

THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

John

Hancock

John Hancock.

IN CONGRESS, January 18, 1777.

By Order of CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Miss Elizabeth Hammon jr
A True Copy
John Hancock Presid

Letterpress printed by MIMMY A. BELLORZ, Intima Press, New York, NY, July 4, 2010, as designed & printed by MARY KATHARINE GODDARD, BALTIMORE, MD, January 13, 1777.

PRINTED BY A WOMAN

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

MINDY BELLOFF

DURING OUR COUNTRY'S INFANCY, CONGRESS ORDERED TWO OFFICIAL printings of the Declaration of Independence. On July 4, 1776, the text of the Declaration was formally adopted by the Second Continental Congress in session in Philadelphia. The authenticated copy was signed by John Hancock and attested to by Charles Thomson. It was authorized that day to be printed by John Dunlap of Philadelphia and distributed to several assemblies, committees, commanding officers, and army heads of each of the new United States (Goff, 1976, 4). Titled "A Declaration," the Dunlap printing resembles the written document, with seventy-six lines running across the page in a single column length.

On January 18, 1777, Congress convened in Baltimore and ordered a new printing of the Declaration in an edition of thirteen, one for each of the colonies. This edition is outstanding as the very first to publicly reveal the names of the fifty-four members of the Second Continental Congress and as the only printing with the title "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America" (*unanimous* after New York had finally cast its vote to form the thirteenth state).¹ Also unique about the edition is the printress, a highly respected presswoman, Mary Katharine Goddard: typesetter, printer, writer, editor, publisher of weekly newspapers, and postmistress of Baltimore.²

MARY KATHARINE GODDARD'S PRINTING of the Declaration of Independence is a noteworthy national treasure. I first saw the Goddard Broadside with my graduate students in July 2008 in a small exhibition of early printings of the Declaration at the New York Public Library. Of the works on display, the Goddard stood out aesthetically, with its main text designed in two columns and lower portion of signatories laid out in four sections. The colophon at the bottom read "Baltimore, in Maryland: Printed by Mary Katharine Goddard." This public announcement put her at risk for treason along with the Founding Fathers. Had the British prevailed and arrested Mary, she could have been sentenced to death or, at the least, had her voice censored and her print shop shut down. By her actions and life choices, Mary Katharine Goddard was clearly a courageous woman and true proponent of the right to free expression.³

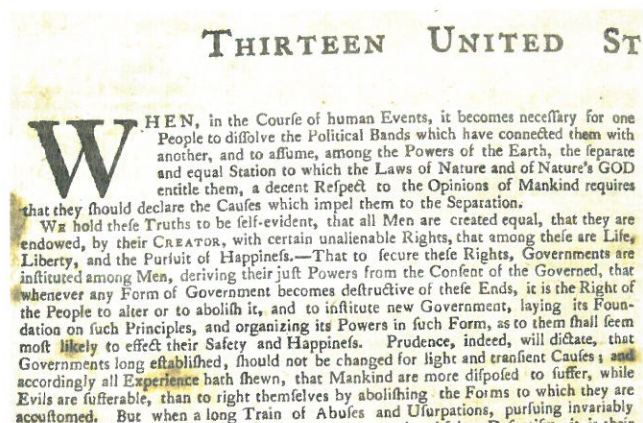
Such principles were penned in the Declaration of Independence. A summation of ideals on individual liberties is expressed in the opening two paragraphs, and a justification for separating from Great Britain is listed in the body of the text, with the majority of the writing enumerating



King of Gr
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, let Facts

Artist Mindy Belloff produces fine printed artist's books and broadside editions at Intima Press in New York City. She holds a Master of Arts degree from New York University in studio arts. Mindy teaches the art of the book and letterpress printing at her print and design studio and area universities. Her work is held by numerous special collections including the Library of Congress, the National Museum of Women in the Arts, the British Library, and the Victoria & Albert Museum. www.intimapress.com

offenses attributed to King George III. The document declares the rights of the colonies to be "Free and Independent States" in the closing paragraph. It can be argued that the colonies' revolutionary struggle to break from Great Britain and the rule of the crown was founded on natural rights. Basic liberties and the pursuit of happiness were clearly at the forefront of the political, social and ethical issues of the day. An individual's right to freedom and equality was critical to the lives and fate of *all the People*, particularly to those enslaved and to women.



Detail of Goddard Broadside showing the first lines of the text.

As a woman, I could not help but wonder, while setting each letter of the text "all *Men* are created equal," how Mary would have felt being entrusted with the printing of a world-changing proclamation. My immediate response was to pay tribute to this extraordinary woman printer by recreating Mary Goddard's 1777 design, while breathing new life into one of our country's sacred documents with gender-inclusive language. As I began to learn more about her, it became clear that the Goddard Broadside was too often overlooked in the historical record.⁴ I therefore began my tribute with a hand-set, historically accurate reproduction of the Goddard Declaration of Independence printing, along with information about Mary Goddard. I then printed a new Declaration, still following the Goddard composition but substituting the word "People" for "Men" in two places in the opening text.⁵ Both versions are accompanied by a large printed sheet of essays addressing some of the political and social issues of the revolutionary period. My recreation of this significant, iconic eighteenth-century document in the twenty-first century was an artistic and cultural endeavor for me as well as an informative historical exercise.⁶

MARY KATHARINE GODDARD was born on June 16, 1738, in the British colony of Connecticut, to Sarah Updike Goddard and Dr. Giles Goddard, a distinguished member of the New London community who served as physician and postmaster (Natnl Postal Mus, Ch 1). Her brother, William, was two years younger. Mary and William were homeschooled by Sarah, an educated woman with knowledge of Latin and literature.⁷ The Goddards likely planned for their son to run his own printing establishment, as he was sent from the ages of fifteen to twenty-one to apprentice with James Parker, newspaper printer and postmaster of both Woodbridge, New Jersey, and New Haven, Connecticut, who was known for excellence in press work. In addition to the New Haven press, Parker ran a larger printing office in New York, where William gained further experience in postal matters and learned the skills required to gather and print news (Miner 1962, 12–13).

