CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND JOHN WALTER, REGARDING THE LOGOGRAPHIC PROCESS OF PRINTING

BY GEORGE SIMPSON EDDY

 $\neg O$ the very end of his long and busy life Dr. Franklin maintained his interest in all that related to the art of printing. The correspondence here printed took place in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785, after which there was a gap until 1789, when there was but one letter and that from Walter. Dr. Franklin died on April 17, 1790. During the years 1783-1785 the Doctor was living at Passy, as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Court of France. As is well known, he had a press in his house there, at which he printed, or had printed, passports and other official documents, and his famous bagatelles; he also had a small foundry and a shop in which he liked to work, as opportunity offered. It would seem that Dr. Franklin and John Walter never met, and that the latter was unknown to the Doctor until Walter wrote to him on December 29, 1783.

John Walter was born in the year 1739. Not until 1782 did he become interested in printing. In that year his attention was called to the logographic process which had recently been invented by Henry Johnson Walter purchased the patent rights of of London. this invention, and acquired premises in Printing House Square, calling his establishment the "Logographic Office." The logographic process was not a success, although Walter printed some forty books by it, and also used it for a few years in printing "The Daily Universal Register" (first issued January 1, 1785), and its successor, "The Times."

With his first letter (that of December 29, 1783) Walter sent to Dr. Franklin an example of Henry Johnson's pamphlet entitled "An Introduction to Logography" (1783). The Doctor's reply of April 17, 1784, expresses his keen interest in this invention. and tells of a pamphlet published in Paris in 1776. entitled "Nouveau Système Typographique, ou Moyen de diminuer, de Moitié, dans toutes les Imprimeries de l'Europe, le Travail et les Frais de Composition, de Correction, et de Distribution, découvert en 1774. par Madame de . A Paris, de l'Imprimerie . . Royale, MDCCLXXVI." Dr. Franklin goes on to tell Walter that, after reading that French pamphlet. he had cast some syllables, of which he sends a sample to Walter. Walter replies, in a grateful letter of great length, in which he discusses the current criticisms of the new process.

In the latter part of the year 1784, Dr. Franklin's grandson, William Temple Franklin, visited his father, Governor William Franklin, in London. He seems to have had a meeting with Walter, and to have entered Dr. Franklin's subscription for several of the books being printed by Walter. (See Walter's letters to Temple Franklin, below.)

The last letter in this group is one from Walter to Dr. Franklin, dated July 18, 1789, informing the latter that he has shipped to him several volumes printed by the logographic process, and saying that the undertaking has been perilous to his fortune and to his sensibility. His account of the anger of George III at finding the name of Dr. Franklin in the list of Walter's subscribers, is highly amusing.

The originals of the letters written by John Walter to Dr. Franklin are in the great Collection of Franklin Papers owned by the American Philosophical Society, which Society has very courteously permitted me to make copies thereof. The Library of Congress possesses a copy of Dr. Franklin's letter of April 17, 1784, to Walter, which letter has often been printed. The letters of August 17, 1784 and February 1, 1785, from the Doctor to Walter are to be found printed in "An Address to the Public by John Walter," which was published by Walter in the year 1789; a copy of this "Address" is in the library of Saint Bride Foundation, London.

Those who may desire to know more about the logographic method of printing employed by John Walter, are referred to the following works:

- (a) An Introduction to Logography: or the Art of Arranging and Composing for Printing with Words Intire, their Radices and Terminations, instead of Single Letters . . . by Henry Johnson, London: Printed Logographically, and sold by J. Walter, Bookseller, Charing-Cross, and J. Sewel, Cornhill, MDCCLXXXIII.
- (b) Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, intended as a Specimen of the Types, at the Logographic Printing Office . . . London: Printed and sold by J. Walter, Printing-House-Square, Blackfriars, and at No. 45 Lombard Street. MDCCLXXXV.
- (c) An Address to the Public by J. Walter, shewing the Great Improvement he has made in the Art of Printing by Logographic Arrangements; stating also the various Difficulties and Oppositions he has encountered during its Progress to the present State of Perfection. London: Printed at the Logographic Press, Printing-House-Square, Blackfriars, and sold by J. Walter, No. 169, Facing Bond-Street, Piccadilly, MDCCLXXXIX.

