

*Early Nineteenth-Century Printing in
Rural Massachusetts: John Howe of
Greenwich and Enfield, ca. 1803-45*

with a Transcription of His 'Printer's Book,' ca. 1832

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HISTORIANS of the book in America who study the profession of authorship in relation to the business of publishing have greatly enriched our understanding of antebellum literature and culture. But to focus, as many do, only on the new nation's urban entrepreneurs—the Mathew Careys and the Isaiah Thomases, among others—is to offer a partial portrait.¹ We must balance such scholarship against studies of printers and booksellers who performed a critical role in the proliferation and dissemination of the printed word in rural America. This is particularly important because, as William J. Gilmore points out in his painstaking study of material and cultural life in early nineteenth-century Vermont, the apparent uniformity of cultural life in any area often hid enormous diversity. He argues that different living situations shaped distinctive reading communities,

1. On Carey, for example, see James N. Green, *Mathew Carey: Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985) and David Kaser, *Messrs. Carey & Lea of Philadelphia: A Study in the History of the Booktrade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957). On Thomas, see Clifford K. Shipton, *Isaiah Thomas: Printer, Patriot, and Philanthropist, 1749-1831* (Rochester, N.Y.: Hart, 1948), and Karl Kroeger, 'Isaiah Thomas as a Music Publisher,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976): 321-41.

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which often existed within a few miles of one another.² Thus the history of the book, and, by implication, of literary culture, in Concord, Massachusetts, is not that of Concord, New Hampshire, nor even of nearby Sutton, Massachusetts, not to speak of the hamlets to the north and west.³

To understand more fully the history of the book in early nineteenth-century America, we must explore the works and days of another category of entrepreneurs—Ebenezer and George Merriam of Brookfield, Massachusetts, say, or Alden Spooner of Windsor, Vermont, or John Howe of Greenwich and Enfield, Massachusetts.⁴ Indeed, Howe's career is particularly instructive, because, unlike the Merriams or Spooner, who served what historians call 'center villages' at the hub of regional trading networks, Howe lived in a small town in a region of hardscrabble farmsteads, halfway between the commercial centers of Worcester and Northampton, and fifteen difficult-to-travel miles from Brookfield, where the Merriams carried on a very different printing business.⁵ Like his neighbors Ezekiel Terry of Palmer or Moses Learned of Wilbraham, Massachusetts, both of whom printed in similar environments and on the same limited scale, Howe never made a living from this work. Yet for thirty years he set type and pulled his press, printing 'steady sellers' and original compositions, town meeting

2. William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), esp. chaps. 4 and 9.

3. See Robert A. Gross, 'Much Instruction from "Little Reading": Books and Libraries in Thoreau's Concord,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 97 (1987): 129-88. Recently, David Jaffee has explored the relationships among publishers, purveyors, and consumers of print culture in the new republic; see his 'The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760-1820,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 47 (1990): 327-46.

4. On the Merriams, see Jack Larkin, 'The Merriams of Brookfield: Printing in the Economy of Rural Massachusetts in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 96 (1986): 39-73, a model study; and on Spooner, see Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, passim. See also Marcus A. McCorison, comp., *Vermont Imprints, 1778-1820: A Checklist of Books, Pamphlets, and Broad-sides* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1963).

5. Jack Larkin, 'The Evolution of a Center Village: West Brookfield, Massachusetts, 1760-1850' (Old Sturbridge Village Research Report, 1977), and 'The Merriams of Brookfield,' passim; see also Joseph Wood, 'Elaboration of a Settlement System: The New England Village in the Federal Period,' *Journal of Historical Geography* 10 (1984): 311-36.

warrants and almanacs, sermons and bawdy broadside verse.⁶ His career documents a neglected facet of the complex history of the book trade in America.

I

John Howe (1783–1845) was the son of Solomon and Abigail Warren Howe. Solomon Howe was born in Westborough, Massachusetts, in 1750, but early on he moved with his family to Brookfield. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1777, he returned to Brookfield. In 1791 he moved to Greenwich, Massachusetts, where he served sporadically as a Baptist minister, tended a farm, and, most significantly, wrote and sold books, others' as well as his own. One of Dartmouth's early chroniclers observed that Howe's life 'was eccentric and desultory,' an accurate characterization; but because John acquired his interest in and knowledge of the printer's art from his father, the few facts about Solomon Howe that we can assemble are germane to this study.⁷

From the papers of the Howe family at the American Antiquarian Society, we learn, for example, that within a year of his graduation from Dartmouth Howe was living in Boston, where he sought information about, among other things, the printer's trade.⁸ In one part of his record of this stay, he listed information

6. There is no definitive bibliography of Howe imprints, but see Clifford K. Shipton's listing of the Howe publications donated to the Society by Donald Howe, in 'Report of the Librarian,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 60 (1950): 217–23. This preliminary list is supplemented by Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker's *American Bibliography, 1801–19*, 22 vols. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958–66), and Shoemaker et al., comps., *A Checklist of American Imprints, 1820–39*, 12 vols. (New York and Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1964–73). Another important resource is the dated broadsides collection at the American Antiquarian Society.

7. For genealogical information see Daniel Wait Howe, *Howe Genealogies* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1929), pp. 304–5 and 325–26. More biographical information on Solomon Howe can be gleaned from Frank J. Metcalf, *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music* (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925), pp. 79–81; George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1867), pp. 21–23, quotation from p. 23; and Donald W. Howe, *Quabbin: The Lost Valley* (Ware, Mass.: The Quabbin Book House, 1951), p. 138.

8. This and the following information about Howe's visit to Boston are found in an unlabeled commonplace and record book among the Howe Family Papers at the American Antiquarian Society that includes some interesting essays and verse written while Howe was at Dartmouth.

he wanted to acquire while in the city. He noted that he wanted 'to see Mr. Billings' to 'get some tunes pick^d out to bring back' to Brookfield. With this individual, presumably William Billings, the composer and music publisher, he had other business, too, namely, to 'get as much intelligence' as possible 'concerning his Book [probably the *Singing Master's Assistant*, published that year], & the Aretinian Society,' and to inquire how to 'get a pencil to draw 5 musical lines at once,' to draw musical staves more quickly.⁹

He also actively pursued other affairs. He wanted to know, for example, 'What Mr. Byles will charge for printing eight pages with small types and find ink for its paper—viz., 1000 half sheets.'¹⁰ And, should he decide to do such printing himself, what this same man 'or any other Printer' could tell him of 'the Cost of Types . . . for enough to set one press with 12 pages on a sheet, in small types, at once.' As befitted his vocation as a Baptist minister, Howe also wanted to stop at Jeremy Condy's bookstore to pick up 'Locke's Letter on Toleration,' 'Cato by Young, a Tragedy,' and 'a calm and candid answer to the question—Why do you dissent from the Chh.'¹¹ Finally, he sought to 'enquire of Col. Revere or some Engraver, how to make ink for copper-plate, or how to temper Lamp black for that purpose, if it will answer.'¹²

Further entries indicate that the young Solomon Howe's stay in Boston was successful. He purchased some sort of press from Billings for 5 £, was quoted a price of '10 £ Lawfull Money in

9. *The Singing Master's Assistant* (Boston, 1778). On Billings, see David P. McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston: Eighteenth-Century Composer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), esp. pp. 41–103. I have been unable to discover the purpose or constitution of the Aretinian Society.

10. This 'Byles' does not appear to have had his own press, but perhaps he was a journeyman whom Howe knew well enough to ask for such advice. The aged minister and poet Mather Byles (1707–88), some of whose verse was put to music by Billings, seems an unlikely candidate for this reference; but see Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College*, vols. 4–17 of the seventeen-volume *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1933–75), 7: 487–88.

11. On Condy, see Elizabeth Carroll Reilly, 'The Wages of Piety: The Boston Book Trade of Jeremy Condy,' in *Printing and Society in Early America*, ed. William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), pp. 83–131.

12. On Revere's work as an engraver, see Clarence Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1954).

Silver' 'for a font for Printing consisting of 300 wt., which will sett 36 Pages,' and noted an elaborate recipe for making 'Printing Letters,' that is, type metal. Further, through the late spring and summer of 1778, he actually worked for Billings in some unspecified capacity, perhaps learning something about composing music and publishing it, and was paid in cash for his services.¹³ Other entries from 1778 reveal that Howe took in money for schoolteaching and for lending out his horse and purchased a variety of necessities in the city. After the summer of that year, however, the record of his activities in Boston and elsewhere ceases.

We find him again in 1798, when *A Comprehensive Abridgement of Dr. Watts Lyric Poems* was printed in Northampton, Massachusetts, by Andrew Wright 'for the Editor' [i.e., Howe], to be 'Sold by him in Greenwich; by D. Wright in Northampton; by D. Lombard, in Springfield; by J. Chandler, Petersham; by C. Reed, Brookfield; and by Peter Gibbons, Granville.'¹⁴ Bound with Watts's *Sublimity and Devotion United*, 'Printed for, and sold by S. Howe, Greenwich,' this volume marked the beginning of a six-year relationship with Wright, one of the first American printers to use movable type for music publishing. The next year, for example, Wright printed 'Typographically' and 'For the Author,' Howe's own pioneering compilation of tunes, the *Worshipper's Assistant*. Wright also distributed it to such prominent printers and publishers as Benjamin Larkin in Boston, Ebenezer Merriam in Brookfield, Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, and a host of others—all this suitably emblazoned on the title page. With his location in

13. The records of Howe's business dealings with Billings are tantalizing but inconclusive. McKay and Crawford, in *William Billings*, pp. 107–8, note that Billings indeed printed some of his early works (including *Music in Miniature* [Boston, 1789], a particularly brief and crude production), opening the possibility that Howe might have learned the printing trade from Billings and was paid for work around the shop. Further, the plates of Billings's *The Psalm-Singer's Amusement* (Boston, 1781) were later used by Solomon's son John for a reissue with a new title page, suggesting that they were acquired through Solomon's offices (*William Billings*, pp. 273–74). Also see Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints, 1698–1810* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), pp. 493–97.

