

The Wages of John Carter's Journeyman Printers, 1771-1779

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IN DECEMBER 1965 Warren G. Davis gave to the American Antiquarian Society a manuscript account book of John Carter, the Providence printer. It is a record of Carter's payments to the journeyman printers in his office from mid-March 1771 through November 1779. It is an unusual document, for printers' accounts are scarce and those concerned with wages are almost impossible to find. In one sense, it is unfortunate that the record covers a period which is so atypical but, in another, the record shows dramatically the difficulties caused by the disruptions of the American War of Independence.

The account book consists of thirty-four pages of data written on both sides of seventeen leaves, plus seven blank leaves at the end. The twenty-four leaves, measuring 190 by 155 mm., are sewn together as one gathering and are protected by a plain paper wrapper now somewhat the worse for wear and well marked with doodles and names. Prominent among the latter is that of Stephen Clark, or Clarke, who has not been identified as being among the descendants of John Carter.

The master printer was born in Philadelphia on 21 July 1745 to John and Elizabeth (Sprigg) Carter.¹ Carter served

¹The chief sources of this brief sketch of Carter's life were William A. Slade's article in volume three of *The Dictionary of American Biography* and J. C. B. Wood's article, 'John Carter of Providence, R.I.', in *The Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society* (October 1918).

his apprenticeship in the office of Franklin and Hall and then, aged twenty-two, he ventured northward to Providence to act as journeyman printer to Sarah Goddard, the publisher of *The Providence Gazette*. The first issue of the *Gazette* to bear his name as printer was dated 19 September 1767. Somewhat more than a year later, on 9 November 1768 he purchased the newspaper, not to relinquish it either as publisher or editor until more than forty-five years later, on 19 February 1814. Except for a five-year span between 9 November 1793 and 11 May 1799 when William Wilkinson was his partner, Carter had sole responsibility for the conduct of the office. From 1772 to 1793 the establishment was located opposite the court house at Shakespear's Head and from 1793 to 1812 it was at the Coffee House near the bridge and opposite the market. Carter, in addition to his printing business, was the Providence postmaster from 4 July 1772 until 16 June 1792.

He was a 'choleric and generous-hearted' Irishman whose conservatively Whiggish sentiments were translated into Federalist politics as the years passed. During the revolutionary war he was a member of the Providence committee of correspondence but in the early months of 1775 he had not yet concluded that independence was the only recourse left to the Americans, an attitude which he changed as events unfolded. Not surprisingly, he was opposed to the War of 1812. Isaiah Thomas had great respect for Carter's abilities as a printer and editor. He wrote of his friend in *The History of Printing in America*:²

... He was well acquainted with the art which he practised, and the productions of his press exhibit evidence of a good and correct workman.

He was a staunch supporter of the cause of our country, before its independence; and after that important event took place, he did not lose sight of her best interests. He prosecuted printing in an accurate manner for forty-six years. His character as a man of honor and integrity was well established: . . .

²2d ed. (Worcester, 1874), I, 203-204.

In addition to this account book, there is a financial record entitled 'John Carter Ledger N^o 1' at the Rhode Island Historical Society in the Carter-Danforth Papers. It is a vellum bound volume consisting of several hundred accounts which date from 9 November 1768. The majority of the entries were closed in 1774, although a few were dated later, one on 20 April 1776. Of especial interest are the long record of his purchases from John Waterman, the papermaker, and the details of his extensive business with the Boston bookseller, Benjamin West. In addition, his accounts with Brown University, lottery companies, and Friends' meetings will undoubtedly yield useful bibliographical information.

Carter's wife was Amey Crawford of Providence whom he married 14 May 1769, and who bore him twelve children. Five of these children had died before his own death on 19 August 1814. Only one son, John, Jr., became a printer; he died a year after his father.

The record of wages paid to Carter's workmen indicates that he employed but one journeyman at any one time, except from 24 August 1776 to 7 June 1777 when John Dabney was in the shop, first with James Hogan, then with Edward Phelon and finally with Bennett Wheeler. Also, Anthony Haswell was hired for three weeks in February 1779 while John McCarty was at work. Carter paid his men by the week, deducting appropriate amounts for time lost. The men were expected to work a six-day week. It is not entirely clear if Carter's workmen regularly found their own board or if they ate with the master printer. In October 1778 there is the statement that Bennett Wheeler's wages included his board at the Carter home but its value is unspecified. Later, in March 1779 (and perhaps for the remainder of the year) John McCarty was charged £3 per week for his board. However, before October 1778 there is no statement in the account book on the matter of victualing.

The wage per week was twelve shillings from the begin-

ning of the account until 17 April 1775 when the rate rose to eighteen shillings. Five months later the wage returned to twelve where it remained, in general, until July 1776 and then became fifteen shillings. In December John Dabney's wage rose to eighteen shillings and stayed at that level until he left the office in mid-June 1777. However, in December 1776 after the British troops landed in Newport Bennett Wheeler reported for work at twenty-one shillings per week. From January to July 1777 Wheeler earned twenty shillings but on 10 July his rate rose to £1 6s, or twenty-six shillings. A sharply inflationary trend is clearly apparent from this date forward. From July to 22 November 1777 the weekly wage went from £1 6s to £2 2s. At the end of June 1778 it rose again to £3 12s and on 17 October it jumped to £9 a week, £3 of which were credited as board. On 8 May 1779 the price rose to £10 16s; to £12 on 23 July; and on 6 November to £13 16s, or 276 shillings, where it stood as this record closed.

The question of whether or not Carter received credit for his journeyman printers' board during 1779 is critical. The matter of £3 or more per week is sufficient to place the figures as given here in doubt. Considering the rate of inflation, it seems likely that the printers 'paid' at least £3; otherwise, in some instances the wages would appear to fall rather than to rise. Therefore, when the 1779 accounts show nothing for board, we have added sixty shillings in the accounts given above.