(The larger part of the last above is occupied by copies of letters from Dr. Franklin, Sir Joseph Banks, The Duke of Portland, William Caslon, and others. Eight pages are devoted to the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who were subscribers to Walter's plan of printing logographically. Two pages are given up to a list of the publications of the Logographic Press.)

- (d) Timperly's Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote, page 749, where the method is severely criticized and even ridiculed. Timperly says that the process was soon discontinued.
- (e) The excellent biography of John Walter in the Dictionary of National Biography.

JOHN WALTER TO DR. FRANKLIN

LONDON, Dec^r. 29th 1783.

Dr. Benjⁿ. Franklin Sir:

As a Gentleman of Science & a Well Wisher to the new erected Empire, I address myself to you on an Improvement, which is now introduc'd into the World, on which a pamphlet is just publish'd, to print with Words entire, instead of single Letters, which will be of the most important Use in the future Conduct of the Press, both for Dispatch, neatness & Correctness—It is intended to be executed both by an alphabetical & numerical arrangement, which are now inspecting by many Men of Letters, & has had the strong approbation of Dr. Jos. Banks, the members of the British Museum &c, & has had a very gracious Reception from our Sovereign, to whom it is dedicated by his permission.

As no doubt this Improvement will be equally acceptable to America, if a liberal Encouragement is given, it shall be sent you, which cannot fail of proving acceptable to a Country where the Arts will no doubt flourish in an eminent Degree— The numerical Fount will be particularly useful in the dead Languages, as a numerist only is requir'd to know the Subject, the Compositor having Numbers before him, & therefore may be ignorant of what he composes. If any Correspondent of yours should make application by your Direction, further Particulars may be known, as no doubt will the Writer of this Letter from. Sir.

> Your Most Obed^t. Serv^t. JOHN WALTER.

P. S. My address is Queen Square Bloomsbury.

Dr. Franklin to John Walter

Passy, April 17, 1784.

Sir:

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I have received a Book, for which I understand I am obliged to you, the "Introduction to Logography." I have read it with Attention, and, as far as I understand it, am much pleas'd with it. I do not perfectly comprehend the Arrangement of his Cases; but the Reduction of the Number of Pieces by the Roots of Words, and their different Terminations, is extreamly ingenious; and I like much the Idea of cementing the Letters, instead of casting Words or Syllables, which I formerly attempted, and succeeded in having invented a Mould, and Method by which I could in a few minutes, form a Matrice, and adjust it, of any Word in any Fount at pleasure, and proceed to cast from it.

I send enclosed a specimen of some of my Terminations, and would willingly instruct Mr. Johnson in the Method if he desired it; but he has a better. He mentions some Improvements of Printing that have been proposed, but takes no Notice of one published here at Paris, in 1776; so I suppose he has neither seen nor heard of it. It is in a Quarto Pamphlet, entitled "Nouveau Système Typographique, ou Moyen de diminuer de Moitié, dans toutes les Imprimeries de l'Europe, le Travail et les Frais de Composition, de Correction, et de Distribution, découvert en 1774, par Madame de . . . Frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, MDCCLXXVI." It is dedicated to the King, who was at the Expence of the Experiments. Two Commissaries were named to examine and render an Account of them; they were M. Desmarets, of the Academy of Sciences, and M. Barbou, an eminent Printer. Their Report concludes thus: "Nous nous contenterons de dire ici, que M. de St. Paul a rempli les engagemens qu'il avoit contractés avec le Gouvernement; que ses expériences projetées ont été conduites avec beaucoup de méthode et d'intelligence de sa part; et que par des calculs longs et pénibles, qui sont le fruit d'un grand nombre de combinaisons raisonnées, il en a déduit plusieurs résultats qui méritent d'être proposés aux artistes, et qui nous paroissent propres à éclairer la pratique de l'imprimerie actuelle, et à en abréger certainement les procédées . . . Son projet ne peut que gagner aux contradictions qu'il essuiera sans doute, de la part des gens de l'art. A. Paris, le 8 Janvier, 1776." The pamphlet consists of 66 pages, containing a Number of Tables of Words and Parts of Words, Explanations of those Tables, Calculations, answers to Objections, &c. I will endeavour to get one to send you if you desire it; mine is bound up with others in a Volume.

