REFERENCES


Conner, Paul W.  Poor Richard's Politicks; Benjamin Franklin and his New American Order.  New York: Oxford University Press, 1965


Ford, Thomas K. "The apothecary in eighteenth-century Williamsburg : being an account of his medical and chirurgical services, as well as of his trade practices as a chymist.” Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va., 1990. Note: Williamsburg craft series Queen of Heaven Memorial History of Medicine and Biology Collection.


PRIMARY NEWSPAPER SOURCES


Cappon, Lester J., and Stella F. Duff. Virginia Gazette Index, 1736 - 1780. Williamsburg VA:
Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950.

Green, Karen Mauer. The Maryland Gazette, 1727-1761: Genealogical and Historical Abstracts.

Lathem, Edward Connery. Chronological Tables of American Newspapers 1680 - 1820. Barre, MA:

Pennsylvania Gazette: 1728-1752. Accessible Archives Inc. CD ROM product. Provo, Utah:
FolioViews from Folio Corp.

Pennsylvania Gazette: 1728-1789. Originally printed by S. Keimer, B. Franklin and H. Meredith,
Congress Microfilm, 1956.

Maryland Gazette, 1745 - 1839. Originally published by Jonas Green, Hunter. Jan.17,1745 - Dec. 12,

APPENDIX A: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

In order to place the colonial newspaper in the context of the times and understand its role there, the exposition needed to embrace an understanding of colonial culture, science, literature and publication. For this reason, a number of varied sources inform this discourse. Understanding eighteenth-century science required utilizing many of the traditionally oriented histories that examine key figures and episodes of the Enlightenment. Certain figures and episodes, such as Franklin and his work with electricity, or Boyleston and Mather and the small pox inoculation controversies, seem well explored. Among others, I utilized Lemay, Cohen, Abbe, Aldridge. I utilized Blake, Wilson and Duffy for the focus on epidemics and inoculation.

Other areas of exploration, such as understanding earthquakes and the weather, presented a problem with far fewer works to choose from. However, generalized works, such as Olby et al, Stearns and Hindle, did make some reference to these types of explorations. One author, Eisenstadt, explored the cultural meaning of the weather. Another, Kevin Lee Nevers, although the exploration constituted only a small component of his dissertation, wrote of the language in newspaper articles about earthquakes and volcanoes.

While many of the works on science examined the relevant technical artifacts, they did not necessarily focus on them. For technology I utilized Stuik, Tanford, Ruth Schwartz Cowan. The bibliography of Rothenburg also lead to many specific sources.

Finding information about the medical practices of colonial America proved the least difficult. Authors including Overfield, Abeshouse, Young, Van Dore, Kremers and Urdang, Bell, Hill, Ford, and Geneviere Miller detail the practice of the colonial or English physician. Others, such as Samuel Horton Brown and James Harvey Young actually focus on the advertising engaged in by these physicians in America and abroad. One author, Judith Karst, wrote a dissertation, "Newspaper Medicine," which mostly details the role the newspaper played in the medical practice of three colonial provinces: South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland.

Placing newspaper science in a cultural context required works specifically addressing colonial culture or, comparatively, English culture during the same period. For that I drew on Bridenbaugh, Gans, Schwartz, Boorstin. I also used the dissertation by Duhadaway who wrote of popular thought in Philadelphia and Mexico City during the eighteenth century. For more details about the colonial economy from shipping to manufacturing I used Jensen and Eric Stephen Schubert. The burgeoning colonial consumer society benefited from the compilations of Brewer and Porter and the work of Schweitzer. Wood wrote of the history of advertising. Barrow specifically addressed advertising in the colonial paper. Looney addressed advertising and society in England in the 18th century.

