Credit for first producing malleable platinum in North America in sufficient quantity to satisfy the needs of American industry and commerce must go to Justus Erich Bollmann, whose sheet platinum went into the construction of the first platinum still to be used in America for the concentration of sulphuric acid. An account is provided of the development of Bollmann’s business and of his efforts to create new outlets for the metal.

Justus Erich Bollmann was born in 1769 at Hoya-on-Weser in the Electorate of Hannover, where his father was a well-to-do merchant. After attending school in Karlsruhe he studied medicine and surgery at the University of Göttingen and graduated MD in 1791. He then set out through southern Germany in pursuit of further medical knowledge and on reaching Paris in January 1792 he gave free medical attention to the poor in their houses in order to gain experience and he also spent some time learning French as well as in acquiring a knowledge of chemistry.

Justus Erich Bollmann 1769–1821

German physician, adventurer, merchant, economist, author and manufacturing chemist. Bollmann arrived in New York from England in 1796, after acquiring a knowledge of chemistry in Paris. He lived for most of the ensuing twenty years in Philadelphia where he became a member of the American Philosophical Society. He was the first to prepare malleable platinum on a commercial scale in the United States, and was responsible for providing the first platinum boiler used in America for concentrating the weak sulphuric acid produced by the lead chamber process.
Later that year when the life of the Comte de Narbonne, the French War Minister, was threatened, Bollmann succeeded at great personal risk in conducting him out of France to join a group of French émigrés in London (1). Though he did not realise it at the time, this episode was to have an important influence on Bollmann's future. In 1793 and 1794 he became involved in two attempts to secure the release from prison of Lafayette, formerly one of the French army commanders in Paris. The second attempt which was carried out with American financial backing and with the help of an American accomplice, Francis Huger, only failed when Lafayette was recaptured some twenty miles from the fortress at Olmütz where he had been held by the Austrians. For their part in the affair Bollmann and Huger were sentenced to six months confinement in an Austrian prison and to subsequent banishment from the country (2).

On their release from prison Bollmann and Huger made their way to London where in October 1795 they embarked for America and arrived at New York on 1 January 1796. Because of his efforts on behalf of Lafayette, Bollmann received a warm welcome in America and he was cordially received by President Washington. Some years later, when Thomas Jefferson became President, he sought Bollmann out on account of the services rendered to Lafayette and over a period offered him three government appointments: Consul at Rotterdam, Commercial Agent at Santo Domingo, and Factor at the Indian Agency at Natchitoches in Louisiana; but all were declined for commercial reasons.

In 1797 Erich Bollmann joined in partnership with his brother Ludwig to establish the firm E. & L. Bollmann at Philadelphia, their main business being to import Silesian linen on a commission basis (3), and with financial support provided by the London merchant bankers, John and Francis Baring & Company, to buy West Indian cacao, coffee and sugar for export to Hamburg (4). Shortly afterwards Erich married one of the daughters of John Nixon, a wealthy Philadelphia shipping merchant and President of the Bank of North America.

The partnership with Ludwig lasted only six years. Following the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens between France and England in 1802, and the ensuing depressed state of the commercial ports of northern Europe, the Bollmanns lost over $140,000 through an unwise speculation in tea, by failures of customer-firms in Philadelphia, and on their own exports to Europe. Bankruptcy followed in 1803 with Francis Baring & Company and Victor du Pont among the creditors (5).

The next few years were times of great hardship for Erich Bollmann and by 1809 his thoughts had turned towards agreeable scientific occupations whose profits might suffice for him to lead a quiet life (6). He attempted to interest Irénée du Pont, who had established a gunpowder factory at Wilmington, Delaware, the precursor of the modern Du Pont enterprise, in schemes for the manufacture of various chemicals but without success. He then established a small factory for making artificial flowers (7) but this venture failed when both home and foreign demand collapsed in 1812 after America declared war on England (8).