It was after seeing this Piece, that I cast the Syllables I send you a Sample of. I have not heard that any of the Printers here make at present the least use of the Invention of Madame de . . . You will observe, that it is pretended only to lessen the Work by one half; Mr. Johnson's Method

lessens it three fourths. I should be glad to know with what the Letters are cemented. I think cementing better than casting them together, because if one Letter happens to be battered, it may be taken away and another cemented in its Place. I received no Letter with the Pamphlet. I am, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

JOHN WALTER TO DR. FRANKLIN

London, May 1784.

[Oct.,

I am oblig'd for your kind Letter & the present accompanying it, which I think of great Moment to my future Patent-When I first apply'd to have Type cemented for the incorrect Pamphlet I sent you, Mr. Caslon charg'd me 2 S. pr Pound for them, instead of 1 S. the common Price of Letters, but gave me Expectation that the Demand would be lessened if an appearance of Business took place in that Way, however I find no abatement in Price from him, though he has every Reason now to find it will be continued.-When I first publish'd that Pamphlet in the author's name, I threw it out into the World to court every Objection which could possibly arise against the Mode intended for Execution-The Answers and Objections made by several Printers, on viewing the Fount, and criticisms in the Reviews, have been so puerile to common understanding, that I have been induc'd to purchase the King's late Printing House, near Apothecaries' Hall, Blackfriars, (formerly Mr. Basket's) which has been fitted up for the purpose, & will open on the 1st Day of next Month, for conducting Business on the Plan contain'd in the Pamphlet.--It has been a very laborious Work to combat a Whole language, to arrange it, & make a proper Portion of Words for general Use, but when I took it up about a year since, it was so voluminous, that though 6 years Labor had been bestow'd, & great Ingenuity mark'd the Work, Utility was yet wanting; for was a Compositor to ramble round a very extended Space, in search of the different Letters of the Alphabet, the Time taken up by such a process would not compensate for the number of Motions to form the Words-To correct this Evil has been the

SIR:

1928.] Correspondence of Franklin and Walter

attention of my Thoughts for a considerable Time, without much assistance from Mr. Johnson, who I found in a short Space after his Introduction to Me not only a very eccentric Genius, but a man without Principle, & of unbounded Extravagance, & I have had as much Plague to render him of further Use in the Matter, as with the Work itself-You will excuse my being very minute in Description of the Arrangement, on which the Facility of the Work depends, because I mean to offer a Fount of it to the Court of France, as I have already to that of Russia, by the Ambassador of that Court, who did me the honor to view it with the Duke of Richmond on Saturday last-Thus far I may venture to inform you, that the whole English Language (except Technicals & Obsolete Words) are comprized in 8 cases of 3 feet 3 inches, by 1 foot 7 inches each, which takes up an Extent of only 6 feet 6 inches, because 2 pair Cases are in Front, & 1 pair on either side, making a triangular Box, so that the Compositor by the method of placing has no more than 41/2 feet to range in-One Case contains all particles, Pronouns & auxiliary Verbs, likewise words of all Figures; 6 cases contain the rest of the Language as simple words, with & without the conclud'g Letters where they admit of a compound, & one case has every Termination, so that for Instance if the Word converse is wanted-convers admits of ation, ing, ed, ible, &c, &c-The Duke of Richmond was so well pleas'd that he has desir'd a complete Fount, which I mean to present His Grace with, after the Offer of one to his Majesty, whom you may observe gave me the Liberty to dedicate it to him, & his Grace the Duke of Portland did me the Honor of presenting it-The Madness of Parties, now War is at an End, has kept the King hitherto from attending the Subject, further than perusing the pamphlet, but I do not despair of having his royal Presence ere long. This important improvement of the Press is brought forward to the World, from my having been very unfortunate as well as my Country in the consequences of the mad War it has been engag'd-The enclos'd Paper will give you a Description of a hard Case, & the prophetic warning I gave the Duke of Grafton (after addressing Lord North on the subject I was involv'd in without Reply) but such was the supineness (to say no worse) of

