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PRINTS FOR AMERICA: T. B. FREEMAN AND COMPANY, 1795-1797

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PRINTS FOR AMERICA:
T. B. FREEMAN AND COMPANY, 1795-1797

By

Linda Lee Pittman

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

August 1982
PRINTS FOR AMERICA:
T. B. FREEMAN AND COMPANY, 1795–1797

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INTRODUCTION

The story of T. B. Freeman and Company concerns two men, a shrewd businessman and a grandiose entrepreneur. In 1795 they shared the belief that Philadelphia was ready to support a native artistic enterprise. A story unfolds through their correspondence and the business records of the company. This paper examines the documented history of a significant late eighteenth-century print business. The first part, based upon the correspondence, will discuss Tristram Bampfylde Freeman and a company that developed as an extension of the manufacturing empire of John Nicholson. The second part will reconstruct the operation of Freeman's shop in Philadelphia during the years 1796 and 1797.

The correspondence of T. B. Freeman and John Nicholson reveals the characters of the men behind the enterprise. Freeman and Nicholson were complete opposites in attitudes toward business. While Freeman excelled at the daily operation of one shop with which he was intimately involved, Nicholson craved the widespread business operation. Freeman counted the small change, so to speak,
while Nicholson gambled for very high stakes. Naturally, Freeman
and Company was the focus of T. B. Freeman's business life, while
it was a minor part of Nicholson's impressive business empire.

John Nicholson, who was born in Wales about the year
1757, was the major financial contributor and the dominant partner of
the enterprise. His background in finances included a term as
comptroller general of Pennsylvania from November 1782 until April
1794. While serving in that capacity, Nicholson developed a strong
belief in Alexander Hamilton's plan to develop manufacturing interests
in America. He was able to impart this enthusiasm to others, and
many of Nicholson's peers responded with financial support for his
far-reaching entrepreneurial interests.

Nicholson usually hired English experts to aid him in
establishing industries in America. In the 1790s he had his
European agent, Dr. Enoch Edwards, seek out European artists,
factory supervisors, and inventors who were eager to establish
businesses in America. On this subject, Nicholson wrote to Dr.
David Rittenhouse in 1793, advising manufacturing societies to
obtain foreign experts to aid in American manufactories. His aim
was to educate native Americans and thus develop manufacturing
ability in a principally agrarian society.
In Philadelphia the printmaking business became the primary responsibility of an English printmaker, T. B. Freeman. Although his date of birth is unknown, Freeman had been a printseller in London prior to his emigration to Philadelphia. He was established as a printmaker by the time he went into business with Nicholson. Like Nicholson's other business partners, Freeman was left without the financial guidance of the founder due to Nicholson's frequent absences. Since Nicholson could not attend to each business venture personally, and his most pressing interest in 1795 was the development of the Federal City, he departed for Washington, D.C., soon after the formation of his print business. The continual absence of Nicholson affected all his businesses.

Without John Nicholson, however, there would have been no T. B. Freeman and Company. As he had done with other partners, Nicholson fired Freeman's imagination with the idea of a uniquely American artistic enterprise. Freeman in turn developed native talent, and they created American scenes in prints. The correspondence of T. B. Freeman and John Nicholson is a minutely documented account of their enterprise, containing the idealistic hopes and ensuing frustration of the partners. It reveals the intellectual and emotional pressures that shaped Freeman and Company.
On May 9, 1795, Freeman, Annesley, and Company was established for the purpose of carrying on and prosecuting the business of and arts of Engraving, Copperplate printing, in plain and in colours, publishing prints, carving, gilding, composition ornaments... and in the making, executing, manufacturing, vending, and selling the same.

The original copartnership agreement which contains this description is found in the large body of T. B. Freeman's own correspondence relating to the business.⁵ The copartnership agreement is a lengthy and descriptive contract; it outlines not only the objectives of the business but also the responsibilities of the cosigners. Originally six men were partners in Freeman, Annesley, and Company. Besides John Nicholson, who was the main financial investor, the most well known partner was James Trenchard. Born in 1747 in New Jersey and residing in Philadelphia as early as 1777, Trenchard was an engraver, a die sinker, and a seal cutter. He founded the Columbian Magazine and was for many years its editor. His background indicates an ongoing interest in the business of
engraving and selling prints. Freeman, Annesley, and Company was a professional outlet for this interest. 6

Richard Clairborne, who is not listed in the city directories for this period, was another financial backer in the Philadelphia branch of the business. A third partner, Burgess Allison, of Bordentown, New Jersey, was to be shop manager of a retail outlet in Bordentown that opened simultaneously with the Philadelphia shop. 7 Another partner in the company, William Annesley, had previous experience in a business similar to that proposed by Freeman, Annesley, and Company. In an advertisement from 1794, Annesley and Company, located at 47 Walnut Street in Philadelphia, advertised composition ornaments and a collection of prints in addition to framing work. 8 Although Annesley is listed in the 1795 Philadelphia City Directory, he moved to Bordentown, New Jersey, to direct the carving and gilding operations in Allison's shop as specified in the copartnership agreement.

In a manner similar to that detailing Annesley's duties in Bordentown, T. B. Freeman's job was described in the agreement. He was to have direction of all activity in the Philadelphia shop, including employee management, engraving of copperplates, and the weekly depositing of the firm's money. Freeman and Annesley were to be compensated for the extra responsibility they assumed: the
other partners would pay their rent and living expenses, and they would receive $38 over and above their equal part and dividend of the profits of the business.

The contract describes an ambitious undertaking. The partners proposed the first term of business to run for seven years; initial investment backing for the enterprise was $26,666. In the final contract, all the partners agreed to pay one-sixth of this sum by installments, while all stocks and profits were to be equally shared. These are the main points contained in the final contract of Freeman, Annesley, and Company.

T. B. Freeman, an excellent choice to run the Philadelphia business, never waivered from two firm beliefs which coincided with those of John Nicholson: that there existed an American audience eager to support a printmaking business; and that native talent must be taught the printing business in order to compete with European imports. These beliefs are evident both in the company's advertisements and in the shop's management. Initially, Freeman depended on foreign engravers and imported prints. This was a logical step that reflected Freeman's experience as a printseller in England. In June 1795, one month after the business started, he advertised

an elegant assortment of the newest London prints of a recent importation, engravd, etc. by the ablest artists in Europe . . . they [the partners] flatter
themselves from the various artists employed under Freeman, and the considerable capital embarked in the concern, they shall be able to execute orders equal to any house in Europe and on as low terms. They will also continue to import every new publication, that will be worthy of the attention of the citizens.

This emphasis on European imports would be contrasted in later notices that deliberately played up the uniquely American qualities of Freeman, Annesley, and Company.