In 1762, a few years after Dr. Goddard died, Sarah helped William set up a printing office in Providence, Rhode Island, by financing the type, press, and paper costs, and she and Mary moved there to assist him (National Women's History Museum [NWHM]). Although not the first printer in Rhode Island, William did start its first newspaper, and he also held postmaster duties in Providence (Miner 1962, 19). William's political pursuits kept him traveling to different colonies, and included taking a firm stand against the Stamp Act and "setting up an intercolonial postal system in opposition to the official British one" (49, 112).

Within a few years, William left Rhode Island for New York while Sarah and Mary remained in Providence, running the shop and printing the weekly newspaper. They published the *Providence Gazette* and issued an *Almanack* [sic] as "Sarah Goddard & Company." The firm included Sarah, Mary, and a few journeymen and apprentices. Sarah and Mary made the business profitable as Mary took a greater role in typesetting, letterpress printing, and editing, clearly not the usual hobbies of a twenty-four-year-old young woman of the eighteenth century. Sarah wrote an entertainment column in the *Gazette* reflecting her wit and literary knowledge, and also published books (56–7).

In 1766, William moved to Philadelphia to open another print shop. At this time Philadelphia, the largest city in the colonies, with a population of 30,000,

was an economic and political center (59). William sold the business in Rhode Island to John Carter Brown, Sarah's partner since September 1767, and in November of 1768 Sarah and Mary reluctantly joined William in publishing the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (84-5). Although William's *Chronicle* had competitors, the Pennsylvania paper flourished and had the largest circulation in all the colonies (72). After Sarah Goddard's death in January 1770, Mary kept the shop running throughout William's absences and his public bickering with business partners over politics and finances, disagreements often detailed in their newspapers.

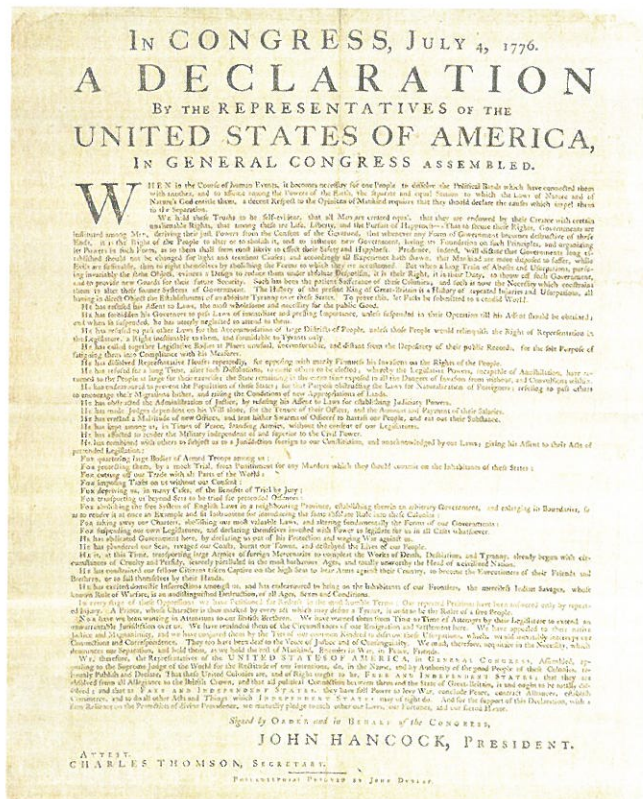
In August of 1773, seven years after the start of the Philadelphia venture, William began *The Maryland Journal*, the first newspaper of Baltimore. Mary soon followed and again took charge of her brother's newspaper. As Lawrence Wroth wrote, she "was ready always to take up the tasks of her erratic brother where he had pleased to drop them, and... to assume the consequences of his indiscretions. Hers was no small accomplishment" (Wroth 1922, 144). Miner concurred, writing that "Mary Katherine's [sic] methods as a newspaper editor contrast with those of her brother. She was dependable and he brilliantly erratic" (Miner 1962, 181). Mary soon became the sole editor and publisher of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, and finally printed "Published by M.K. Goddard" on the masthead in May of 1775 (NWHM).