our administration, that had an Angel from Heaven portended the seperation which has taken place, it would not have been attended to.—The Man who first invented the arrangement of the Language would very probably have suffer'd the patent to expire, without assistance

the Mode of your casting your Terminations sent me (which are not quite exact) will be highly acceptable-I am afraid the Founders here, foreseeing a Revolution in their Trade, & being very few in Number, retard my Work, as near 4 Months since I bespoke 3000 weight of Types cemented, without having yet a single Pound, which could I get Punches & Matrices made of exactness, would oblige me to turn Founder; for as my ultimate Intention is, to sell the Type, I must not be at such a State of Uncertainty-my patent being "for the sole Privilege of casting & cementing as well as using &c-I have sent you our Letter, that you may see the manner of cementing them, which is with the same compound the Letter is cast, & you will observe the common Letter runs flush at Bottom, whereas the other is printed for the metal to close the Vacancy -I recollect Mr. Barclay was in haste when I deliver'd him the Pamphlet, which occasioned my sending no Letter by him, which I thought the less necessary, as he saw the apparatus at my house, & therefore was the more fully enabl'd to describe it-Either you or the Founders here are wrong, by your supposing if a Letter is batter'd it can be remov'd without Prejudice to the rest, as the Word is rejected should that happen. which makes me very desirous of casting the Word entire, if it is practicable with any exactness—I have corrected the Outlines of a grammatical Dictionary for an Universal Language, so digested that the same writing or Character shall be perfectly understood in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Russian, Swedish, Danish & Turkish Languages; with Blank columns

for the Insertion of any other Language, & that each may be alternately translated into the other, by being acquainted with one Language only. But as yet I have the Pamphlet unfinish'd. & in Manuscript only. as the present Work engrosses all my attention, & Johnson is so little to be depended on, that I despair of his Services being long continued. He is so much in Debt here, that he is afraid of stirring out, & seldom keeps a Lodging a Month together, & of that unbounded Expense. that no Purse is equal to his Demands. & was he in Possession of a Thousand Pounds now, a Week hence would find him without a Shilling-I am going to publish a newspaper by my Plan, & intend very soon bringing forward a new Edition of the classics-I should be glad to have my Improvement laid before the Court of France, for their Approbation, & would willingly send the King a complete printing Fount. that the Nation might have the Benefit of it, laying myself open to the Liberality of the Monarch, perhaps you might much assist me in this Wish, as I find it will require a much more extensive Fortune than the Calamities of the late War have left me to command, in forwarding the plan on a liberal Scale, which I am ambitious of putting it.

Your further Correspondence on this sub [torn out] with convenience to yourself, will be much esteem'd by

Sir

Your much oblig'd & Obed^t. Serv^t.

JOHN WALTER.

P. S. This will be delivered by my friend Rob't Hunter, Esq^r. an eminent Merchant of this City, whom I beg to introduce on this Occasion—Dr. Franklin.

DR. FRANKLIN TO JOHN WALTER Passy, August 17, 1784.

SIR:

I received your favour dated in May last, with the specimens of your manner of cementing your Types, for which I am much obliged to you. My manner of making the Matrices for words I could freely communicate to you, but that I think vour method better, on the whole, to have the letters cast separately, and afterwards cemented. But the founders' demand of double price, seems too high, and I imagine a cement might be contrived, with which the letters being wet while composing into words or parts of words, they would, when dry, stick firmly enough together. I have now here a little composition of types, which having been used in printing, and washed with lye, (which dissolves the printing ink) and the dissolved matter not being rinsed out with water as it ought to have been, is now so hard baked together, that I find it impossible to separate the letters: I have even boiled them in lye without success. I fancy the white of eggs with lime finely powdered, or lime water perhaps, if dried on a very hot stove, might produce the same effect.-I send you herewith by my grandson, the French piece I mentioned to you; when perused, you can return it. I am sorry for your difficulties, wish you success, and am,

> Sir, Your humble Servant B. FRANKLIN.

