

DANIEL FOWLE:
PRINTING PIONEER IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Introduction

As with any research project the ideas the researcher holds at the beginning of the project seldom remain at the end of the project.

Although I have spent nearly fifteen years in rummaging through the metaphoric attic of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, it never occurred to me to investigate the sympathies and the patronage of Daniel Fowle. Since his newspaper has provided a wealth of primary source material for researchers, a reading of the man's proclivities seems in order.

Just about fifty years after the first newspaper appeared in the colonies, Fowle began the operation of the first press in New Hampshire and publication of the first newspaper. The paper holds the distinction of holding a record for duration of publication. Fowle has been described by various historians in glowing patriotic terms especially with reference to an incident in Boston. My research has produced a different picture.

While the tendency of historians of this period is to define their subjects in terms of the leading issues of the Revolutionary period, Daniel Fowle became for me an example of a fence sitter. I am not about to suggest we move him from the Whig to the Tory column but rather to say that like a number of people at the time, he took a low profile. This is an accomplishment of sorts when one realizes we are talking about the printer of a newspaper during the Revolutionary period.

Every biographical note on this man insists that Fowle was invited by leaders of the colony. The leaders of this colony in 1754 involved one family. I became obsessed with the search for material that would bring the printer and these politicians, the Wentworth Dynasty, together.

It was the connection reported in these pages that led me to develop a different picture of this printer than has heretofore been told. The dynamic of a competing paper in the years 1765 to 1766 brings this new portrait of Daniel Fowle into focus. The topic of this paper is to discern specifically the relationship of the competition between the two papers—New Hampshire Gazette and Portsmouth Mercury and Weekly Advertiser

When I started out I had reason to believe that Daniel Fowle was a Patriot and I began my work with the desire to question assertions and insinuations to the contrary. My research produced a very different picture.

of Kneeland and Green performed this task. Daniel's elder brother, John, was a silent partner in this business.⁴ There may have been an inheritance as John Fowle returned to Harvard for his M.A. in 1735. In 1739 he was listed as a merchant in Charlestown.

By 1742 Rogers and Fowle located on Prison Lane, two houses away from the old stone prison. By 1750, however their address was again listed as Queen Street. These gentlemen soon became known for the quality of their work. Their ink was a high quality product which they made themselves. This attention to detail is only one example of their success. It presumably saved import cost and provided quality.

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The partnership of Rogers and Fowle printed the Boston Weekly Magazine, starting March 2, 1743. A controversy arose when Jeremiah Gridley suggested that the fledgling magazine took unfair advantage of the proposal for another as yet unpublished magazine, the American Magazine and Historical Chronicle. The criticism arrived as the printers stopped publishing. Starting on September 1743, the American Magazine and Historical Chronicle began weekly circulation with one page of local news and seven pages of material taken from English magazines. Eliot and Philips, who often worked with Rogers and Fowle, eventually relinquished their interest in the publication. Jeremiah Gridley, the attorney, who wrote the original criticism of the first weekly in the Boston News Letter became the principal contributor to working weekly with the very printers, Rogers and Fowle, that he had originally accused of duplicity. It is not however impossible that these men involved themselves in an eighteenth century publicity stunt to provoke interest in the magazines and promote sales. Whatever the situation Fowle seems to have moved quickly to avoid confrontation. The curious notion that arises is the insinuation that people are entitled to monopolies. In a day when thousands of magazines are published, quibbling over publishing magazines is odd.

This second endeavor the American Magazine and Historical Chronicle was the first colonial magazine to last more than six months.⁵ It ceased publication after December of 1746. The publication concentrated on English politics. The magazine became a major influence in breaking the barrier for newspapers and magazines in the colonies to print opinion. The success of this move to quietly challenge precedents gave Fowle taste of success.

Rogers and Fowle printed The New England Primer Enlarged (a textbook) in 1746, part of Thomas Shepard's journal in 1747, the second edition of Signatus by Cotton Mather in 1748, and sermons of Jonathan Edwards. Isaiah Thomas believed that the partners printed an English version of the New Testament for Daniel Henschman for whom they did a large amount of printing. The Crown had not allowed printing of English Bibles in the colonies

⁴ Thomas, Isaiah, op. cit., p. 127.