That fall, the Continental Congress gave Benjamin Franklin the title "Postmaster General of the United Colonies." William Goddard had hoped to be second in command, but instead Franklin offered him a low-paying surveyor job, which required that he travel to check on postal routes (Miner 1962, 147). It was also at this time in 1775 that Franklin appointed Mary Goddard the first female postmaster in colonial America.⁸ Given her roles as journalist, publisher, and postmistress, Mary's shop must have been a hub of activity and center of information, especially as newspapers were becoming such essential means of communication among the colonists. Her *Journal* was one of the first newspapers to report the battles at Lexington and

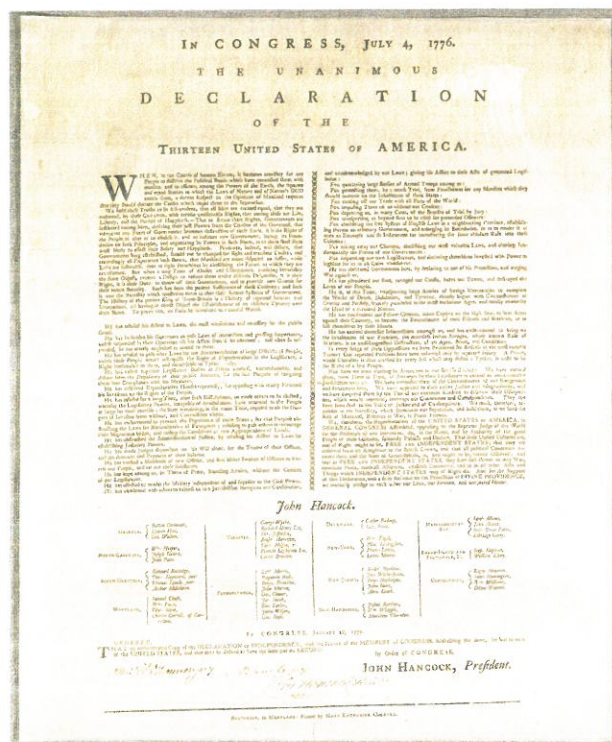
Concord that marked the beginning of the American Revolution in April 1775 (NWHM). On July 10, 1776, the *Maryland Journal* published the text of the Declaration of Independence, announcing, "The Thirteen United States of America Have Declared Independence" (Maryland State Archives [MSA], Biographical Series).

The Continental Congress moved from Philadelphia after threats from the British and reconvened in Baltimore on December 20, 1776 (National Archives [NARA]). On January 18, 1777, having decided it was time to reveal their names even if they were to face reprisals from the British, the Continental Congress ordered, as printed below the text of the Declaration itself, "That an authenticated Copy of the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY, with the Names of the MEMBERS of CONGRESS subscribing to the same, be sent to each of the UNITED STATES, and that they be desired to have the same put on RECORD" (emphasis in original).

**In 1775
Benjamin Franklin
appointed Mary
Goddard the
first female
postmaster in
colonial America.**



"In Congress, July 4, 1776, a Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled." Printed by John Dunlap, Philadelphia [1776]. Also known as: the Dunlap Declaration of Independence. 18½ x 15 inches. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Continental Congress & Constitutional Convention Broadside Collection.



Declaration of Independence, "In Congress, July 4, 1776. The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America." Printed by Mary Katharine Goddard, Baltimore, in Maryland. Set in Caslon. 21.3 x 17.3 inches. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Continental Congress & Constitutional Convention Broadside Collection.

While I have not found a document written by the Continental Congress on its selection of Mary Katharine Goddard as printer of the Unanimous Declaration, it is clear that Mary was well known and highly regarded. She was the logical Baltimore printer from whom to request this second printing of the Declaration, as was John Dunlap in Philadelphia for the first printing. Isaiah Thomas, a contemporary of Mary Goddard's and a Massachusetts newspaperman, described Mary as "an expert and correct compositor, doing good printing besides fine work with copperplates" (Barton 1976, 30). Historian Lawrence Wroth wrote, "Her service to Baltimore throughout the Revolution was of a high order, her patriotism unquestioned" (Wroth 1922, 145). The Smithsonian National Postal Museum states that Goddard was "an accomplished Postmaster" and adds, "Recognizing the excellence of her paper, Congress granted Goddard the honor of publishing the first copy of the Declaration of Independence with all the signatories listed, in 1777" (Smithsonian National Postal Museum [SNPM]. n.d., b).

Mary Goddard was known to have an objective and professional tone in her writing. She ran the *Maryland Journal* through January of 1784, producing the weekly newspaper and printing a variety of broadsides, pamphlets, and forms, common job work at a colonial press. While running the *Journal* for nine years she never missed an edition of the paper. This is especially impressive during the years of the American Revolution, when print shops such as the *Maryland Gazette* in Annapolis could not produce their newspapers due to rising costs and paper shortages (Miner 1962, 165). The success of the *Journal* suggests that William and Mary operated their own local paper mill, likely beginning in April 1777, although linen rags continued to be in short supply.⁹ In addition to Mary Goddard's newspaper and post office commitments, she printed ads in the *Journal* announcing a new book and stationery store and offering fine copperplate printing. The *Maryland Journal* had the best publication record of any wartime newspaper, and in March of 1783, she added a second edition, publishing the paper twice a

week. Mary accepted payment in cash or "country produce," including tanned sheepskins for bookbinding (Miner 1962, 165-7).

Mary's *Journal* had the best publication record of any wartime newspaper.