In its first year the company experienced two developments that were to characterize the entire operation and threaten its survival. One was the expansion of the business, and the other was Nicholson's role in Freeman and Company. From the first the business was to be widespread, with Philadelphia serving as the base for retail outlets in several other cities. However, with startling rapidity the outlets expanded before the base business in Philadelphia got started. Two established businesses became the first retail outlets for Freeman, Annesley, and Company. A New York store was run by J. T. Bamfield, who did not advertise in the short time he operated a store for Freeman. The other outlet was operated by James Smyth of Baltimore, Maryland. The demand to supply the retail outlets with stock kept Freeman from concentrating on the Philadelphia shop.

Perhaps even more disruptive to Freeman's efficient
management of the business was the interference of John Nicholson in the direction of the shop. Nicholson perceived Freeman and Company as one of a conglomerate of interrelated businesses that received his financial backing. Although he lent both his name and his money to each of the enterprises, he was not involved in their daily operations. Nicholson was therefore unaware of ongoing shop problems, and he often neglected his obligations as the main financial backer of the business.

This placed Freeman himself in a difficult position, and the situation evolved into a major problem that never resolved itself. Although Freeman operated the shop with management expertise, Nicholson held the purse strings, not only for Freeman and Company but for Freeman's rent and personal expenses as well. Thus, Nicholson felt sure of his power, and he often ignored Freeman's recommendations, even to the point of altering his decisions. At one point Nicholson refused to discharge troublesome employees; he failed to uphold Freeman's economy measures in the dismissal of idle employees, yet he did not offer Freeman any money to pay them.

The correspondence between Freeman and Nicholson reveals the strain of their relationship throughout the partnership. Both sides of the issue are pinpointed clearly in a letter from Freeman that began with a forthright description of employee trouble but that
ended with Freeman meekly begging Nicholson for enough money to buy firewood or bread. The employees were quick to realize that Freeman, Annesley, and Company had two managers, and they manipulated the situation. Frequently, when Nicholson stopped briefly in Philadelphia, he was besieged with visits from employees who craftily maneuvered him against Freeman. Nicholson and the employees won their cases the majority of the time.

Significant changes took place in the first months of operation, including a change in the partnership and the consolidation of certain characteristics of Freeman's shop. Three months into operation, Annesley, Allison, and Trenchard withdrew from partnership in the company due to their inability to meet payments. The new business, called Freeman and Company, was described in an article of agreement dated July 15, 1795. Freeman, Nicholson, and Clairborne were the remaining partners. Before the end of 1795 the shop moved from the corner of Vine and Second streets to new locations: a manufactory opened at 68 North Third Street, and a retail store opened at 129 South Front Street. At the same time that the Philadelphia operation moved, a retail outlet under the direction of Thomas Davis opened in New York. The other New York associate of Freeman and Company, J. T. Bamfield, is not listed in the directory or register of New York for 1796, although he did correspond with
Thomas Davis about the print business.

The second year of operation was a more successful year for the company. Affiliate retail outlets started business along the East Coast from Hartford to Charleston. Some of these stores, such as the one in Charleston, were entirely new businesses; others, including the store in Hartford, were established stores that became retail outlets for the stock of Freeman and Company. In Philadelphia, Freeman acquired expert European engravers and some American apprentices. His confidence in the undertaking as well as his seemingly realistic appraisal of it can be seen in a long advertisement of March 1796. With the observation that Europe, preoccupied with the French Revolution, could not attend to "the blandishments of taste," Freeman conjectured that the arts, lured to the United States by the promise of peace, freedom, and good government, would prosper and be cherished in the new world. For this reason Freeman had chosen to establish himself in Philadelphia. Placing his printmaking business in a patriotic framework, he continued:

... although it may not offer at the present moment, more than the production of European eminence and skill, yet it contemplates, at no distant period bringing forward works of Artists in this country, that will convince the rest of mankind that America is their equal in elegance and taste, as much so, as she has been found their superior in liberality and public spirit. 12

In this competitive attempt to equate political stability with artistic...
excellence, Freeman echoed an idea expounded earlier by an English print publisher, Josiah Boydell, who had written in 1789:

... when I began the business of publishing and selling Prints, all the fine Engravings sold in England were imported from foreign countries, particularly from France ... that the love of fine arts is more prevalent abroad than in this country cannot be denied.  

Boydell's goal was to prove to the French that an Englishman could produce a print of equal merit to those produced on the Continent. He succeeded in increasing English print exports, decreasing imports, maintaining a healthy industry, and establishing a solid artistic reputation while amassing a private fortune.

Freeman evidently expected a similar course of events in his American enterprise, with slight modifications. He concluded his long advertisement with a perceptive analysis:

Some time will necessarily elapse before a full scope can be given to the general plan, and before all those difficulties that may naturally be supposed to exist in a new country can be removed, indefatigable perseverance, spirited exertions aided by an affluent establishment, and patronized by public approbation must produce the desired effect.  

These early observations reveal the strengths and weaknesses inherent in Freeman's undertaking. Although his perceptions of an enthusiastic patronage among Philadelphians were inaccurate enough to seriously influence his sales, Freeman was not hopelessly idealistic in anticipating a large market for his business in the city.
Since July of 1790 Philadelphia had served as temporary capital for the nation, and Freeman envisioned a decade when the city would be a center of culture and affluence. A French visitor to Philadelphia in 1788 described it as the metropolis of the United States:

It is certainly the most beautiful and best-built city in the nation, and also the wealthiest, though not the most ostentatious. Here you find more well-educated men, more knowledge of politics and literature, more political and learned societies than anywhere else in the United States. Many other American cities are older but Philadelphia quickly surpasses them all. 15

Consequent writers described the city at this period as the "Athens of America." 16

While a cosmopolitan atmosphere existed to encourage Freeman in his business, few American cities could support purveyors of fine prints in the way London could in 1796. And, in Philadelphia, public approbation was fleeting at best. Freeman's dreams never materialized into an establishment equal to London standards. Nevertheless, what Freeman and Company did have was the "indefatigable perseverance" and, as he termed it, the "spirited exertions" of T. B. Freeman himself.

Freeman managed a shop of at least twenty-two employees in 1796. 17 In addition to overseeing the work of engravers, gilders,
and carpenters, Freeman taught engraving to several apprentices. Many of Freeman's employees had seen his early advertisements and written him about a job. A letter of application, from an engraver named Richard Phillips, of New York City, is characteristic:

... from a consciousness of my own talents and disposition ... I could not request ... under the sum of 15 dollars per week, and which you must believe upon consideration a very moderate compensation, so much so that you would I am persuaded increase it at some future date. ... I may remark that should you engage me ... I stand in similar circumstances with some of the gentlemen you have employ'd—that is, I should require an advance of at least one quarters salary to free me from some embarrassments in this place. 18

Frequently, Freeman encountered a situation where payment of a prospective employee's debts was a condition in bringing him to the print shop in Philadelphia.