The spread of inflation throughout all the colonies is shown by similar figures in Bezanson's study of Pennsylvania prices, 1770-90.³ She notes a rise in median wholesale prices of almost 1,000 per cent from early 1776 to the end of 1779. The largest monthly increases occurred in the fall and winter of 1779 when prices rose more than forty-five per cent above each preceding month and average prices were seven times

³Anne Bezanson, *Prices and Inflation during the American Revolution. Pennsylvania, 1770-1790* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), pp. 10-23.

higher at the end of the year than they had been in January 1779. The chief cause was the circulation of Continental currency which was emitted in December 1775. One dollar in coin in December 1776 equalled \$1.50 in Continental currency. In October 1777 the ratio stood at one to three; in December 1778 at one to slightly less than seven; and in December 1779 at one to more than forty-two. In April 1781 when the currency was withdrawn from circulation, wages and prices plunged almost to pre-1775 levels. For the same period, Carter's wage scale rose 1,800 per cent, which no doubt reflects somewhat varying conditions in Rhode Island, as well as the extreme difficulty which he had in obtaining help.

Lawrence C. Wroth, in *The Colonial Printer*,⁴ described the printer's working day as being the hours of daylight, six days a week, and his pay as on piece-work basis. In 1754, Philadelphia compositors earned twelve pence per thousand ems while pressmen were paid the same sum per token. Wroth estimated that a skillful compositor could set six hundred ems per hour and that the pressman could work off about eight tokens per day when he had the rare opportunity of working full time. Therefore, the 1754 Philadelphia compositor could make as much as forty-four shillings per week and a pressman might earn as much as forty-eight shillings, though they were probably fortunate to make half that amount because of time lost in distributing type or in making the press ready or in waiting for completed forms. Thus, it would appear that the Philadelphians earned somewhat more than their latter-day brethren in Rhode Island, but evidently New England money was rated higher than Pennsylvania or New York currency. For example, in 1772, according to *Father Abraham's Almanack*, the English guinea (£1 1s) sold in Philadelphia for £1 14s and in New York for £1 16s. At the same time, a Spanish milled dollar in London sold at 4s 10d; in Boston and Connecticut at 6s, or 72d; in Philadelphia at 7s 6d, or 90d; and in

⁴2d ed. (Portland, Me., 1938), pp. 162-165.

New York for 8s, or 96d. This relationship held true throughout the decade of 1770. And as the price of money varied from place to place, so did the cost of living. It is likely, therefore, that printers in Rhode Island and in Pennsylvania were making about the same 'real' wage.

An attempt to locate comparative wages in the same or other crafts for the period, 1771-79, met with little success. Carroll D. Wright in his 'Historical Review of Wages and Prices [in Massachusetts], 1752-1860',⁵ has only a minimum of figures, despite prodigious labors. Wages are stated in unspecified currency (probably Old Tenor) which, being very much higher, do not at all compare with wages given in the Carter account. Similarly, in *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928*⁶ there are few concrete data of the same period. Henry William Stiegel's Pennsylvania glassmakers made wages of 2s 8d or 3s a day which are comparable with Carter's payments when one considers the degrees of skill involved in the two crafts. In short, records of this sort are so scarce it is difficult indeed to draw meaningful comparisons and this fact emphasizes the usefulness of the following document.

Summary of the Pay Scale

<i>Shillings per week</i>	<i>Date</i>
12.....	14 March 1771
18.....	17 April 1775
12.....	5 May 1775
18.....	8 July 1775
12.....	27 September 1775
24.....	June 1776

⁵*Public Documents of Massachusetts*. Sixteenth Annual Report, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, August 1885 (Boston, 1885) iii, doc. 15, pt. 4, 204-206.

⁶Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 499 (Washington, 1929), 77.

<i>Shillings per week</i>	<i>Date</i>
15.....	14 July 1776
18.....	John Dabney 18 Dec. 1776-14 June 1777
21... ..	Bennett Wheeler ... December 1776
20.....	26 January 1777
26.....	13 July 1777
36.....	23 August 1777
42.....	22 November 1777
72.....	28 June 1778
180.....	18 October 1778, including board
162.....	13 December 1778
168... ..	John McCarty ... 16 January 1779
180.....	30 January 1779, less 60s for board from March 28
216.....	8 May 1779, less 60s
240.....	23 July 1779, less 60s
216.....	24 August 1779, less 60s?
276.....	6 November 1779, less 60s

Names and Dates of the Journeyman Printers

- Nathaniel Mills: March 14, 1771-June 13, 1772
 Theophilus Cossart: late July, 1772-May 22, 1773
 William D. Lewis: early July, 1773-late February, 1774
 John Dabney: April 7-June 21, 1774; August 24, 1776-March 8,
 1777; April-June 7, 1777
 Nathaniel Davis: September 10, 1774-February 4, 1775; May 5-
 August 12 or September 2, 1775
 Archibald Smith: April 17-May 5, 1775
 Thomas Greenleaf: September 6, 1775-April 10, 1776
 James Hogan: late June-September 7, 1776
 Edward Phelon: September 21-October 6, 1776
 Bennett Wheeler: December, 1776-December 19, 1778
 John McCarty: January 16, 1779-?
 Anthony Haswell: February 6-27, 1779

1]

Providence. May 18, 1771

Mr John Carter

Bill Book.