14. [Isaac Watts], *A Comprehensive Abridgement of Dr. Watts Lyric Poems* (Northampton, 1798).

one of the major towns on the upper Connecticut River, an important crossroad of land and water transportation, Wright was obviously well connected to an elaborate network of storekeepers, booksellers, and publishers from New Hampshire to Maryland.¹⁵ Thus, whenever Howe had an item that he thought might be appealing to an audience beyond the local one—his tunebooks, for example—he resorted to Northampton.

Curiously, Solomon Howe did little if any printing himself. There exists a typographically simple broadside of two religious hymns ('The Divine Law' and 'The Beautiful Infant') signed 'S. Howe' and dated 'March, 1800, Greenwich, (Mass.)'; but that same year 'An Elegy on the Departure of General George Washington,' dated February 22 and signed the same way in the same typeface, also carried the line, 'Sold by E. Larkin, Cornhill, Boston,' raising the possibility that both items may have been printed in the metropolis. Further, although in 1807 Howe's *Evangelical Hymns* appeared with the notation that they were 'Printed at the Press of S. Howe, Greenwich, Mass.,' two years earlier his *Divine Hymns, on the Sufferings of Christ* were printed there by his son John, 'For the Author,' suggesting that although Solomon owned the press bought from Billings (or another), it was operated by his son. In any event, by 1805, and perhaps as early as 1803, John Howe had assumed the role of printer at the Greenwich press; and after 1807, when Solomon brought out his *Evangelical Hymns*, we find no further notice of his connection to the printing business.

II

John Howe's career in Greenwich and, after 1814 (when the township was divided), Enfield is more fully documented than his father's activities, particularly in his detailed 'Printer's Book' for the 1830s and in his other accounts, as well as through his many imprints. But before we examine his activities in detail, we do well

15. See Paul R. Osterhout, 'Andrew Wright: Northampton Music Printer,' *American Music* 1 (1983): 5-26, for a useful account of Wright and of music publishing in general in the Connecticut River Valley during this period.

to distinguish Greenwich's material and cultural life from that of nearby communities such as Brookfield or Northampton, both of which also supported printers, albeit on a different scale.

Incorporated in 1749 as the town of Quabbin, 'the land of many waters,' Greenwich lay in the eastern part of Hampshire County, sixty-five miles west of Boston, hemmed in on three sides by Big and Little Quabbin Mountains and Mt. Ram and bisected by the Swift River, which flowed from its source near the New Hampshire border to join the Ware and Quaboag Rivers at nearby Palmer.¹⁶ Bordered on the west by Pelham and Belchertown, on the south by Belchertown and Ware, on the east by Hardwick and Petersham, and on the north by New Salem, Greenwich's terrain was at least as rugged as that of any of its neighbors and was worthy of the same tart remark Timothy Dwight heard uttered about neighboring Ware: 'The land was like self-righteousness, for the more one had of it, the poorer he would be.'¹⁷ Through the 1820s, most of Greenwich's citizens, never numbering much above one thousand, farmed or tended sheep on the rocky soil; a few of them worked at the mill sites at the town center or at the South Parish, later Enfield, where grist, carding, and saw mills, the staples of any self-sufficient community, were located. In the 1820s and 1830s the Swift River would be harnessed for much larger enterprises, but before that it was known as much for its good sport fishing as for anything else.¹⁸

Most transportation through the Swift River Valley, as this region came to be called, was over two turnpikes or toll roads. The Sixth Massachusetts Turnpike went from Amherst on the west,

16. On Greenwich and its south parish (later the town of Enfield), see Josiah Gilbert Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855), 2: 200-3, 211-14; John Warner Barber, *Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Worcester: Dorr, Howland, and Company, 1839), pp. 320-21; and Howe, *Quabbin: The Lost Valley*, passim.

17. Timothy Dwight, *Travels through New England and New York*, 4 vols., ed. Barbara Miller Solomon (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 1: 261-62.

18. See Barber, *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, pp. 320-21, and a fascinating imprint, Festus Foster's *Address Delivered at the Ichthyon Feast at Greenwich-Village, Aug. 23, 1826* (Amherst, Mass., 1826), on the occasion of an annual celebration of a Swift River Valley holiday, when all so inclined took the day off to fish the town's rivers and ponds!

through Pelham, Greenwich, Hardwick, New Braintree, Oakham, Rutland, and Holden, and then on to Worcester and Shrewsbury, where it connected to the 'great road' from Boston to New York.¹⁹ The other, the Petersham-Monson Turnpike, ran north/south, from Petersham through Greenwich, the western part of Ware, Palmer, and on to Monson, at the Connecticut state line. Access to the lush Connecticut River Valley (and the substantial market town of Northampton) to the west or to the center village of Brookfield to the east was by the 'Hadley Path,' which ran from Hadley through Ware to West Brookfield, where it diverged from the 'great road.' But travel from the valley was a chore, and although Greenwich's storekeepers participated in a trading network that extended beyond the Swift River Valley, in the early nineteenth century most of its citizens' exposure to the larger world came through the merchandise and print culture available therein.

Thus, in the early nineteenth century, the Swift River Valley strongly resembled what Gilmore has described, in central Vermont, as the 'self-sufficient hamlet human habitat'—that is, core communities that 'mediated between the bustle of village life and the steadier pace of farmstead life'—and a combination of 'self-sufficient farmsteads' and 'hardscrabble farms' whose families had regular dealings with nearby general stores but had few contacts with print culture beyond what was available through the village storekeeper.²⁰ Because of Greenwich's distance 'from much of the vibrancy of commercial exchange' and the rapid expansion of print culture that by the same period was evident in the 'fortunate' or 'center' village environment (represented for our purposes by Brookfield, whose population during this period was almost three times that of Greenwich and whose location on the state's major thoroughfares filled its streets with shops and services that catered

19. On turnpikes in the region see Howe, *Quabbin: The Lost Valley*, pp. 155–56, 343. Jaffe, 'Village Enlightenment,' speaks to the importance of the expanding road networks to the proliferation of print culture; see esp. pp. 334–40.

20. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, pp. 141–53.

to large numbers of travelers as well as to a sophisticated market economy), the figurative distance from Greenwich to Boston, or to Brookfield, was much greater than the literal number of miles.²¹

Moreover, a split among the inhabitants of the hamlets proper—Greenwich and, before 1814, its south parish, and the more outlying areas—also is significant to an understanding of the area's cultural development. This is brought out strongly in Francis H. Underwood's *Quabbin* (1893), a rich reminiscence of life in the south parish in the early nineteenth century. In his chapter on the distinctions between inhabitants of the 'Village and [the] Country,' Underwood noted that the difference between these two groups was 'like a gulf between centuries,' with 'the rooted antipathy on the part of the hill people toward the better-dressed villagers . . . almost past belief.' Indeed, Underwood's description of aspects of the hardscrabble farmers' culture is virtually interchangeable with Gilmore's more elaborate analysis: 'There were few books (probably not half a dozen to a household), almost no newspapers, no hints of science, and no knowledge of the world, literally or figuratively.' In contrast, Underwood notes that, although the villagers were not 'greatly distinguished for reading or general intelligence,' there was at least 'no bigoted preference for ignorance.' 'If they were not illuminated,' he concludes, at least 'their faces were turned to the light,' primarily because the more well-educated families—of which he notes half a dozen—and the ministers functioned as conduits of information from the world beyond the valley.²²

The significance of Underwood's pioneering social analysis lies in his description of how Enfield, from 1830 on, entered more fully into 'the vast transformation of cultural exchange' that Gilmore delineates for the Windsor District of Vermont, and, by implica-

21. Larkin, 'The Merriams of Brookfield,' pp. 41–44; and Susan Geib, 'Changing Works: Agriculture and Society in Brookfield, Massachusetts, 1785–1820' (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1981).