Not only was there a problem in attracting skilled workers, but there was also difficulty in keeping them occupied once they were hired. Workers were frequently idled by the lack of raw materials with which to make the merchandise of the shop. Sometimes basic materials were unavailable; high-quality paper, for instance, was often difficult to find. 19 More often, though, Nicholson, whose various enterprises extended his capital reserve beyond its limits, could not pay for new supplies. Furthermore, since his various businesses were interrelated, a negative chain
reaction would develop as one after another of the enterprises suffered a setback. At one time, Nicholson's glassworks at the Falls of the Schuylkill were failing, which caused Freeman and Company to experience a shortage of glass for framing prints and making looking glasses and chimney pieces. Freeman, in turn, could not satisfy his retail outlets' demands for these items. Similarly, trouble with Nicholson's copper mines resulted in a scarcity of copperplates for engraving new plates with which to produce prints for the retail outlets.

Gold was scarce and expensive, and Nicholson often lacked funds to pay for the gold leaf used in gilding the "burnish gold frames" Freeman advertised. Since Freeman employed seven gilders in 1796, he feared the consequences of a lack of supplies. Employee idleness meant a crippling loss of operating capital, for gilders were paid by the week, not by the piece, and less frames for sale meant less income for the shop. Freeman illustrated the problem of the gilders in a letter to Nicholson of June 1796:

... I had contracted with Mr. Crawford for the box of gold 250 dollars cash to be paid in sixty days ... this morning he has sent us word unless taken away today he will consider himself at full liberty to sell it to any other person—its necessary to acquaint you that there is a scarcity of gold and no probability of getting but the above until the return of the Penn—at this time we have three hands waiting for gold and salary of 12 dollars per week each to discharge them may be
attended with difficulty in procuring any more when
wanted—our joiners also wanting boards, etc.

When George Graham, the company's highest-paid employee, idled
for want of material, Freeman was prompted to be explicit:

I am well convinced that you require no prompting
in granting the necessary supplies but I hold it as
a sound duty clearly to convince you of the
serious injury our infant concern suffers in not
having them in due time—for a moment let us
reflect. The salary of the . . . artist was to a
large sum and it requires its support weekly—even
one hour lost at the present moment greatly tends
to close the way for a shop of future success.

Freeman wasted no words with Nicholson in drawing an accurate
picture of the Philadelphia business in its present state. He pre­
dicted failure for such a stop-and-go operation and finally gave
Nicholson an ultimatum to change the situation, since he could not
"proceed in its management under the present circumstances."  

With a diminished supply of gold leaf in stock, Freeman
elected in 1796 to drastically reduce the number of employees work­
ing on the manufacture of picture frames. He planned to employ
only three men instead of eight. Of the three men who made com­
position ornaments at a salary of $8 per week, he suggested that
two be discharged. Only one of the two shop carpenters was to be
retained at a salary of $8 a week. In the gilding shop, the two
highest-paid gilders, earning a total of $19 a week, were to be let
go. The remaining gilder earned only $4 a week. Freeman
suggested fewer cuts in the engraving and printing shops. Out of a
total of five employees, he chose to discharge only the most trouble-
some employee, an engraver named George Graham. In total,
Freeman recommended the discharge of six employees at a payroll
reduction of $57 a week. His choices of whom to retain or dis-
charge were based on a close observation of employee productivity.

In October 1796 he wrote to Nicholson:

I totally disapprove of our gilding business as I
am persuaded our apprentices could do our work
better . . . our apprentice Dewar does more work
and better than any person employ'd; he wants no
instructions but practice—I intend taking another
boy to that business. We have had many difficul-
ties to encounter and treat expenditures in this
branch as well as others. Every method should
be adopted to save expense.

In a subsequent letter Freeman reckoned they could save two-thirds
on men's wages by teaching more apprentices. Freeman did not
persuade Nicholson on the issue of apprentices; he directed
Freeman to retain all the employees.

Freeman also lost out to Nicholson's wishes on the more
damaging issue of expanding T. B. Freeman and Company. Freeman
believed it was unwise and risky to expand the print business
before the base company in Philadelphia was secure. In contrast,
Nicholson, with his entrepreneurial appetite for expansive operations,
had chosen to open a retail outlet in Baltimore only sixteen days
after the formation of Freeman and Company in Philadelphia. To Freeman's increasing dismay, associate stores opened rapidly in 1796. Unfortunately, each store survived for only a short period of time before succumbing to a variety of negative influences, and the successive failures had a fatally cumulative affect on Freeman and Company in Philadelphia. Since each branch failed for a different reason it is interesting to note each separately.

James Smyth, who had advertised his own business in Baltimore newspapers from 1792 until 1794, operated a retail outlet for Freeman and Company from May 25, 1795, until June 10, 1796. In his advertisements, prior to his association with Freeman, he described himself as an oval turner, a frame maker, and a carver. At the period of his association with Freeman he offered a large supply of prints for sale. His correspondence with Freeman reveals several problems: those of keeping enough merchandise for sale in the store; receiving the merchandise in decent condition (one shipment arrived in "only the vestiges of a packing case"); and determining appropriate prices. In July 1795, after finally receiving goods in undamaged condition, he found that "some of the prints are charged too high." Smyth's business closed soon afterward.

William Budden, undeterred by the failure of his predecessor, opened a shop again in Baltimore only two months later. Budden was
a revenue agent and a land agent for John Nicholson by 1794. 29
Budden's correspondence does not reveal his reasons for assuming responsibilities in the print business. However, his correspondence reveals a lack of experience as a merchant and an unwillingness to stay with the print business during its shaky beginnings. After only one week of business Budden wrote a letter to Freeman:

. . . extremely sorry to say I have not yet sold any of your goods, nor is there the least prospect at present. The gay world has retired to the Country for Summer—many people have looked at the prints but are very discouraging. They are fond of fashionable paper which they say requires no pictures: indeed I see no chance of making the business answer, and unless some sales take place in the course of a few days I must . . . make some new arrangements as I find that I am about to involve myself in expense without any funds, at the same time rendering you no service and subject myself to be involved and unable to pay. Disgrace must follow. 30

Budden consequently stayed with the business only one month. He found the print and framing business an enormous expense with infrequent sales. He laid blame for poor sales on high prices and a poor assortment of goods; the only sales he made were due to his reduction of the original price. After imparting this information to Freeman in a letter dated September 24, 1796, Budden closed the business and moved to Fort Dauphin in St. Domingo.

