ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE TIES THAT BIND: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE CAREER OF HUGH GAINE, PRINTER AND BOOKSELLER, AT THE BIBLE AND CROWN, IN HANOVER SQUARE

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This thesis re-examines the printing career of Hugh Gaine, an Irish-born and New York-based printer during the second half of the eighteenth century, using the approach of the history of the book. I examine how the colonial printing house developed into a communal space that fostered transatlantic imagined communities with the printer as their facilitator. The role of print as a cultural agent has not gone unnoticed by scholars, but the systems of its production and dissemination remain to be studied in greater depth. Analysis of the development of the colonial American printing house and their printers as facilitators of cultural change allows us to more fully understand the changes in taste and thought that occurred within colonial society during the eighteenth century. The printing house emerged as an intermediate space between colonists' identity as subjects of the British Empire and an evolving construction of a national American identity.

THE TIES THAT BIND: A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE CAREER OF HUGH GAINE, PRINTER AND BOOKSELLER, AT THE BIBLE AND CROWN, IN HANOVER SQUARE

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements…………………………………………………………………… ii

Introduction ……………………………………………………………………….. 1

Chapter 1: An Understanding of the Transatlantic Printing Trade, 1476-1744 …………11

Chapter 2: "The Publick's Humble Servant"……………………………………………43

Chapter 3: Importing Culture ………………………………………………………91

Conclusion……………………………………………………………………...133

Bibliography…………………………………………………………………137

Introduction

The streets of Hanover Square were often busy as people and goods moved in and out of the New York harbor around the Old Slip. Businesses of all kinds filled most of the two thousand Dutch-style brick buildings that stretched up to Wall Street and in every other direction. The city of New York was small in comparison to Philadelphia and Boston, but the residents of Hanover Square were just as well served for their commercial needs than anywhere else in the North American colonies. Inside a shop underneath the sign of a crown sitting on top of a bible, journeymen stand at a sideways gait as they pull the crank of a printing press. In the front of the shop, the printer's wife examines an account book as a small number of customers move about the space. In another corner the master printer composes a letter to a fellow bookseller in London, using his ink-stained hands to request an order of folios or quarto sized books.

In the communal space of the printing house, people from all parts of New York's social classes are able to gather as they collectively participate in the evolving print culture of the British Empire. The presence of printed materials was pervasive in colonial life. Even if a New Yorker never entered the printing house, it is likely that they may have seen the broadsides tagged to the windows of the shop or perhaps passed around a newspaper while at the coffeehouse or local pub. Reading publics grew in size as the art of printing made the process of amassing cultural knowledge more efficient and accessible. The mass circulation of print shortened the intangible distance between groups of people and tied populations together in new ways by forging impersonal channels of communications.

Historiography

The importance of print as an agent of cultural development has not gone unnoticed by social theorists. Jurgen Habermas argued in his seminal work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, that the commodification of printed literature in becoming "generally accessible" and uncensored by the state allowed members of the bourgeoisie to "act as the mouthpiece" for the public.[1] Print, according to his theory, enabled men to engage in rational debate uninfluenced by their social positions. These discussions took place in the imagined space of the public sphere, which historians have taken great interest in attempting to identify the specific places in which this process occurred. The theory emphasizes print acting a mirror for society. When the public read and debated about the contents of the printed piece, they simply read and debated about themselves.[2] His argument, however, overlooks the contribution of the printer to this process.

One social theory that does imply credit to the contributions of printers to the process of cultural development is Benedict Anderson in his work, *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's theory emphasizes the role of print capitalism as creating the foundation for constructing national identities. His concept of print capitalism describes the interaction between a system of production and a technology of communication. The mass circulation of print underscored by the desire to make a profit resulted in unified fields of exchange that gave preference to a dominate form of language.[3] What he referred to as print-languages created imagined communities as people developed a sense of belonging with one another based on the shared common language. Anderson centers his argument using the example of the development of transatlantic communications and the "fact that the various Americas shared languages and cultures with their respective metropoles" leading to a "rapid and easy transmission of the new economic and political doctrines being produced in Western Europe."[4]

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[1] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989) 36-37.
[2] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation…*, 43.
[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Brooklyn: Verso, 1983) 42-45.

Printers, for Anderson, played the central role in providing the framework that enabled this process of community formation. He gives particular credit to American newspapers as a natural site for the creation of the imagined community due to the contents relating news regarding the metropole, political appointments, ship movements, and so forth. Newspaper readers were conscious of the existence other newspaper readers, even if they never met in person. Essentially, readers were linked to one another through their consumption of the text. Anderson in his argument makes the statement that "the printer's office emerged as the key to North American communication and community intellectual life."[5] He does not go any further in his analysis as to how these processes happen. As such, his theory invites the opportunity to examine how and why the North American printing house developed into the aforementioned communal space and the role of the printer in facilitating its activities that bring the community together.

The recognition of printers as agents of cultural change has led historians to place these tradesmen into one of two categories. The first category, which I have labeled as activist printers, emphasizes the political agency of printers by positioning them as stewards of enlightened debate and discussion. As activist printers, these men operated their press using an open press policy through which printers consciously edited and published materials that shaped the political and moral philosophy of colonists by promoting Enlightenment philosophy. Most notably Ralf Frasca has applied the theory to his discussion of Benjamin Franklin's use of the press to impress the enlightened concepts of morality and virtue onto the colonial population. In other examples, historians have used this category to champion printers as central activists of the political rhetoric of the American Revolution. Print as a medium of communication has long been seen as primary means for historians to understand the debates surrounding the Revolution. A number of historical studies, such as the anthology *The Press and the American Revolution*, address the contributions of colonial printers in the production and circulation of these texts strictly from a political perspective.

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[4] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 54.
[5] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 61.

The second category positions colonial printers as impartial actors rather than active producers. This characterization suggests that printers, in being conscious of intellectual movements, applied the Enlightenment theory of disinterest when making decisions regarding what they chose to print and sell. In Joseph Adelman's book, *Revolutionary Networks: The Business and Politics of Printing the News, 1763-1789*, he makes specific reference to how colonial printers acted as "impartial or disinterested observers who facilitated debate, enforcing only those rules and guidelines that maintained order and decorum."[6] Disinterest allowed people to better foster discussions as they remained neutral, choosing to not to support one argument over another. Those who advocate for the impartial printer also note the use of an open press policy. Historians, like James N. Green, note that printers often marketed themselves as a tradesman completing a patron's request rather than supporting any one political faction. This is particularly emphasized in the publication of pamphlets or other politically driven essays. By keeping their press open to all parties, the strategy allowed printers to advance the idea of a free press. The policy served political purposes as well as commercial ones as printers could avoid being subjected to libel laws. As Green argues, the policy created a more competitive market by discouraging factions and attracted wider support from the public that promoted a stable business environment for colonial printers.[7]

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[6] Joseph Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks: The Business and Politics of Printing the News, 1763-1789* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019) 50.