22. Francis H. Underwood, *Quabbin: The Story of a Small Town with Outlooks on Puritan Life* (1893; repr. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986), pp. 128–30; Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, pp. 146–48.

tion, for antebellum rural society generally. But here we jump ahead of our story.²³ For John Howe began his career as a printer precisely at the time Underwood commences his narrative about the 'mother town' of Greenwich, 'one of the most sluggish of rural communities,' 'limp and lifeless' if not poverty-stricken.²⁴ Beginning in 1798, however, it was distinguished from the nearby hill towns—indeed, from most others in New England—by the presence in its south parish of what Solomon Howe himself called 'the Chief [good] that's known by mortal Men'—a printing press, presumably brought there by Howe himself.²⁵

III

Because he himself did not own a font of musical type, Solomon Howe, who by his own admission already had several hundred more tunes that he wished to publish, brought his own compositions to Daniel Wright, as noted above, and for his first five years in Greenwich did little if any printing.²⁶ But beginning in 1803, with *Howe's Almanac for 1804* and Samuel Dunn's broadside *Elegy, on the Death of Mr. Henery* [sic] *Cook* (signed and dated 'Newsalem, December 1803,' with no imprint), his son John's imprints began to appear from Greenwich.²⁷ In addition to a yearly almanac, issued under one title or another through 1826, each year for the next three decades John Howe printed a few pamphlets or small books, and carried on a good deal of job work, comprising at first, as an advertisement of 1805 put it, 'Writ, Summons, Deed, Execution, Certificate, and Note BLANKS,' as well as 'a Variety of Ballads.'²⁸

23. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, passim but esp. chap. 10.

24. Underwood, *Quabbin: Story of a Small Town*, p. 39.

25. Howe's encomium to the press is found as an addendum to his broadside of two religious songs, 'The Divine Law' and 'The Beautiful Infant.'

26. In the preface to *The Worshipper's Assistant* (Northampton, 1799), Howe notes that he has 'put his own hymns to the following tunes and has in manuscript five hundred more which he intends to publish in the future.'

27. See Howe, *Howe Genealogies*, pp. 325–26, for vital information on John Howe.

28. Advertisement appended to Alonso Decalves, *New Travels to the Westward* (Greenwich, 1805). On this same page, Howe noted that he had for sale the following works: 'Billings' Psalm Singer's Amusement' at \$.61; 'Suffolk Harmony' (William Billings, *The*

We will return to his lengthy run of almanacs and his job printing, but a brief survey of Howe's other imprints provides an index of his relation to the marketplace in the Swift River Valley. In 1805, for example, in addition to his father's *Divine Hymns*, he issued Alonso Decalves's *New Travels to the Westward*, an account, probably fictionalized, of a trip to 'Unknown Parts of Columbia' (i.e., the United States) beyond the Mississippi River, through which Howe hoped to capitalize on interest in the Louisiana Purchase.²⁹

The next year, in addition to issuing *Visionary Thoughts, or Modern Prophecy*, a strange millennial speculation by Noah White of nearby Barre, he reprinted two 'steady sellers,' the anti-Catholic pamphlet, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Hamilton*, and William Perry's *Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue*, in its 'First Improved Edition' (Howe 'omitted the Fables and other matter of small importance' and 'substituted matter more useful and Instructive, so that the Scholar may improve in reading and gain useful Knowledge besides.')³⁰ In the years immediately following, he continued this pattern, publishing popular works (for example, *The Conversion of a Mahometan* [1807], Lemuel Haynes's celebrated diatribe against *Universal Salvation* [1807], and *The Sorrows of Yamba: Illustrating the Cruelty of the Slave-Trade* [1809]) as well as original work

Suffolk Harmony [Boston, 1786]), at \$.55; 'Howe's Worshipper's Assistant' (Northampton, 1799), at \$.25; 'Farmer's Evening Entertainment' (Solomon Howe, *The Farmer's Evening Entertainment* [Northampton, 1804]), at \$.25; 'Young Man's Musical Companion' (Solomon Howe, *The Young Man's Instructive Companion* [Greenwich, 1804]), at \$.25; 'Hulbert's Marches' (James Hulbert, *Variety of Marches* [Northampton, 1803]), at \$.25; and 'Complete Fifer's Museum' (James Hulbert, *The Complete Fifer's Museum* [Northampton, ca. 1805]), at \$.25. Of school books, he carried 'Webster's Third Part' (Noah Webster, *An American Selection of Lessons for Reading and Speaking . . . Being the Third Part of the Grammatical Institute* (one of the many 1804 editions, no doubt), at \$.33; 'Alexander's Gent's Spelling Books' (Caleb Alexander, *The Young Ladies or Gentlemen's Spelling Book* [Hudson, N. Y., 1802]), at \$.25; and 'Fisk's Spelling Book' (John Fiske, *The New-England Spelling Book* [Brookfield, 1803]), at \$.25. Also, 'The Young Gentleman's Pleasant Companion' (Solomon Howe, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Pleasant Companion* [Greenwich, 1804]), at \$.12.

29. Solomon Howe, *Divine Hymns, on the Sufferings of Christ* (Greenwich, 1805). See footnote 28, above, for the interesting information about Howe's books in stock that was appended to his edition of Decalves's work.

30. William Perry, *The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue* (Greenwich, 1806), sig A1V; (Mrs. Sarah Hamilton), *A Narrative of the Life, of Mrs. Hamilton* (Greenwich, 1806); Noah White, *Visionary Thoughts, or Modern Prophecy* (Greenwich, 1806). See Jaffe, 'Village Enlightenment,' pp. 329-33, for a discussion of the importance of the concept of reading for self-improvement.

by people in the Swift River Valley and the areas immediately adjacent.³¹

These local productions are particularly interesting, for in the first two decades of the nineteenth century Howe had a small stable of essayists and poets who took their work to him if they sought wider circulation. Their efforts speak to the question of early nineteenth-century literary culture, particularly in rural environments. One of these writers was Phineas Davison of Pelham. After publishing his *Evangelical Poems* through Ezekiel Terry of nearby Palmer in 1810, he stayed closer to home in publishing its sequels. Howe printed both his *Second Book: Containing Miscellaneous Essays in Verse and Prose; on Divine and Moral Subjects* and a potentially even more marketable one, the *Poor Boy's Pocket Book, or Double Primer*, a spelling book/catechism that included yet another selection of his moral essays.³² From nearby Oakham came Nathaniel Bolton, whose attack on Thomas Paine's deism, *A Poem: On Infidelity*, Howe printed in 1808; and a Mrs. Mason of Greenwich brought her *Ellegaic* [sic] *Poems* (undated, though typography and paper indicate that it belongs to this period), to which Howe appended a poetic 'Address to Christian Parents in Affliction' by Greenwich's minister, Joseph Blodgett.³³

Further, as an 1805 advertisement indicates, Howe published much broadside verse, such as Bolton's 'ACROSTIC and Other Poetical Lines on Horace Perkins' ('instantaneously killed by falling from the steeple of the Northborough Meetinghouse on the first

31. Gaifer, [pseud.], *The Conversion of a Mahometan . . . Tenth Edition* (Greenwich, 1807); Lemuel Haynes, *Universal Salvation a Very Ancient Doctrine . . . The Second Edition* (Greenwich, 1807); and *The Sorrows of Yamba . . . Third Edition* (Greenwich, 1809).

32. Phineas Davison, *Evangelical Poems; in Two Books. The First Book: Being the Husbandman's Companion: Showing How Business May Assist Him in His Spiritual Meditation* (Palmer, Mass., 1811); Davison, *The Second Book: Containing Miscellaneous Essays, in Verse and Prose on Divine and Moral Subjects* (Greenwich, 1810); and Davison, *The Poor Boy's Pocket Book, or Double Primer* (Greenwich, 1810). Some copies of the first two titles are bound together (although the pagination is separate), suggesting that Terry and Howe collaborated on this work or, what is more likely, that Davison took the sheets from Terry for Howe to bind with the sheets that Howe had printed.

33. Nathaniel Bolton, *A Poem: On Infidelity* (Greenwich, 1808); Mrs. Mason, *Ellegaic* [sic] *Poems Sacred to Friendship* (Greenwich, ca. 1803). On Blodgett, see Holland, *Western Massachusetts*, 2: 213.

day of July 1808'); or, more frequently, work by his favorite local poet, Samuel Dunn of neighboring New Salem, who could be counted on to produce verse for any melancholy accident. We already have noted his 'Elegy' on Henry Cook; he contributed others on the deaths of young people by drowning, lightning, and disease.³⁴ Nor did Howe neglect his parent's gift. He issued 'The Pass Bell,' 'adapted to *Solemnity* by S. Howe,' and other anonymous poems that also may have been by his father.³⁵

However, when we compare the range of Howe imprints with that of a nearby firm like Ebenezer and George Merriam's, it is evident that he played a limited role in the expansion of print culture in nineteenth-century New England. Moreover, the nature of his business was not determined by ambition or a missionary sense of his role in the information revolution but almost wholly by matters of geography and economics. Because he was not on a major trading route nor in the center of a densely populated region, Howe never negotiated the kinds of extended commercial relationships that printers like the Merriams did with publishers and booksellers up and down the East Coast who printed large numbers of books in sheets in return for other stock or credit.³⁶ Nor did he have enough customers within a short distance to make him consider printing a weekly newspaper (as both

34. Nathaniel Bolton, 'ACROSTIC and Other Poetical Lines on Horace Perkins, who was instantaneously killed by falling from the steeple of the Northborough Meetinghouse on the First day of July, 1808' [Greenwich, 1808]; Samuel Dunn, 'Elegy, on the Death of Mr. Henery [sic] Cook' [Greenwich, 1803]; 'An Elegy on the Deaths of William Luce and Warren Molton, who were drowned in a Pond in New Salem, (Mass.) July 23, 1811' [Greenwich, 1811]; 'A Poem on the Death of Miss LUCY CALHOON . . . of Petersham, who was killed by Lightening: June 11, 1806, in the 14th year of her age' [Greenwich, 1806]; and 'A Poem, on the Death of Miss HANNAH CUTLER . . . of Greenwich, Massachusetts' [Greenwich, 1808]; and 'The following LINES were composed on the *Death, of Joseph, and John Lindsay, who were burnt to Death in a Cole-Cabin, in Dana, Worcester County, Mass. on the night of the 23d. December 1809*' (Greenwich: John Howe, [1809]).