A Note of Work done by Nathl Mills⁷ in M^r Carter's Printing-Office, viz. from the 14th March to the 18th May inclusive 9 Weeks and 3 Days at Twelve Shillings per Week. . £5. . 14-0

Receiv'd the above

Nathl Mills

⁷Born at Dorchester, Mass., Nov. 3, 1749, son of Nathaniel and Martha (Wood) Mills. He was apprenticed to John Fleeming, a printer of Boston, ca. 1765. Carter employed him as a journeyman printer, Mar. 14, 1771–Jun. 13, 1772. Mills returned to Boston, entered into partnership with John Hicks and purchased Fleeming's shop. They issued *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post-Boy*, Apr. 27, 1773–Apr. 17, 1775. During this time they also had a New York printing office. They left Boston with the British troops in March 1776. After a short stay in Halifax, N.S., Mills went to England, probably to press for indemnity claims, while Hicks went to New York. Mills returned to New York in 1778. In addition to their New York office, in 1781 and 1782, Mills and Hicks conducted a mercantile business in Charleston, S.C., and Mills apparently was the resident partner there. When the British left Charleston, so also did Mills and Hicks. In New York they published *The Royal American Gazette* during the first half of 1782. With the departure of the redcoats from New York, the printers dissolved their ten-year-old partnership and repaired to separate towns in Nova Scotia. Mills resided in Halifax until 1785 when he moved to Shelburne, and then disappears from view. Hicks returned to Boston after the war and reopened his business on Corn Hill.

Nathaniel Mills was the only former journeyman printer to appear in John Carter's Ledger No 1. Therein is the following entry:

319	Nathaniel Mills (Boston)	Dr
1773		
June 12	To a Keg of Printing Ink, containing 6 Dozen £4.4.0 Sterling	
	Advanced 60 pr ct 2.10.4 $\frac{3}{4}$	£6.14.4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1774		
March 14	To inserting an Advertisement for Thomas Russell	4.0
Oct. 17	To paying Jn ^o Carlile's Bill for plaining Rules	9.0
	To 6 English Liberties (plain) @ 6/	1.16.0
	To 4 Ditto (letter'd) @ 6/8 ^d	1. 8.0
		£18.11.4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1774		Cr
Decr 6	By my Note delivered up for	£5.17.0
	By Cash of Peter Mumford	12.0

See: R. E. Moody, ed., 'The Letter-Book of Mills & Hicks' (*North Carolina Historical Review*, Jan. 1937), pp. 39–83; C. R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York* (New York, 1895), pp. 163–165; Thomas, op. cit. I, 171–172.

To 10 Weeks Work, from the 18th May to the 27th July, ...£6:--
Received the above
Nath^l Mills

From the 27th July to the 7th September / omitting five Days /
5 Weeks and one Day's Woork £3:2:0
Received the above
Nath^l Mills

2]

To Ten Week's Work viz. from the 7th Sept^r to the
16th Novr. £6:0:0
Received the above
Nath^l Mills

To 29 Weeks and one Days Work from the 16th Nov^r to the 13th
June, at 12/ per Week. £17-8-0
Received the above in full
Nath^l Mills

August 1st 1772
Received on Account, including the Postage of a letter to
Philadelphia. £1..6..0
Theop^s Cossart⁸

August 15, 1772
Received on Account. £0..12..0
Theop^s Cossart

⁸Theophilus Cossart was a native of Germany, said to have been a secretary to an ambassador at Constantinople. Certainly, his hand was fine enough for such a post. He was employed by John Carter as a journeyman printer from late July 1772 till May 22, 1773. He next appears in Lancaster, Pa., as a printer from 1778 to 1782. About 1782 he was employed as a journeyman by Michael Billmeyer in Philadelphia. Cossart remained a printer in Philadelphia until his death early in Feb. 1791. See: William McCulloch, '... Additions to Thomas's History of Printing' (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Apr. 1921), pp. 207, 216, 237; *New York Morning Post*, Feb. 12, 1791.

3]

To Work from June 13. 1772 to Jan 4 1773. 29 Weeks, at 12/
per Week £17..8..0
By Cash &c. at sundry Times £16..1..0
Due Jan. 4. 1..7..0 £17..8..0
Received the above
Theop^s Cossart

May 22^d 1773

To 19 Weeks Work due.

£8:8:0

Received this Day the above in full
Theop^s Cossart

M^r John Carter to William D Lewis⁹ D^r

To 5 Days Work at 0.2.0 per Day £0 10 0

From the 10th July to the 31st 3 weeks.. 1..16..0

2 6 0

Received..... 1 . 3 . 8

1 . 2 . 4

Received the above
William D Lewis

4]

From July 31st to Nov. 13th 15 weeks £9.0.0
Received at sundry times..... £6.9.6
Balance due £2.10.6
0.6.0
2.4.0

Received the above Decr 4
William D Lewis

⁹Lewis was born in Kent, England, ca.1754. He was employed by Carter as a journeyman printer from early July 1773 till late Feb. 1774, when he hastily departed leaving a credit of 17/9 which was promptly attached by a local hatter. Lewis published *The New-York Mercury* Sep. 3, 1779–Aug. 15, 1783; Mar. 8–Aug. 15, 1782 in partnership with Samuel Horner and from Jan. 3, 1783 with John Ryan. Lewis and Ryan left New York with the British troops for St. John, N.B., where they published *The Royal St. John's Gazette* from Dec. 17, 1783, until Lewis's death on Nov. 27, 1787. See: Hildeburn, op. cit. pp. 168–170; Marie Tremaine, *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751–1800* (Toronto, 1952), p. 665; *Albany* [N.Y.] *Gazette*, Jan. 11, 1788.