The New York business fared better. There were two branches which operated consecutively. The first was run by J. T.
Bamfield from September until December 1795, and the second, more successful store was run by Thomas Davis from late November 1795 until July 1796. Davis is listed in the 1796 New York City Directory and the New York City Register as a merchant located at 196 Broadway. Although his letters reveal a certain amount of business knowledge, it is not clear whether he managed other businesses prior to his New York print store. The problems Davis encountered were different from those of the business in Baltimore. He had plenty of customers and the prices seemed to be acceptable, but he never had enough merchandise. His first letter to Freeman insured that he could do a great deal of business if he were well stocked with merchandise. He complained that the lack of goods made the shop look so empty he was ashamed of it; at one point he threatened to close the shop unless Freeman sent more merchandise. He gave Freeman valuable information regarding the taste of New York customers as to what sizes of moldings and chimney pieces they preferred. Like the other Freeman associates, Davis despaired of damage done to goods in packing; all twenty-five frames in one shipment were broken. Freeman's bad luck with business associates continued, as Davis, the most successful of his associates, died suddenly on July 25, 1796, eight months after the shop opened.

The Mix family of Hartford, Connecticut, was already
involved with John Nicholson in his button works. Since 1793
Nathaniel Mix had operated the button manufactory for Nicholson; on
July 27, 1796, he was prepared to open a print business in Hartford.
Although Mix called his operation the Print Store, prints were a small
part of his inventory. Only one advertisement of 1796/97, in the
*Connecticut Courant*, mentions prints, and its copy was similar to
Freeman's Philadelphia advertisement. The difference was in the
comparison: in contrast to Freeman's Philadelphia shop, which
offered prints at prices as low as those found in London, Mix
offered prints in Hartford priced as low as those found in either
Philadelphia or New York. Mix bought a new store in Hartford to
serve as a retail outlet for the prints and ornamental glasses of
Freeman and Company. In addition, he continued to sell merchan­
dise characteristic of a dry goods store. The correspondence
between Mix and Freeman does not reveal why Mix, who already
operated a successful store, decided to sell prints in association
with Freeman. He expressed doubts about the salability of the
prints in Hartford in his first letter to Freeman. Six months later,
in January 1797, Mix wrote Freeman his reasons for the failure of
the business in Hartford:

The prints are liked much and the chimney pieces
also. But the price is disliked—and seems to be
the only object to deter them from purchasing the
goods. I am confident that this place will never
support such a store as this long . . . there is
but a very few people in this town that are able to purchase any prints or other goods which I have—I have advertised and since find many people from the country visit me but when I inform them the price—they appear almost astonished. Mix closed his shop and stopped his association with Freeman and Company. However, he continued to run a successful general store in Hartford for many years.

Freeman's most ill-fated retail outlet was run by Charles Parrish at 30 Bay Street in Charleston, South Carolina. In a letter to Nicholson dated October 1796, Freeman expressed doubts as to Parrish's suitability as a shop manager. He had heard of other businesses Parrish had attempted and failed to operate, and he thought Parrish was too young for the responsibility. Nevertheless, Parrish published an advertisement on June 21, 1796, announcing the opening of his store. He offered prints, frames, and composition ornaments for sale. Parrish corresponded at length with Freeman, complaining that his composition ornaments, being too wide and not high enough, were out of style; he also complained of goods that arrived damaged in packing, suggesting that Freeman pack the prints in dry straw. One serious drawback to success for Parrish was the presence of competitors, the New York firm of Cushing and Thomas, that undersold their prints. The very week Parrish opened his store a catastrophic fire burned down 100 houses in the city. Parrish
wrote Freeman that several families who had salvaged prints from
their burning homes tried to resell these prints to Parrish in an
effort to raise money. The combination of these influences forced
Parrish to close his business a month after it had opened. 36

In June 1796 both James Smyth and Charles Parrish closed
their stores, Davis died in New York in July, and William Budden
closed the Baltimore store in September. By October of that year,
Freeman was prompted to write Nicholson of his despair with the
retail outlets. He recommended finding alternative means for
expansion and revenue for the business. 37

The Philadelphia base of Freeman and Company also
suffered financial difficulty. In late 1796 and early 1797 the com­
pany took a turn for the worse. The financial backer of the com­
pany, John Nicholson, who was in Washington, D.C., at the time,
became entangled in serious financial problems. As early as August
1796, sixty-one cases for payment of debts existed against
Nicholson. In December the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania placed
two liens on Nicholson's vast Pennsylvania land holdings. 38 The
money Nicholson had borrowed between 1790 and 1795 began to be
due in early 1797. Unfortunately, not one of Nicholson's many
enterprises was so successful financially he could utilize the profits
of one to support another.
Between 1797 and 1798 the correspondence of Freeman and Nicholson describes a rapidly deteriorating situation. Philadelphia businesses closed with ominous regularity due to several factors. In 1797 the yellow fever in Philadelphia caused many people to move outside the city; one historian noted that

the pestilence proved to be a harbinger of bad times. Prices fell and credit disappeared; business became stagnant and failures became frequent. Capitalism went down in ruin and Robert Morris was sent to a debtors prison. ^

Freeman, like other businessmen in such an environment, suffered great financial loss. When the last of the affiliate retail outlets closed on January 29, 1797, Freeman was able to concentrate on problems in the Philadelphia shop. Against his practical business judgment but with a determination to succeed eventually, he borrowed money in December 1796 to retain those employees he had recommended for dismissal. The results were dismal; when he could not continue to pay the men their wages, several of them left Freeman and Company.

Freeman's own financial situation was pressing as Nicholson was not able to pay Freeman's personal or professional expenses. In March 1797, he was forced to relinquish partnership in Freeman and Company. He notified Nicholson on March 23, "The whole of my expenses being entirely in the business the pushing
demands against me induc'd me to dispose of my share to you."

Surrounded by a family that endured sickness and ill convenience, Freeman acknowledged the depressing realization that America was not yet ready to support the arts in the fashion he had imagined:

I lament to say what I sincerely believe that America pushes not for such men as yourself who at the risk of private fortune endeavor to establish useful Arts. 40

Nicholson paid Freeman for his partnership and retained him as the manager of the floundering business.

At this time the store moved to 39 South Front Street. The advertisement of August 7, 1797, that announced the dissolution of partnership between Freeman and Nicholson also contained the information that business would be carried on by T. B. Freeman at his store. Freeman continued to engrave plates and train apprentices. In addition, he tried to secure funds for both the shop and his personal survival. Between March and June 1797, he sponsored large public vendue. Unfortunately, these auctions advertised the state of the business to Freeman and Company's associates, and every dollar made at auction was seized by anxious creditors.

Worried about saturating the Philadelphia market with the large print sales, Freeman wrote to Nicholson on the subject, advising a discontinuation of the sales:
otherwise it will be stamping a value so low on your own plates which will prevent their ever serving. Were it my business I would print a quantity and sell them at vendue at Baltimore, New York, and other cities on the continent where they have not seen—of course would bring a better price—and in the fall of the year begin to sell again in Philadelphia.