⁵ Franklin, Benjamin V, op. cit., p. 181.

and Thomas indicates that Daniel's brother Zechariah spoke of the experience of helping his brother set the type for the monumental job. No edition of this Bible is known to survive.⁶ It is not unlikely that this happened, since Daniel apparently printed what he was paid to print. The surreptitiousness of the Bible printing brought no rewards or notoriety for Fowle and his partner. Its primary interest for us is that the printing of this Bible is reported by Isaiah Thomas and introduces this primary player in printing history and Daniel's youngest brother, Zechariah.

Zechariah was an apprentice to Roger and Fowle and he was neither as talented nor as assiduous as Daniel. His place in history will be always remembered because he took as one of his apprentices, Isaiah Thomas who wrote the first history of American Printing and founded the American Antiquarian Society dedicated to preserving early newspapers.

The partnership of Rogers and Fowle began publishing a newspaper, the Independent Advertiser on January 4, 1748. Samuel Adams often used the paper to attack the British government and its Royal Governor in Massachusetts, William Shirley. Rogers and Fowle ended their association in 1750. Their last paper was dated December 5, 1749. One of the last items to bear their imprint was a broadside, "An exact Table to bring Old Tenor into Lawful Money." Copies of this broadside exist today precisely because, in a day when printing consisted of sermons, fledgling newspapers, and government documents, Fowle and his partner were providing the public with highly useful material. Fowle perceived of printing in terms of its utility and pecuniary rewards, and not in its challenge to government.

Daniel went into business for himself on Ann Street near Union Street in 1750. This location was quite close to the location of his first shop, if not the same location. On April 11, 1751 he married Lydia Hall in King's Chapel in Boston.⁷ His printing in Boston seems to have dropped off and he concentrated on bookselling opening a second shop in 1753. It is reasonable that a new marriage took up some of the time that he had devoted to work. It is certain that a drastic life style change would be occasioned in the marriage of this middle class bachelor and this particularly wealthy lady. As the Halls had come from Barbadoes they were accustomed to a number of slaves. It appears his new station provided him with a slave, Prime, at this time. Prime would remain with Daniel until his death.

By 1754 while Fowle had not set out to become a soldier in the war for freedom of the press, he became however a prime

⁶ In the biography of Zechariah Fowle, Franklin, Benjamin V, op. cit., p.188, explains that Isiah Thomas learned of the printing of the so called Basket Bible from Daniel's younger brother because Zechariah had set the type for the job.

⁷ Johnson, A., Malone, Dumas, Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. VI, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, New York, 1931, p. 560.

attempts to
Lear's on Hunking Street.²⁴ Eventually John finds his niche in
~~this world as an~~ Episcopal minister in Norwalk, Connecticut.
Daniel's nephew and his brother John's son²⁵, Robert Luist Fowle,
became the next apprentice to his uncle. On March 11, 1763 the
paper's name is changed to the "New Hampshire Gazette and
Historical Chronical". (Historical Chronical had been a name he
employed in his first successful magazine in Boston). Robert's
name appeared with Daniel's name in the colophon starting
September 7, 1764. Dried

Mose begins
1764
Daniel Fowle published the first hard cover book in New
Hampshire in 1756 which was Good News From a Far Country, seven
sermons by Reverend Jonathan Parsons of Newbury. William Appleton
was a bookbinder in Portsmouth on State Street. Appleton joined
forces with Daniel and his nephew, Robert L. Fowle to publish the
New Hampshire Almanac for 1767. Fowle also printed a number of
broadsides or handbills in the period as well. continue to publish

Fowle's arrangement to publish official documents continues
as these appear regularly. By 1765 his sympathies seemed with
the Tories and Portsmouth Mercury began publication in Portsmouth
to appeal to the dissidents who were exercised by the Stamp
Act. It was believed that Daniel Fowle was going to comply with
the Act. Thomas Furber began printing and publishing the Mercury
on January 21, 1765. On April 8, 1765 Ezekiel Russell became a
partner in the enterprise. Underline