Mary kept the Goddard press running and financially secure for years while William traveled, was jailed for debts, was called into question for political actions, aired grievances with foes in their newspaper, and formed and broke multiple partnerships. Additional strains between the brother and sister became more apparent in 1781, when William and his latest partner, Eleazer Oswald, put pressure on Mary to relinquish the Baltimore press. On April 3 of that year, Mary wrote an article "To the Public" informing her readers that another press in Baltimore planned to start a newspaper "in Opposition to hers with a View to diminish her Business, and compel her to quit the same." The firm of Goddard and Oswald abandoned their plans of setting up a press, as confirmed in a printed notice that they would have "no Concern with any News-Paper, nor any Profit therefrom; for they...wish the Printress of the *Maryland Journal*, & c. may meet with that Encouragement from the Public, which her Assiduity and Care shall

merit." Three years later, however, in January 1784, the colophon of the *Maryland Journal* read "Published by William and Mary Goddard," and in less than a week Mary's name was omitted. There are no surviving letters, diaries, or personal notes of Mary Goddard's describing what had transpired, though a rift in the sibling relationship was evident. Court records in 1785 show that Mary filed five lawsuits against her brother in one day (178–80).

In 1789, a new Postmaster General, Samuel Osgood, ordered Mary Goddard's removal as postmistress and replaced her with John White, a man with no postal experience (University of Virginia [UVA]). Osgood stated that the position would require "more traveling...than a woman could undertake" and appointed his political ally to take over operations (SNPM, n.d., a). Mary refused to give up her post without a fight and received the support of 230 Baltimore merchants (Goddard 1789). The petitioners wrote that Miss Goddard gave "universal Satisfaction to the community" and they were "praying in the most earnest manner that she be restored" (SNPM, n.d., a).

In a detailed letter to George Washington dated December 23, 1789, Mary requested her reinstatement, reminding the president of her years of loyalty. The letter is written in the third person and outlines the "unrewarding" position, personal risks, and financial sacrifices she made in order to have kept the post office running for fourteen years. President Washington responded unsympathetically in a letter dated January 6, 1790, and deferred to the Postmaster General (Washington 1789). Mary then petitioned the United States Senate and House of Representatives for reinstatement and financial compensation but was unsuccessful (UVA). With her postmaster appointment revoked, she continued to run a stationery store and dry goods business (SNPM, n.d., b), and she maintained her bookstore in Baltimore until 1802 (Wroth 1922, 145).

According to the Maryland census of 1810, Mary Katharine Goddard was living with one female slave in her household, Belinda Starling. Mary died at the age of 78 on August 12, 1816. She willed all of her personal possessions and property to Belinda and granted her freedom: "all the property of which I may die possessed, all which I do to recompense the faithful performance of duties to me" (MSA, Baltimore County Register of Wills).

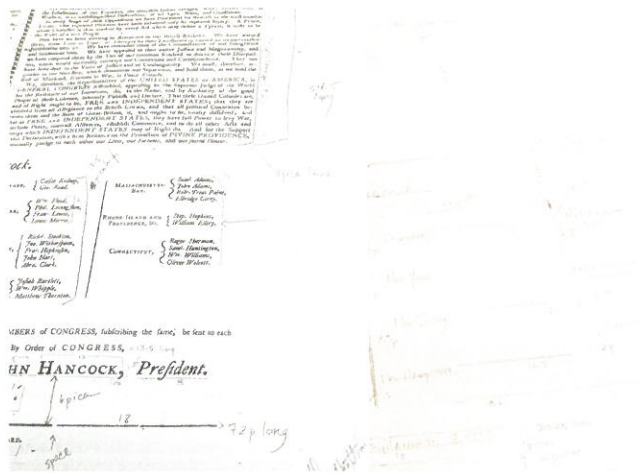
IF HER LIFE CHOICES are an indication, Mary Goddard likely shared the sentiments of many colonial women who, in such tumultuous times, thought intensely about their role in the new republic (Kerber 1980, xi)—notably Abigail Adams, who on March 31, 1776, during the drafting of the Declaration wrote to her husband, John Adams, to "remember the ladies" in the new laws and give them "voice" and representation (Evans 1975, 6).¹⁰ As most colonial women married and were relegated to a difficult life of domesticity, they were also bound legally under coverture, by which a woman's identity became submerged, or covered, giving the husband total control over his wife and their children (Kerber 1980, 120). Single women, like Mary Goddard, were able to conduct business, keep their earnings, make purchases, and inherit and will property (Evans 1975, 4). They were, however, still excluded from the political sphere.¹¹

When we think of the Declaration of Independence today, it is the essence of the second paragraph, stating an individual's undeniable right to live freely, that most Americans can recite from memory: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." This is the heart of the document that resonates strongly, even today. I believe most people intuitively understand "all Men" to mean that *all* are created equal—all men and women, all mankind, all people. Peter Onuf (2008, ix) agrees in his essay on the Declaration of Independence that "We now take these principles to be 'self-evident.' But what did they mean in 1776, when an objective observer might more accurately conclude that all men were created *unequal*...?"

Whether or not Thomas Jefferson intended *Men* to be understood as *men only* (white men and African men), *white men only* (men who had the privilege of owning land and the right to vote), or all of *mankind* is not definitively known. It was, however, clear to me that an unambiguous and all-inclusive edition proclaiming "all *People* are created equal" was necessary, and that after more than two centuries it was well past time to set the record straight.

NINE KNOWN COPIES of the Goddard Declaration of Independence exist today. I have handled two: one at the Library Company of Philadelphia and another at

the Library of Congress.¹² I visited both libraries, pica ruler in hand, to study the typeface and point sizes in detail, and carefully measured heights and lengths of letters, words, headers, paragraphs, spacing, ornaments, and signer text. I recorded these pencil annotations on a full-scale newsprint mock-up.



