular 3 (Revised 1967).

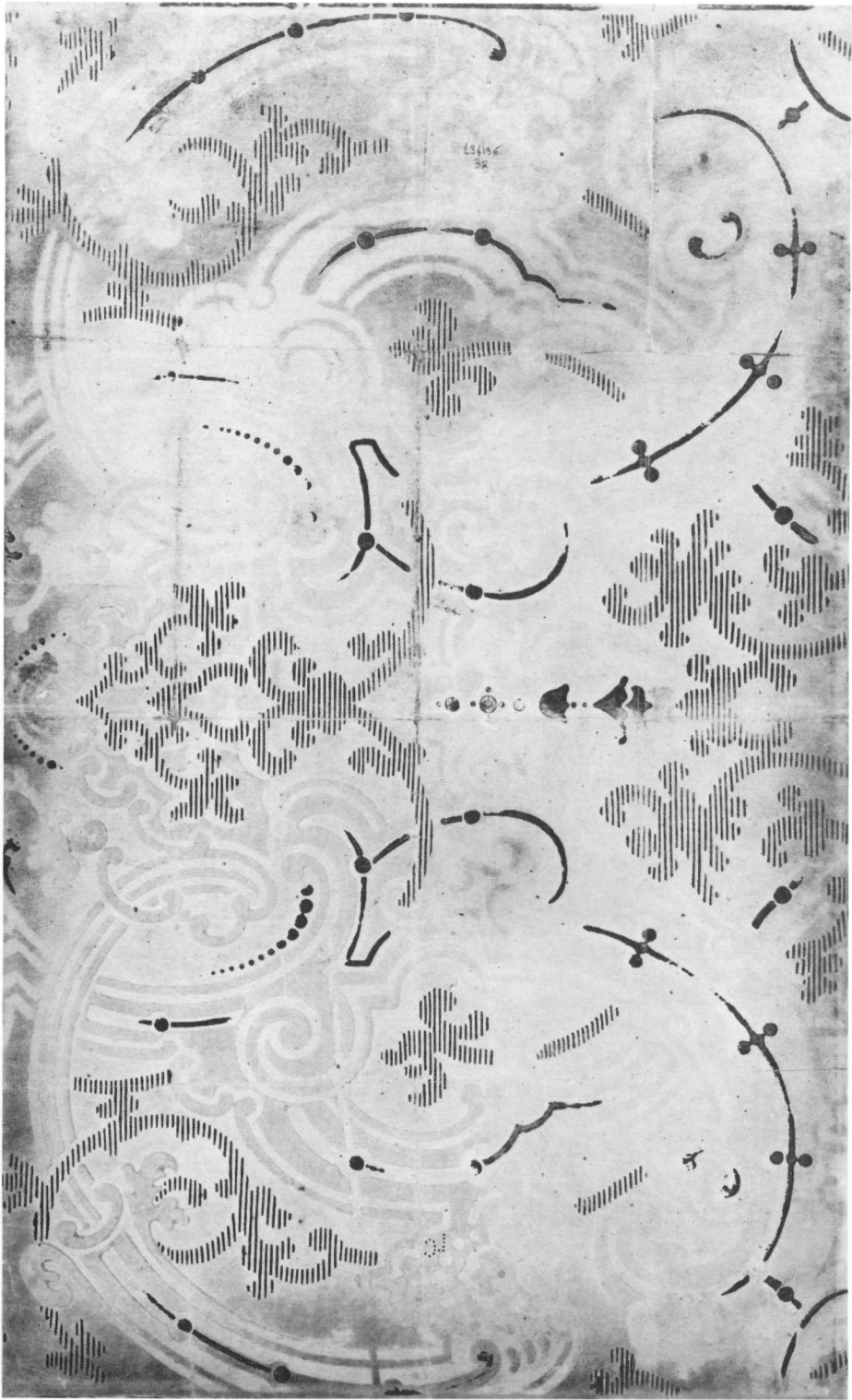


Figure 22

Library of Congress

... Johnson" in the fourth column. Inexplicably the date "Friday, April 14, 1865," appears in the running head on page 8 of this edition.

A 10:00 A.M. "Reward Edition" and a 3:30 P.M. "Special Edition" have also been reported.

Most of the issues of the *New York Herald* for 15 April 1865, now treasured as originals, are in fact reprints. They are usually printed on wood pulp paper rather dark in color and of poor quality. Few are facsimiles of an original edition and nearly all are reprints with extensive rearrangement

of text. Most have heavy column lines and consist of two or four unnumbered pages. Some of the reprints have a portrait of President Lincoln, without beard, on the front page; many include large advertisements on the inside pages for such items as Kitchell's Liniment, Smith's Buchu Lythia Pills, Dr. Archambault's Paris Vital Sparks, or Grain-O Coffee.

A few of the reprints include text reproduced from the 2:00 A.M. Regular Edition, but most purport to be an 8:10 A.M. "Mourning Edition," the existence of the original of which has never been proved.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ LC *Information Circular 12* (Interim, revised 1972).