The years 1810 to 1812 saw the publication of four works by Bollmann, dealing in the main with national banking and finance; also an article on the Embargo policy of the American government, and a review of a publication by Gay-Lussac and Thénard. But as Bollmann confided to Irénée du Pont, all those works gave him "more Fame than Feeding, and even not much of that" (9). Bollmann then decided to devote the greater part of his time to practical chemistry, setting himself particular aims, one of which was to prepare malleable platinum and promote its use in the trades and the arts (10).

**Production of Malleable Platinum**

The public first learnt of Bollmann's activities with platina, the crude alluvial ore which on purification yields platinum metal, through the publication in June 1813 of a note by Thomas Cooper, professor of chemistry and mineralogy at Dickinson College in Carlisle,
Pennsylvania (11). This note revealed that Bollmann had “succeeded in manufacturing Platina into bars, wire, spoons, and crucibles”. Cooper could give no details of the process used by Bollmann, but he provided an outline of what he termed the “common method” of producing malleable platinum, a method which from its description appears to be the one employed by Richard Knight towards the end of the eighteenth century (12). Cooper also announced that the specific gravity of Bollmann’s platinum was 19.7; this he contrasted with a value “upwards of 21” obtained by Joseph Cloud, an officer of the United States Mint, for a specimen of platinum which he had purified by freeing it from iron, palladium, iridium and rhodium.

Following the publication of Cooper’s note, Bollmann wrote him a letter, dated 16 June 1813, in which he explained that the value 19.7 applied uniquely to the particular “ill hammered specimen” of platinum which Cooper had taken with him. He went on to state that his own platinum generally yielded a value of 21.5 and that he had even had several pieces of specific gravity 22.5. After pointing out that Cloud seemed to have intended to do no more than produce a cabinet piece of platinum of the greatest possible purity and specific gravity, Bollmann claimed that he was the first person in America to render platina malleable “by means of a process, which admits being executed on a large scale” (13), see above.

Bollmann went on to say that he did not follow the “common method” as described by Cooper, because it “could not be executed in the large way with safety, accuracy and dispatch”. He then revealed that he had found hints of another method in European publications, and after carrying out some unsuccessful trials he believed he had improved it considerably. He promised that he would give Cooper a full account of the method after some time had elapsed, but indicated that he had no intention of doing so immediately lest others might profit unfairly from his researches and thereby deprive himself of the opportunity to recover the expenses he had already incurred.

The production of malleable platinum from platina was referred to in a letter Bollmann wrote to Simon Snyder, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:

‘The ore comes from South America, in small Grains which are formed in the Beds of rivers, mixed with the Sand. The art of bringing these small Grains, into a solid mass, fit to be hammered, and wrought, depends on a very peculiar Process, of a chemical nature which is practically known to only a very few People in Europe, and which has never been executed in this Country before I attempted it myself. I have been so successful, that, according to the opinion of M! Cooper, and some other of the learned Chemists, I have even considerably improved upon the European method of working it, so that the greatest Part of my Process belongs to myself.”(14)

So far as is known Bollmann never revealed the details of his process for producing malleable platinum. However in view of the
literature on platinum which was available at that time, one cannot help wondering whether Bollmann had read the article on 'Platina' published a few years earlier in "A Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy". This article contained details of Knight's method of working platina, and also that of another Englishman, Thomas Cock, which was said to have been attended with complete success (15). McDonald has pointed out that Cock appears to have been unconscious of the presence in native platina of iridium, osmium, rhodium and palladium, all of which had been discovered and reported on a year or two earlier (16).

However, as a resident in Philadelphia, and a member of the American Philosophical Society from 1800 onwards, Bollmann would have had no difficulty in learning of the procedure adopted by Cloud, a fellow member of the Society, for separating palladium and rhodium from crude platinum, the details of which were given in a paper Cloud read to the Society in 1809 (17). So it could be that if Bollmann had indeed "improved" on the method invented by Cock, such an improvement was achieved by adopting the chemical process for extracting palladium and rhodium as carried out by Cloud.