35. [Thomas Rowe], 'The Pass Bell. The Following *Elegant Lines* are supposed to be written by Mr. Thos Rowe, on hearing the Church Bell TOLL' [Greenwich, 1804]. 'The Rich Man and the Beggar' [Greenwich, ca. 1805]. 'Fly Some Angel for the Altar' [Greenwich, 1805]; and 'The following LINES were composed on the *Death, of Joseph, and John Lindsay, who were burnt to Death in a Cole-Cabin, in Dana, Worcester County, Mass. on the night of the 23d. of December 1809*' (Greenwich: John Howe, [1809]).

36. Larkin, 'The Merriams of Brookfield,' esp. pp. 46-48.

Wright and the Merriams did), whose pages might introduce his customers to the concerns of a larger world. Most of Howe's imprints reveal an opportunistic farmer, storekeeper, and shoemaker who resorted to presswork as a favor to his more literarily inclined neighbors or to turn a quick profit on an item whose appeal, even in the Swift River Valley's limited market, already had been tested.

The exception that proves the rule is Howe's fascinating series of almanacs issued from 1803 to 1826, for with them he sought to establish connections to the larger world of printing and publishing, as the Merriams were doing at the same time on an even more ambitious level. For a century the almanac had proved a good seller, but what prompted Howe to move beyond his immediate customers in the Swift River Valley by printing enough to distribute throughout the Northeast remains a mystery. In his address to the reader in his first number, for example, he allowed little more than that he was 'a stranger to a great Part of the Public' among whom his 'Labours' now were to appear, and on the title page he announced, as he would in almost every subsequent issue, the price per gross (\$4.00), as well as per dozen (\$.50) and individually (\$.06), as proof of his ambition to move them beyond the valley, although through what means he intended to do so is not recorded.³⁷

The number of each issue that Howe printed is not recorded, although his almanacs for 1822, which exist in three variants, indicate on their various title pages that they are of the 'second edition of 5000 copies' and the 'third edition of 5000 copies.' And as early as 1812, he had boasted to the reader that he had 'reason to be satisfied' with his 'first number' (under the pseudonym 'Philo Astronomiae') because 'more than 5000 copies were sold.'³⁸ To be sure, it is unlikely that he had the manpower to produce fifteen thousand almanacs in a few months' time — extant records for 1819 and 1820, for example, show him using only a quire (480 sheets)

37. *Howe's Almanac for 1805* (Greenwich, 1804), p. [2].

38. *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1812* (Greenwich, 1811), p. [2].

each year—but such an advertising ploy suggests Howe's attempt to convince the general public of the popularity of his wares.³⁹

The almanacs themselves are important cultural documents and were compiled—even the astronomical calculations—by Howe himself, even though, from 1812 onward, he often signed the issues with his pseudonym. The first issues were simply called *Howe's Almanac*, with the addition of the assertive term 'Genuine' in 1810. Exceptions were the *Massachusetts Agricultural Almanac for 1821*, which had 'a variety of New, Useful, Instructive, and Amusing Matter by a Scientific Gentleman' (probably Howe himself, who in 1811 had signed himself 'Professor of Natural Philosophy'), and which was 'fitted to the Latitude and Longitude of Boston'; and the *Free-Mason's Almanac for 1826*.⁴⁰ In both instances, Howe, no doubt, was trying to widen the almanac's appeal, but his overall economic success in this venture was negligible and is epitomized by one of the humorous 'signs' he noted in the almanac for 1813: 'When I see men sell property for three-fourths of what it cost, it is a sign they must trade a good deal to make it profitable. *For those who sell almanacs*,' he then noted.⁴¹ Circumstantial evidence—unfortunately, few of Howe's extant records speak to the years in which he issued his almanacs—indicates no great change in his fortune, either as a printer or a farmer, after he began this series. Whatever else *Howe's Genuine Almanac* was, it was not his ticket to economic independence.⁴²

39. John Howe account book for 1819–25, in Howe Family Papers, American Antiquarian Society.

40. The almanacs for 1804–11 were signed by Howe; those of 1812–20 were issued under his pseudonym 'Philo Astronomiae'; those of 1821–23 appeared with his name, and that of 1824 bore the name 'Philo Astronomiae.' In 1818, on the title page, he began noting that the almanacs were printed in Enfield rather than in Greenwich. Interestingly, the 1825 almanac carries the name of his brother Silas Warren Howe (1794–1827) in the title. (See note 55, below.) Another unusual imprint is Gideon Tenney's *The Pocket Quotidian or Almanac; for the Christian Era, 1810*. Greenwich, for the author, By John Howe [Greenwich, 1809]. Why Howe consented to print the almanac of a competitor in the valley (Tenney was from Barre, as stated in the 'Editor's Preface Introduction') is a mystery.

41. *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1813* (Greenwich, 1812), p. [25]. *The Free-Mason's Almanac for 1826* (Enfield, 1825) carried this riddle: 'Why are almanacs like school-masters? Because people want to get them cheap,' signed by 'Sad Experience.'

42. Entries in Howe's account book for 1819–25, in the Howe Family Papers, do not indicate any large purchases of his almanac, nor any sort of trading with other printers and booksellers.

The almanacs are, however, an invaluable articulation of the region's culture, for in each issue several pages were devoted to irreverent and bawdy humor, some of it composed by Howe, the rest gathered where he could find it, the targets of which reveal much about the sociology of the valley and rural New England generally.⁴³ If we keep in mind two points about Underwood's rich reminiscence of nineteenth-century Greenwich—that the community was a battleground for religious ideas and that its inhabitants were enmeshed (as Robert Gross has observed) in a 'masculine culture of competitive display' in which 'aggressiveness and strength proved the measure of a man,' the almanacs' humor, almost always at the expense of religion, aggressive capitalism, or women (with other jibes at such 'strangers' as blacks and the Irish), becomes more comprehensible.⁴⁴ We need also bear in mind Underwood's total silence regarding the individual who obviously was one of Enfield's most visible citizens. For Underwood's culture of liberal Christianity and gentility—he left Enfield for a literary life in Boston—was not that to which Howe aspired.⁴⁵

The manner and substance of Howe's humor can be traced to the counterpoint between hill country and villager to which Underwood alerts us. That is to say, Howe's almanacs indicate a rejection of Underwood's and other liberals' support for Enfield's moral reformation at the hands of the clergy and its openness to intercourse with the outside world, when such trade threatened

43. Howe rarely offered any attribution for his humorous stories, but the almanac's riddles and puzzles very frequently bore the name of local residents or others who presumably had presented such to him or whose efforts were borrowed by Howe from other publications, a common practice among early nineteenth-century printers. In this regard, note a letter from his brother Jedediah (1791–1834), then in New York City, in which Jedediah speaks of providing the almanac maker with a whole list of 'anecdotes.' 'I give you a collection,' Jedediah wrote, 'large enough but I fear, not half, perhaps none of them will suit you—I also expect some of them are *old* to you.' This same letter reveals that Jedediah was sending along any almanacs he could get his hands on, presumably (again) to provide filler for Howe's issues. Jedediah was in New York around 1822, trying to learn the type-founding trade; see the letter dated May 3 of that year, in the Howe Family Papers.

44. Robert A. Gross, Foreword to Underwood, *Quabbin: Story of a Small Town*, p. xxiv.

45. See Philip F. Gura, 'The View from Quabbin Hill,' *New England Quarterly* 60 (1987): 92–105, for an assessment of Underwood; and Gross, Foreword to Underwood, *Quabbin: Story of a Small Town*.

the rural value system that hitherto had defined personal and business relationships in the area. Thus, for example, we find reason for Howe's satiric portraits of the activities of the social reformers who by the early 1820s were on the scene in Enfield and elsewhere in western Massachusetts and his frequent diatribes against what he took to be clerical hypocrisy in general. 'When I hear a Minister preach "*peace on earth, good will to men,*"' he observed in 1816, 'and get wrangled and contend with his parishoners [sic], or suffer the Collector to distrain for his salary, I guess his "*goodwill*" is "*towards money,*" not men.' Or, in 1813, 'never judge of the preacher's piety by his professional zeal; the semblance of righteousness may be put on as mechanically as a surplice.'⁴⁶ Howe wasn't an atheist; he felt no qualms about printing a work like Bolton's against Tom Paine. But he would not tolerate any ministry—Congregational, Baptist, Methodist—who worshiped Mammon, duped their parishioners for private gain, or engaged in moral reform primarily for the sake of their own reputations. Indeed, his most vivid, and lengthy, indictment of the clergy is a broadside that he printed (but probably did not himself compose) in the 1820s called 'The True Preacher. A Lecture for the Clergy, of All Denominations,' in which the author viciously condemns these 'sharppers' who 'While we listen, — slip behind us, / Seize our purses — cut the strings!' and exclusively claim the role of biblical interpreters. 'These *dark sayings* were all handed / Down to us, a holy train: / You and we are both commanded, / You to hear, and we t' explain.'⁴⁷

Howe's anticlericalism, a staple of hill country ideology during this period, was closely linked to equally frequent attacks on the ethic of acquisitive capitalism, particularly when it challenged an economic order still based profoundly on the trust incumbent in

46. *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1816* (Greenwich, 1815), p. [19]; *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1813* (Greenwich, 1812), p. [24].