Freeman's advice was not heeded. Auctions were held almost weekly until the end of June.

Nicholson sold his stock in Freeman and Company on August 3, 1797; creditors seized the printing house. Both Freeman and Nicholson suffered through periods of virtual house arrest, for to go onto the street meant exposure to the sheriff and debtors' prison. By now Nicholson had 125 suits out against him. The debts against Freeman and Company alone amounted to $1,036, including $190 in back wages for which engraver George Graham had instituted a suit.

By January 25, 1798, Robert Aitken was managing the print shop. Aitken (1734–1802), a Scottish printer, was established in Philadelphia by 1771, and his takeover of Freeman's shop was one in a long series of involvements with the print business. He published the Pennsylvania Magazine in 1775, and he printed the first American Bible in English in 1782. He did retain Freeman as an employee when he assumed management of the print shop; however,
he placed restrictions upon Freeman that forbade him from doing any of his own printing in the shop. Although Freeman had sold his private library, his furniture, and his Pennsylvania land holdings for money, he consistently refused to sell his plates. During the dissolution of their partnership, Freeman wrote to Nicholson regarding the engraved plates. He explained that he had sold his share of stock to Nicholson in order to finance a scheme whereby he transferred his engraved copperplates in London to the shop in Philadelphia. The English plates and the copperplates remaining from Freeman and Company eventually became the core stock of Freeman's subsequent business venture.

In one last attempt to continue the print business, Nicholson hinted to Freeman of a plan for twice-weekly sales to be held by another auctioneer (possibly William Shannon, who held an auction for Freeman on April 17, 1797), with the auctioneer getting a commission from Freeman's sales. This plan did not materialize. Nicholson, unable to evade his creditors, went to the debtors' apartment in prison late in August 1799, where he died sixteen months later. Freeman, continuing to print for others, and participating in public auctions of prints, became increasingly involved in the auction house business. His listings in Philadelphia city directories of the period reflect his career following his association.
with Nicholson: he is last listed as a publisher in 1797; from 1798 until 1805 he is listed as a merchant; in 1806 he is listed as an auctioneer. He retained this status, with a few exceptions, until his last listing in 1842. Ironically, Freeman gained expertise as an auctioneer through the bankruptcy auctions of T. B. Freeman and Company.51

The print business of Nicholson and Freeman failed for many reasons. Supply and demand caused the company problems. Fancy accessories such as composition ornaments, looking glasses, chimney pieces, and prints were luxury items in the years 1795 through 1800, and the market for such articles was not large enough to support several more shops. Freeman had heavy competition as a publisher of prints; between 1795 and 1800 there were at least eighty publishers, engravers, and printers in Philadelphia.52 In search of a wider consumer audience, Freeman's business expanded too rapidly in too many directions. Keeping retail outlets stocked, or relieving them of surplus goods and material when necessary, put a severe strain on the central Philadelphia shop. Within that shop itself, T. B. Freeman, as manager, labored to assert his authority and to incorporate his sound management theories, but he was frustrated repeatedly in this by his financial backer and early mentor. When given the opportunity to practice his shop management skills
effectively, Freeman was quite successful, as is indicated by his long career following his association with John Nicholson.
The John Nicholson Collection contains the account books kept for Freeman and Company from 1795 until 1797. In addition, several vouchers, receipts, and financial statements remain from the period between 1798 and 1800. The most important books that remain are dated between June 1796 and May 1797, when the company held many vendues of prints.

A book titled *Vouchers, Receipts, and Statements, 1795–1800* contains checks and vouchers that detail numerous financial transactions that occurred between T. B. Freeman and John Nicholson. This book also contains the job descriptions that Freeman wrote for employees of the company. The job descriptions indicate that Freeman was an organized and authoritative shop manager. He divided his print manufactory into six shops that produced composition work, carpentry, gilding, engraving, mezzotinting, and printing. In the counting house he employed a clerk to mind the store and keep shop records. For each area of his shop he outlined the duties of the employees in a specific manner, stating the task to be done...
and the hours to be kept. Most employees worked ten hours a day, but some were employed on a part-time basis. Freeman also wrote into these job descriptions his expectations regarding employees working at more than one job. As an example, Charles Taylor, a carpenter, was expected to repair the printing press when necessary. 53

Partly for financial reasons, but also to develop native talent, the training of American apprentices was a priority in Freeman's shop. Most areas of the shop had one apprentice, while two were assigned to the master engraver. Freeman's own apprentice at printing, Mr. Dixon, had the following guidelines:

Mr. Dixon being articled to the company to learn Printing in colours it will be expected that he will give strict attention to the hours of attendance and do everything in the Printing Shop as shall be requested, keeping the presses well in order and boards for shifting, etc. 54

The apprentices were to work from six in the morning until six in the evening, with a half-hour break for breakfast and an hour for a dinner break. Each apprentice reported to a master craftsman and, ultimately, to Freeman.

The job descriptions establish an employee hierarchy in the shop. They state who was to report to whom in the different areas of production. Despite this organized approach to shop discipline,
Freeman encountered challenges to his authority, especially from his foreign employees. In 1796 Freeman's English-trained engravers controlled those areas of the shop that were most directly involved with the manufacture of prints. This gave them access to imported engraved copperplates, which they promptly tried to copy or steal. Furthermore, they were notoriously disloyal to Freeman; some even deserted their employer in order to compete with him in the print publishing business. They were sufficiently experienced to do so, for Freeman employed three talented English engravers.

In addition to instructing two apprentices, George Isham Parkyns, as master engraver, directed the drawing and aquatint engraving for the shop. Parkyns, whose birthdate is unknown, had published a book of English engravings by the time he arrived in New York in 1795. Accounts of Parkyns's career in 1795 link him with a publisher named James Harrison in New York City. A letter from Parkyns to Freeman dated January 17, 1796, suggests that both George Parkyns and another English engraver, George Graham (whom Freeman subsequently employed), worked with Harrison early in 1796. Parkyns wrote:

\[\ldots\] on my arrival here I found Mr. Harrison had disposed of his stock of prints and frames, and Mr. Graham, who consequently declined the engagement you offered to him.\]

In January 1796 James Harrison tried to sell his business to Freeman,
and one of his negotiating points was a publication of twenty-four views engraved by George Parkyns. Although Freeman declined to buy Harrison's business, he was eager to contract Parkyns and to obtain his completed engraved plates. Parkyns worked for Freeman a brief six months; in June 1796 he was arrested for debt. Freeman paid his debts, but the ungrateful engraver left the shop. In November, Parkyns bought a farm outside Philadelphia, where he intended to publish prints, apparently succeeding in this venture until his death in 1820.