Industrial and Commercial Uses

It has been said that when Bollmann began his work on platina, a considerable quantity of the crude metal existed in North America for which there was no demand (18). Whether or not this was the case, Bollmann could certainly have satisfied his requirements for platina from supplies smuggled out of New Granada through the port of Cartagena and shipped to Kingston, Jamaica, where they were handled by the local merchants Adams, Robertson & Company. Crude platina sold at Cartagena in 1814 for not less than five dollars a pound, and the price at Philadelphia being six dollars (19).

The purpose for which such vessels were being made was not disclosed at that time, but a more illuminating account was provided in the letter Bollmann wrote to Snyder:

"There has been a boiler made here, of rolled platina, for the condensation of oil of vitriol, which holds 25 gallons, and is the largest vessel of platina, probably, in existence. Points for lightning-rods are also made of it; crucibles, small scales for apothecaries, lancets for vaccination, salt & mustard spoons, and a variety of other articles, chiefly for the use of the laboratory.

The Navy Department has just taken a quantity of the lightning rod points—which are superior to any other—for the use of the Navy." (14)

American writers on the history of manufactures in their own country at that time all appear to repeat the statement first made by Freedley in 1854: that one of the earliest uses to which Bollmann applied these sheets of platina was in the manufacture of a still for John Harrison, of Philadelphia, the first successful manufacturer of oil of vitriol in the United States. It was Harrison who introduced the lead chamber process into America, about 1793, soon after his return from a visit to England where he had spent two years studying chemistry under Joseph Priestley and acquainting himself, as far as he could gain access to them, with the latest manufacturing processes (18, 20). Harrison's annual output of oil of vitriol, from a large chamber which he built in 1807, was said to be 3,500 carboys (525,000 lbs); the platinum still that Harrison used weighed 700 ounces, held 25 gallons, and continued in service for about fifteen years (18).

The chemical firm started by Harrison was purchased by Du Pont in 1917, but few records exist in the Du Pont archives concerning the chemical activities of John Harrison, and nothing has been traced which links his name with that of Bollmann; the only significant reference to platinum in those archives occurs in the postscript to a letter of 4 September 1813 from Bollmann to Irénée du Pont: "Le platine commence à être recherché pour des emplois majeurs." (21)

A letter sent from Philadelphia to his brother...
Ludwig and dated 8 February 1814 includes the following report by Rollmann concerning his work with platinum:

"Incidentally I have advanced further in this platinum business than in London or Paris. In this town we make pots, scales, lancets, wire, points for lightning conductors and such like. In Europe no one has yet achieved such a large boiler as the one I recently perfected. I have also clad iron on both sides with it [platinum] and then rolled it into plates which are thin as sheet iron, and made it up into various vessels. Copper was plated in a similar manner. I am now making boilers and other containers out of it instead of bell-metal. This process is entirely new. I hope to take advantage of this valuable method also for general use. These, like some other processes, as for instance that for preparing malleable platinum, might become patented in England."

(22)

The public were told about Rollmann's success in cladding iron with platinum when Cooper published a note about it in April 1814 and stated that he had a specimen in his possession (23).

Other letters from Rollmann to his brother Ludwig yield further information about these platinum ventures. On 1 April 1814 he wrote:

"The demand for platinum is now increasing. The Marine Ministry has taken 300 ($500 worth) of my platinum points; the War Ministry wants to take still more of them. ... Moreover lancets, pairs of scales and similar articles come more into use each day, so that the prospects of a good platinum business decidedly increase."

Bollmann admitted to one disappointment however: he had had no success with pots lined with platinum, on account of the difficulty which continued of joining the plated pieces in such a way that no unplated rim should remain exposed; and he realised that pots made entirely of platinum, even if very thin and encased in iron, proved expensive for common use even though they served their intended purpose perfectly (24).

An outline of the financial side of Rollmann's platinum business was given in a letter written to Ludwig on 27 April 1814. Sales in 1813 amounted to 3,000 dollars, and since 1 January 1814 to about 1,300 dollars. Platinum was considered to offer the prospect of a good financial return but the factory costs were large; and the expense of Rollmann's chemical studies and the outlay on buildings and apparatus had come to more than 2,000 dollars (25).