The Gazette is full of invective for the Stamp Act through
much of the year, and the October 31, 1765 edition appeared with
all the borders and columns lined in black. The second entry was
a "Lamentation" and statement of the paper's support of the fight
against the Act. The Mercury succumbed from lack of subscriptions
on September 29, 1766 as that is the last known date for which a
paper exists. What influence the Mercury had in bringing Fowle to
his position is hard to establish, but the difference in opinions
is the subject of this paper. With all his history of indepen-
dence, Fowle's purported Tory sympathies is a product of his
status as the official government printer, his location across
the street from the governor's home and office, and the nefarious
affairs of his nephew, Robert. off this about

The years following the demise of the Mercury seem to have
been good years. There was plenty of controversy to print and
Fowle had a number of apprentices. Since he had no sons this
process of teaching a trade suited the Fowle's very well as they
kept the youngmen in their home and cared for them.

From 1774 through the early years of the war were trouble-
some ones for the Fowles. Daniel and Robert L. had a difference
of political opinions and this occasions their separation in

²⁴ Brighton, Raymond A., They Came to Fish, Vol. II,
Randall and Winebaum Press, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, p.57.

²⁵ Thomas, Isaiah, op. cit., p. 333.

1774.²⁶ Robert was given the press and materials that had belonged to Thomas Furber. While Daniel Fowle had a partner in Rogers in Boston, Daniel never took on another full partner. His success in Portsmouth never necessitated the move. In fairness to Robert, the nephew may have understood this and decided to strike out in his own shop. Whatever the differences, Daniel still helped him get established by giving him the press and materials. This shows the bond Daniel no doubt felt at this time. Robert would not live up to the trust.

On June 9, 1775 Daniel's name was removed from the imprint. On June 16, 1775, he cautioned his readers about a certain King Pegu who rid his domain of rebellious subjects to control the rest. Publication for the rest of that summer was intermittent. In October two abbreviated papers with shortened titles appeared on October 3, and October, 17. No paper was printed the week of October 24. Daniel Fowle moved his presses to Greenland because of rumors that Portsmouth was to be burned by the British. Prime helped him move.²⁷ On November 2 he announced the move in his paper. On December 5, the paper returned to its original abode in Portsmouth and on December 12, Daniel Fowle's name is once again in the colophon. Daniel's erratic behavior at this time may have centered around the family differences.

It was during 1775 that Zachariah Fowle having married Isiah Thomas's widowed mother, Rebecca Bass Thomas, moved to Portsmouth to help his brother.²⁸ Zechariah's affairs in Boston had gone awry. Within months of his arrival, Zechariah is reported by Benjamin Franklin V to have died at his brother's home. Zechariah never gained the reputation for printing that his brother, Daniel earned. Daniel Fowle remained loyal to his brother as it appears he did to his whole family especially since they had lost their parents at such an early age.

On January 9, 1776 Fowle printed an article under the name of "Junius" which was critical of independence from England. Fowle was called before the Legislature on January 17, 1776 and severely reprimanded. Daniel sold out to Benjamin Dearborn who had been his apprentice. Dearborn is credited with the development of an improved printing press that came to be known as the American

²⁶ Adams, Annals, p. 288.

²⁷ Brighton, Raymond A., They Came to Fish, Vol. I, Randall and Winebaum Enterprises, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1979, p. 65.

²⁸ Isiah Thomas became an apprentice to Zechariah Fowle in Boston when Thomas was a boy of six. In 1770 Thomas and Zechariah founded the Massachusetts Spy. three months later Thomas bought him out. Zechariah Fowle is described as a "shiftless printer" in the Dictionary of American Biography. Nevertheless the fact that Thomas would write the first major work on the history of printing in the colonies and the United States bodes well for ^{both} ~~both~~ of the Fowle brothers.

Press. The brush with the New Hampshire General Court along with the trials of the previous year had not set well with the 61 year old printer and it appears Fowle retired.