Copy of the Goddard Declaration with pencil annotations of pica measurements.

I was permitted to feel the paper and check the impression of the printing. The Goddard Broadside at the Library of Congress had a deep impression whereas the Library Company of Philadelphia copy did not. Jim Green attributed this to conservation cleaning in the past, noting that the pressing of sheets is not in practice today by library conservation departments.

To recreate the historic paper I obtained samples from papermakers but did not find a match for the shade of white or texture I was looking for. I was eventually led to papermaker Katie MacGregor, in Maine, who specializes in eighteenth-century conservation papers. We had numerous phone conversations and mailed color samples of white papers back and forth. I had chosen to lighten the color from the yellowing one currently sees on the aged document so the sheet would be closer to what the original paper may have looked like in 1777.¹³ To match the fibers as closely as possible, Katie mixed a batch of paper with cotton and muslin pulp and added a special reserve abaca so the off-white color would not be too pink or too yellow, as I had specified.

In late July 2009, I received a few small sample sheets from Katie and ran proofs on my Vandercook press. The paper took letterpress beautifully. The sheets are laid, with chain lines and four deckle edges, 21 inches high by 16 inches wide, the same as the original.¹⁴ The

custom paper is as close to being historically correct as possible, with the exception that I asked Katie to pull the sheets slightly thicker than the original text weight so the type would create a lovely impression.¹⁵ I chose not to include a watermark on the paper, as it is not clear if the sheets Mary Goddard used for her printed edition came from one consistent batch of paper or one particular mill. I did not see a watermark on the Library of Congress copy, which was mounted onto another sheet. However, there was a watermark with the initials "W.H." on the broadside at the Philadelphia library. The first papermaker in Maryland was William Hoffman, who built his mill in 1775 in Baltimore County near Gunpowder Falls, a perfect location for the large amount of water necessary for making paper (HMdB). (Hoffman's W.H. watermark can also be found on the currency that the Continental Congress adopted in September 1776.)

Another William, William Caslon, is credited with designing the font most popular in Britain and widely used in Colonial America. The Caslon typeface can still be cast today in hot metal. I ordered Monotype #337 from type caster Ed Rayher in Massachusetts. In preparation, I built a type cabinet to house the variety of letters and font sizes being cast (different point sizes in upper and lower case, small caps, and italics, etc.), an estimated 10,000 pieces of type, along with a large amount of spacing material that filled my small studio. With the help of volunteers, the type and spacing was carefully distributed into cases. I began composing on September 2, 2009.



Hand-setting the Declaration—type case and composing stick.

The main text of the Declaration is set in 11 point type, cast on a 12 point body. The header fonts are 22 and 30 points in capital letters and small caps, respec-

tively, and the large W is 72 points, or an inch high. The text contains over 6,500 characters (plus well over 1,500 spacers), including more than 850 of the letter “e” but less than twenty each of the letters “j” and “k.” It contains many more periods and commas than we are accustomed to using today. Also in style at the time of the original printing was the “long-s” character, which looks like a small “f” with the horizontal cross going towards the left, so the word “Happiness,” for example, appears as “Happinefs.” This character was in use in the Middle Ages and fell out of fashion in printing around 1800.

Ligatures fi fl ff ffi m

Quaints f th fi fl ff ft

ct st

f vs. f (long s)

A “ligature” contains two or three letters kerned together and cast on one piece of type. Commonly used ligatures in the print shop today are shown above. Ligatures using the long-s in the historic Caslon typeface are sometimes known as “quaints,” shown below.

But when a long train of Abuses and Usurpations, evinces a Design to reduce them under their Duty, to throw off such Government, and Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of the present King of Great-Britain is a full having in direct Object the Establishment of a Tyranny. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to

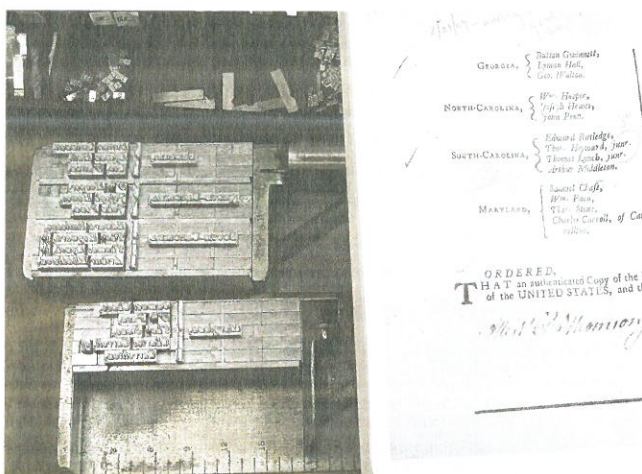
his Assent to Laws; the most wholes

Detail of contemporary reprint showing “ct” and “st” quaints and “ff” ligature.

The reproduction is fully justified, following the Goddard Broadside. It contains long-s characters and long-s ligatures, unfamiliar to most contemporary readers. As I began setting the left column, I realized the “ft” quaint (as in “moft” and “hiftery”) was missing from the casting. Ed cast the pieces and sent them to me by Express Mail. Mary Katharine would have been impressed by the speed of the US Postal Service.