An engraver identified only as H. H. Houston worked with Parkyns in Freeman's shop during 1796. Sources of information about Houston deduce that he emigrated to America from Ireland (his birthdate is unknown) because the Dublin magazine Hibernian contains portraits similar to the stipple type of engravings signed by Houston. Considered one of the best early stipple engravers of portraits in America, Houston's last dated work done in America is dated 1798. He was in Freeman's employ throughout 1796.

Another English engraver in Freeman's shop, George Graham, was in charge of mezzotints, chalk engraving, and writing. Only sketchy information exists about Graham, and his birthdate in England is unknown. He is merely described as a "clever engraver in mezzotint and in stipple" by standard references. Graham
answered Freeman's advertisement for engravers from his residence in New York City in December 1795. He described his skills and asked for an equivalent of his former London salary, which amounted to $2,300 a year. Graham eventually came to Philadelphia for a much lower salary, earning $14 a week, or $728 a year, once he was employed in Freeman's shop. Although, by Freeman's standards, Graham's initial terms were exorbitant, he brought valuable expertise, several engraved copperplates, and a drawing book of landscapes to Freeman and Company. After working a year for Freeman, Graham took his engraved copperplates to Boston, where he hoped to establish a business similar to Freeman's. Unfortunately, this venture failed, and Freeman paid for Graham's release from debtors' prison. Graham returned to England, informing Freeman that "there is nothing to be done on this continent in my line of business." 

Freeman's letters to Nicholson contain many references to the discipline he tried to maintain in his Philadelphia shop. The problems he encountered varied with the personalities. Women presented a particular problem. Freeman employed a female gilder, Mrs. Ann Ought, in 1796 and 1797. He frequently employed the wives and sisters of his male employees throughout 1797, placing one Miss Abbott, a Mrs. McIntire, and Elizabeth Shallus in the
counting house. Freeman felt the women had a disruptive effect on his shop. He told Nicholson the male employees found excuses to leave their work and go to Miss Abbott's room. Freeman found Mrs. Guhyt, the wife of his gilder, to have highly improper behavior and language, and he informed Nicholson that "nothing but her pleading distress could have induced me to suffer her to remain on the premises, as her conduct was violent and outrageous, etc."  

Although Freeman's job descriptions outlined detailed precautions against having strangers in the shop for reasons of security, in several instances, as previously mentioned, it was Freeman's own employees who pirated the engraved copperplates. His American apprentice engraver, George Shallus, stole thirty of Freeman's completed plates. Since Shallus was the brother of Philadelphia engraver Francis Shallus, Freeman was worried that this rival printmaker would begin issuing prints from the stolen plates. Freeman eventually retrieved the plates and, as he warned he would do in the job descriptions, dismissed Shallus from his employ, with Nicholson's approval. Another threat to Freeman's discipline came from his English engraver, George Graham, who Freeman found engraving plates for himself and others in his spare time. Although Freeman sent Graham to Nicholson for discipline and demanded he be
dismissed, Nicholson overruled Freeman's judgment and allowed him to remain in the company. Nicholson understood Graham's professional value to the shop, without having to tolerate his personal insubordination.

The problem to which Freeman was most sensitive and over which he had the least control was the inability to pay his employees' wages consistently and on time. He felt this severely limited his credibility as an organized and authoritative shop manager. It also undermined employee loyalty. Unfortunately, this issue ultimately was under the control of Nicholson, to whom Freeman tried to describe the situation in a letter:

| my distress was so great and their total loss of confidence obliged us to come forward pledging our honors united with yours that they may depend on their being paid up this day at 6 o'clock . . . inevitably disgrace will ensue if payment is not made; at the same time, it will deprive me of some useful men which will engage with Marcellene or some others in the trade—knowing it will be impossible for me to get other gilders for some time. I hope you will feel the importance of fulfilling the engagements I so solemnly made. |

Freeman accurately predicted what would happen if wages were not paid. There was a large employee turnover between 1796 and 1797, and during that period several of his employees went briefly to debtors' apartments in prison; employees often stole and copied copperplates in order to make money on the excuse that they were
not being paid; and Graham eventually sued Freeman for wages due him. Nicholson never systematically provided for the payment of salaries between 1796 and 1797.

Freeman had more control over the keeping of written accounts in the company. He insisted on keeping logs of employee output, and this information is contained in a series of three memorandum books of the Freeman Company Accounts. Each book contains different information, although they are all less organized than the Account Book. Memorandum Book No. 1 (from May 16, 1796, until January 13, 1797) is a book of personal messages Freeman kept for himself. There are lists of supplies needed, records of employee finances, and various notations such as "The workmen demand their wages and say they must get it, that they cannot starve." This book is entirely in Freeman's own writing. Memorandum Book No. 2 runs from February 24, 1797, until July 27, 1797, and it was kept by whoever was minding the store for the day. The following entry is characteristic of a daily notation:

March 10, 1797
25 [Children Feeding] Chickens—Shallus
23 Showman—Door
Dewees preparing mouldings
Callender in the store
Minchin sick
Warham making cases and packing

On this day George Shallus completed twenty-five prints titled
Children Feeding Chickens, while Adam Door of the gilding shop printed twenty-three of the Showman prints. These records give an indication not only of Freeman's shop organization but also of the productivity of the printers. The productivity of the other shop employees is found in Memorandum Book No. 3 (June 25, 1796—May 26, 1797), which lists the output of each shop, whether for feet of molding that was ornamented or the amount of frames that were constructed. In addition, the gilders were to keep an account of the leaves of gold used to gild every frame and looking glass. The combination of information, such as hours worked by employees and the amount of merchandise produced, must be reconciled with the frequent lapses of activity due to lack of raw materials. On one particularly barren day in the shop, the Memorandum Book records that the gilders lacked gold leaf, the carpenters lacked shift, the cabinetmaker lacked materials, and the printers needed ink. 72

The Petty Ledger or Workmen's Book of 1797 was kept by Freeman, Nicholson, and an accountant. It lists the personal finances of each of the employees, including some of their salaries. In addition, a letter Freeman wrote to Nicholson, arguing for the dismissal of highly paid employees, lists salaries. 73 By combining these two sources it is possible to ascertain what Freeman paid his employees in 1796 and 1797:
Although available sources do not indicate the salary of apprentices serving the carpenters and engravers, Freeman's other apprentices each made $4 a week.

The Index of Accounts, which bears no date, is an alphabetized listing of Freeman's clients and employees. Kept by an accountant, it contains notations which follow each entry. The notations appear to be a cross-index to the other account books that contain information about employees and clients. The Bill Book of 1797, kept by a shopman, lists the financial transactions of the company during the year of public sales and financial litigations.