47. 'The True Preacher. A Lecture for the Clergy, of All Denominations' [Enfield, 1834]. An account for 1834 with Asa Damon indicates that Howe printed 500 'True Preachers' for him, strongly suggesting that he and not Howe wrote the piece. See John Howe's 'Printer's Book,' ca. 1832, Howe Family Papers.

'changing works.'⁴⁸ For example, in his very first issue of the almanac, in 'A New Catechism,' Howe defined 'the chief end of man':

To gather up riches, to cheat all he can,
 To flatter the rich—the poor to despise,
 To pamper the fool—to humble the wise,
 The rich to assist—to do all in his pow'r,
 To kick the unfortunate still a peg low'r . . .
 To deal fair with all men, where riches attend.
 To grind down the poor, where there's none to defend them.⁴⁹

Such sentiments, printed in 1804, are the more comprehensible when we remember Enfield's proximity to Pelham, the center of Daniel Shays's populism; but as late as 1821, with the industrial revolution about to arrive, Howe reprinted the poem, and sprinkled similar notions throughout other issues. In 1817, for example, in a poem called 'The Disenchanted Rich, Are Poor,' he sagely observed, 'We see, that too much care annoys, / The Pleasures of the great; / But in contentment there are joys, / Beyond the reach of Fate.'⁵⁰ At the moment when rural New England was about to be irrevocably transformed by the presence of the factory village and the capitalism on which it was based, Howe celebrated the man who was satisfied with his lot and not seduced by the vanities of the world. His almanacs, with the exception of 'special' issues like the *Massachusetts Agricultural Almanac for 1821*, in which he tried to cash in on the interest in agricultural reform, sang the virtues of a rural world in which common sense ruled in matters of heaven and earth and the printer himself had more in common with the dispossessed than with the scions of wealth and cultivation. For 'the *Printer*, poor Elf, is the servant of all,' Howe noted in 1825, 'and must *write*, plod and toil, at everyone's call, / Be

48. See Geib, 'Changing Works,' passim; and Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, 'Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 41 (1984): 33–64.

49. *Howe's Almanac for 1805* (Greenwich, 1804), p. [28]; *Massachusetts Agricultural Almanac for 1821* (Enfield, 1820), p. [26].

50. *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1817* (Greenwich, 1816), p. [23].

content with a pittance—he never can attain, / The *road* to preferment, to honor or gain.’⁵¹ As we shall see, before long Howe himself had become the servant of those very entrepreneurs who threatened to overturn the value system of the Swift River Valley.

Howe’s ribald humor at the expense of women, which eventuated in some of his most notorious imprints, stems from the same rural ethic, with its regard for a patriarchal moral and domestic order. But it still comes as a bit of a shock to read such stories as that of the ‘Gentleman who went to his nabor, whose wife had hung herself from an Apple Tree, and begged he would give him a scion’ from it, ‘that he might graft it on his tree.’ When asked the reason for this request, the man gives a telling response: ‘Who knows said he, but it may *bear the same fruit*.’⁵² The women in Howe’s almanacs are usually shrews or coquettes, supposedly deserving of such punishment. If they are virtuous, they are praised for the domestic felicity they bring.

Moreover, they are portrayed as profoundly sexual beings who enjoy intercourse and lust after it, as evident in his story about a woman who prosecuted a man for rape. In the trial, the judge asked her if she made any resistance. ‘I cried out,’ testified the woman. ‘Ay, said one of the witnesses, but that was nine months after.’ This attitude also colors his tale of a ‘pretty cherry cheeked, fresh colored’ girl who went to market to sell her parents’ butter and who was seduced by the man who bought the goods. ‘O you hussy!’ cried her mother when her daughter reported what had happened. ‘You are *ruined!* you are *ruined!*’ ‘Pho, mother,’ the girl replies, ‘*I wish I might be ruined so every night of my life, and live to the age of Methusaleh*.’⁵³ These were the jokes of a masculine world in which, as Underwood put it, ‘modest girls had reason to shrink from young men whose education was acquired at the bar of the tavern’ and ‘uncleanliness in manners and speech, if not universal, caused little remark.’⁵⁴ Howe knew that he could count on people with

51. *Howe’s Genuine Almanac for 1825* (Enfield, 1824), p. [24].

52. *Massachusetts Agricultural Almanac for 1821*, p. [30].

53. *Ibid.*, p. [30]; *Howe’s Genuine Almanac for 1816* (Greenwich, 1815), pp. [21–22].

54. Underwood, *Quabbin*, p. 46.

such attitudes toward women to savor, and to purchase, whatever he printed that portrayed women in such ways.

How else explain the two remarkable broadsides (probably from the 1830s) as racy as anything printed in that period, 'The Fair Maid's Song When All Alone' and 'New Catherine Ogee'?⁵⁵ Typographically simple (although the latter is adorned with a cut that Howe frequently used on other broadsides of the period and which he might have acquired in 1817 in the 'NEW PRINTING APPARATUS' that he announced to his almanac subscribers) and printed on small sheets of paper, both poems center on woman's sexual appetite and her willingness to satisfy it.⁵⁶ 'New Catherine Ogee,' for example, tells the story of a young man who finally succeeds in seducing his female companion in 'the *Late Evening Dew*':

She sat down in silence, I viewed her divine,
Then hoisted her silks, and her linen so fine;
Her t****s round, and firm, in betwixt them I flew,
And was lost in delight, in the *Late Evening Dew*.

The point, of course, is his partner's full enjoyment of all unveiled to her:

She said not a word, about what she did feel,
But by kisses and squeezes, her love did reveal;
I tarried there with her, till daylight it grew:
Then saw her safe home, from the *Late Evening Dew*.

But this description is mild compared to that of 'The Fair Maid's Song,' sung in the first person (to the tune 'White Cockade') and devoted to the narrator's 'wonder what the cause can be / The

⁵⁵ Although neither broadside has an imprint or any other identifying mark, the cut on 'New Catherine Ogee' is the same as that used on 'The Gray Mare. Or Johnny, the Miller and Beautiful Kate,' which bears the imprint 'Printed by S. Howe, Enfield' (ca. 1838), presumably referring to his father or perhaps to his brother Silas. (Silas died in 1827, however, which would make the attributed date of about 1838 incorrect.) The other broadside has been long identified by booksellers as a Howe imprint. The author himself, in 1975, purchased a copy of both broadsides from a Massachusetts bookdealer as part of a large lot of exclusively Howe family materials.

⁵⁶ The new printing apparatus was noted in *Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1818* (Greenwich, 1817), final leaf.

young men do not fancy me,' for 'I have a thing belongs to me, / Would please a young man handsomely.' In five witty stanzas that follow, the fair maid describes her appeal to a miller, a sawyer, a blacksmith, a cobbler, and a teamster, in all cases using the jargon of the man's trade to describe her prized possession. One stanza gives the flavor of the whole:

If he be a man that makes the shoes,
His instruments I'll learn to use;
And when his trade I understand,
I'll take his shoe-last in my hand:
His rub-stick and his welting-bones,
And hammar [*sic*] well on his lap-stones:
And help him work his waxen balls
And quickly drive his pegging awls.

As should be clear from these examples, Howe's attitude toward women reinforces the same ethic he advanced through his treatment of clerics and other 'sharppers.' And the fantasies on which it was based are clearly those of an eighteenth-century rural world in which women were the property of men, before and after marriage, and took delight in their psychological bondage.⁵⁷ When John Howe sought to supplement his income as a farmer or storekeeper, he knew that he could turn to verse like 'The Fair Maid's Song' as well as to Phineas Davison's moral essays.

IV

Very little has survived of what Howe printed between 1826, the last year in which he issued an almanac, and 1844, the last year of entries in his printing accounts. Indeed, most extant items are broadsides like the two just discussed, although they cover a wide range of topics, from reissues of popular songs like 'The Gray

57. The literature on women's position in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England is large, but see especially Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Women's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), Linda F. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), and Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

Mare' to a final effort by Samuel Dunn, 'An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Harfield Lyndsey,' written when the New Salem poet was '91 years 7 months' old. During this period, Howe's sole book was *The Christian's Pocket-Companion, Being a Choice Collection of Devotional Hymns*, edited by Joseph G. Royce and issued in 1826.⁵⁸ But here bibliography fails to present the full range of Howe's work, for his record books indicate a great deal of activity during the 1820s and 1830s, when his imprints are most scarce.

This manuscript record, admittedly fragmentary, exists in various forms. The earliest entries are found in a general account book that covers the period 1819–25 and is devoted primarily to store accounts. In addition to offering a detailed example of the contemporary economic system—based primarily on the barter of goods and services that Susan Geib has described as 'changing works'—it records his printing of such items as neighbor Noah White's *An Easy Guide to the Art of Spelling*, various pamphlets for local authors, and frequent job work.⁵⁹ But sometime between 1825 and 1832, Howe began to separate his printing accounts from those of his general store, for two separate account books, one of which is a detailed 'Printer's Book,' commence in the latter year.