JOHN WALTER TO WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN

Mr. Walter presents his respectful Compliments to Mr. Franklin, was unfortunate in not meeting him when he call'd in Devonshire Street a few Days since and was in hopes to have had that Favour at his printing House—As he will probably soon depart for France Mr. W. will be glad to know when it will be convenient that he may be in the Way to receive him & at the same Time will trouble him with a few Specimens for Dr. Franklin & Count D'Adhemar if he will take the trouble of delivering them.

Queen Square Nov^{*}. 1st, 1784

John Walter to William Temple Franklin Queen Square Nov¹. 15, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

I fully intended myself the pleasure of paying my respects to you previous to your Departure but am unavoidably engag'd & prevented that Pleasure; I have therefore sent by the Bearer 2 Copies of the Letter A in English, French & Latin—One of them for your Grandfather & the other for Count D'Adhemar, which with the Letter enclos'd I request the Favor of you to deliver him & shall be happy to hear from the Doctor at his convenience. I think in the Letter I have address'd him every matter is explain'd, but shall be happy to send him any other Information he may require. I sincerely wish you a safe & pleasant Journey & Health to enjoy it & shall at all Times think myself honour'd whenever you visit this Country to be favour'd with your Company.

I am, Sir,

Your Most Obed^t. Serv^t. JOHN WALTER.

JOHN WALTER TO DR. FRANKLIN

January 23, 1785.

Sir:

By your Grandson I had the Honor to transmit you a Copy of the first Letter in this Alphabet in the Mode I pursue in printing, which I hope came safe to Hand, though the Rec^t I am not honor'd with an Acknowledgm^t of.

Several Books having been issued from my Press on various Subjects among the rest Adams on Electricity & the first Volume of a Series of Works which your Grandson was so polite to set down your Name for as a Subscriber, which is likewise honor'd by the Dukes of Richmond & Northumberland, Earls of Bute & Ma [torn], L^d Romney, Dr. Jos. Banks & about 150 other very respectable Names, & I flatter myself to place His Majesty's Name at the Head of it.

If you will please to signify by what Conveyance I shall send you the first Vol. which is twelve & 17 others (of which Dr. Watts on the Improvement of the Mind will be the first) will be all in Octavo. It shall be sent to your Order,

By Sir,

Your Much oblig'd & obed^t. ser^t JOHN WALTER

DR. FRANKLIN TO JOHN WALTER

PASSY, February 1st, 1785.

Sir:

I received by my grandson the copy of your mode of arranging the first letter in the alphabet, which is very curious, and am much obliged to you for it; please to accept my hearty thanks. I have since received your favour of the 23rd. past, and desire you would deliver the books you mention to Dr. Bancroft, who is so obliging as to take care of this letter. I can only add, that I am, with great esteem,

Your humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

JOHN WALTER TO DR. FRANKLIN

May 7, 1785.

SIR:

I was favor'd with your Letter of the 17 Ult. by the Hand of Mons^r. Avisson Jun^r. whom I introduced to my Printing • House & a Foundry where I am cementing my Letter.

Since I had the Honor of writing you last, many alterations have taken Place in this Fount—at that Time I had the whole Language cemented which I found on Trial could not answer as it extended the Distance & after 6 Months use, it did not appear that $\frac{1}{2}$ the Letter had been us'd besides the trouble of distribution I found was a great Loss of Time; I have therefore reduc'd the Fount considerably by taking out all Words not in common Use, by which Means I am enabled to enlarge the Size of each Cell, which likewise admits of the Words being distributed as common Letter, instead of stand^g upright. I take up the Words least in Use by Syllables.

This has not only been a very tedious Loss of Time but attended with a heavy Expence, too much for the Wreck of my Fortune, & puts me to some Difficulties, I have so many Mouths to supply, as from the various Things I have going forward in which 5 presses are constantly engaged, the Weekly Expences of my Houses generally exceeds £50. Among other Things now printing are Necker's Finance translated into English by Mr. Mortimer—Mr. Vanderheys Treatise on the Finances of Great Britain—Transactions of the Society of Arts for the present Year—Mr. Le Texier's French Plays— An Octavo Edition of Robinson Crusoe, Derham Physical Theology &c, &c, the last two are part of the Subscription, of which is Dr. Watts Improvement of the Mind, that Book being finished, I have troubled Mr. Avisson to deliver it to you, not being able to find Dr. Bancroft who sent your Letter by his Servant without any address.