Of the three remaining cash books, Cash Book No. 1 contains information from the period of June 2, 1796, until October 17, 1796; Cash Book No. 2 runs from October 19, 1796, until May 29, 1797; a smaller pocket book labeled Cash Book No. 3 is simply dated 1797. The books were kept by the week. Supplies and prices are listed, but quantities are seldom given, so that a random
listing such as "Turpentine for print—12¢" does not provide the cost per quantity for a supply. 74 A few atypical entries are more helpful: on February 16, 1797, Freeman bought twelve gallons of oil for his printers at a total cost of $2. 75

The remaining record books for Freeman and Company are the Stock Book of 1797 and a book entitled Sales of Commissions 1797, which is blank save for a few pages of random entries that do not list names of prints. However, the Stock Book, kept by both Freeman and an accountant, contains long lists of prints, fancy frames, looking glasses, composition ornaments, and moldings available in 1797.

Based on these lists, prints were the main inventory of the shop: a partial listing derived from the Stock Book yields close to 400 titles. 76

English, French, and Italian titles as well as American scenes and heroes were printed on paper or white satin. Subjects ranged from Boydell's Shakespeare characters, to American and French landscapes, to personifications of virtues. Freeman charged from $2 for an untinted and unframed print to $10 for a framed, colored print. Both his variety of subjects and his prices were similar to those of his competitors. In 1799 William Birch offered customers individual
views of Philadelphia at $1 for a plain print and $1.50 for a colored print. In 1796 Edward Savage offered a mezzotint print after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds for $1.25. In terms of comparison, a collection of sheet music for sale in Boston in 1797 cost 20¢; the Farmers Almanac of 1798 cost 10¢; and in 1796 a yearly subscription to American Minerva: An Evening Advertiser cost $7. The merchandise of Freeman and Company was not overpriced, and his range of stock was competitive in comparison to other printsellers in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.

Freeman made every effort to provide his customers with a complete service. If he had been able to finance the print business himself, he may have been more successful. His talents regarding shop organization and business practices were good enough for the Philadelphia market in 1795 and 1796. Although he had heavy competition and the economic tide did not favor the sale of many of his luxury items, Freeman could have concentrated on prints. He constantly strove to make the business more stable; he wanted to base the business on prints, train less expensive American talent, and dispense with the financially burdensome retail outlets. The failure of Freeman and Company was not a reflection on T. B. Freeman. None of Freeman's ideas could be executed without the approval and financial aid of John Nicholson. Sadly, as the fortunes
of Nicholson sank, so did those of Freeman's print business. As one small failure in the demise of Nicholson's manufacturing empire, it was a reflection of Nicholson's defeat.

Freeman injected an American quality into the print business in Philadelphia. He was not satisfied with employing foreigners and reproducing foreign art. He sought to compete with European printmakers, not just to copy from them. He trained American talent that could go on to develop more native enterprises; his English engravers believed in his enterprise enough to emulate him in trying to establish similar businesses. Moreover, in his advertisements, he boldly stated his theories about an American art; he appealed to the patriotism of his customers to patronize an American print business. Freeman was not the only Philadelphia printmaker who tried to obtain an American art audience. William Birch and Edward Savage both appealed to the same market, but Freeman made the most stirring appeal for the American arts to obtain the same quality as American politics. He expressed not only a need for the development of native arts but also a belief in the validity of a native tradition. For two years he succeeded in establishing an American print business served in part by American talent. The printmaking business that thrived in Philadelphia following the demise of Freeman and Company substantiated the early beliefs of T. B. Freeman.
NOTES


2 Between 1790 and 1795 Nicholson began investing heavily in several businesses in the Philadelphia area. These included an ironworks, the Lehigh Coal Company, a button-works factory, a textile manufactory, lead, silver, and copper mines, the Fleecy Hosiery Manufactory, the London Forge and Furnace Company, a steam-engine manufactory, and Freeman, Annesley, and Company. See Arbuckle, Nicholson, chap. 9.


4 Investigation has not revealed Freeman's birthdate; he took his oath of allegiance to the United States on June 5, 1801, listing Great Britain and Ireland as his country of former allegiance. After appearing regularly in the Philadelphia City Directory from 1795 until 1842, he is not listed thereafter. His son apparently assumed management of the business after Freeman died. Index to Records of Aliens' Declaration of Intention and/or Oaths of Allegiance, 1789–1880 in U. S. Circuit Court, U. S. District Court, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Quarter Sessions Court, and the Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia, vol. 4, compiled by Works Project no. 20837, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. In a 1795

5 The articles of agreement for Freeman, Annesley, and Company are found in the Correspondence of T. B. Freeman, 1794–99, Manuscript Group 96, John Nicholson Collection, Division of History and Archives, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as CF).


7 Burgess Allison is not listed in the New Jersey City Directory of 1795. In 1795 Richard Clairborne, Burgess Allison, and James Trenchard were also partners with John Nicholson in the North American Land Company enterprise to establish a settlement for English emigrants in America. See Arbuckle, *Nicholson*, p. 182.


9 *Federal Gazette* (June 6, 1795), in Prime, *Arts*, p. 78.

10 Article of Agreement, July 15, 1795, CF.


16 Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 167. The author cites the population in Philadelphia at this time as more than 80,000; the prints of William and Thomas Birch are recommended for pictorial views of the city during this period.

17 See organization of shop in Appendix.

18 Richard Phillips to T. B. Freeman, April 18, 1796, CF.

19 A letter from London dated February 27, 1796, states "had I known you could not get paper in America I would have bought [it] for you." Freeman to Nicholson, July 19, 1797.

20 See advertisement of Freeman in *Federal Gazette* (February 8, 1788), in Prime, *Arts*, p. 80.

21 Freeman to Nicholson, June 21, 1796, CF.

22 Freeman to Nicholson, May 11, 1796, CF. Freeman in this letter reminds Nicholson that "on such a ground work like ours from its birth it necessarily requires much aid and support." At this point the other partners are referred to as "delinquent" in terms of financial support of Freeman and Company.

23 Freeman to Nicholson, June 21, 1796, CF.

24 Freeman to Nicholson, November 30, 1796, CF.

25 Freeman to Nicholson, October 20, 1796, CF.

26 Freeman to Nicholson, February 16, 1796, CF.

27 Advertisements are found in *Maryland Journal* (November 16, 1792, and July 2, 1795) and *Baltimore Telegraph* (May 2, 1796, and May 20, 1796), in Prime, *Arts*, pp. 236-37.

28 James Smyth to Freeman, May 25, 1795—June 10, 1796, CF.


30 William Budden to Freeman, August 11, 1796—September 24, 1796, CF. I could locate no advertisements of Budden's store.
31 J. T. Bamfield to Freeman, September 17, 1795—December 17, 1795, CF. No advertisements from this outlet have been located.