These two categories, activist versus impartial, are often employed simultaneously in studies on the decisions printers made regarding the production and dissemination of printed materials. This approach begs the question as to how could printers be impartial while simultaneously using their press to actively shape debate and discussion? In placing printers within these two categories, print historians often fail to acknowledge the overlap and complexity of the motivations behind printers' decision making. Their emphasis on the political contributions of printers tends to overshadow the other contributions these historical actors made to their society. The commercial, social, and political activities of printers during the colonial period, and particularly during the Revolutionary period, were not mutually exclusive from one another. These factors often intersected with each other as printers made decisions regarding how to use their press in both in response to the needs of their readership and events occurring around them. Whether intentional or unintentional in their decision-making process, printers were active agents as they imported, printed, and distributed materials that influenced and gave shape to public opinion. By studying printers in how their self-interests intersect with one another, we are able to understand more fully the motivations behind how they used their professional occupation to influence taste and thought within colonial society.

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[7] James N. Green,"Part One. English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 257.

Methodology

This study is in part an investigation into the claims Anderson makes within his theory of imagined communities. It seeks to understand whether or not the conditions he prescribes to his theory actually existed within Colonial America. I investigate his theory from two points: the production of newspapers and the process of print-capitalism understood through the business of colonial bookselling. Due to the economic difficulties that accompanied the colonial book trade, printers often occupied multiple roles within the trade in order to survive financially. To contextualize my analysis, I approach the study through the printing and bookselling career of Hugh Gaine, an Irish printer who immigrated to colonial New York in 1744. Gaine, who was born in 1726 in Portglenone, Ireland, apprenticed to the Belfast printers Samuel Wilson and James Magee beginning in 1740. The two master printers dissolved their partnership four years later, which ended Gaine's apprenticeship a year early and enabled his movement across the Atlantic to America. After establishing his printing house, the Bible and Crown, in 1752, Gaine remained in business as a printer and bookseller until his retirement from the trade in 1804.

Gaine's long career in New York offers a compelling case study for my analysis in several ways. The contribution of printers like Gaine within the historiography of colonial printers tend to be overshadowed by the dominating figure of Benjamin

Franklin. Even today, Franklin's career as a printer is held in high regard as the pinnacle example of printing's contribution to the cultural landscape of the colonies. In his study of the figurehead, Ralph Frasca refers to this phenomenon as "the Franklin myth."[8] Gaine offers an interesting comparison to Franklin as the Irishman achieved an almost parallel level of success in using his craft to increase his wealth and status within the community of New York. Where the two differ is in the interpretation of their ideologies during the Revolution. In discussions over the contributions of printers to the Revolution, historians often divide printers into the two political camps of the period: Patriot or Loyalist. As Gaine continued his printing operations throughout the Revolution, historians have interpreted his political convictions as being that of a Loyalist. Contemporaries of Gaine on the other hand, such as Isaiah Thomas, describe Gaine as always choosing the strongest party rather than being explicitly pro-British.[9]

Only two historical studies dedicated to Gaine's career have been published, both in twentieth century. The first biography, written by Paul Leicester Ford in 1902, accompanied a transcription of Gaine's personal journals. Alfred Lawrence Lorenz wrote the second biographical study of the printer, *Hugh Gaine: A Colonial Printer-Editor's Odyssey to Loyalism*, in 1972. Lorenz, a professor of journalism, examines the career of Gaine in an effort to challenge the printer's political motivations. His study offers little in providing a critical understanding of the cultural impact Gaine and his printing house had in shaping the communities that he served. Other articles and historical studies of the

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[8] Ralph Frasca, *Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network: Disseminating Virtue in Early America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006) 2-8. Frasca's description of the "Franklin Myth" is based on previous biographies of Benjamin Franklin, in which he is depicted as "The First American" and celebrated as the epitome of the American characteristic of a tradesman using his craft to elevate his status.

[9] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America with the Biographies of Printers, In Two Volumes: Volume II* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 301.

New York printing trade often overlook Gaine in favor of his business rival, James Rivington.[10] New York was the only city to be occupied for the entire duration of the American Revolution. Both men maintained their printing houses in the city's Hanover Square, also known as Printer's Square, throughout the occupation. They each added significant contributions to the printing trade during the second half of the eighteenth-century, but this study seeks to illuminate Gaine's contributions as a community-based printer in contrast to Rivington's service to the British Empire.

To form my argument, I consulted a variety of primary sources printed by Gaine including his newspapers, the *New York Mercury* and the *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, as well as pamphlets and broadsides. I also consulted the aforementioned translation of Gaine's journal which covers the years 1777 to 1783 in addition to the journal and correspondence of Ambrose Serle. The digitized collection of Gaine's account book, as well as an assortment of other personal papers, provided by the New York Public Library were central to my work as they served as a jumping off point in my research for this project. The other colonial newspapers provided through America's Historical Newspapers and the American Antiquarian Society, as well as documents from the American Historical Imprints online collection and Eighteenth-Century Collections Online, helped to round out my analysis.

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[10] See Catherine Snell Crary,"The Tory and the Spy: The Double Life of James Rivington" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1959): 61-72. Accessed December 12, 2020, doi:10.2307/1918851. Janice Potter and Robert M. Calhoon, "The Character and Coherence of the Loyalist Press," in The Press and the American Revolution, ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981) 229-274. James N. Green, "Part One. English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 279-283. Jeffery H.S. Knaack, *City of Brick and Stone: New York and Hanover Square from Settlement to Revolution, 1626-1783* (M.A. thesis, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2012).

This thesis investigates Anderson's argument and Gaine's career, from 1752 to 1804, through the approach of the history of the book. As a historical field of inquiry, the history of the book offers an interdisciplinary method to understand the production and circulation of texts as a material process. The field in its modern practice began in the 1980s, with publications such as Elizabeth L. Eisenstein's study of the printing press as an agent of change in European communities.[11] The history of the book seeks to understand the historical role of books and other printed texts in addition to how their production and dissemination developed cultural value across all societies.[12] At the center of the analysis is the notion that what is printed shapes society, just as society shapes what is printed. The impact of printing and its tradesmen are often overlooked in larger social and cultural histories. The approach of the history of the book allows us to revisit their contributions to the revolution of mass communication using critical analysis.