The paper then became the Freeman's Journal or New Hampshire Gazette. The call of his discipline must have been too much, for he was soon back at the presses. While Ben Franklin V has Zach dead, Clarence S. Brigham²⁹ in his text reports that Zachariah and Daniel begin to jointly print papers in Exeter and Portsmouth on June 16, 1778 and the paper carried the name, New Hampshire Gazette, Or, State Journal, and General Advertiser.³⁰ It is however Robert Luist who is the partner in this enterprise. Portsmouth writer, Ray Brighton, reports that Robert printed the version of the "Gazette" in Exeter. Robert moved to Exeter as a result of whatever disagreement had occurred. He took the Furber press and types with him.³¹ Robert L. did do some official work for the old(royal) government. Brighton goes on to indicate that Robert married the widow of his" brother, Zechariah."³² This would mean then that he married Rebecca, Isaiah Thomas's widowed mother? She must have been a great cook! Robert died in Brentwood in 1802.³³ It is also very possible that there were two. Zachariahs, one being Robert's brother and the other his uncle. Ellen Grimmer in her thesis describes Zechariah as John Fowle's son and Robert's brother and this is a likely possibility.³⁴

The situation surrounding the evolution of the two papers becomes clearer by evidence of the list of Tories passed by an act of the government of New Hampshire and which was published in

²⁹ Brigham, Clarence S., History and Bibliography of American Newspapers:1690-1820, Vol. 1, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1947, p. 472.

³⁰ Isaiah Thomas lists other names that Fowle employed for this paper which ~~did not always appear regularly~~, A New Hampshire Gazette, The New Hampshire Gazette, or Exeter Morning Chronicle, The New Hampshire State Gazette, or Exeter Circulating Morning Chronicle, and The State Journal, or The New Hampshire Gazette and Tuesday's Liberty Advertiser. *In fact several apprentices printed the various papers and Daniel Fowle seems to have been behind the operation* *rework this*

³¹ Thomas, Isaiah, op. cit., 333.

³² Brighton, Raymond, They Came to Fish, Winebaum Press, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1978, p. 111. Brighton appears to be incorrect as Zechariah is his uncle. Thomas suggests that after Robert returned after the war he married his younger brother's wife. It may be that Robert had a younger brother named, Zechariah, and this is where the confusion lies.

³³ Ibid., p. 111.

³⁴ Grimmer, Ellen, Daniel Fowle: Self-Interested Patriot, Thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1973, p. 48.

November of 1778.³⁵ Among the names on the list is that of Robert Luist Fowle and the list indicates his property was confiscated. Brighton also refers to a property dispute involving Robert. He is apparently referring to a subsequent attempt by Robert Fowle to recover the property

At any rate on December 22, 1778, Fowle printed the entire Confiscation Act. This Act addressed itself to the confiscation of Tory homes and obviously applied to the situation involving his nephew, Robert. It also explains why the Exeter paper ceased operation—Fowle fled at that time to New York. Daniel recovered the press and materials he had given his nephew.

It now seems reasonable to conclude that Robert may have ingratiated himself to the royalists who seem to have included a number of people who were in the Provincial Congress meeting in Exeter. One suspect is Stephan Holland. We know that Daniel Fowle was disturbed by some financial hassels as the official government printer evidenced by his petition, dated May 25, 1774 to Governor John Wentworth.³⁶ This could have been a set up to clear the way for Robert. Someone must have encouraged Robert to move to Exeter because of Robert's sympathies with the British. During this period there were two bodies meeting—one, the General Assembly which was a unicameral body and the other, a series of New Hampshire Povincial Congresses.

During the war various arrangements for the printing of money were developed. Robert printed the new paper currency of New Hampshire. Shortly thereafter when counterfeit copies appeared he was implicated. He was also implicated in a scheme to print Rhode Island bills. Robert fled and disappeared behind the British lines in New York. This ended his typographical career. He is said to have gone to England and with other refugees from the colonies was placed on a British pension list. He eventually returned to the States and to Exeter where Isaiah Thomas says he married his brother's widow.³⁷ What ever the circumstances it seems fair to conclude that Robert's escape and eventual pension status prove an involvement but we have now way of knowing if colonial sympatizers weren't setting him up. All is fair in love and war! It is now clear why there were suspicions surrounding Daniel Fowle. Although he seems to have been on the American side in spirit for many years, it was his nephew's activities that drew the curtain of suspicions around Daniel.