Already it had become evident to Rollmann that if his platinum business was to flourish he would need to develop entirely new uses in America for malleable platinum, uses which would create a large demand for the metal which he alone was in a position to satisfy. Within a short time five new potential applications were being actively promoted.

**Platinum Lustre Ware**

The arts appeared to offer suitable opportunities for the use of platinum, and in June 1813 Bollmann advised Cooper that he had succeeded in giving the metallic lustre to pottery by means of platinum, the shades of
which could be varied at pleasure (13); its successful application to porcelain was announced by Cooper in the following spring (23). No details of Bollmann's process were given but Freedley stated some years later that the silver-coloured metallic lustre for porcelain was prepared with the oxide (26). The different shades of colour were obtained by mixing platinum with different proportions of gold.

We do not know whether Bollmann's 'lustre' process was taken up commercially in America. After Bollmann had settled in London in 1816 he would have seen examples of 'silver lustre', essentially an English development which had been introduced some years before (27). A continuing interest in this subject by Bollmann is shown by an enquiry he addressed to the English chemist, William Hyde Wollaston, who more than ten years earlier had begun the commercial production of malleable platinum in England:

"Perhaps you know, or could occasionally learn, whether Pottery, on the Surface of which Platina has been put, comes out of the Furnace with the metallic Lustre, or whether it is necessary to produce the Lustre by burnishing—I shall be glad to hear from you which is the Case when I have the Pleasure of meeting you again."

(28)

Platinum and the Working of Glass

The glass industry was regarded by Bollmann as a potential customer for his platinum sheet. In April 1814 Cooper reported:

"He will by and by introduce it into the glassworks, if not in the form of crucibles (which can be done) at least to furnish an unoxydable smooth plate, on which the glass blower can work his vessel. It promises, in his hands, to become a very important object to the useful and ornamental arts." (23)

Discussions to this end appear to have been entered into some months earlier with a Pittsburg glass works, almost certainly the firm Bakewell, Page and Bakewell which supplied Bollmann with his chemical glassware. This firm had built a new glass factory in 1808, and though its speciality was flint glass it was also the first in Pittsburg to manufacture cut glass and to ornament and engrave in glass work (29). Ludwig who was then living, in Pittsburg apparently supported a proposal that in order to bring this new development into operation Bollmann should provide the firm with a loan of $2,000 to $15,000 dollars, free of interest for five years. Bollmann rejected the proposal on the ground that although he often possessed significant assets, especially of metal, he had no money available but rather stood in need of it himself (30).

A Platinum Coinage

On 8 February 1814 Bollmann informed his brother that Bakewell & Company had provided him with a loan which would enable him to manufacture coins made entirely of platinum for use in Philadelphia (22); and on 1 April 1814 he reported that he had proposed a treasury coin of platinum which should take the place of treasury notes, and that his proposals for three-dollar bank coins had been well received by one of the banks (24).
Between these two dates Bollmann had also communicated his thoughts on a platinum coinage to James Monroe, the American Secretary of State (31). Bollmann had already published two pamphlets in which he had expounded his views on banking; he was highly critical of the American system whereby banks issued their own notes which had only a local circulation, and he favoured the creation of an American national bank, similar to the Bank of England, the notes of which would be redeemable in specie (32). Similar views were expressed by Bollmann in his letter to Monroe and he went on to suggest the use of "a new metallic Substance, at once, and for the first Time brought forward with a Representative Character . . . Platina Treasury-Pieces, equal in every respect to Treasury-Notes, save the material, which would possess superior, and indeed very superior Qualities."

The letter ended with the following observations:

"As the Platina is the heaviest of all Substances, the known Weight, and Size of the Pieces would every where afford a prompt Criterion of Genuineness.