A study of Hugh Gaine's business practices regarding his newspaper, *The New York Mercury*, and as a bookseller provides the opportunity to examine if and how colonial printers actively worked to create the imagined community proposed by Anderson. Printers, like Gaine, fostered the creation of the imagined community through tools of mass communication while navigating the fluctuating socioeconomic conditions brought on by the American Revolution. Gaine's attempts to balance his political and business interests through his work both as a newspaper editor and bookseller ultimately resulted in the print house functioning as an intermediate space between colonists' identity as subjects of the British Empire and an evolving construction of a national American identity. Chapter one provides an overarching analysis of the development of the British trade in which Gaine operated in. Chapter two examines Gaine's use of the *New York Mercury* to connect American colonists to the broader transatlantic world and how they employed the newspaper to negotiate identity. Lastly, chapter three examines the material culture of the American colonies and their relationship to British culture through an analysis of Gaine's booklists.

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[11] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[12] James Raven, *What is the History of the Book* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018) 1.

Chapter 1: An Understanding of the Trans-Atlantic Printing Trade, 1476-1744

The printing trade from its earliest history has been at the forefront of cultural revolutions, so much so that its contributions are often overlooked or unacknowledged in broader historical studies. The invention of moveable type by Johann Gutenberg in 1455 reformed the ability to reproduce texts in larger quantities than had ever been possible. This resulted in a process that led to the standardization of the trade itself and a new system of mass communication enabled by the expansion in the dissemination of printed texts. The entrance of books into new markets coincided with the development of mercantile capitalism within the Western world. As printing spread across Western Europe each component of the trade, from procuring equipment and supplies to the movement of books and ephemera produced from the printing press, became characterized by interconnected and international systems of commercial interactions and exchanges. Printers gravitated towards the emerging commercial centers of towns in an effort to readily access the supplies, information, and financial backing necessary for maintaining their business. As the market expanded, civil governments interested themselves in the type of material being distributed and, in response to possibilities of sedition and dissent from the public, instituted systems that regulated the production and trade for their own benefit.

With the expansion of the trade printers began to occupy a particular place in society that required them to navigate between all sectors of the public. The advent of printing resulted in a new dynamic between groups of artisans, skilled laborers, and intellectual circles as they participated in a new form of cross-cultural exchanges that placed the printer and their printing house at its center. Though they were members of the artisan class, printers had to negotiate and build relationships with members of society outside their own social circle in order to develop and sustain their customer and business networks. As Elizabeth Eisenstein argued, the interactions and collaborations that occurred within the space of the printing house resulted in a dissolution of previous labor models and effectively blurred the lines between intellectual pursuits and commercial interests.[13] Master printers not only had to acquire the technical skills of the trade, but they also had to maintain a level of literacy and remain conscience of cultural trends regarding the arts, sciences, and politics. The relationships they built with their community also aided them in their responsibilities for obtaining the capital, equipment, supplies, and labor needed to keep a printing house in operation.

This chapter explores the development of the print trade that occurred in Britain and the consequent replication of these practices throughout the British Empire. These developments along with the economic and social relationships between the British, Irish, Scottish, and American printing trades provide insight into the world when Hugh Gaine operated his printing house during the second half of the eighteenth century. Gaine's career stands out amongst his peers as his printing house, The Bible and Crown, operated continuously during the period between 1752 and 1804 that saw substantial change not only in how the printing trade developed within a colonial market but also experienced the colonial state shift into a new form of government and cultural identity. Therefore, these points of interest must be understood within the context of the imperial system and as one part within the wider transatlantic printing trade of the eighteenth century.

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[13] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 55-56.

Printing in Britain

The art of printing had been practiced in England since 1476 when William Caxton set up a printing house in Westminster. From the onset, the trade required large amounts of capital and space to successfully complete a finished product. The press itself took up the most space, typically standing at seven feet tall and needing to be anchored by beams attached to the ceiling. Upper and lower cases of type sat on an opposite wall so as to allow enough room for the master printer and his journeymen to move freely about while laying type. Wetted and inked paper hung overhead on ten-foot-long rods in order to dry before being bound or loosely wrapped. The investment in paper and equipment encouraged careful control over texts that took the form of editing, preparation, and proofreading before they were committed to print. The technology and practices of printing remained largely unchanged from this early period. The publication of Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* in 1668 created a standardized manual that reflected the inner workings of the British print trade. Moxon, a type-founder and mathematician, published the pamphlet in an effort to elevate the mechanic art of type-making to that of the liberal arts. In turn, the pamphlet provided a detailed account of the hands-on techniques and equipment used by printers during the early modern period. The manual remained the foremost authority on the practice of printing for over a century and continues to be used as a reference by historians and students who preserve the practices of Early modern printing techniques and book production.[14]

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[14] Editors of Moxon's reissued work emphasize the continued relevance of the manual as an authority on mechanical printing. The printer Theo L. De Vine wrote in his 1896 reprint that Moxon's work was "necessary for a clear understanding of the mechanical side of the art as practiced in the seventeenth century." In their 1978 reissue of Moxon, Herbert Davis and Harry Carter described how the work

As the printing trade stabilized in its methods of production, civil and ecclesiastical authorities sought to control and regulate its output. The Stationer's Company became the key instrument of the state in controlling and mediating the print trade in Britain. Originally formed in 1403 and incorporated in 1557 by royal charter, the group initially consisted of ninety-seven men who worked as stationers in the City of London and its suburbs.[15] The Company eventually came to encompass all members of the book trade including bookbinders, booksellers, and printers. The duties and skills performed by each group remained relatively distinct from one another, with booksellers functioning as a publisher, wholesaler, and distributor of books and printers performing the physical production of books and other printed material. The Company established their headquarters, Stationers Hall, on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard. In 1606 the Stationers formed the English Stock, a joint stock publishing company funded by shares held by members of the Company. This granted them sole legal rights to the profits from prayer books, psalters, primers and almanacks, as well as reinforcing the power of the Company's governing body.

The privileges allotted to the Company by the royal charter centralized their power over the British printing trade. The original charter granted the company legal powers and the ability to makes rules for their own governance. It also required that all printers should be members which undermined the tradition in London that a freeman was entitled to practice any craft even though he was not a part of the company that

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"remained a standard text-book… [and] came to be recognized as an authority among those who for one reason or another used the earlier [printing] technique as a discipline or a recreation." Joseph Moxon, *Mechanik Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683-4)*, edi. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (New York: Dover Publications, 1978) vii.