Daniel Fowle found himself called before the legislature once more. Brown in his 1939 artical feels that the Revolutionary Press was one hundred per cent Whig with warnings to the Tories.

³⁵ Farmer, J., and Moore; J. B., Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous; and Monthly Literary Journal; New Hampshire, Vol. III, J.B. Moore, Concord, New Hampshire, 1824, p. 228-229.

³⁶ N. H. Archives, Concord, New Hampshire.

³⁷ Thomas, Isaiah, op. cit., p. 334.

The Gazette was apparently professional in not revealing its sympathies, again. However the accusations surrounding his nephew apparently fell on Daniel's shoulders as well. Robert's actions also account for the suspicions surrounding Daniel Fowle.

Whatever the arrangement with the Exeter paper was, it stopped on February 19, 1779. Some changes occurred and more double issues were printed; the last appeared on September 3, 1781. Mistakes in serial numbers occurred so that not until March 13, 1780 with number 1229 do things get on the right foot. Whether Zachariah's name was even used in the Exeter paper or not needs further research. Eventually Daniel took a partner in another apprentice John Melcher. Robert Gerrish was also an apprentice at this time. Fowle had no children and he involved Melcher in the business in 1784. On December 24, 1784 Gerrish established The New Hampshire Mercury. On the same date the Melcher and a printer named George J. Osborne, Jr. began publishing the paper as Fowle's New Hampshire Gazette, and General Advertiser. That partnership dissolved and Melcher alone printed the paper starting on January 27, 1786. Fowle retained ownership however until he died on June 9, 1787. As an elderly couple, the Fowles' adopted John Melcher. He was an orphan and apparently Daniel remembered his own early orphaning. At any rate the adopted son was far more loyal to this adopted father, mentor, and master printer than other apprentices like Thomas Furber or his own nephew, Robert. Therefore, Daniel left his estate to this young man. Melcher eventually sold the Gazette and began a new paper, the Oracle.

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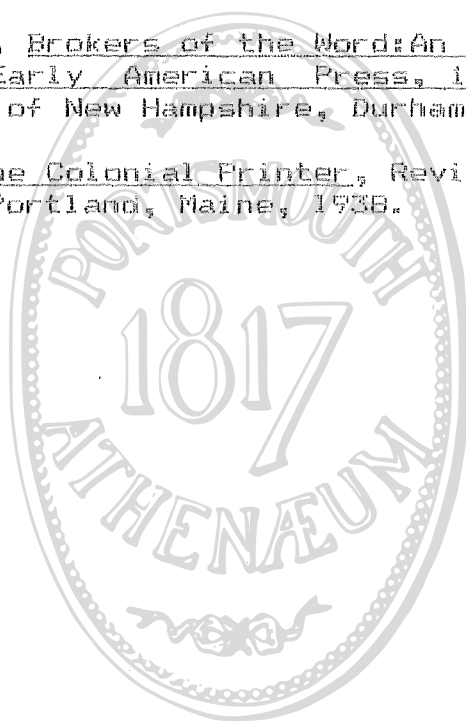
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CHAPTER II

EARLY CAREER

In the year 1734 Daniel Fowle began an apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland.¹ Sibley's Harvard Graduates lists Daniel's brother John as a member of the Harvard class of 1732. According to the entry John Fowle, the father, died in 1726.² It appears Daniel stayed home to help his mother raise his siblings. At eleven, Daniel began a life-long habit of helping his various relatives. His mother passed away in 1734. Daniel was 19 at the time and started his apprenticeship. He was old enough to have had some input into the decision. Normally an apprentice stayed with a master seven years. Fowle stayed with Kneeland until 1740 when Isaiah Thomas reports he opened a shop of his own on the "north side of King street, opposite the town house."³ It is likely Daniel's advanced age and his talent (which became obvious over the next years), provided the advantage in the apprentice system that earned his early completion date.