These two account books are a significant resource for understanding how a rural printer conducted his trade. The earlier

58. On 'The Gray Mare,' see footnote 55, above; Samuel Dunn, 'An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Harfield Lyndsey, Aged Twenty-Six Years' [Enfield, 1838]. See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 13 (1910): 140–45, for more information about Dunn. It seems almost certain that Howe also printed Dunn's fascinating *A Word in Season: or, the BURTHEN of SAMUEL, (the son of Richard, the son of Samuel, the son of James the Rhode-Islandite.) which he saw while under the mountain, in the land of Prescott, Mass., in the days of James Munroe, president, and David D. Tompkins, vice-president, of the United States of America, concerning the divisions of Christianity. To which is added, some Remarks on those who oppose the Institution of Free-Masonry* [n.p., n.d.], typographically similar to other Howe imprints from the second decade of the century.

The attribution of *The Christian's Pocket-Companion, Being a Choice Collection of Devotional Hymns* (Enfield, 1826) to Joseph G. Royce is found on the title page in manuscript in Howe's account book for 1819–25; for some reason, Royce's name was deleted from the page as printed.

59. Noah White, *An Easy Guide to the Art of Spelling* (Enfield, 1819), two issues, with variations on p. 84. Howe charged \$56.00 for printing the book, \$11.20 for paper, \$20.00 for binding four hundred copies, and was paid by note. During this period, he also printed Josiah White's *The Two Witnesses. Rev. XI . . . By a Lay Man* (Enfield, 1823), for which he charged a total of \$40.00.

record book, for example, is prefaced by an index of twenty-two accounts, primarily from Enfield and Greenwich; approximately fifteen more customers were added to its pages as the years passed. These entries show customers purchasing such goods as cloth (of various kinds), buttons, thread, and other sewing goods; shears and scissors; hair combs and other toiletries; corn, hay, seasonable vegetables such as turnips and onions—all items that indicate a fairly limited supply of merchandise.

In addition, however, Howe's customers often purchased blank paper or printed material—schoolbooks in particular—and used his leatherworking skills. In 1821, for example, Barzillai Newcomb paid for 'Scott's Lessons' and 'Daboll's Arithmetic,' and a year later James Richards' son bought 'Comyn's [Cummings's] Geography & Atlas,' a fairly expensive item at \$1.75.⁶⁰ Richards also took two song books, 'The American Musical Miscellany' and the 'Songster's Amusing Companion.'⁶¹ Many individuals purchased almanacs, usually single copies and presumably Howe's, although in 1820 Chester Hall took six almanacs and a dozen in the following year, perhaps to be resold among farmers in his neighborhood or in adjacent communities; and in 1822 William Joslin came in for a 'farmer's Almanac,' at \$.12.⁶² Finally, several individuals enlisted Howe's skills as a bookbinder; for in addition to patching shoes for various customers and selling boots and shoes he had made, Howe also rebound books. In 1819, for example, he bound two volumes for Moses Gray, at \$.08 each, and a few years later charged Deacon Darius Sabin \$.25 for rebinding his copy of the 'System of Divinity,' probably Samuel Hopkins's two-volume work by that name.

60. Jacob Abbot Cummings, *An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Geography . . . with an Atlas* (Boston, 1821); William Scott, *Lessons in Elocution* (Greenfield, Mass., 1821, or any number of editions of 1820); and Nathan Daboll, *Daboll's Schoolmaster's Assistant* (New London, 1820).

61. No titles precisely like these are in *American Imprints*, but see *The Musical Miscellany* (New Haven, 1812, or Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1812), *The Songster's Companion* (Brattleborough, Vt., 1815), and *The Song-Singer's Companion* (Boston, 1818).

62. Perhaps T. Spofford's *The Farmer's Almanac and Register for 1823* (Andover, Mass., 1822), *The Farmer's Almanac for 1823* [Portland, Maine., 1822], or, most likely, Robert B. Thomas's *Farmer's Almanac* (Boston, 1822).

The extent of Howe's bookbinding is indicated in the printing records found in this volume. His account with Noah White of Barre, for example, whose spelling book he printed in 1819, indicates a charge of \$156.00 for 'Printing 7 forms,' \$11.20 for the paper for the same, and \$6.00 for binding 150 copies—\$.04 each. Half a year later he bound 350 more at the same price per copy. For Phineas Davison in 1822 he printed a fourteen-page 'octi-decimo' at \$.42 per page and charged \$1.32 for binding thirty-three copies, again at \$.04 the unit.⁶³ Smaller items he often sewed in blue paper wrappers, the characteristic covering of many of his extant imprints. In 1824 when local Masons sought to publish the Reverend James Thompson's *Oration* 'pronounced before Mount Zion Lodge' in Hardwick, he charged \$8.00 for 200 copies of fifteen pages each, \$1.30 for paper, and \$1.38 for 'folding, sewing and blue paper.'⁶⁴

Even more revealing of nineteenth-century rural economy, however, was the varied job work he did for individuals and constituencies in the region. Handbills and advertisements were particularly common work. Isaac Magoon of neighboring Ware, for example, paid \$1.50 for 200 'Show-bills.' For some kind of 'sporting Match,' Chaney Shaw ordered twenty 'Advertisements,' evidently large broadsides, for Howe charged him \$1.50. Other such work often took the form of labels for goods produced in the general area. In 1824, for example, Warren P. Wing paid \$4.00 for 2,300 'Labels for Rifles' and \$4.00 more for 400 advertisements 'for the same.' That same year he ordered thirty-one quires—an immense number—of 'Labels for Razors' and four quires of 'Certificates of Carding Machines.' Earlier, in 1823, when Howe had printed labels for 'Blacking' for the partnership of Wing, C. E. Field, and J. Bishop, he charged \$.50 per quire and six months later asked \$2.00 more for 'resetting' the labels and \$10.62 for printing '21 quires, 58 sheets' of them.

63. There is no record in *American Imprints* of this Davison title.

64. James Thompson, *An Oration. Pronounced before Mount Zion Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons: at Hardwick, Mass., June 24, A.L. 5824. It being the Festival of St. John the Baptist* (Enfield, 1824).

After 1824 Howe also frequently worked for the town of Enfield, printing blank forms for highway, county, and minister's taxes, and town meeting warrants. And as his publication of Thompson's *Oration* for the Hardwick Masonic lodge indicates, he sometimes worked for local organizations. To the account of James Minds in 1824, for example, he noted 400 'Membership Applications' for their 'Chapter,' presumably another Masonic group, and also provided 'Chapter receipts' and other job work. In 1825 the 'Village Encampment,' probably a Methodist meeting, was charged \$1.25 for 250 'Applications,' and the following year 'King Hiram's Chapter' was billed for '3 quires blank Requests.' School tickets, bills for a 'Black-ball,' a 'family Record' (probably similar to the one extant for Howe's own family) for Asabel Foster—were just part of the varied nature of Howe's job printing before 1830.⁶⁵

His remarkably detailed 'Printer's Book,' commencing with accounts for 1832, fills in this picture for the final decade and a half of his life. Organized basically by year, these records show almost exclusively job work, particularly for the growing commercial community in Enfield and its environs. For Harvey Royce, for example, Howe printed three hundred 'Watch Tickets,' at \$.50. In 1833 O. A. Patterson paid him \$2.00 for 200 'Tickets or Invitation Cards,' and a year later Asa Damon had him work up '170 Laborer's Agreements,' presumably for the work force that began to flock to the nearby Ware Factory Village. The same year, Damon ordered 500 'True Preachers,' the anticlerical broadside discussed above, suggesting that he may have written it.⁶⁶ Another individual involved in factory village expansion, Col. Alonzo Cutler, ordered '50 Show-bills for sash in Enfield' and the same number for his 'Chelmsford factory.' During the 1830s, sale notices also were increasingly common, as was Howe's work for the town of Enfield and surrounding parishes and communities. The decade ended with orders for a thousand 'soap labels' for John

65. Howe used the same sort of arch, constructed of typographical ornaments, on his own family register that he used on Thompson's oration; these are particularly attractive imprints.

66. See footnote 47, above.

Parkman of Ware Factory Village, a twelve-page Sunday School library catalogue, and a broadside 'Funeral Hymn,' printed for one Cecilia Lammon.⁶⁷

The records for the 1840s show more of the same. In 1841, for example, Amos H. Wyman paid \$3.00 for '3700 labels for Garden seeds and paper,' and the next year took six thousand more. James Sloan ordered 160 'Show-bills of Pumps.' Samuel Tinkham bought '20 Labels for Churns,' for \$.34; Cyrus Morse and Gilbert Warden of 'Newsalem' were charged \$6.00 for 'One Thousand and 30 Show-bills'; and Joseph Robinson of Hardwick came to town for 1520 labels. In 1843 Anson Newcomb called on Howe to print one of his few pamphlets of the period, 200 copies of 'Alonzo and Melissa.'⁶⁸ The last entry regarding printing occurs on January 25, 1845, noting twenty-eight show-bills for Samuel Tinkham.