[15] The title of stationer described a man who had a fixed place of business where they arranged for the manufacture of books and carried stock of books and stationery secondhand. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers Company: A History, 1403-1959* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960) 20.

supervised the trade. By the beginning of the 18th century, the city of London emerged as the capital of the English book trade in large part due to the wealth and control amassed by the Stationers. In an attempt to retain their power, members of the Company petitioned for a new charter in 1684. Not only did this new document reassure the Company's loyalty to the sovereign, it also included clauses that were designed to give the Stationers Company complete control of the book trade. Membership became obligatory for printers, letter-founders, and press-builders with the exceptions to the King's Printer and those employed by the universities in Cambridge and Oxford. Likewise, no one was permitted to bind or sell books within a four-mile radius around London unless they were members of the Company. Though the charter passed, the Company had difficulty in its attempts to enforce these terms.

The first charter also granted nationwide powers that effectively made the Company an executive arm of the government. From the introduction of printing to England, the crown treated opposition literature as seditious and heretical. They became fearful of the consequences of the "potency of the unfettered book."[16] The state thus sought to regulate the production and distribution of the print trade for their own benefit. In an effort to suppress any form of sedition, printers were subjected more than other members of the Company to clauses that restricted their production. The original charter established a licensing system that confined the number of printers who could legally operate a press in Britain to twenty. This in turn limited the availability of apprenticeships, which was set at three apprentices for the Master printer and two for Liverymen. Masters and Wardens of the Company were also granted the right to search premises, seize printed materials, and imprison anyone determined to have printed without proper qualifications or resistant to search.[17]

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[16] James Raven, *What is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018) 100.

Along with regulating the number of printers, the licensing system within the Stationer's Company was also used to control copyright. Copyright served as a principle to protect booksellers' exclusive right to publish any given text. Early amendments to the charter stipulated that books could not be printed without "license by the proper civil or ecclesiastical authority" or "printed contrary to any ordinance of the Company – the ordinance about the entering of copies and the respecting of the copies and the respecting of the copies of others being the one particularly referred to."[18] The right to copy allowed members of the Stationers' Company, especially its wealthier members, to create exclusive trading empires and monopolies on the book trade. By paying a small fee for the right to copy, the production of certain texts was privileged by the Company to favored members. Small groups of booksellers often came together to form congers to aid one another in their production and distribution of a text. These groups served as a means to further protect their monopolies and prevent typically newer members from creating any competition for their titles. The Licensing Act of 1662 re-enforced this system, firmly entrenching London's booksellers' and printers' economic control over the British print trade.

The licensing system, however, was never fully effective because charters and injunctions often lapsed. It also did not prevent the sales of unauthorized editions, a practice condemned by booksellers as piracy. When the Licensing Act of 1662 lapsed in 1694 due to growing complaints against the monopolistic practices of the Stationers'

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[17] Blagden, *The Stationers Company: A History, 1403-1959,* 21.
[18] Blagden, *The Stationers Company: A History, 1403-1959,* 72.

Company, the monopoly held by the group began to diminish as the refusal to renew the legislation unintentionally legalized printing throughout England. This allowed for the development of the trade in areas outside of London and the growth of provincial newspapers and reprints.[19] In response, members of the Company petitioned for a new form of copyright legislation in order to regain their economic control. In 1710, Parliament passed the *Act of Anne, or a Bill for the Encouragement of Learning,* which was heavily supported by the booksellers in the Stationer's Company as it placed control of the print trade back in their hands. Though the legislation created benefits for the author and sought to boost the public's access to printed material, it also returned economic and legal control of the print trade back to the Stationer's Company.

The Act of Anne revolutionized the printing industry in Britain. The statute endowed copyright of any written work to that of its author.[20] Printers were only permitted to print, sell, and distribute the work if they purchased the copyright with the consent of the author and registered the publication with the Stationer's Company. The terms of the law stated that copyright for writings published before the enactment of the Act of Anne lasted for fourteen years, whereas books printed prior to the law held a copyright length of twenty-one years. Authors who outlived their copyright were granted an additional fourteen-year term at which time the title would be placed in the public domain. Any person who attempted to print and distribute copies without "the Consent of the Author, Proprietors, or Proprietors therefore first had and obtained in Writing" were subject to forfeiture of the materials and required to pay a substantial fine of five shillings for every sheet printed.[21] The statute enabled a publishing revolution that led to an expansion in the quality and variety of reading materials available that were distributed across the empire. This resulted in a highly commercialized public culture and a rise in public expression of private opinions on public matters.

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[19] John Feather, "The British Book Market 1600-1800" in *A Companion to the History of the Book,* edi. Simon Elliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009) 238.

[20] "The Statute of Anne; April 19, 1710," Yale Law School - Lillian Goldman Law Library, accessed November 8, 2020, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/anne_1710.asp.

Irish and Scottish printing trade

Though production of the British print trade was almost entirely confined to the small group of booksellers and printers in London for much of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, printing began to develop slowly throughout the British Isles. In Scotland and Ireland, it remained common during the early modern period for those entering into the print trade to combine all functions of the trade into one business. The separation between booksellers and publishers in these areas did not occur until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Though production occurred on a smaller scale in comparison to London, and in part due to the economic and legal restrictions pushed by the London booksellers during the period, a flourishing book trade and subsequent local print culture began to thrive. Richard Sher offers a comprehensive study of the symbiotic relationship between the developing publishing industry in the eighteenth century and the Scottish Enlightenment. The connections between the Scottish, Irish, and English printing trades created social and economic networks that benefitted the growth of both authors and their publishers, as well as those who reprinted their works.[22]

Following the Acts of Union in 1707, Scotland and England united into one kingdom. This led to the dissolution of Scotland's Parliament and its peoples becoming subject to British law, though their legal systems remained separate. The print trade in Scotland subsequently came under the control of the Stationer's Company and thus subjected to British copyright law. As with the rest of the country, the Scottish printing trade benefited from the economic measures created by the union including financial assistance, protection for maritime trade, and an end to the economic restrictions on trade with England. Edinburgh quickly emerged as the capital of the printing industry in part due to the intellectual development of the Scottish Enlightenment and the connections made with the London members of the printing trade. Other cities, namely Glasgow, developed their printing industry based on reprinting the books of the Enlightenment produced between London and Edinburgh.[23]

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[21] "The Statute of Anne."