Gamliel Rogers had been in printing for a number of years and it appears that Daniel made an arrangement with Rogers in 1740 under which they could print from the same shop but use their individual names. The shop was at the head of King Street on Queen Street as the various colophons state. The printers located at the conjunction of these two streets on what is State Street today. The location was two blocks from the wharfs and the central area for government offices of the day. The location near the Town-House apparently provided them with no advantage in obtaining government work within the community of printers as they did little of this printing during the period as the firm

¹ One authority states that Daniel was orphaned and placed under the guardianship of Samuel Trumbull. From the records of his baptism he would have been nineteen in October of 1734 and the source of this information is not clear. Benjamin Franklin V, Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640-1800, G. K. Hall and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1980.

² Shipton, Clifford K., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 1731-1735, Vol. IX, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 1956, p. 151.

³ Thomas, Isaiah, The History of Printing in America, Imprint Society, Barre, Massachusetts, 1970, edited by Marcus A. McCorison, p. 127. Franklin, Benjamin, V says in his work, Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640-1800 that

of Kneeland and Green performed this task. Daniel's elder brother, John, was a silent partner in this business.⁴ There may have been an inheritance as John Fowle returned to Harvard for his M.A. in 1735. In 1739 he was listed as a merchant in Charlestown.

By 1742 Rogers and Fowle located on Prison Lane, two houses away from the old stone prison. By 1750, however their address was again listed as Queen Street. These gentlemen soon became known for the quality of their work. Their ink was a high quality product which they made themselves. This attention to detail is only one example of their success. It presumably saved import cost and provided quality.

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CHAPTER III

The Controversy

Fowle published most of his work as a result of contracts. He was willing to print the controversial if there were funds available to pay for the printing. Boston was a center for printing in the colonies, and Fowle had made a name for himself from his willingness to print what was brought to him and business came his way. He was satisfying the customer and providing a service. It was good business. While men like James Franklin may have reveled in the notoriety, it appears Fowle avoided controversy. In 1743 Rogers and Fowle had printed John Locke's A Letter Concerning Toleration. This was requested by a number of students at Yale concerned about intolerance at the school.¹ In 1747 the firm published An Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, more especially to the Inhabitants of Boston; occasioned by the late illegal and unwarranted attack upon their liberties and the unhappy disorders consequent thereon. Here is an example of an unauthored work of Whig sentiments.

On several occasions Fowle printed material that questioned the policies of the colonial government. One such publication was Vincent Centinel's Massachusetts in Agony which attacked monetary policies. No name appears on the imprint, but since Fowle printed the Appendix to Massachusetts Agony, he is credited with the first work.² These works were completed before his marriage. It seems very likely that his new association with Hugh Hall and his contemporaries may have produced the decision on Fowle's part to operate alone especially if Rogers would be inclined to print Whig articles.

In 1754 Benjamin Church and Samuel Waterhouse approached either Daniel or Zachariah Fowle and requested a pamphlet criticising the House of Representatives of the Bay Colony be printed. Waterhouse would later suffer insults as he tried to defend the Stamp Act. Both men were Tories and Fowle was at least operating within the set to which he had become acquainted. Whether Daniel Fowle said no or sent the writers to his brother has never been revealed. However after the pamphlet, The Monster of Monsters by Tom Thumb, Esquire was printed, Daniel was accused of printing the work which made oblique attacks on the members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives condemning a new tax on wine and alcohol through representations of women playing cards. While Daniel had tried to outsmart the parties, he did not count on the Whig reaction in the House and

¹Robert Wilson Kidder, op. cit., p. 34 and Benjamin Franklin V, op.cit. p. 184.

² Benjamin Franklin V, op. cit., p. 184.

apparently overestimated the Tory power in this instance.

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They left Boston in July. Daniel had circulated what he referred to as "printed Proposals"⁵ in the northern colony in order to test the waters. Clearly July was a perfect time for the frail Lydia to travel north. Having received enough subscriptions, he proceeded with publication of the first newspaper in New Hampshire. Nearly 133 years after the first settlement, the New Hampshire Gazette would be published for over 150 years being for a period the oldest continually published paper in the United States.