As Platina is infusible, and the Art of treating this metal is not generally known, but remains with a few men of Science, and, practically, at least in this Country, with myself alone—Counterfits need not be apprehended.

These Treasury Pieces would not leave the Country, neither Wear nor Time would impair them. They would be equally suited for Payments to the Troops, as for Payments to Contractors and merchants.

. . . I shall therefore only add that the Value of Platina is Three Dollars p. Oz. Troy; that the Pieces, in my Opinion, ought to be of various Sizes, from that of half an Eagle, to half a Dollar, and represent 10, 50, 100 Dollars and upwards, with suitable Impressions, and a Circumscription expressive of their Character, and Value;—that Platina is as easily coined as Gold & Silver, that a considerable Quantity of the metal is ready for Use, that more could soon be prepared from the crude Ore, and that more of this Ore is expected to be shortly received." (31)

A platinum coinage appears also to have been in Bollmann's mind when he was staying in Vienna from October 1814 until May 1815. Soon after his arrival there he began to study the Austrian monetary system which was then badly in need of reform, and within a few weeks he had written an essay on the subject and passed it to Count Philipp Stadion, the provisional head of the Austrian Ministry of Finance. The essay contained a proposal for the reorganisation of the existing system through the founding of a national bank; this proposal appealed to Stadion, the two men had frequent meetings to discuss the manner of its execution, and according to Bollmann platinum was brought into those discussions. It is said that Bollmann had brought a specimen of platinum with him from America and that he offered to reveal his own method for working the metal specifically for the production of coins (33).

During Bollmann's stay in Vienna an interest in his proposal for minting coins of platinum was shown by the Russian Minister of Finance, Count Gurieff, who entered into correspondence with him on the subject (34). No immediate action followed, but after Mamshev had made the first discovery of alluvial platinum in Russia in 1824 he then suggested that platinum should become a coinage metal in Russia. In 1828 the Russian government resolved to coin a large sum in Siberian platinum (35) and it was not until 1846 that the production of platinum coins in Russia was discontinued and the whole platinum currency withdrawn.

**Medals and Rings**

The impressment of American seamen for service in British vessels caused much concern to the United States early in the nineteenth century, with an estimated 6,000 or more Americans so impressed by June 1812 when the United States declared war on Britain (36). Victory for either side in this war seemed remote, and when in November 1813 Britain offered to negotiate a peace Bollmann regarded this as an opportunity for him to create a new demand for malleable platinum. Believing that the impressment issue was likely to form a prominent point in the political discussions that would engage the attentions of those involved in the peace negotiations, Bollmann formulated a proposal which he believed was worthy of
consideration by both the American and British
governments. This he outlined in a letter sent
on 20 April 1814 to James Bayard, one of
several commissioners who were about to be
sent to Europe by the American government to
negotiate a peace treaty (37).

Bollmann's proposal involved the creation
and maintenance of a register of American
seamen and the issue to each man of an
identification medal, made from a suitable
metallic alloy, which the holder would carry on
his person. An alloy of platinum and copper was
suggested as being handsome, durable and yet
of little commercial value; it would be struck at
the public mint and would bear the arms of the
United States on one side and the holder's
registration number on the other. Rollmann
suggested that such a medal might be
suspended from an ear-ring, or by a chain of the
same material worn round the neck; alter-
natively a suitably stamped ring might be made
from the same alloy for wearing on the finger.

Nothing came of Bollmann's proposal,
however, and when a peace treaty was signed at
Ghent in December 1814 the subject of
impressment received no mention whatsoever.

Standard Weights and Measures

In 1807 and 1808 the Senate of the State of
Pennsylvania considered reports from a com-
mittee set up to consider the need for a uniform
system of weights and measures. These reports
recommended that until Congress established a
system applicable to the whole of the United
States, the Senate of Pennsylvania should
establish its own standards based on the English
foot-rule, the pound avoirdupois and the pint,
and that three original "Pennsylvania standards" for length, weight and capacity
respectively should be prepared from platinum
metal (38).