By the 1830s and 1840s, then, Howe the entrepreneur had become more and more the servant of the new economic order he had so distrusted, that is, of individuals and companies who needed his skills to label and advertise an ever-increasing number of goods that were turned out in the water-powered factories of New England's countryside. Thus, unwittingly or not, he contributed to the ways in which such hitherto remote areas as the Swift River Valley were pulled into regional and national economies.⁶⁹ In the Howe accounts, this change in his role vis-à-vis the commercial economy is most dramatically reflected by the fact that most of the printing debits of the period 1830-45 were not settled through the goods and services that had served as tender in the early decades of the century but rather in cash.⁷⁰

67. No copies of the broadside or library catalogue are known.

68. *Alonso & Melissa. Illustrating the Changes of Fortune, and Triumph of Virtue . . . Stereotype Edition.* Entered According to Act of Congress, Jan. 2, 1844 [Enfield, 1844]. This bears no relation to the novel by the same name. Where Howe obtained the stereotype plates for this work, if it was so printed, is unknown. He may have gotten the plates through his brother Jedediah, who by this time was a stereotyper in Philadelphia. See the Printer's Files at the American Antiquarian Society.

69. See Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life*, esp. chap. 10, for more on this transformation.

70. Larkin, in 'The Merriams of Brookfield,' observes a similar change in the Brookfield firm's settlement of accounts, dating from 1824. He writes, 'From then on, paper accounts

Howe's first account book, for example, shows people paying for store and printed goods through the use of wagons or work animals, assistance in hog butchering, 'bleeding Mrs. Howe,' 'drawing a tooth,' 'bringing 5 bundles of paper from Brookfield,' making a coffin and a 'trundel bed stead,' or offering their children for farm work; others settled their accounts in such goods as pork, onions, dried apples, leather, and hats. Occasionally, an account was settled with a small amount of cash, but most debits were worked or traded off in various ways. And interestingly, the other extant record book for the post-1830 period, that in which Howe kept only his store accounts, reveals local customers (primarily farmers) still paying through goods and services, particularly produce (suggesting Howe's expanding role as a middleman in an increasingly complex trade network), but the business community paid for his labor at the press in legal tender. At his death in 1845, the rural printer had become, among his various accomplishments, another participant in the economic transformation of the rural American countryside, his hitherto unique role as a cultural middleman obscured by his willingness to work, as so many then did, for a price.

v

The extant records of the Howe family's business offer a rare glimpse into the world of the rural printer in the new nation. Unlike Alden Spooner or Ebenezer and George Merriam, John Howe never reached the point where he served as a middleman to the information revolution that by 1840 transformed rural America. Rather, through most of his career, as evident most vividly in his almanacs but also in many of his imprints of local authors, he represented a conservative rural ethic opposed to the market capitalism on which industrialization was based.

But by the mid-1830s, perhaps from economic necessity, perhaps because he knew that the revolution could not be stemmed,

were settled not by commodity exchange, but almost exclusively in the negotiable instruments of a cash economy' (p. 56).

he became a cog in the new social machine that for a few decades promised to turn New England from its slow drift into an economic backwater. Had he lived another ten years, he would have seen, and perhaps greeted, albeit surreptitiously at first, the day when, as Underwood put it, Enfield became 'part of the great world, and felt the universal pulsations of humanity,' a change effected by 'home and foreign news, politics, inventions, and discoveries in arts and sciences,' finally a change that 'brought home to people who never had anything to occupy their minds except neighborhood gossip and sermons.'⁷¹

He lived, however, on the cusp of such changes, his skills put to use as much to resist as to embrace the new order of the ages. Therein lies his interest to us as cultural historians, and to those moralists among us who might see in the Swift River Valley's transformation, in the 1930s, into the vast wilderness of the Quabbin Reservoir—Enfield, Greenwich, and other surrounding towns simultaneously lost to metropolitan Boston's insatiable need for water and yet their natural setting permanently preserved—a just conclusion to the battle Howe once waged against the forces of change.⁷²

71. Underwood, *Quabbin: Story of a Small Town*, p. 271.

72. For the story of the inundation of the valley, see Howe, *Quabbin: The Lost Valley*, passim, and J. R. Greene, *The Creation of Quabbin Reservoir: The Death of the Swift River Valley* (Athol, Mass.: the Transcript Press, 1981).

JOHN HOWE'S PRINTER'S BOOK

(Page 1)

1832 May 14. Davis Baker Dr.
to printing advertisements for a
horse. — 2.00 [paid]

May 16 William Earle Dr.
to printing 14 Adv. do. 1.00

[May] 29 Calvin Story Dr.
to printing 50 Advertisements — 1.34 [paid in full]

June 4, 1832. Lorenzo Crowell
Dr. to printing 1152 Labels — 1.50

" Harvey Royce Dr.
to printing Cards & Labels" 1.00

Aug 3, 1832 Capt. L. G. Shaw
Dr. to printing 250 Advertisements 2.34

Sept. Capt. L. G. Shaw Dr.
to printing 175 Labels — 0.34 (this and the previous
entry marked 'paid by Jeffrey')

April 1, 1833 Harvey Royce Dr.
to printing 300 Watch Tickets — 50

1835 June L. W. Lombard Dr. to
printing 200 Showbills — 2.50
Cr by a Ball — 50 cents — .50

(Page 2)

April 10, 1833 Richard Gardner
and Micah Gates Dr.
to printing an advertisement for
a Stud horse 2.00 [paid by R. Gardner]

This is a literal transcription of Howe's printer's records. Words or numbers in brackets are those that were written over or beside the various accounts in the book as they were settled. Parenthetical details are the editor's insertions or speculations, where an entry has not been fully decipherable. Some accounts also have a large hatch mark drawn in the margin or directly over the account, in some cases indicating that the account had been settled.

- April 15, 1833 Ambrose Packard
 Dr. to printing 200 Advertisements 2.00
 Do. to 200 Labels — 0.50
 [cr to an order to L. F. Brown(?) on— 2.50]
- April 22 Scott & Eveleth Dr.
 to printing 50 Advertisements
 for a Stud horse 2.00 [paid]
- May 1st Richard Gardner &
 Benson Aldrich Dr.
 to printing 30 horse bills 2.00
- May 8, 1833. Frederick Downing Dr.
 to printing 150 Advertisements — 1.25
- May 18. Col. A. Cutler & Co. Dr.
 to printing 100 Show-bills — 1.00
 to printing 50 prize(?) Tickets — 0.50
- Aug 20 Evelith Scott and Co. Dr.
 to printing advertisements of stud
 horse Sir Joseph — 2.00 [paid]
- Sept 3, 1833 Moses Woods Dr.
 to printing 60 Show-bills — 1.00 [\$.75 (written over 1.00)]

(Page 3)

- Dec. 19, 1833 O. A. Patterson and
 H. Royce & Co. Dr. to printing 200
 Tickets or Invitation Cards — 2.00
- Jan. 1834 Franklin Brown and
 D. J. Convis Dr. to printing 100 Way
 bills — 1.00
- Feb. 1834 Seth Gould of Ware
 Dr. to printing 500 Show bills — 3.00 [paid March 22, 1834]
- Feb. 1834 Dr. Elihu Pratt Dr. to
 printing 500 Envelops (sic) — 3.00
 Credit by 4 bottles Bitters 30 cts. each — 1.20
 July Cr by 4 rakes — 1.00

March 3, 1834 Frederick Downing Dr.
to printing 60 Show-bills — 2.00

13 March 1834 Asa Damon Dr.
to printing 170 Laborer's Agreements — 1.50
Cr. to Cash one Dollar — 1.00

May 3d 1834 Asa Damon Cr.
to cash twenty-five cents — 0.25

May 19, 1834 Asa Damon Dr
to printing 500 True Preachers'
for him — 3.00

(Page 4)

May 20, 1834 Charles Scott
Dr. to printing 30 Show-bills — 2.00 [paid]

Col. Alonzo Cutler Dr. to printing
50 Show-bills for sash in Enfield
and 50 for his Chelmsford factory — 2.00
1 Dollar cash

March 1834. Settled by E. Jones Oct. 1834

June 10, 1834 Mr. Asa Damon Dr.
to printing 300 Lectures² of
8 pages and paper — 6.00
Stage fare for same — 0.12 [paid]

June 17, 1834 Selim Newton Dr.
to printing 350 tax bills — 1.50 [paid]

June 19, 1834 Wm. McElwain Dr.
to printing 600 tax bills — 2.50 [paid]

Sept. 1, 1834. Ephraim Richards Dr.
to printing two folio pages Certificate
Blanks 150 cts. per page and paper — 3.00 [paid]

1. 'The True Preacher. A Lecture for the Clergy, of All Denominations' [Enfield, 1834],
a broadside. See footnote 47, above.