⁵ Fowle, Daniel, New Hampshire Gazette, October 7, 1765
Portsmouth, New Hampshire, p. 1.

Conclusion

Daniel Fowle was an astute businessman and a superior craftsman. He served as a printer from 1734 until his death in 1787. During the period of his life the country changed leadership, going from colony to nation, It was sensible men like Daniel Fowle who proceeded about their lives without becoming unduly embroiled in the affairs of the day. The story of the Monster as related here is the first indication of Fowle's approach. From that incident forward Daniel learned his lesson and treaded very carefully through the political waters. Goaded by the publishers of the Mercury, he stayed above the battle so far as can be seen.

Through his association with the Wentworths he had learned to print the news with out the views. He learned in front of the members of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts that politicians do not like criticism. It was with the utmost caution that he covered the controversy of the Stamp Act. For the most part, he maintained production of his paper during the Revolution. At an advancing age he was able to maintain his position by a series of clever and successful business arrangements wherein he stayed out of the picture, but in control of the process.

While many of his associates and patrons were shipping to distant locations, Fowle played his cards close to his chest. No amount of luck can be ascribed to the situation. No publisher of a paper could have survived, especially with his connections and work on behalf of the Wentworths, with out a conscious attempt to remain neutral and viable. His survival is the proof of his program.

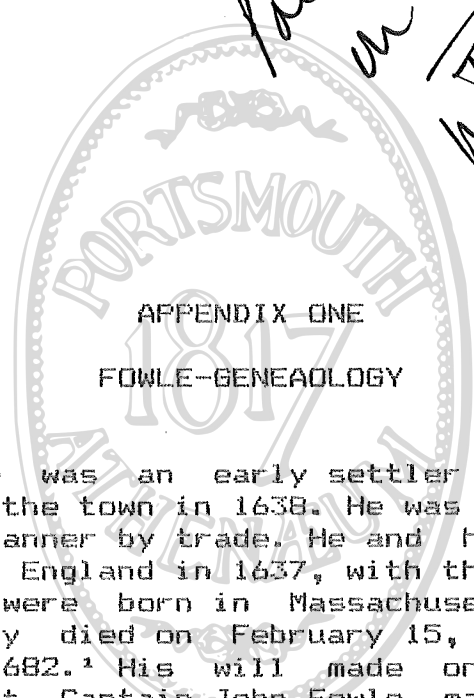
It might also be suggested that the young apprentices with which he associated on a daily basis may have provided him with a key to the realities of the Revolutionary process from which his wealthy patrons were protected. The politicians became so embroiled in the approaching storm, they forgot about the tide. Fowle kept track of the tide and waited out the storm.

It is to the credit of the American victors that while younger men like John Wentworth, Governor, Bartholomew Stavers, post rider, and Robert Luist Fowle, printer, were proscribed, elderly men like Mark Hunking Wentworth and Daniel Fowle were allowed to stay. An eighteen century French Revolutionary mentality might have seen these men punished for their associations as well.

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APPENDIX ONE

FWOLE-GENEALOGY

George Fowle was an early settler of Concord, Massachusetts, arriving in the town in 1638. He was admitted as a freeman in 1639 and was a tanner by trade. He and his wife Mary brought their John, born in England in 1637, with them. Peter, Zacharias, Abraham, and Issac were born in Massachusetts. The family moved to Charlestown. Mary died on February 15, 1676 at 63 and George died on August 9, 1682.¹ His will made on March 11, 1682 is recorded. His eldest, Captain John Fowle, married Anna Carter. Of their eleven children, the eldest John, born in 1663/1664, married Katherine Gutridge. Their two known children were John and Elizabeth. Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth married John to Mary Barrell on August 20, 1713.² Just a year later on August 1, 1714 they presented their newborn son, John S., for baptism at the First Church in Charlestown. This is recorded in the church records.³ Their second son, Daniel S. Fowle, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts was presented for baptism in the same church on the sixteenth of October⁴ in 1715. Mary and John Fowle had five more children, three boys and two girls.