From Nov 13th to December 4 3 weeks £1 . 16 . 0
 From December 4th to Jan. 1st 2 8 - 0

Received the above
 William D Lewis

From Jan^y 1st to Febr^y 12th: 6 weeks £3 12-0

Received the above
 William D Lewis

Due to Lewis 17/9^d when he went off, which was attached in my
 Hands by Peter Taylor, Hatter

5]

To two weeks work in your office, viz. from April 7th to the 21
 1:4:0

received the above in full
 John Dabney¹⁰

From the 21st April to the 21st of June, 11 weeks,
 2 Days

£6:15:0

By Cash 2.8.0
 4:7:0

Rec^d the Contents in full.
 John Dabney

To three Weeks Work in Your Office Viz. } 1 . . 16.0
 from Sep^r 10th to Oc^r 1st }

Receiv'd the Above in full
 per Nath^l Davis¹¹

¹⁰Dabney was born in Boston July 31, 1752, son of Charles and Elizabeth (Gardner) Dabney. He was a journeyman of John Carter from Apr. 7-June 21, 1774; Aug. 24, 1776-Mar. 8, 1777; Apr.-June 7, 1777. In due time he went to Salem, Mass., where he and Thomas C. Cushing published *The Salem Mercury*, Oct. 14, 1786-Oct. 14, 1789, at which time Dabney resigned to open a bookshop. He conducted an excellent business until advancing age induced him to auction his stock in the fall of 1818. His marriage to Abigail Mason Peele, June 27, 1790, was an advantageous one. He was postmaster from 1790-1815. Dabney died Oct. 11, 1819. See: Harriet S. Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825* (Salem, 1927), pp. 78, 172-176.

¹¹Nathaniel Davis was apprenticed to Daniel Kneeland, a Boston printer, with whom he formed a partnership from 1772-74. He was a journeyman in Carter's office, Sep. 10, 1774-Feb. 5, 1775; May 5-Aug. 12 or Sep. 2, 1775. Davis returned to Boston and followed his trade until June 7, 1777, when he was committed to jail for counterfeiting the bills of the Commonwealth. Thereafter he is lost from view. On Oct. 25, 1778, he married Ruth Thayer of Braintree. See: John Boyle, 'A Journal of Occurrences in Boston, 1759-1778' (*New England Historical Genealogical Register*, Oct. 1930), p. 367; Thomas, op. cit. 1, 149, 171; *Boston Gazette*, June 16, 1777.

To two Weeks Work in Your Office from October 1st to October
[14]..... £1..4..0

Receiv'd the Above in full
per Nath^l Davis

To 1 Week work in Your Office from October 15 to October 22^d
0.12.0

Receiv'd the Above per
Nath^l Davis

To 6 weeks work in Your Office from October 22^d to December,
3^d £3..12..0

Receiv'd the Contents in full of
All Acc^{ts} to this Day
per Nathaniel Davis

To 6 weeks and ½ work done in Your Office from Dec^r 22. 1774
to Feb^y 4th 1775 at 12/ £3..18..0

Feb 4 Recd the Contents in full
Nath^l Davis

6]

From April 17th 1775 to April 22 one Week's work £0.18.0

Received the Contents
Archibald Smith¹²

To two Weeks work from April 23 to May 5, 1775. 1..16..0

Received the above in full of all Demands
Archibald Smith

To two Weeks Work from May 5th to May 20th.. 1.4.0

Receiv'd the Above in full per
Nath^l Davis

To five Weeks And an ½ ditto done in your office }
from May 25th to July 1st at 12/ } 3..6..0

Receiv'd the Contents in full
per Nath^l Davis

¹² Unidentified. Smith was employed by Carter Apr. 17–May 5, 1775.

To one Weeks done in ditto from July 8th to July 15th at 18/
 0..18..0
 Receiv'd the Above in full
 Per Nath^l Davis

To 1 ditto from the 15th to the 22^d of ditto, 0-18-0
 Receiv'd the Above in full
 per Nath^l Davis

7]

To 1 Week do. from the 22^d to the 29th 0..18..0
 Receiv'd in full per
 Nath^l Davis

To two Weeks do. at 18/ from July 29, to August 12th . .
 1..16..0
 Receiv'd in full
 Per Nath^l Davis

£133..4..0

1775 Aug 19 Paid for Work 18/
 Aug 26 Paid for Work 15/6^d
 Sept 2 Paid for Work 15/

D^r M^r J. Carter to T. Greenleaf¹³ C^r
 Sept By Cash rec'd. £0-1-6 Sept To three Weeks Work, £1-16-0
 20, 27,
 1775 Ballance due to T. Greenleaf £1-14-6
 The Ballance Received per
 Tho^s Greenleaf

¹³ Born at Abington, Mass., 1755, son of Joseph and Abigail (Payne) Greenleaf. Apprenticed to Isaiah Thomas and then worked in a printing office owned by the elder Greenleaf in Boston, 1773-75. Employed by John Carter as a journeyman, Sep. 6, 1775-Apr. 10, 1776. Greenleaf returned to Boston and with Edmund Freeman published *The Boston Magazine*, July 1784-Sep. 26, 1785. In that year he moved to New York as the foreman in the office of Eleazar Oswald's *New-York Journal*, which he purchased Jan. 18, 1787, and published until his death from yellow fever on Sep. 14, 1798. Greenleaf married Ritsana or Anna Quackenbos, a grand-niece of Gov. George Clinton, Oct. 13, 1791. See: *Dictionary of American Biography*, vii, 584-585.

M ^r J. Carter D ^r to T. Greenleaf		
Oct. 17 th	To Three Weeks Work at 12/ from Sept 27th	£1-16-0
		<u>1-10-</u>
		0-6 0
	except	
	Rec ^d . per	
	Thomas Greenleaf	

8]

M ^r J. Carter D ^r to T. Greenleaf		
Oct. 24	To a Ballance due Oct. 17 th	£0-6-0
1775.	To 1 Week's Work, from Oct. 17.	<u>0-12-0</u>
		0-18-0

The above Received in full,
per T. Greenleaf

Oct. 31.	{ To 1 Week's work, from the 24 th Inst.	£0-12-0
1775.		

Nov: 17,	{ To 2 and ½ Weeks work from Oct. 31	£1-10-0
1775		
		<u>0-2-0</u>
		£1-8-0

The Contents received in full
per Thomas Greenleaf

December	{ To 3 weeks work, from Nov. 17	£1-16-0
8 th , 1775		

The above received
per T. Greenleaf

Dec. 23.	To 2 weeks work, from Dec. 8.	£1-4-0
	Rec ^d . per Thos. Greenleaf	

9]

Jan ^y 5.	{ To 2 week's work from Dec. 23, 1775.	£1-4-0
1776.		