As I was setting the last few paragraphs of the Declaration, I was surprised to find that I had used

the last of the uppercase letters “P,” “C,” and “D,” and lowercase “d.” As I waited for recasting, I focused on typesetting the four columns at the bottom, listing the states and the signers’ names. In addition to being in separate columns, this part of the document is distinguished by the use of small caps for the states and the signer’s names in italics (also in 11 point type). Many of the names are abbreviated, such as “William” set as “Wm,” with the “m” as a superscript letter. Cast in 6 point type, it is smaller in height and width than a wooden matchstick. Type-high rules (printed as lines) separate each of the four sections. The representatives of each state are set next to separate pieces of bracket type on the right side of each column, with the brackets joining each grouping to one of the thirteen states.



Two composing sticks showing hand-set type of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland with signer's names, beside a copy of the marked-up Goddard Broadside.

I set the title header next (“In Congress, July 4, 1776...”) and then the bottom “Order” by Congress. I composed the colophon with Mary Katharine Goddard’s name, city and state, as a final tribute.

✱ We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour.

Hancock.

DELAWARE, {	Cesar Rodney, Geo. Read.	MASSACHUSETTS- {	Sam ^l Adams, John Adams, Rob ^t Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.
NEW-YORK, {	Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Franc ^{is} Lewis, Lewis Morris.	RHODE-ISLAND AND {	Step ^h Hopkins, William Ellery.
NEW-JERSEY, {	Rich ^d Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fran ^{cis} Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.	CONNECTICUT, {	Roger Sherman, Sam ^l Huntington, Wm. Willcox, Oliver Wolcott.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE, {	Tosah ^{us} Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Tilton.		

Proof of historical reprint edition with pencil annotations.

The entire process of typesetting the Declaration, including printing numerous proofs and making revisions to the form, took approximately forty hours over a one-week period, concluding on September 9, 2009. The proofing stage included pulling out various letters and punctuation with my fingers or a tweezers and adding others, each time readjusting the changed line's spacing. My original intention in the studio was to concentrate on the hand typesetting within a confined block of time, working as quickly as possible, as I imagined Mary Goddard would have done when she received the Congressional Order. However, following the line justification of another printer is certainly more time consuming, and there were, inevitably, other delays. Aside from waiting for the recast ligatures and letters, the matrices for the flower sorts between the two columns, which were special-ordered from London, were lost in transit and had to be shipped a second time to Massachusetts for casting and shipping to New York. I also faced a uniquely modern crisis: my automatic press stopped working. Diagnosing the motor and wiring with mechanics, electricians, and other printers kept my attention away from the composing stick.¹⁶

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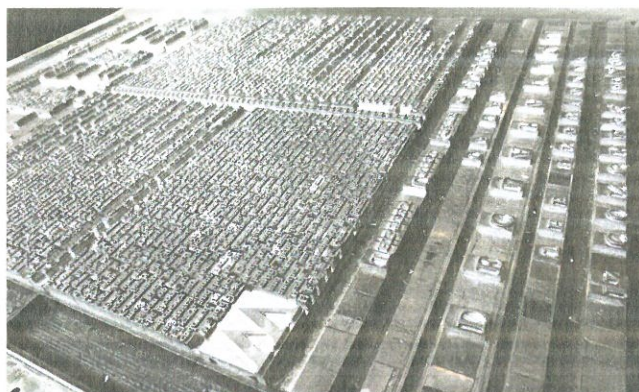
Detail of the Goddard Broadside showing quaints and center ornaments—flower sorts.

The Vandercook Universal III has a large press bed that can accommodate an 18- by 24-inch form. When all the text was proofed in final and the type form locked in position on press, I took a little time away and went to press immediately upon my return, on October first. It was very satisfying to finally ink up the press and pull prints for the final edition of one hundred copies. Having engaged in the process of setting type, proofing, exchanging letters, and repeating this until the form was as close as possible to an

accurate duplicate of the original broadside and ready for final printing, I can confidently say that Mary Katharine Goddard was meticulous and very able in her calling as a printer.



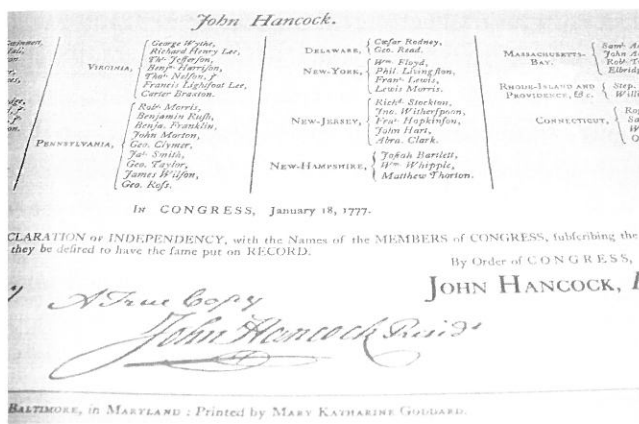
Transferring type from composing stick to galley for the historical re-creation, showing the first two paragraphs set on a 35 pica line.



Full press lockup.