FWOLE-THOMAS

On May 26, 1779, Isaiah Thomas, the printer and founder of the American Antiquarian Society, married for the second time. His wife was the daughter of an unrelated Thomas family and the widow of Issac Fowle, a distant cousin to Daniel Fowle of Portsmouth. Issac appears to be the son of the Issac and Rebecca who attended the Charlestown Church in which Daniel Fowle was baptized. Rebecca was listed as an Innholder in Boston in 1714. Courtesy of the Portsmouth Athenaeum, Portsmouth, N.H.

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and Thomas indicates that Daniel's brother Zechariah spoke of the experience of helping his brother set the type for the monumental job. No edition of this Bible is known to survive.⁶ It is not unlikely that this happened, since Daniel apparently printed what he was paid to print. The surreptitiousness of the Bible printing brought no rewards or notoriety for Fowle and his partner. Its primary interest for us is that the printing of this Bible is reported by Isaiah Thomas and introduces this primary player in printing history and Daniel's youngest brother, Zechariah.

Zechariah was an apprentice to Roger and Fowle and he was neither as talented nor as assiduous as Daniel. His place in history will be always remembered because he took as one of his apprentices, Isaiah Thomas who wrote the first history of American Printing and founded the American Antiquarian Society dedicated to preserving early newspapers.

The partnership of Rogers and Fowle began publishing a newspaper, the Independent Advertiser on January 4, 1748. Samuel Adams often used the paper to attack the British government and its Royal Governor in Massachusetts, William Shirley. Rogers and Fowle ended their association in 1750. Their last paper was dated December 5, 1749. One of the last items to bear their imprint was a broadside, "An exact Table to bring Old Tenor into Lawful Money." Copies of this broadside exist today precisely because, in a day when printing consisted of sermons, fledgling newspapers, and government documents, Fowle and his partner were providing the public with highly useful material. Fowle perceived of printing in terms of its utility and pecuniary rewards, and not in its challenge to government.

Daniel went into business for himself on Ann Street near Union Street in 1750. This location was quite close to the location of his first shop, if not the same location. On April 11, 1751 he married Lydia Hall in King's Chapel in Boston.⁷ His printing in Boston seems to have dropped off and he concentrated on bookselling opening a second shop in 1753. It is reasonable that a new marriage took up some of the time that he had devoted to work. It is certain that a drastic life style change would be occasioned in the marriage of this middle class bachelor and this particularly wealthy lady. As the Halls had come from Barbadoes they were accustomed to a number of slaves. It appears his new station provided him with a slave, Prime, at this time. Prime would remain with Daniel until his death.

By 1754 while Fowle had not set out to become a soldier in the war for freedom of the press, he became however a prime

⁶ In the biography of Zechariah Fowle, Franklin, Benjamin V, op. cit., p.188, explains that Isiah Thomas learned of the printing of the so called Basket Bible from Daniel's younger brother because Zechariah had set the type for the job.

Throughout his private career Fowle had
included the notion that crafts men were entitled to
Stevens influence. That he chose a place with a competitor is

another
part of
his sense of
business.

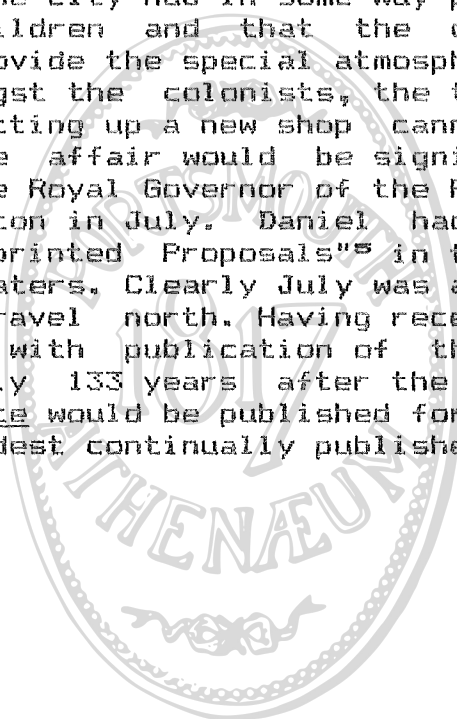
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