[22] Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006) 11.

The connection between London and Edinburgh is extensively covered by Sher in his study of the role of printing in enabling the Scottish Enlightenment. He focuses part of his analysis on the relationships and partnerships developed between London and Edinburgh printers and booksellers following the Acts of Union. According to Sher, around two-thirds of the titles produced in Edinburgh could be linked to London in some manner, either with booksellers in both cities partnering to produce a title together or one partner giving partial rights to a specified number of copies.[24] The movement of a select number of Scottish printers to London strengthened the printing axis between the two cities. Andrew Millar, considered by Sher as "the greatest bookseller and publisher of the mid-eighteenth century," was the most prolific in producing Scottish titles in collaboration with Edinburgh printers like Alexander Kincaid and Alexander Donaldson while living in London.[25] In addition to Millar, William Strahan created an extensive network of printers that extended not only between Edinburgh and London, but also reached into the North American colonies. In sending his former journeyman, David Hall, to partner with Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Strahan expanded his reach as a bookseller into the colonial market. Despite their collaborations with booksellers in London, Scottish booksellers continued to operate on a smaller scale in comparison to those in England.

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[23] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 269.
[24] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 270.

The Scottish print trade expanded significantly in the 1730's when several copyrights began to reach their term limit imposed under the Act of Anne. In response, a number of Scottish printers, including the aforementioned Donaldson, began to reprint these titles for cheaper costs than the London booksellers. Over the course of the 18th century, both sides engaged in what is now referred to as the Battle of the Booksellers.[26] London booksellers argued that the titles were not in the public domain and instead the copyright they possessed existed in perpetuity. A decision made by the Scottish Court of Sessions in 1751 supported the Scottish in their claim that they rightfully were able to reprint any title no longer protected by the Act of Anne as they now existed in the public domain, however this decision did not apply in England.[27] Despite the protests from the London booksellers, Scottish printers continued to build a lucrative business printing and selling English reprints both in Scotland, England, and abroad. Donaldson went so far as to set up a bookshop on the Strand to sell his reprints, which the London booksellers saw as a direct threat to their trade. The claim to perpetual copyright was eventually overturned by the House of Lords during the Donaldson v. Beckett case in 1774 after Donaldson appealed against an injunction to restrain the sale of his edition of James Thomson's *The Seasons*.

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[25] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 275. For Sher's analysis of Millar's career see pgs. 275-294.

[26] See Ernest Campbell Mossner, Harry Ransom, and Gavin Hamilton, "Hume and the "Conspiracy of the Booksellers": The Publication and Early Fortunes of the "History of England"," The University of Texas Studies in English, Vol. 29 (1959), 162-182, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20776018. Peter Baldwin, "From Royal Privilege to Literary Property: A Common Start To Copyright in the Eighteenth Century," in The Copyright Wars: Three Centureis of Trans-Atlantic Battle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) 53-81.

[27] Warren McDougall, "Copyright Litigation in the Court of Sessions, 1738-1740, and the Rise of the Scottish Book Trade" in Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions 5, pt. 5, 8-9.

As Ireland would not join the United Kingdom until 1800, the Irish print trade operated outside of English control. The printing trade was monitored by a separate organized body known as the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, which gained official recognition in 1670. The guild originally consisted of cutlers, paint-stainers, and stationers. Though their activities were largely unrelated to one another, the reasoning behind joining together to form a guild related to the fact that they're respective trades were not large enough at the time for any of them to act alone. The stationers made up the smallest portion and least powerful members of the Guild. As the Guild developed, it eventually encompassed all artisans involved in the printing trade. This resulted in the booksellers' domination of the organization by 1750. The two stationers listed on the original charter were also members of the London Stationer's Company. This has led historian James W. Phillips to contend that the connection between these two stationers implied that the London Company endorsed the formation of the Dublin group.[28] The connection between the two organizations was limited, though the London body maintained a small form of representation in its Dublin counterpart through the activities of a few printers during the early years of the Guild.

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[28] James W. Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin, 1670-1800: A Bibliographical Enquiry* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998) 4.

As the capital city, Dublin quickly emerged as the center of the Irish printing trade. The city ranked second compared to London in producing English language materials, printing approximately 14,000 books between 1758 and 1800.[29] Almost the entirety of the printing trade in Ireland dedicated itself to reprinting British editions at cheaper costs. This was committed with minimal concern for British copyright provisions as the Act of Anne only applied to the printing trade in England and Scotland. Additionally, Ireland had no form of copyright law prior to the Act of Union in 1800 which saved printers from having to pay the price of copy. Irish booksellers were able to market the titles at lower rates due to their advantage of paying lower duties on paper and leather. They "made much of the cheapness" in comparison to the London editions and sold their reprints to both a domestic and international market, thus creating direct competition with the London booksellers.[30]

Though Dublin functioned as the center of the Irish printing trade, the city of Belfast also contributed to the Irish reprint market. In comparison to Dublin printers who reprinted primarily commercially successful titles, Belfast printers tended to reprint both popular and religious titles. James Magee, the chief Belfast printer and whom Hugh Gaine began his apprenticeship for in 1740, reprinted popular works such as the poems of Robert Burn and John Home's *Douglas*. His business became pivotal in supplying the north of Ireland with books and other printed materials. On importing his reprints to the colonies, Michael O'Connor offers an analysis of the transatlantic network between Belfast and Philadelphia by tracing Magee's correspondence with colonial booksellers including David Hall, his brother Thomas, and his other former apprentice, Andrew

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[29] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book,* 443.

[30] Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin*, 98.

Steuart. He argues that Magee likely began importing his texts to North America beginning in the 1750's. As his apprentice, Magee would have trained Gaine in the art of reprinting British books and, following Gaine's immigration to the colonies in 1745, helped to supply his former apprentice with Irish-printed publications as he did with Steuart.[31]

In response to the impact of the reprint trade on their monopoly, London booksellers and printers continually attempted to suppress the Irish's ability to import into the colonial market. Leaders in the Stationer's Company regarded the Irish with contempt and suspicion. Several members appeared before Parliament to register complaints about the Irish's violations to their copyright. An amendment to the 1709 law was eventually passed in 1739 which declared it illegal for "any person or persons whatsoever, to import or bring into this kingdom for sale any book or books first composed or written and printed and published in this kingdom, and reprinted in any other place or country whatsoever."[32] Until 1780, any shipment of books sent to North America from Ireland were subject to seizer, adding additional expense and vigilance for colonial printers. The London booksellers contended that the Irish trade was inferior to their own and painted the printers and booksellers as "dishonest bootleggers."[33] Historians such as Mary Pollard and Phillips have argued against the dismissal of the Irish print trade and its workers, with Phillips in particular regarding the terms of pirate and piracy as misapplied and derogatory.[34] Many Irish printers accused the London booksellers of holding a monopoly to copyright ownership and maintained the legal position that members of the Irish book trade were exempt from the Act of Anne. They argued that as nothing was ever done to acknowledge the existence of copyright in Ireland the right of copy did not extend to the them or in the American colonies.