Jan^y 19 To 2 weeks work £1-4-0
 Recd per
 T. Greenleaf

Feb^y 23. To 5 weeks work, £3-0-0
 Change to shop lent at sundry times 0-3-1
 3-3-1
 4 days & 1/2 absent, 9/1 Jan^y 27 R^d 12/ 1-1-0
 2-2-1
 Received per
 T. Greenleaf

Wages from Feb^y 23 to March 22. £2-8-0
 Received per
 T. Greenleaf

April 10, To 2 weeks & 5 days work, £1-14-0
1-12-0
 £0- 2-0
 Received in full per
 Thos. Greenleaf

10]

1776 } M^r John Carter to James Hogan¹⁴ D^r
 July, 6. } To seven days and an half Work 1..14..0
 Received the Contents
 James Hogan

July 13 By Cash received £1..4..0

M^r John Carter to James Hogan D^r
 To two weeks work at 15/ per Week 1..10..0
 Received the Contents
 James Hogan

M^r John Carter to James Hogan D^r
 To two weeks work at 15/ per Week £1..10..0
 Received the Contents
 James Hogan

¹⁴ Unidentified. Hogan was employed by Carter from late June-Sep. 7, 1776.

11]

M ^r John Carter to James Hogan D ^r		
To two weeks work at 15/ per Week		£1 . 10 . 0
	Received the Contents,	
August 31	James Hogan	
M ^r John Carter to John Dabney D ^r		
To one week's work at 15/		0 . 15 . 0
	Receiv'd Contents	
August 31.	John Dabney	
M ^r John Carter to James Hogan D ^r		
To one Week's work		£0 . 15 . 0
	Received the Contents	
September 7	James Hogan	
M ^r John Carter to John Dabney D ^r		
To one week's work		£0 . 15 . 0
	Receiv'd Contents	
Sept. 7	John Dabney	

12]

M ^r John Carter to John Dabney D ^r		
To 2 weeks work at 15/		£1 . 10 . 0
	Receiv'd Contents	
Sept. 28th.	John Dabney	
Sept 28 } Mr. John Carter, to Edw ^d Phelon. ¹⁵ Dr		
1776 } To 1 weeks work at 15 ^s		£0 . 15 . 0
	Rec'd the Contents,	
	Edward Pehlon.	
Oct. 8. } Mr J. Carter, to E. Phelon. Dr		
1776 } To 1 weeks work at 15 ^s		£0 . 15 . 0
	Recd. the Contents	
	Edward Phelon	

¹⁵ Employed by Carter, Sep. 21–Oct. 6, 1776. Carter received a letter from Phelon, Nov. 1778. *Perhaps* the Major Edward Phelon of Boston who died, aged 52, at Spring Island, S.C., Jan. 7, 1810. He served as an officer in the Massachusetts line from 1777–83 and apparently was a close friend of Benjamin Russell, editor of the *Boston Columbian Centinel*. See: *Columbian Centinel*, Feb. 10, 1810.

M^r John Carter, to John Dabney D^r
 To 2 months work at 15/ £6..0..0
 Oct. 24. Receiv'd Contents
 John Dabney

19]

M^r John Carter, to Jn^o Dabney, D^r
 To 6 weeks work, from Dec. 18. to Jan. 25.
 at 18/per week. 3..12..0
 Dec. 31st To cash paid for a load of wood 0..9..0
 Rec'd Contents £4..1..0
 Jan. 25 Jn^o Dabney

1777

Jan^y. 25th M^r J. Carter to B. Wheeler,¹⁶ D^r
 To 4 Weeks Work at £1..1^s. £4..4^s.0^d
 Contents Rec^d
 B. Wheeler

M^r John Carter to Jn^o Dabney D^r
 To 3 weeks work at 18/
 Feb^y 15 1777. £2..14..0

[on separate leaf, laid in]

M^r John Carter to John Dabney D^r
 To 3 weeks work, from Feb. 9th, to March 8th, £2..14..0
 Receiv'd Contents
 Jn^o Dabney

¹⁶Born at Halifax, N.S., Oct. 14, 1756. Learned his trade in that town before moving to Providence where he lived for the remainder of his life. He was employed by Carter, late Dec. 1776-Dec. 19, 1778. At about the latter date he, with Solomon Southwick, established a partnership which terminated Oct. 25, 1779. They published *The American Journal*, Mar. 18, 1778, which Wheeler continued until Aug. 29, 1781. Next, he issued *The United States Chronicle*, Jan. 1, 1784-Dec. 29, 1803, the date of his retirement from the printing trade. He then conducted a store for something more than a year and died Apr. 13, 1806. Wheeler married Zervia Field, May 25, 1780. Their son, Bennett, Jr., was also a printer. See: A. G. Wheeler, *The Genealogical and Encyclopedic History of the Wheeler Family* (Boston, 1914), p. 813; Providence Typographical Union, No. 33, *Printers and Printing in Providence 1762-1907* (Providence, 1907), p. xci at end of vol.

14]

M^r J. Carter, To Bennett Wheeler. D^r

1777

Feb ^r . 2 ^d	To Work from the 26 th of Jan ^r . to the 2 ^d of Feb ^r 1 Week	£1..0..0
March 22 ^d	To Ditto, from 18 th March 1 Week— 3 Day ^s	1..7..6
		<u>£2..7..6</u>

Contents Rec^d
B Wheeler

M^r Jn^o Carter, To Bennett Wheeler. D^r

1777

Ap ^r 12 th	To Three Weeks Work,	£3..0..0
	Credit By 1 Quire Writing Paper,	0..2..0
	Ballance	<u>£2..18..0</u>
	Received the Above B Wheeler	

M^r Jn^o Carter, To B. Wheeler. D^r

Ap ^r 19 th	To one Weeks Work	£1..0..0
	To 2 Weeks Ditto	2..0..0
		<u>£3..0..0</u>

Rec^d the Above,
R. Wheeler

May 3^d 1777

15]

M^r John Carter to Jn^o Dabney. D^r

To 4 Weeks Work at 18/ £3..12..0

May 3d 1777.