Mons^r. Avisson left London unexpectedly, before I had an opportunity to give him in charge a Letter for you, & some Specimens I meant him to have carried to you. I am casting some Words not exceeding 5 Letters, which will be a considerable Saving & have a Method of joining Letters from the common Fount, which may be distributed back into single Letters with little Trouble. I did not choose to be very particular with Mr. Avisson, as I should flatter myself a thorough Investigation of this Improvement might produce some Gratuity from the Court of France for the expence I have been at. If opportunity offers, I should be glad to have your Introduction of it to the Academy of Arts at Paris, as I am doubtful that Count D'Adhemar comply with my wishes on that Subject, though I sent an Explanation of the Improvement for that Purpose.

At your Leisure please to inform me by what Means I shall convey the other Books as they are finish'd & if not too much Trouble request Mons^r. Avisson to inform me where his shall be left, as he subscrib'd his Name to them, & of whom the Subscription Money is to be receiv'd.

I am with wishes for your Health & long Enjoyment of it, with great respect,

Sir, Your Much Oblig'd & obed. Ser.

JOHN WALTER.

JOHN WALTER TO DR. FRANKLIN

July 18, 1789.

SIR:

I read a letter with pleasure, giving an Account of your Health & it gave me the Opportunity likewise of sending you the Books subscrib'd for which I wanted a proper address on your return to America where I might safely deposit them sooner. They consist of the following Books, of one which is most analagous I have sent a triplicate, they are as follows

Miscellanies in Prose & Verse Dr. Watts Improvement of the Mind Deliv'd your Grandson

Now sent

2 Vols. Octavo Derham's Physico & Astro Theology

2 do Lord Bacon's Essays

1 do King Prussia's Letters to Count Suhm

1 Pamphlet French & English Calonne

3 Vols. 12^s Platonic Marriage

1 do Latude's Memoirs

1 do Oct^o Memoirs of Count D'Argenson

1 do do Important Period of Parliament

3 do Correspondence between France & America

3 do Necker on Finance

I did print an Octavo edition of Robinson Crusoe & another of Butler's Analogy, but they are out of print, which made me substitute 3 sets of Correspondence betw. France & America that you might receive Books to Amount of Subscription which I thank you for.

This Undertaking has been most perilous both to my Fortune & Sensibility. It happens in the Course of human Events that you, though innocently, have been the Cause of this Undertaking being on the Decline-I have sent you a brief relation of many circumstances which have attended it, but how will you be astonish'd when I relate that from some authority I understand you were a Stumbling Block, from the Name of whom Majesty Shrunk-certain it is the King was pleas'd with the Plea that his Librarian appear'd to forward it-That he promis'd to get the King's Name to the Head of my Subscription, and after I had sent him a List of the Subscribers he shrunk back & from the Civility of a Courtier, he dwindl'd down to the Rudeness of a Sycophant. All the Applications I have made to the Treasury during 5 years though flattering, are so much time spent in vain for as I had embark'd in a Trade to which I was not bred, it was necessary

for me to force connections, as the Trade were hostile to the Undertaking, and it must drop as an art, unless I can get some industrious Person to retire into the Country with some apprentices to bring it forward—for Industrious Application to the Business has fill'd up my Time, which cannot now be spar'd to complete the system of Logographic Printing; for those apprentices I have, are too much in League with the compositors to benefit the Undertaking & I find it is kicking against the pricks.

If any Opportunity offers of recommending the Press, or my Trade as a Book seller which I have embark'd in Piccadilly in my own Defence, or sending for either the *Times* (formerly the Universal Register) a daily paper which is still printed chiefly Logographically, I will till the Founts are worn out, or the Evening Mail which comes out 3 Days in the Week & are both principally my Property, it will oblige with great veneration

Sir

Your Most oblig'd Humble Sert. JOHN WALTER.

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