A bill to this effect, drawn up by the com-
mittee, progressed no further in Senate than its
first reading. It was not until 21 December
1814 that the matter came up again, when
members of the State Assembly were circulated
with copies of letters which had passed between
Bollmann and Snyder some nine months before
(39). Bollmann's letter contained a list of those
properties of platinum which he considered
made it the most suitable metal to use for the
manufacture of the "Pennsylvania standards";
he thought that three length standards should
be prepared, for the English foot, yard and
chain respectively, and that the weight
standards should cover the range from one
pound down to one drachm. He also suggested
that the principal standard measures for
capacity might be made of rolled platinum and
afterwards coated with cast iron or with bell-
metal (14).

Small specimens of the ore and of malleable
platinum were forwarded with Bollmann's
letter in case Snyder had not previously seen
any samples. However, in view of the lateness of
the current session of the legislature and the
consequent pressure of business, Snyder
decided to hold over Bollmann's communica-
tion until the next session (40). By then
Bollmann was in Europe and it was not until 10
December 1815 that he was able to advise
Snyder of his recent return to America and of
his readiness to attend to the matter should the
legislature decide to act upon his proposition
(41). This was reported to the General
Assembly twelve days later but no action was
ordered (42), and less than five months from
then Bollmann had once again sailed for
England (43).

Prospects in Europe

In July 1814 Bollmann left Philadelphia for
Austria, passing through London and Paris on
his way to Vienna (44). Regarding the purpose
of this trip William Crawford, the American
Ambassador to France, reported as follows:

"This philosophic and science-loving man, it
seems, has undertaken a voyage from the United
States to impart to the chymists and mecanicians
of Europe his discoveries in rendering zinc male-
able, and is going to Austria . . . to establish
steam-boats on the Danube." (45)

However, in view of the fact that malleable zinc
had been available for many years (46) and that,
as far as is known, Bollmann never carried out
any work on that metal, it seems reasonable to
presume that it was platinum rather than zinc which Crawford should have referred to.

During his stay in London Bollmann called on the English chemist, William Hyde Wollaston (47), from whom undoubtedly he would have learnt of the latter's success several years before in producing malleable platinum and of the production by 1812 of four large platinum boilers for acid manufacturers, the first having been made in 1805 (48). These facts would have sufficed to banish any hopes that Bollmann might still have entertained of securing British patents to protect his own platinum processes (22).

In Paris, too, it is unlikely that Bollmann would have been able to add anything to the knowledge of men such as Janety the younger, Vauquelin and Bréant, all of whom had succeeded in producing platinum of a high degree of malleability (49).

Bollmann's efforts to interest Austrian statesmen in a plan for establishing a steamship line on the Danube came to naught (50). His activities in Vienna in seeking to promote the idea of a platinum coinage have already been mentioned, but the fact that Baring Brothers contributed towards Bollmann's expenses in Vienna (51) may suggest yet another reason for his presence there at that time: the possibility of buying quicksilver from Austrian state mines and shipping it to the Chocó district of New Granada for separating gold from the plata in the alluvial deposits.

The End of an Era

After his return to America towards the end of 1815 Bollmann became soured by the failure, as he saw it, of the government there to act on various projects which he had brought with him from Vienna, one being that he should be appointed as the United States agent accredited to the Austrian government with responsibility for developing trade between the two countries, an appointment which he knew would have Prince Metternich's approval (52). Bollmann may also have concluded that there was little prospect of deriving a reasonable income from his platinum enterprises in America, for none of his efforts to create new demands for platinum had achieved any success. England on the other hand seemed to offer some chance of a good livelihood to be gained as a manufacturing chemist.

In May 1816 Bollmann left America for England, taking his two daughters with him (his wife having died fourteen years earlier). When John Quincy Adams, the American Ambassador in London, visited him two months later he learnt that Bollmann had come "upon some new project of a manufacture" and expected to stay at least two years in Europe. Adams doubted whether Bollmann intended ever to return to the United States (53) and such indeed proved to be the case.

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