Contents Receiv^d
Jn^o Dabney

M^r John Carter to Jn^o Dabney D^r

To 1 Week's work at 18/ 0..18..0

By absence 1 day 0..3..0

£0 15..0

May 24, 1777 }

Receiv^d Contents
Jn^o Dabney

M: Jn^o Carter, To B Wheeler. D:
 To 1 Weeks Work £1..0..0
 May 24th 1777 Contents Rec^d
 B. Wheeler

M: John Carter to John Dabney, D:
 To 1 Week's Work at 18/ £0..18..0
 May 31, 1777. Receiv'd Contents
 Jn^o Dabney

16]

M: Jn^o Carter To B. Wheeler. D:
 1777
 May 31. To 1 Weeks Work £1..0..0
 Received the above
 B. Wheeler

M: Jn^o Carter, To B. Wheeler. D:
 June 7th To 1 Weeks Work, £1..0..0
 Credit By a Letter, 0..1..2
 £0..18..10
 Contents Rec^d
 B. Wheeler

M: John Carter to Jn^o Dabney D:
 To 1 Week's work £0..18..0
 Contents Receiv'd
 John Dabney
 May 7th.

M: J. Carter To B. Wheeler. D:
 June 14th To 1 Weeks Work. £..1..0..0
 D: By Absence— $\frac{1}{2}$ Day, 0..1..6
 £0..18..6
 Rec^d the above
 B. Wheeler

17]

M: John Carter to Jn^o Dabney. D:
 To 1 Week's Work, £0..18..0
 June 14th 1777 } Receiv'd Contents
 Jn^o Dabney

M^r Jn^o Carter To B. Wheeler. D^r
 June 21st To 1 Weeks Work, £1..0..0
 Cash paid for Rags, 0..2..5
 £1..2..5

Rec^d the above,
 B. Wheeler

M^r John Carter to John Dabney D^r
 To 1 Week's Work at £0..18..0
 By Absence 1 Day 0..3..0
 £0..15..0

June 21st 1777.

M^r Jn^o Carter To B Wheeler D^r
 June 28th To 1 Weeks Work £1..0..0
 Contents Rec^d
 B Wheeler

18]

M^r Jn^o Carter To B. Wheeler D^r
 July 5th To 1 Week's Work £1..0..0
 Contents Recd.
 B. Wheeler

M^r Jn^o Carter To B. Wheeler, D^r
 July 12th To 1 Week's Work, £1..0..0
 Contents Received
 B. Wheeler

M^r Jn^o Carter, To B Wheeler D^r
 July 17th To 1 Weeks Work, at £1..6/0 £1..6..0
 Contents Received
 B. Wheeler

M^r J. Carter, To B. Wheeler, D^r
 To 2 Weeks Work, £2..12..0
 Received the above
 B. Wheeler

Aug^t 2^d 1777

M^r J. Carter To B. Wheeler D^r
 To 1 Weeks Work £1..6..0
 Rec^d the above
 B Wheeler

Aug^t 9th

19]

M^r J. Carter, To B. Wheeler, D^r
 To 2 Weeks Work, from Aug^t 9th to Aug^t 23^d £2..12..0
 Aug^t 13th By Absence, ½ Day, 0.. 2..0
 18th By Ditto, 0.. 2..0
0.. 4..0

Ballance, £2.. 8..0
 Received the above,
 Bennett Wheeler

Aug^t 23^d, 1777

M^r J. Carter, To B. Wheeler, D^r
 To 3 Weeks Work, From Aug^t 23^d to Sep^t 13th,
 at £1.. 16 Per Week, £5.. 8..0
 Sep^t 3^d By Absence 1 Day, 0.. 6..0
Ballance, £5.. 2..0

Received the above,
 Bennett Wheeler.

Sep^t 13th, 1777.

M^r Jn^o Carter, To B. Wheeler, D^r
 To 3 Weeks Work, from Sep^t 13th to Oct. 4th £5.. 8..0
Received the above,
 Bennett Wheeler

Oct^r 4th, 1777.

M^r Jn^o Carter, To B. Wheeler, D^r
 To 3 Weeks Work, from October 4th £5.. 8..0
 By 1 States Lottery Ticket, 3.. 0..0
 By 1 Days Absence, 0.. 6..0
£3.. 6..0

Ballance, £2.. 2..0
 Received the above,
 Bennett Wheeler.

October 25, 1777.

20]

M^r Jn^o Carter. To B Wheeler. D^r
 To 2 Weeks Work, from October 25th £3.. 12..0
Received the above

November 8, 1777. Bennett Wheeler.

To work in your Office, from Nov^r 8th to Nov^r 22^d £3.. 12..0
Received the above,
 Bennett Wheeler

November 22^d, 1777.

To work in Your Office, from Nov ^r 22, ^d to Nov ^r 29, th 1 Week, at £2..2 Per week	£2..2..0
Received the above,	
November 29 th 1777.	B Wheeler.
To work in your Office, 1 Week,	£2..2..0
Received the above	
December, 6 th 1777.	B Wheeler.
December 6 th Due for Work,	£7..16..0
To work from Jan ^y 4, 1778, to Janu ^y . 10, th 1 Week,	2.. 2..0
	<u>£9..18..0</u>
Dec ^r 29, th By Cash	£5.. 0..0
Jan ^y 5 th 1778, By Absence,	0.. 6..0
	<u>£5.. 6..0</u>
Jan ^y 10 th 1778.	Ballance due. £4..12..0
Received the above, in full of all Demands, B. Wheeler	

21]