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[31] Michael O'Connor, "Connections between the Belfast and Philadelphia Book Trades" in *Books Between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860*, edi. Leslie Howsam and James Raven (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2011) 187-211.

[32] "No. IV 12 George II .36 – An Act for prohibiting the Importation of Books reprinted Abroad, and first composed or written and printed in Great Britain; and for repealing so much an Act made in the Eighth Year of the Reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne, as empowers the limiting of Prices of Books." in *A Collection of Statutes Connected with the General Administration of the Law* (London: Saunders and Benning, 1829) 29-31.

[33] O'Connor, "Connections between the Belfast and Philadelphia Book Trades", 188.

Printing Trade in Colonial America

Printing in Colonial America was slow to develop after its introduction in 1638. The growth of the trade was largely restricted as the colonies were organized for the exportation of raw materials to England. The passage of the Navigation Acts in 1651 limited the colonists' abilities to trade with other European nations as the laws enforced a form of British mercantilism that aimed to enhance the power of the imperial state by restricting free trade. Most local manufacturers for printing equipment and supplies would not develop until the end of the eighteenth-century, leading printers to remain dependent on British producers to equip their printing houses. The nature of the trans-Atlantic shipping routes often led to shortages in supplies due to delays caused by poor transportation or political interference. This created a "chronic scarcity of printing materials," which as John Bidwell argues, was the defining characteristic of the colonial trade that distinguished colonial printers from their counterparts in the mother country.[35] The colonial printing trade developed into an inherently transatlantic enterprise as a its success relied on the import of supplies and related goods in order to sustain both its production and market. A rise in population due the arrival of immigrants after 1680 expanded the customer base of the book trade, as many of them were literate due to their Protestant backgrounds. Subsequently, the American market developed into an increasingly significant outlet for the British book trade.[36] The print house thus connected the local community with the wider transatlantic community, with the printer serving as the mediator for exchanges of goods and information.

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[34] Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin*; see pages 107-113. Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550-1800* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989).

[35] John Bidwell, "Printers' Supplies and Capitalization" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 163.

As with the Scottish and Irish, colonial printers took on several roles within the printing trade in order to sustain their business. The smaller size of the colonial market for printed materials was unable to support specialty publishers, which forced printers to combine the offices of a bookseller, printer, stationer, and bookbinder all within one space.[37] Due to the economic nature of trade, printers were not guaranteed financial success, and many achieved mediocre results. To ensure the prosperity of their business, they fostered international networks of communication that spanned much of the British empire. These networks consisted of both personal and professional connections to family members, fellow printers, papermakers, government officials, ship captains, sailors, and merchants, all of whom operated on either a local or an Atlantic scale. It was through these public relationships, as Einstein notes, that the printshop became a "veritable cultural center... providing both a meeting place and message center for an expanding cosmopolitan Commonwealth of Learning."[38] As the proprietor of this cultural center, master printers became central figures in their communities as they negotiated and exchanged information with anyone who entered their shop.

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[36] David D. Hall, "The Atlantic Economy in the Eighteenth Century" in *A History of the Book in America, Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, edi. Hugh Amory & David D. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 154.

[37] Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) 2.

[38] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* 56.

The development of the North American print trade occurred over the period beginning in 1638 and into the 1750s as new waves of printers entered into the colonial space. The practices of the trade that had become relatively standardized in Britain were carried across the Atlantic and replicated throughout the British empire. In the first wave, the few presses that existed in the colonies were confined to New England and used for the sole purpose of producing the Bible or other religious work.[39] Censorship largely mirrored that of England as the civil and ecclesiastical members of Massachusetts were fearful enough of the press inducing contention and heresy that they passed laws limiting printing to the confines of Cambridge, MA and only permitted the publication of items that had been approved by the government. Part of this law was later lifted to allow for a press to be used in Boston, but continued to restrain its production through charges of libel and sedition. The limitations on the colonial press during this period have led some historians like Michal Werner to remark that print was a "negligible phenomenon."[40]

Control of the colonial print trade during this early period was dominated by family run monopolies in New England and later New York. The most influential of them was the Green family in New England. The patriarch, Samuel Green, operated the press at Harvard beginning in 1649. By the eighteenth century more than half of New England printers were members of the Green family and by the 1760's more than forty printers could connect their professional lineage to a Green.[41] Outside of New England, William Bradford had started the first press in both Philadelphia and later New York after emigrating from London with William Penn in 1682. Though he was meant to use his press for the purpose of printing books to aid the Quakers in their mission to spread their faith, Bradford also attempted to create a commercially viable press. One of his first publications was an almanac written by Samuel Atkins, which challenged the copyright privilege held by the Stationers' Company and claimed the colonial press's economic freedom from England.[42] Bradford left Pennsylvania and his press in 1693 after "[incurring] the displeasure of the dominante party" and re-established himself in New York, eventually becoming the official printer for the colony.[43] The Philadelphia branch of Bradford's business and their relationship with the Friends of Philadelphia were re-established by his son Andrew in 1712, which allowed the Bradfords' to hold a monopoly as the only two printers in the region.

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[39] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America with the Biographies of Printers, In Two Volumes: Volume I* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 15.

[40] Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) 75.

A second wave in the development of the colonial print trade eventually challenged the Bradfords' monopoly beginning in the 1720's. The arrival of Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Keimer to Philadelphia and John Peter Zenger to New York created competition in the market not only for commercial printing but also for job printing with the church and the colonial government. As James N. Green argues, this subjected the colonial press to new and more expansive "realms of commerce and partisan politics" than it had dealt with before.[44] Keimer entered into a political rivalry with Andrew Bradford by aligning himself the governor of Pennsylvania, Sir William Keith. The rivalry resulted in a pamphlet war between the two as Keimer reprinted materials originally produced by Bradford. The political alliance with Keith also led to Keimer replacing Bradford as the printer for the assembly. Keimer additionally challenged Andrew's business relationship with the Friends beginning with the publication of William Sewel's *History of the Quakers*. The addition of Franklin's print house in 1729 created further competition, particularly as Franklin offered a more "even-handed, modest, and consensus-seeking" perspective with his press.[45]

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[41] Joseph Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks: The Business and Politics of Printing the News, 1763-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019) 23.