A number of ready sources existed for exploring newspapers, print and printers in eighteenth century America. For newspapers I have used, among others, Brigham, Mott and Richardson. For issues of print and journalism more generally I have used Evans, Solomon, Bleyer, Caswell, Ford, Gordon, Kobre, Lee, Moore, Payne, Salmon, Schudson. Kielbowicz focused on the post as critical to the distribution of news in the mail. Laugero addressed the circulation of print. I found Sloan's work on the early American press particularly helpful. Examining the printers themselves benefited from Clary, Clark, Wroth, McCormack. Allen addressed the issue of the stamp act's impact on printers.
A number of authors specifically address issues of language, culture and readership. Among those I found works that did not always address colonial culture but, nonetheless, could inform the exploration. I count Benjamin, Biersak, Chartier, Darnton, Leo Marx, Rivers, and Tompkins. Elizabeth Cook wrote a literary criticism of colonial newspapers. Riefe wrote a dissertation on the newspaper and the development of American Culture. Nevers examined some of the language of newspaper representations of science. Understanding culture and readership benefited from looking at Franklin's original writing, such as compiled by Nathan Goodman, as well. One author who created a comprehensive view of communication and culture in colonial America was Richard Brown. A complementary methodological examination of 19th century mass communication comes from Kaufer and Carley. The most comprehensive views of the character and content of the colonial newspaper come from Copeland.

Most of the work related to science in eighteenth century print and periodicals, other than incidental accounts, focuses on Europe. The work of Gascoigne, Kronick, McKie, McRae and Moira Rogers became the works through which I compared the amount and character of American printed science to Europe. I also used Pencak, who examined the character of Poor Richard's Almanac.

In addition to utilizing complementary works on European science, I wanted to look at the contemporary American press's relationship with science. This worked to inform my study of eighteenth century newspaper science both comparatively and with respect to contemporary origins. Three primary authors fulfilled this role: Kriehbaum looked at science and mass media, La Follette examined newspapers in the early part of the 20th century and Dorothy Nelkin examined newspapers and science in the last part of the 20th century. Separate, yet related, the works of several authors worked to clarify the contemporary image of science which newspapers contribute to. Ezrahi places science in the context of a political economy. Political scientists Bimber and Guston categorize the exceptionals that science claims for itself. Bimber and Guston also reference sociologist Robert Merton's characterizations of science, which also become manifest in newspaper representations. These works, while focused on contemporary science communication, helped place the 18th-century newspaper science in perspective.

To place the use of the newspaper as 'popularizer' in context I draw on several authors who examine contemporary science popularization. These include Cooter, Pumfrey, Hilgarten, Ionescu, Gellner, Shinn, Whitley, and the dissertation exploring science in late 19th century England by Lancashire.

The organizational aspects of natural philosophy, through clubs, societies and the "Republic of Letters" became an important element in the public acceptance of natural philosophy. A number of authors detail this aspect of science in Europe and 19th century America: Brasch, Dupree, Frangsmyr, Dena Goodman, Hall, Hunter, Klein, McClellan, and Warner.

One of the most important bodies of works to inform this dissertation came from the Social Study of Science and Technology (or Science and Technology Studies - STS). Some of these works have been labeled as part of the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge (SSK) canon. Others reside outside and even in some theoretical opposition to SSK. For my part, again, all these works did not really address the situation in colonial American science. However, they do give some interesting comparisons and historiographical techniques for placing science in a broader culture and showing the metaphysical negotiations that occurred in various communicative formats. A number of these authors include: Cameron, Edge, Collins, Golinski, Gooding, Pinch, Schaffer, Shapin, Hacking, Jacob, Jaffee, Latour, Stewart, and Snobelen. Millburn wrote of Benjamin Martin as "Author, Instrument maker and Country
Showman," a suitable comparison for Franklin and Kinnersley.

Lastly, since I discovered natural philosophy as a negotiated practice and knowledge in the colonial newspaper, I needed to examine paradigms that sometimes were placed in opposition to natural philosophy. This included various superstitions, religions, and satires. I took advantage of the work by Burnham, who claimed that superstition ‘won’, a state that persists even today. I also used Kerr, Crow, and Leventhal. Timothy Hall examined contested boundaries in religion. Anderson wrote a dissertation on the satiric writing in British newspapers and books criticizing the practice of -- and those practicing -- natural philosophy.

The methodologically eclectic mix of literatures that advised me in writing this dissertation forced a considerable synthesis of approaches. Some of the literature also deserves a more extensive explication as related informant. I handle that explication in chapter two.
VITA

David Lewis Ferro was born on October 20, 1961 in Everett, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of Wakefield Memorial High School in Wakefield, MA. He earned a B.S. in Computer Science from the University of Lowell, Lowell, MA in 1984. He received an M.S. in Science and Technology Studies (STS) from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia, in 1995 where he also completed his STS Ph.D. in January, 2001.