32 Thomas Davis to Freeman, November 20, 1795—July 1, 1796, CF. I am indebted to Katherine M. Richards of the New-York Historical Society for information regarding Davis's whereabouts.

33 For information on the Mix button manufactory, see Arbuckle, Nicholson, pp. 147-48; Mix's advertisements of this period are found in the Connecticut Courant (August 8, 1796, until August 7, 1797); I am indebted to Meg Goodyear of the Connecticut Historical Society for information regarding Mix's advertisements. Correspondence is found in letters, Nathaniel Mix to Freeman, July 5, 1796—January 20, 1797, CF.

34 See advertisement of the South Carolina Gazette in Prime, Arts, p. 71.

35 Harriette Kershaw Leiding, Charleston, Historic and Romantic (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931), pp. 174-75, describes the fire:

On June 19, 1786, a fire had started on the south side of Broad near East Bay and swept the block to Church Street . . . . Now, ten years later, in 1796, another large fire began in Lodge Alley and swept the lower portion of the town. The Hand-in-Hand Company had been organized in 1784 but the fires went merrily on.

36 Charles Parrish to Freeman, May 22, 1796—June 28, 1796, CF.

37 Freeman to Nicholson, October 12, 1796, CF.


40 The notice of the dissolution of partnership is in Gazette of the United States (August 7, 1797), in Prime, Arts, p. 80.
Freeman to Nicholson, June 29, 1797, CF.

Arbuckle, Nicholson, p. 193. This chapter relates the "end of a speculative path."

A letter from Freeman to Nicholson dated November 14, 1797, lists the suits:

Read on acct. of Bridgen .......................................460
Crawford .....................................................................250
Dillworth vs. Freeman on acct. of George Graham .............70
Humphries vs. Freeman on acct. of George Graham .............120
Cromwell vs. Freeman .............................................66
Hockslater vs. Freeman .............................................70


Freeman defended himself in a letter to Nicholson dated February 15, 1798: "I never would print myself while any others than those I am instructing remained in the room."

Freeman to Nicholson, August 3, 1797, August 21, 1797, October 2, 1797, November 23, 1797, CF.

Freeman to Nicholson, June 29, 1797, CF.

The correspondence of Freeman to Nicholson, July 1797–August 1797, contains references to the use of Sea Port plates as a bargaining tool; in a letter dated January 5, 1798, Freeman states he is "charged $1,000 for the Sea Port plates"; Prime, Arts, p. 80, contains notice from the Gazette of the United States (December 22, 1797):

Marshall's adv. of sale of 2 Copper plates of Shakespeare, etc. Seized and taken in execution as the property of Tristram Bampfylde Freeman and John Nicholson, Merchants.

The plates were taken in lieu of cash.
Freeman to Nicholson, January 5, 1798, CF; a letter dated March 6, 1798, contains the settlement of a suit with the signature "Johnson, Freeman, and Company." This is the only such reference in the entire correspondence.


Auctioneer William Shannon held one evening auction. A catalogue of prints and paintings available was on sale the day before the auction. Prospective buyers were invited to preview the goods. This handwritten notice is in the Cash Book No. 1, October 19, 1796–May 29, 1797, T. B. Freeman and Company Accounts, 1795–1800, John Nicholson Collection (hereafter cited as FA). The exceptions to Freeman's listing as an auctioneer are: 1810, commission merchant; 1818, commercial agent; 1823, when his son is added to the listing, which appears as Freeman, T. B. and Son, auctioneers and commission merchants.


For information regarding George Isham Parkyns, see Snyder, City of Independence, pp. 221-22; David McNeely Stauffer, American Engravers upon Copper and Steel: Part I, Biographical Sketches (New York: Grolier Club of the City of New York, 1907), p. 200; Harrison is listed in 1795 as a music publisher in Evans, American Bibliography, 10:443.

Parkyns to Freeman, January 17, 1796, CF.

James Harrison to Freeman, January 22, 1796, CF.

George Graham to Freeman, June 15, 1796, CF.
Freeman discusses the end of his association with Parkyns in a letter to Nicholson dated November 30, 1796, CF; Snyder, *City of Independence*, p. 222, gives 1820 as the date of Parkyns's death.

Information on H. Houston is found in Stauffer, *American Engravers*, p. 133.


Graham to Freeman, January 7, 1796, CF.

Graham to Freeman, January 25, 1797, CF.

Freeman to Nicholson, January 27, 1797, CF.

Freeman to Nicholson, January 11, 1797, CF.


Freeman to Nicholson, November 24, 1797, CF.

Freeman to Nicholson, June 1, 1796, CF.

Freeman to Nicholson, July 11, 1795, CF.

*Memorandum Book No. 1*, June 22, 1796, FA.

*Memorandum Book No. 2*, March 10, 1797, FA.

*Memorandum Book No. 1*, June 21, 1796, FA.

Freeman to Nicholson, November 30, 1796, CF.

*Cash Book No. 1*, June 30, 1796, FA.

*Cash Book No. 2*, February 16, 1797, FA.

The number of titles is not exact due to the many unspecific titles such as "Landscape" or "Portrait." Further research will concentrate on locating and identifying as many of these prints as possible.
77 Prime, Arts, p. 66.

78 Prime, Arts, p. 33.

79 Evans, American Bibliography, 11:140.

80 Evans, American Bibliography, 11:304.

81 Evans, American Bibliography, 10:266.

82 In August 1796, Freeman wrote that "our most valuable property [prints] will make up for the losses of the speculations." Freeman to Nicholson, August 9, 1796, CF.


Philadelphia, 1917.


APPENDIX

Freeman and Company

1796

Composition
John Kelly
C. Flint
Thomas Laman

Carpenter
J. Warham
E. Hoskins
James Greer—"turning and frame work"
J. Mahony
J. Rickey (apprentice)
David (apprentice)

Gilder
A. Guyht
B. Wolfe
T. Dewar
Augustus Day
Mrs. Ann Ought
Peter Door
Samuel Dewees (apprentice)

Engraver
George Parkyns
H. Houston

1797

Composition
Charles Leaman

Carpenter
Dennis Warham
Benjamin Dewees
James Greer
Charles Taylor
(also repairs press)
Hoskins
Perkins

Gilder
Ino Abbott and Son
Mrs. Ann Ought
Samuel Dewees
Adam Door
Augustus Day
Mr. Guyht
Tandford

Store Clerk
John Minchin
William Cowen
Robert Callender
Mezzotints and Writing
Tholler Clark
George Graham

Shopman
William Cowens

Printing
T. B. Freeman
Mr. Dixon (apprentice)

Counting House
Mrs. Guyht
Miss Abbott
Elizabeth Shallus
Mrs. McIntire
Kelly

Printing
T. B. Freeman
Apprentices