[42] James N. Green, "The Middle Colonies, 1680-1720" in *A History of the Book in America, Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, edi. Hugh Amory & David D. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 201.

[43] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America with the Biographies of Printers, In Two Volumes: Volume II* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 24.

John Peter Zenger had formerly apprenticed to William Bradford before opening his own printing house in 1726. Through the encouragement of party leaders on the Governor's Council, Zenger began publishing the *New-York Weekly Journal* in 1733. The paper was the second newspaper in New York, directly competing with Bradford's *New-York Gazette.* Zenger's paper was primarily used as a tool by his political patrons who used his press as a means to speak out against the new governor, William Cosby. Among the items they included in the paper were a variety of political essays from British authors that discussed the dangers of corruption. Bradford, as the official printer for the colony, used his paper to defend the governor. The two publications debated back and forth for several months over the virtues of freedom of the press and the law of libel. Members of the community also engaged with the debate as subscribers to Zenger's paper submitted letters that were then included in the publication.[46] Cosby accused Zenger of libel in 1734, and the printer was charged and imprisoned the following year after a grand jury refused to comply with the original order. Zenger was acquitted of libel based on the defense's argument that the articles Zenger printed in his newspaper were based on facts and therefore could not be libelous.[47] The role of Zenger's newspaper in the development of the freedom of the press has been extensively covered by historians.[48]

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[44] Green, "Part One: English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin" in *A History of the Book in America, Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, edi. Hugh Amory & David D. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 248.

[45] Green, "Part One…" *A History of the Book in America,* 254.

Following the Zenger trial, the idea that press functioned as a tool for public discussion on a mass scale and more specifically that the newspaper served as both a public forum and a reflection of public opinion became more commonplace in colonial society. It also signified that the threat of libel by the government could no longer be used to intimidate colonial printers. Zenger became a serious rival to Bradford, though this level of success was short lived as Zenger's paper became what James Green has described as "studiously impartial and dull" and he printed almost nothing else in the years that followed the trial.[49] Bradford, on the other hand, continued to print both his newspaper along with a few books and pamphlets. He retired in 1744, creating room for a new printer to take his place within the New York printing scene.

Unlike Zenger or Keimer, Benjamin Franklin employed a more even hand when it came to covering politics in his publications. His methodology can be understood from a pamphlet he published early in his printing career entitled *An Apology for Printers*. In the pamphlet, Franklin noted that "Being frequently censur'd and condemn'd by different Persons for printing Things which they say out not to be printed, I have sometimes thought it might be necessary to make a standing Apology for my self."[50] Colonial printers actively worked to shape the content from their press, often negotiating with writers and arranging pieces on the page in ways that reshaped how readers organized information. In the pamphlet, Franklin wrote that

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[46] *New York Weekly Journal*, no.II, November 12, 1733. *New York Weekly Journal*, no.VI, December 10, 1733.

[47] Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: The Press and Public in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012) 50.

[48] Alan M. Dershowitz, *America on Trial: Inside the Legal Battles That Transformed Our Nation* (New York: Warner Books, 2004). Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: The Press and Public in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America*. Stanley N. Katz, *A Brief narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963). William Lowell Putnam, *John Peter Zenger and the Fundamental Freedom* (Jefferson: McFarland, 1997).

[49] Green "Part One: The English Book Trade", 255.

> Printers are educated in the Belief, that when Men differ in Opinion, both Sides ought equally to have the Advantage of being heard by the Publick… they cheerfully serve all contending Writers that pay them well, without regarding on which side they are of the Question in Dispute.[51]

By producing pieces from all parties in an act of disinterest, it created the possibility that it would be read by all parties. This policy served as both an economic strategy as well as a political one, as it shifted the matter into the public's opinion and protected the already fragile printing market.

Franklin's business methods and his strategy of an open press policy became widely adapted by other printers during the period and played a heavy hand in shaping public sentiment leading up to the Revolution. To financially support themselves, printers relied on multiple sources of income including job, religious, and government printing as well as producing newspapers and almanacs. The open press policy allowed them to serve all sectors of the community as they completed jobs that included business forms, handbills, and announcements. Some of their biggest revenue streams involved government, religious, and secular printing. Government printing jobs in particular guaranteed financial stability for several colonial printers. Government institutions across the colonies and sometimes abroad contracted with colonial printers to publish their proceedings and session laws, as well as paper currency and proclamations. The competition to secure government printing positions also led to printers gaining useful political connections that could aid them in the future. The work that they produced both for the government and other jobs placed printers within local circles that tied them to the intellectual, social, and political activities of the community around them. Colonial printers incorporated themselves into different parts of their community to enrich themselves, but also to cultivate new connections that prospectively resulted in their own economic gain.

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[50] Benjamin Franklin, "Apology for Printers", printed in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 10, 1731, https://franklinpapers.org/framedNames.jsp.

[51] Franklin, "Apology for Printers," https://franklinpapers.org/framedNames.jsp.

Newspapers were central to the economic success of many colonial printers as they offered both an opportunity to maintain constant visibility as well as a steady revenue stream. Their editorial strategy of the open press allowed them to participate in the commercial, social, and political activities of their community seemingly as an impartial observer. The public recognized the newspaper as a space through which they could openly express grievances, settle debates, and even exchange property. These notices often took the form of advertisements which accounted for a large portion of a printer's financial earnings. When a newspaper proved popular amongst the public, printers were subsequently placed at the center of colonial commercial life as they mediated these interactions. To maintain this position printers used their "skill, diligence and discretion… to merit the public confidence."[52] They claimed that the importance and interest in the newspaper to readers, writers, and advertisers entailed the printer's accountability to the public, which they relied on in the event that their character came into question.