To 1 Week's work,	£2..2..0
Received the above,	
Jan ^y 17 th 1778.	Bennett Wheeler
To 1 Week's work,	£2..2..0
Received the above,	
Jan ^y 24 th	B Wheeler.
To 1 Week's work,	£2..2..0
Received the above,	
January 31 st	B Wheeler.
To 1 Week's work,	£2..2..0
Received the above,	
February 7.	B. Wheeler
To 2 Week's work,	£4..4..0
Received the above	
Feb ^y 21 st	B. Wheeler
To 3 Week's work,	£6..6..0
By Absence,	1..4..0
	<u>£5..2..0</u>
Received the above,	
March 14.	Bennett Wheeler

To 1 Weeks work,	£2..2..0
March 21 st	Received the above, Bennett Wheeler
March 21 st By Cash,	£2..16..0
M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To Bennett Wheeler, D ^r	
To 2 Weeks work,	£4..4..0
Credit By Cash, received March 21, st as above,	2..16..0
By ½ a Day Absence,	0..3..0
	<u>2..19..0</u>
	Ballance due, \$1..5..0
April 4 th	Received the above, Bennett Wheeler

22]

M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To Bennett Wheeler, D ^r	
To 2 Weeks work,	£4..4..0
April 6 th By Absence, ½ Day,	£0..3..0
.... 14 By D ^o D ^o	0..3..0
.... 15 By D ^o 1 Day,	0..6..0
	<u>£0..12..0</u>
	Ballance, £3..12..0
April 18.	Received the above, Bennett Wheeler.
M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To B Wheeler. D ^r	
To 4 Weeks work,	£8..8..0
Credit Ap ^r 21 st By Absence, ½ Day	0..3..0
22 ^d By Ditto, 1 Day	0..6..0
May 6, By Ditto, ½ Day,	0..3..0
	<u>£0..12..0</u>
	By Cash received,
	<u>£3..12..0</u>
	<u>£4..4..0</u>
	Ballance, £4..4..0
May 16 th	Received the Above, Bennett Wheeler.

To 1 Weeks work,	£2..2..0
To Change in Shop,	0..2..0
	<u>£2..4..0</u>
May 23.	Rec ^d the above, B. Wheeler
To 1 Weeks work,	£2..2..0
Credit By Absence, 2 Days,	0..12..0
	<u>£1..10..0</u>
May 30 th	Received the above, Bennett Wheeler.

23]

M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To B. Wheeler. D ^r	
To 2 Week's work,	£4..4..0
June 3, ^d To Change, in Shop,	0..3..0
	<u>£4..7..0</u>
Credit By a Letter, mark ^d 12 ^{Dwt}	£0..4..0
	<u>£4..3..0</u>
June 13 th	Received the above, Bennett Wheeler.
To 2 Week's work,	£4..4..0
June 27 th	Received the above Bennett Wheeler.
M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To Bennett Wheeler D ^r	
To 2 Week's work, at £3..12	£7..4..0
July 7 th Credit By one Day's Absence	0..12..0
By a Letter, mark ^d 12 ^{Dwt}	0..4..0
	<u>£0..16..0</u>
July 11.	Ballance, £6..8..0 Received the above, Bennett Wheeler.

To 2 Weeks work,	£7..4..0
July 21 st By ½ Days absence,	0..6..0
By a Letter Mark ^d 12 ^{Dwt}	0..4..0
	<u>£0..10..0</u>
Received the above,	£6..14..0
July 25. Bennett Wheeler.	

24]

M ^r Jn ^o Carter, To Bennett Wheeler. D ^r	
To work, in your Office, 2 Weeks, 3 Days & Half,	£9..6..0
Credit By Letters, mark ^d 30 ^{Dwt}	£0..10..0
By Absence, ½ Day,	0..6..0
	<u>£0..16..0</u>
August 13 th	Ballance, £8..10..0
	Rec ^d the above
	B. Wheeler.
To work in your Office, 2 Weeks,	£7..4..0
Oct ^r 10 th	Rec ^d the above,
	B. Wheeler
To Work in your Office, 1 Week,	£3..12..0
	Rec ^d the above,
	B. Wheeler
To 1 Weeks work, including Board, &c.	£9..0..0
	Rec ^d the above
	B. Wheeler
Oct. 24 th Due for work, &c.	£0..12..0
To 5 Week's work, Board, &c.	45..0..0
	<u>£45..12..0</u>
Credit By M ^r Phelon's Letter mark ^d 6 ^{Dwt}	£0..2..0
Nov. 14 th By Cash	21..0..0
Nov ^r 16 By ½ Days absence,	0..15..0
Nov. 23 ^d By Ditto,	0..15..0
	<u>£22..12..0</u>
	Ballance due, £23..0..0
November 28 th 1778,	Rec ^d the above
	B. Wheeler.

25]

M ^r J. Carter, To B Wheeler. D ^r	
To 9 Days work	£12..3..0
To Cash lent M ^r Carter, Nov. 13, 1777.	0..12..0
To D ^o Aug ^t 14, 1778.	<u>0..5..0</u>
	£13..0..0

Dec ^r 12, 1778.	Rec ^d the above
	B. Wheeler

M ^r J. Carter, To B. Wheeler, D ^r	
To 1 Weeks work,	£8 2 0
By absence 1 Day ½	<u>2..0..6</u>
By Cash	0..1..0
	£2..1..6

Ballance—£6..0..6
Rec ^d the above in full

December 19 th 1778.	B. Wheeler
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Mr John Carter, To John McCarty ¹⁷ Dr	
To 1 Weeks work	£8 8 0

January 23, ^d 1779	Rec ^d the above
	John McCarty

26]

January 30th 177[9]	
Mr John Carter to John M ^r Carty Dr	
To 1 Weeks work	£8 8 0

Received the above
John M ^r Carty

February 6th 177[9]	
Mr John Carter to John McCarty	
To 1 Weeks work	£9 0 0

Contents receiv ^d
John M ^r Carty

¹⁷Employed by Carter from Jan. 16, 1779, into 1780 or longer. A John M^rCarty died in Boston, ca. March, 1824. See: *Columbian Centinel*, Mar. 6, 1824.