While not all of the remaining nine Goddard Broad­sides are signed, the Library of Congress copy is signed by John Hancock, president of the Conti­nental Congress, and attested to by Secretary Charles Thomson. I received permission from the Library of Congress to photograph the two signatures, and deviated from metal type for a final press run printed from a photopolymer plate. The body of the broadside is, of course, in black press ink, as was the original. For the two signatures I mixed a brown ink to mimic the discoloration of pen ink one sees over time, creating a two-color print.¹⁷

LESS THAN A YEAR LATER I went to press with the inclusive version of the Declaration of Independence. For this edition I removed all the “long-s” pieces of type, along with the “ft” and “fh” quaints, and replaced them with “s” characters and “st” and “sh” ligatures, respectively, so the document could be easily



Historical reprint detail: John Hancock's signature.

understood by readers of all ages. As a result, almost every line required adjustments of spacing. The Memorial Day weekend of 2010 provided a quiet time for me to substitute the “s” characters at my studio, and July fourth was a perfect day to make final revisions, pull one last proof, and go to press, completing the full edition before the fireworks celebration of Independence Day.

The paper for the contemporary edition is bright white, 100% cotton with four deckle edges, also 21 by 16 inches. I had it pulled by David Carruthers of Saint-Armand Paperie in Canada, and chose this paper for its whiteness and texture, to distinguish it from the creamy white of the historic edition.¹⁸ The text is printed in a deep black that I custom mixed. To make a further distinction, the John Hancock and Charles Thomson signatures are printed in a soft blue instead of a faded black-brown. Rather than an edition of 100, as was the historical reproduction, the newly revised version is an edition of 118 as an acknowledgment of the January 18, 1777, date when Congress ordered the printing from Mary Katharine Goddard.

Throughout the process of recreating the Declaration of Independence, I felt a consistent connection with Mary Katharine Goddard and thought about her hardships during such a volatile time in our country's history. I visualized her receiving the urgent Order from Congress and welcoming the opportunity to do her duty. I pictured Mary in her print shop during the cold month of January, setting each letter of the vital proclamation and pulling sheets on her wooden hand press without twenty-first century amenities, as I composed the same letters to print on my fifty-year old electric press. Knowing I would then print a rewritten edition, I fantasized how Mary would have felt if she

had received a second Order from Congress commissioning a revised Declaration of Independence that clarified equal rights for all races and genders during her lifetime. As my thoughts shifted between centuries, I contemplated Mary Goddard's convictions and character as a defender of the liberty of the press, knowing we very often take this privilege for granted today.

MARY KATHARINE GODDARD died on August twelfth, the same month and day that the first batch of Caslon type arrived in my print shop by US post more than two centuries later. The date was symbolic, as I honored the life's achievements and extraordinary accomplishments of Mary Katharine Goddard, journalist, compositor, publisher of news, first postmistress of the United States of America, and fine letterpress printer of our Declaration of Independence.

SUPPLIERS

David Carruthers of Saint-Armand Paperie in Canada:

www.st-armand.com

Katie MacGregor, eighteenth-century conservation papers:

kmpaper@midmaine.com

Ed Rayher, typecaster: www.swamppress.com

NOTES

1. There are fifty-five Congressional signatures on the document, which includes that of John Hancock, as president. It does not include the name of Thomas McKean of Delaware, who signed a later copy.
2. I have spelled Mary Goddard's middle name as “Katharine” with an “a,” following her printed colophon on the Declaration. However, in most of the research and websites I viewed, including the Library of Congress, it is spelled “Katherine” with an “e.”
3. The First Amendment, protecting all people's rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, was not submitted to the states for ratification until September 25, 1789, twelve years after the Goddard printing of the Declaration. It was adopted on December 15, 1791 (http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/First_amendment).
4. While there had been numerous reprints of the first Dunlap edition and the original written manuscript over

the years, the Goddard Broadside had not yet been replicated when I announced the project at the annual meeting of the American Printing History Association in January 2009. This was confirmed by librarians at distinguished institutions with whom I spoke. I have received full support and encouragement since the beginning of this project from Mark Dimunation, chief of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, and other librarians familiar with the Goddard printing.

5. I had conversations about my plans to recreate the Goddard Broadside and rewrite the text to include “all men and women” with Jim Green, librarian at the Library Company of Philadelphia; Rosemary Fry Plakas, American history specialist at the Rare Book and Special Collections Division; Barbara Bair, specialist of early American history in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; and David Armitage, historian and professor at Harvard University.

6. Both of the editions I printed of the Declaration are accompanied by a broadsheet containing an introductory paragraph written by noted historian David Armitage of Harvard University (and author of *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*), an essay written by historian Martha King (who is currently working on a book about colonial women printers), and an essay I wrote on the making of the Goddard Broadside recreation. The essay page is the same size as the *Declaration*, 21 x 16 inches. It was set digitally in Adobe Caslon and printed letterpress using photopolymer plates, in blue and red inks on Bugra white papers.

This article draws on historical readings, research, and my own personal experiences as the compositor and printer recreating this historic document. Additional material in the article was gathered and presented in honor of Mary Katharine Goddard for Women’s History Month in March 2011 at Colonial Williamsburg, in March 2010 at Brown University (where, interestingly, I also met descendants of William Goddard), and on July 3, 2010, at the Maryland Historical Society.