2. No copy located.

April 8, 1835. Gen. John Warner Dr. to printing 190 Show-bills 2 sizes — 2.00
 paid May 19, 1835 — 2.00

(Page 5)

May 1, 1835 Adolphus and
 Joseph Cobb Dr.
 to printing 30 Show-bills — 2.00 [paid]

May 5, 1835. Mr. Charles Scott Dr.
 to Printing 30 Advertisements — 2.00

May 12, 1835 Maj. Warren Smith Dr.
 to Printing 100 Advertisements — 2.00. [paid Aug 27, 1838]

May 16, 1835 Daniel Howard
 Dr. to Printing 30 Advertisements — 2.00 [paid]

May 21, 1835 Mr. Charles Scott Dr.
 to printing 50 Advertisements — 2.00

May 28, 1835 Henry A. Dwight
 Dr. to printing 30 Advertisements — 2.00 [paid]

July 1835 Dr. Joseph Cobb Dr.
 to Printing 40 Showbills — 1.34

July 1835 Benj. F. Potter Dr.
 to printing 300 tax bills paid 1.25

May 28, 1836 Daniel Howard
 Dr. to printing 35 Showbills — 2.00

(Page 6)

May 1836 Benj. F. Potter Dr.
 to 11 Sheets Blanks; Warrants 0.25

1836 Sept. 8 Benj. F. Potter Dr. to
 printing 20 Sale Notices 0.75 [paid]

Sept. 8, 1836 Ward Davis Dr.
 to printing Sale Advertisements
 Sent by Son John Davis — 1.00

Oct 27. Henry Sedgwick Dr.
 to printing Sale Advertisements 1.00

Aprill 1837. Sandon Field Dr.
to printing assignee's Notice — 1.00

May 15, 1837 E. Hartswood
Dr. to printing stage notice — 0.75

May 1837 Town of Enfield Dr.
to printing 4 quires Town
order blanks paid Nov. 1837 3.00

March 9, 1838 Solly Lazell
Dr. to printing Vendue notice 1.00

(Page 7)

July 1837. Capt. Benj. F. Potter &
Charles Scott Dr. to printing
40 Sale Notices Paid one dollar — 1.00

Sept 19, 1837 John Warner Dr.
to printing 30 notices — 0.50

Oct. 1837 Capt. Henry Faber Dr.
to printing 180 tax bills — 0.50 [paid]

Jan 4, 1838 Mr. Ball, and John
Parkman No 12 Ware Vil. Dr. to
printing 1000 Soap labels 2.50

June 28, 1838 Harvey M.
Morse Dr. to printing
100 Show-bills — 1.50 [paid]
cr by tea kettle and heater(?)

Dec. 1838 Cecelia Lammon Dr.
to printing Funeral Hymn³ — 0.75

April 4, 1839 Dea. Ansel Taber
Dr. to Highway Warrants — 0.50
Aug. 1839 by Parish orders — 1.92 — 1.00
[Parish orders paid — 1.00]

Elisha Ward Dr. to printing an
advertisement of farm Aug 21, 1839 — 1.25
[paid Sept. 1839]

3. No copy located.

(Page 8)

June 7, 1839 Reuben Haynes Dr.
to printing 12 pages Catalogue
Sunday School Library⁴ 9.00 [12.00 (scratched over 9.00)]
Cut. folding & stitching same — 0.50

Oct. 1, 1839 E. Richards Esqr
Dr. to one quire blanks 75 cts — 0.75 [paid in Tea]

Oct. 4. B. Sibley Dr. to printing
480 Labels also 525 more — 2.00

Oct. 4 Gen John Warner Dr. to printing
700 Labels — .50

April 1840 Frederick Downing Dr.
to printing 50 Show-bills — 1.50
to printing 600 Labels — 1.50
Cr. by 2 boxes Salve & Vial Liniment — .37

Aug 1840 Warren Smith Dr.
to printing 1512 Labels and Paper — 5.00

Nov. 1840 Warren Smith Dr.
to printing 200 Labels for boxes — 2.50
to printing 600 Shobills (sic) — 3.00
paid Dec. 27, 1841 in full — 10.00

F. Downing Dr. April 18, 1842
to 25 Advertisements transferred to 3 previous pages (sense
unclear) — 0.50

(Page 9)

Credit by half ream paper — 1.34
Do. 3 quires part 3½ reams — 0.53

Nov. 25, 1840 Dr. Rufus King Dr.
to 26 Showbills One Dollar — 1.00 [paid by Jonathan
Harwood]

April 19, 1840 B. Sibley Cr.
by a fork One Dollar fifty cents

4. No copy located.

Jan 21, 1841 Albigence King M.D.
Dr. to printing 600 Labels — 2.50
Do. to 100 Showbills — 2.00

March 9, 1841 Dr. Albigence King Cr. by a paid 10(?)
Dollar bill, Bennington Bank in par 11(?) D's — 2.00 [paid]
Dr. A. King Cr. by two books at
two dollars and fifty cents — 2.50

Feb. 1st 1841 Horrace Cutler Dr. to
Printing 100 Cabinet showbills — 1.50 [paid]

Feb. 25, 1841 Amos H. Wyman Dr. to printing
3700 labels for Garden seeds and paper — 3.00 [paid]

Feb. 27, 1841 Amos H. Wyman Dr. to
reprinting 3700 Labels for Garden seeds — 1.50

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James H. Waterman Dr. to J. Howe
March 25, 1841 to printing 700 Labels — 1.50

James H. Waterman Cr. by a
German steel fork to balance — 1.50

Chandler G. Sibley Dr. April
27, 1841 to printing 38 Showbills — 1.25

April 28, 1841 Hiram Snow Dr.
to printing 20 Showbills 0.75 [paid]

June 16, 1841 Elnathan Jones Dr.
to printing 50 Showbills — 1.25
August 28, 1841 Elnathan Jones Dr.
to printing 40 Bills — Sale Notice — 1.25

July 1841 O. Hanks Dr. to printing
tax bills — 1.00

Aug 28, 1841 Joseph W. Robinson of
Hardwick Dr. to printing 1520 Labels — 2.50
[April 1, 1842. J. W. Robinson Credit by a fork]

Sept. 21, 1841 Elnathan
Jones Esqr Dr. to printing 54
Advertisements — 1.25

Oct. 14 E. T. Tucker Dr.
to printing 50 Large showbills — 1.50

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Nov. 2, 1841 James Sloan Dr. to J. Howe
to Printing 160 Showbills of Pumps — \$2.00

March 4, 1842 Widow P. P. Smith
Late Warren Smith of Hardwick Dr.
to printing 42 quires Labels and
paper for same ten dollars — 10.00
20 per ct. off for cash — 8.00 [Supposed to be paid]

March 16, 1842 Capt. B. F. Potter Dr.
to printing 16 Advertisements of Sale — 0.50

April 18, 1842 Luther Chapin Jr. et al.
cr. to printing 1 quire highway surveyor's
Warrants — 0.50
A. Tobis(?) 1 quire — 0.50 [Settled by Town Order]

April 18, 1842 Town of Enfield Dr. to
15 sheets Town orders — 0.50
July 1842 to 3 quires Town orders — 1.50
Settled by Town order
Sept. 28, 1842

Frederick Downing Cr. May 1842
To a Grindstone Arbor(?)
[March 1843 Cr. to 9 lbs. old iron(?) — 0.27]
To 5 lb 10 oz. Iron by Wm. Pase — .17
April 18, 1842
Frederick Downing Dr. by 25 Advertisements — 0.50

June 1842 Barnabas Blair et al. Dr.
to printing 25 Advertisements — 0.75

Samuel Tinkham Dr. to printing
20 Labels for Churns — 0.34 [paid]

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Aug 25, 1842 Capt. B. F. Potter Dr.
to printing 24 Advertisements — 0.75

Joseph W. Robinson of Hardwick Dr.

Sept 4, 1842 700 Labels — 1.33

Sept. 7, 1842 Cyrus Morse and Gilbert

Warden of Newsalem Dr. to printing

One Thousand and 30 Show-bills — 6.00

Sept. 26, 1842 Amos H. Wyman Dr.

to printing 4000 Labels and paper — 3.67

Cr. by 2 bedcords 75 cts — .75 — [2.92 Settled]

Anson F. Newcomb Dr. Feb 9,

1843 to printing 200 Alonzo & Me-

lissa⁵ 8 pages and paper — 4.62

Feb. 3 Ephraim Richards Esqr. Dr.

to printing 24 Advertisements — 1.25

Feb. 1843 Hiram Snow Dr.

to printing fifty showbills — 0.87

June 8, 1843 Widow Pamelie P. Smith Dr.

to printing 500 Labels for Boxes

and Cutting Paper — three dollars — 3.00

May 11th, 1843 Widow P. P. Smith Cr.

by Cash — 3.00 — H. C. M. Howe

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Aug 12, 1843 Daniel Downing Dr.

to printing 53 Show-bills — \$1.00

" Franklin Brown Dr. to printing

288 Labels — 0.75

Feb 13, 1844 Amos H. Wyman Cr.

by one fork 1.25

by four Whetstones .50 — .50

by one Whiplash 16.ct — 0.16 [Settled]

Feb. 19, 1844 Amos H. Wyman Dr.

to printing 6000 Labels for seeds — 3.00

to printing 60 Lists of garden seeds — 1.00

5. *Alonso & Melissa. Illustrating the Changes of Fortune, and Triumph of Virtue . . . Stereotype Edition.* Entered According to Act of Congress, Jan. 2, 1844 [Enfield, 1844]. See footnote 68, above.

May 5, 1844 Joseph Powers
Dr. to printing 100 Showbills — 2.00 [Settled]

Dr. Albigeance King Dr. August 1844
to printing 1000 Labels two Dollars — 2.00
Cr. to cash one Dollar — 1.00

(Page 14)

Sept. 12, 1844 Timothy Tisdale Dr.
to printing 25 Advertisements — \$1.00

Jan. 20, 1845 Ephraim Richards
debtor to printing 20 Advertise-
ments of five Farms — 0.83
" to twelve Notice to Debtors — 0.50

Jan 25. Samuel Tinkham Dr.
to printing 28 Show-bills — 0.83

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