February 13
 Mr John Carter to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 weeks work £9 0 0
 Contents rec'd
 John M'Carty

27]

Feb, 13.—
 Mr. John Carter to Anthony Haswell.¹⁸ D:
 To one week's work £9-0-0
 Rec'd Contents,
 Anthony Haswell.

Feb. 20th John Carter, Esq; to Anthony Haswell, D:
 By one week's work £9-0-0
 Rec'd the Contents,
 Anthony Haswell.

Feb. 20th John Carter Esq; to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Week's work £9 0 0
 Contents received
 John M'Carty

Feb. 27th John Carter, Esq; to Anthony Haswell. Dr.
 By one weeks work £9-0-0
 Rec'd Contents,
 Anthony Haswell.

¹⁸Anthony Haswell was born at Portsmouth, England, Apr. 6, 1766, son of William and Elizabeth Haswell. He immigrated to this country about 1770 and was apprenticed to Isaiah Thomas from about 1773 to 1776. He served briefly in the American revolution and then leased Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy*, Aug. 14, 1777-June 25, 1778. Employed as a journeyman printer by John Carter, Feb. 6-27, 1779, and by George Goodwin of Hartford, Ct., 1781. Removed to Springfield, Mass., where with Elisha Babcock, he published *The Massachusetts Gazette*, May 14, 1782-May 13, 1783. Removed to Bennington, Vt., where he lived for the remainder of his life. His business passed through many vicissitudes, partners, and changes of title which will not be listed here. He and his first partner established *The Vermont Gazette*, June 5, 1783. They built the first paper mill in the state in 1784. Haswell established a printing office in 1792 in Rutland but was burnt out within three months. He was imprisoned under the sedition act in 1800. Married Lydia Baldwin, Apr. 23, 1778; and Betsey Rice, Sep. 30, 1799. He died at Bennington, May 22, 1816. See: Anthony Haswell, *Record of the Family of Anthony Haswell*, (Bennington, 1815); John Spargo, *Anthony Haswell, Printer-Patriot-Ballader* (Rutland, 1925); M. A. McCorison, *Vermont Imprints 1778-1810* (Worcester, 1963), pp. 504-506.

28]

Feb 27. John Carter; Esq; to John M'Carty Dr.	
To 1 Week's Work	£9 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty
March 13 John Carter; Esq; To John M'Carty D'	
To 2 Week's Work	£18 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty
March 20, John Carter Esq. to John M'Carty Dr	
To 1 Weeks Work	£9 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty
March 27. John Carter Esqr to John McCarty Dr	
To 1 Weeks Work	£9 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty
April 3. John Carter Esq, to John M'Carty Dr.	
To 1 Weeks Work exclusive of Boarding	£6 0 0
	Contents received,
	John M'Carty

29]

April 10, 1779	
John Carter Esqr to John M'Carty Dr.	
To 1 Week's Work	£6 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty
April 24	
John Carter Esq' to John M'Carty Dr	
To 2 Week's Work	£12 0 0
	Contents received
	John M'Carty

May 1. John Carter, Esqr to John M'Carty Dr.
 To 1 Week's Work £6 0 0
 By one Days Absence, 1 0 0
 5 0 0

Contents received
 John M'Carty

May 7, John Carter, Esqr to John M'Carty Dr.
 To 1 Week's Work £6 0 0
 Contents received
 John M'Carty.

30]

May 15. John Carter, Esqr to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Week's Work £6 0 0
 Contents received,
 John M'Carty

May 22, John Carter, Esqr to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Week's Work £7 16 0
 Contents received
 John McCarty

May 29, John Carter; Esqr, to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Weeks Work, £7 16 0
 Contents received
 John McCarty

June 3. John Carter Esq. to John M'Carty Dr.
 To 1 Week's Work £7 16 0
 Contents received
 John McCarty.

31]

June 12. John Carter Esq. to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Weeks Work £7 16 0
 Contents received
 John M'Carty

June 26. John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty Dr
 To 4 Days and an half Work £6 12 0
 Contents received
 John M'Carty

[July] 5, John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Weeks Work, £7 16 0
 Contents Received
 John M'Carty

32]

August 23, John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty. Dr.
 To 4 Weeks and 2 Days Work, from the 23^d of July
 to the 23^d of August at £9 0 0 per Week £9 0 0
 Weeks 4
 36
 Days 3
 £39
 Contents received
 John M'Carty

August 28, John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty Dr
 To 1 Week's Work, £9 0 0
 Contents received,
 John M'Carty
 £ S d
 39 0 0
 9 0 0
 Contents recd Total, £48 0 0
 John M'Carty

33]

September 25, 1779.
 John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty Dr.
 To 4 Week's Work at £7 16 0 per Week £31 4 0
 To Sunday's Work, £ 0 18 0
 £33 2 0
 To 1 Week's Work 7 16 0
 Total £40 18 0
 Contents received
 John M'Carty

October 9, 1779

John Carter, Esq. to John McCarty Dr.

To 1 Week's Work, £7 16 0

Contents received

John M'Carty

October 16 1779,

John Carter, Esq. to John McCarty Dr.

To 1 Week's Work £7 16 0

Contents received

John M'Carty

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October 23. 1779,

John Carter. Esq. to John M'Carty Dr

To 1 Weeks Work £7 16 0

Contents rec'd

John McCarty

November 13, 1779

John Carter. Esq. to John M'Carty Dr

To 1 Week's Work, £10 16 0

Contents received

John McCarty

November 20, 1779

John Carter Esq. to John M'Carty Dr

To 1 Week's Work..... £10 16 0

Contents received

John McCarty

November 27. 1779

John Carter, Esq. to John M'Carty Dr

To 1 Weeks Work £10 16 0

Contents received

John M'Carty

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