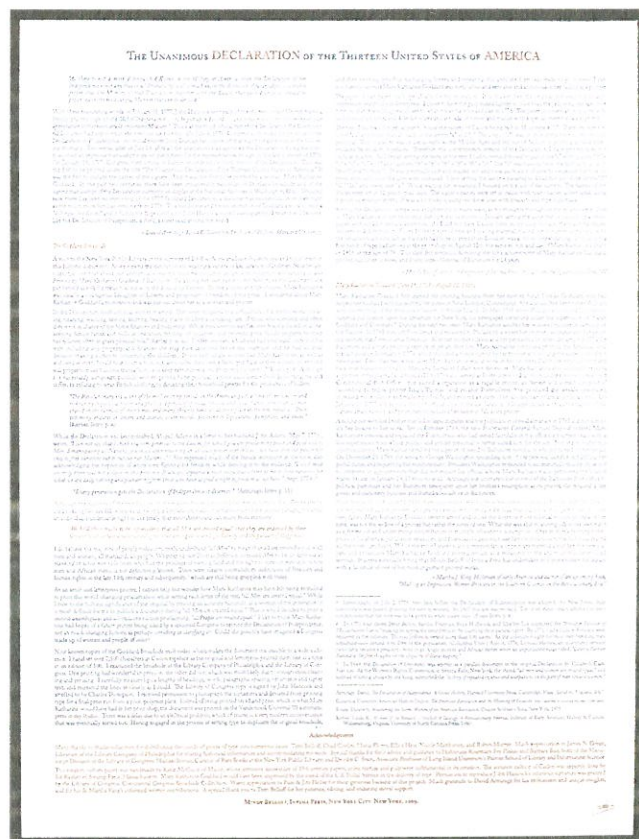
7. Sarah Updike was from a prominent Rhode Island family and the great aunt of Daniel Berkeley Updike, founder of the Merrymount Press in 1893 and author of *Printing Types: Their History, Forms and Use* (1922).

8. On July 26, 1775, Benjamin Franklin was appointed the

first Postmaster General of the colonies by the Continental Congress (Natnl Postal Mus, “Benjamin Franklin”). During this time, the postal system in the colonies was still being established, allowing newspapers to be distributed without censorship. On October 11, 1775, under the heading “Constitutional Post-Office,” Mary announced in the *Maryland Journal* that two posts eastward and southward set out from and arrived at her office each week. There were 75 post offices established in the new American nation by 1789. Today we have over 30,000 delivery facilities, according to the National Archives and Records Administration (2010 USPS Annual Report).

9. Although papermakers and journeymen were among those exempt from military service, the Goddards still had difficulty finding skilled help, as evidenced by the ads they placed requesting help (Miner 1962, 165–6).

10. The only political expression available to women was the petition, which begins with an “acknowledgement of subordination” and contains “the rhetoric of humility.” (Kerber 1980, 85).



Essay broadsheet accompanying both contemporary Belloff printings of the Declaration. Photo by Curtis Eberhardt.

11. On July 2, 1776, two days before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the New Jersey State constitution passed, granting the vote to women. By 1807 this law was revoked. The other states clearly affirmed in their constitutions that the vote was to be given to *white males only* (Evans 1975, Introduction).

In 1848, the Declaration of Sentiments was written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton as a parallel document to the original Declaration of Independence. At the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, Stanton stated, "all men and women are created equal," and instead of listing abuses by the King, submitted the "history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward women." In 1863, Stanton, along with Susan B. Anthony, organized women in support of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery. Two years later, the Fifteenth Amendment passed, stating that voting rights could not be denied on account of race; however, it did not mention gender.

12. The surviving copies are at the Library of Congress, Connecticut State Library, Library of the late John W. Garrett, Maryland Hall of Records (MHR), Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives, New York Public Library (NYPL), Library Company of Philadelphia, and the Rhode Island State Archives (Walsh, Michael J., "Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 3 [1949]: 41, cited by <http://www.thedeclarationofindependence.org>).

The NYPL does not allow anyone to handle its copy, and it is only available for viewing when on exhibition during the summer months. I did speak by phone with librarians at other institutions, but it was difficult to obtain the necessary information without actually seeing and feeling the document in person. The MHR copy in Annapolis, according to one librarian, is badly creased and damaged from having been folded for many years. Since it had suffered too much loss, he did not recommend traveling there to view it. It would be fascinating to see and compare all nine surviving copies, as was done by a Harvard study with twenty-one of the twenty-six Dunlap broadsheets (Goff 1976).

13. I spoke with and received support for my decision from Jim Green, librarian, and Michael Inman, curator of rare books, at the New York Public Library.

14. The Library of Congress copy is listed as 54 x 44 cm, or

21.3 x 17.3 inches. There are variations in sheet sizes, which is also due to wear and folded edges or mounted sheets. The documents as I measured them are 21 x 16 inches.

15. In late July of 2009 the rains and flooding were incessant in Maine, and we were hoping it would calm down and allow Katie's newly made paper to dry flat. Fortunately, the weather did finally cooperate, right on schedule.

16. The problems with my electric steel press made me wonder if the Goddards' wooden hand press was sturdier than other colonial presses. While most printing houses had their presses shipped along with other supplies from Great Britain, William Goddard is believed to have ordered the first printing press built in the colonies, commissioned from a watch- and clockmaker, who crafted it in mahogany in 1770 (Miner 1922, 91).

17. Although the color may have looked darker in 1777, I took artistic license, as with the paper color. This was an aesthetic decision.

18. Funding of the paper for this contemporary edition was provided by a grant from the Puffin Foundation, whose mission is "to support creative and innovative initiatives that will advance progressive social change."

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