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[52] William Goddard, *The Partnership or the History of the Rise and Progress of the Pennsylvania Chronicle*: *Or the History of the Rise and Progress of the Pennsylvania Chronicle &c. Wherein the Conduct of Joseph Galloway, Esq; Speaker of the Hounourable House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, Mr. Thomas Wharton, sen. and their Man Benjamin Towne, my late Partners with my*

The development of colonial printing trade going into the 1740's coincided with the arrival of a third wave of printers, a large portion of whom emigrated from Scotland and Ireland. Due to the exclusive nature of the Irish, Scottish, and English trades, these printers traveled often as journeymen to the colonies with the hopes of finding work and potentially opening their own printing house. Joseph Adelman noted in an essay concerning the experience of immigrant printers in America that more than one hundred printers, editors, and publishers emigrated from Europe to North America during the period between 1751 to 1796.[53] These groups of immigrant printers possessed significant experience and skills working in the British, Irish, and Scottish printing trades, which created new competition for local printers. They tended to settle mostly in the mid-Atlantic region, with Philadelphia and New York as the top two destinations.[54] Among this group included Scotsmen David Hall and Robert Bell, as well as the Irishman John Dunlap, all of whom settled in Philadelphia. Their connections to overseas networks allowed several of them greater access to supply and information networks, as in the case of Hall who as a childhood friend of London's leading printer and publisher William Strahan helped to expand the connections between the colonial trade and the Atlantic market. Printers already established in the colonies took on several of these new printers

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own, is properly delineated, and their Calumnies against me fully refuted, Philadelphia: William Goddard, 3.

[53] Joseph Adelman, "Trans-Atlantic Migration and the Printing Trade in Revolutionary America" in *Early American Studies Vol. 11* No.3 (Fall 2013), 517.

[54] Adelman, "Trans-Atlantic Migration," 527.

either as apprentices or journeymen, as in the case of Dunlap who immigrated to apprentice for his uncle, William Dunlap. Likewise, established printers set up these new workers as partners in satellite shops elsewhere in the colonies so as to avoid direct competition and benefit from their international connections. These new tradesmen effectively formed the backbone of the North American printing trade going into the second half of the eighteenth century.

Altogether, these men made up the small circle of colonial printers and booksellers who fostered a new system of mass communication amongst the public. To do so, they formed networks with one another to support their business efforts and trade information that benefitted the content of their press. Immigrant printers often formed networks based on common national ties as they developed connections within their new communities. Just as London booksellers formed congers to support the production and protect their ownership of copyright, so too did colonial printers. They often collaborated with one another across regional lines by including advertisements for each other's printing services in one another's newspaper. These advertisements were often used to gather subscriptions for either their newspapers or in an effort to publish popular book titles at a cheaper cost than what was imported from London. Their appearance in colonial newspapers appeared more frequently during the five years leading up to the Revolution, demonstrating the frequency of these collaborations and the growth of an American book publishing trade.[55]

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[55] Using the search terms "American edition" in the America's Historical Newspaper database, advertisements for "American Editions" began to appear in greater frequency within newspapers including the *Philadelphia Gazette*, *Pennsylvania Packet, New York Mercury*, and the *New York Journal* starting in 1771.

The Arrival of Hugh Gaine to Hanover Square

Among the group of new arrivals to New York was a young Irishman, Hugh Gaine, newly released from his apprenticeship a year early due to the dissolution in the partnership between James Magee and Samuel Wilson. When he arrived in 1744 Gaine began his colonial career as a journeyman in James Parker's printshop. Parker, a former journeyman to and silent partner of Franklin, had opened the printing house two years prior.[56] Both printers likely benefited from the arrangement initially as Gaine acquired further experience and footing within the colonial print trade and Parker benefitted from the skills the young journeyman had learned during his apprenticeship in Belfast. Towards the end of the six years Gaine worked for Parker, however, he fell out of favor with the master printer for reasons that are unclear.[57] Around 1750, Parker's other journeyman, William Weyman, declared his intentions to set up his own press and traveled to London with Parker's blessing to secure financial backing and equipment. While abroad, Parker purchased the press and type from the Zenger press after the last member of the family died and offered the equipment to Weyman. The transaction between the journeyman and their master displeased Gaine enough that he ordered his own press from London using his savings as well as additional funds from a friend in the city.[58] He proposed entering into a partnership with Weyman, but the journeyman decided to stay with Parker working as his business partner and foreman.

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[56] For studies on Franklin's printing network see Green, "Part One: English Book Trade", 270-279. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Peter Conn and Amy Gutmann (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) 61. Ralph Frasca, *Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network: Disseminating Virtue in Early America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).

[57] In his biographical sketch of Hugh Gaine, Alfred Lawrence Lorenz proposes that an incident involving Parker, Gaine and Gaine's brother may have led to Parker's prejudice against Gaine. Alfred Lawrence Lorenz, *Hugh Gaine: A Colonial Printer-Editor's Odyssey to Loyalism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972) 8.

[58] Lorenz, "Hugh Gaine", 8.

After leaving Parker's printing house in Hanover Square, Gaine established the Bible and Crown, named after Magee's own shop in Belfast, in "Hunter's-Key, next Door to Mr. Walton's Storehouse."[59] In addition to the books that he sold, Gaine also filled the shelves of his print house with goods that would satisfy the needs of any sailor, merchant, or pedestrian who may walk in. This included mariner's compasses, scales and dividers, writing paper, schoolbooks, quills, ledgers, and copies of wills, agreements, and bonds.[60] Gaine also became known for including medicinal solutions in his shop, leading the printing house at the Bible and Crown to function as a pseudo-pharmacy. Gaine sold medicines imported from Europe such as "KEYSER's FAMOUS PILLS" which claimed to have "performed many astonishing Cures in Scarbutic Eruptions, Leprocies, White Swellings, Stiff Joints, Gout and Rheumatic Disorders."[61] In 1757, he moved his printing house two blocks north to Queen Street in order to accommodate for the growth in his business. This put him in proximity to the commercial center of New York which encompassed the markets, the warf and the coffee houses in which his newspaper, pamphlets, and almanacs would have been dispersed. The following year Gaine moved himself back into Hanover Square putting himself at the center of the economic center of the community.

The importance of Hanover Square is crucial in understanding how Gaine was situated within New York society both socially and physically. The area was known by locals as "Newspaper Row" or "Printers Row" as it had first been home to William Bradford's press in 1725. Following the departure of Bradford, printers continued to operate their printing houses out of this area due to the association by the public with the business of printing. Printers' benefited from working out of the site as Hanover Square was also home to many of the city's merchants who resided either in or near the Square. As it was located in the lower corner of what is now modern-day Manhattan's financial district, Gaine was put into close proximity with the 270 merchants, professionals, retailers and artisans that created a centralized mercantile center within the city. The location of Hanover Square also put him in close proximity to the city's ports, which saw a traffic total of more than 500 ships entering and leaving on most days. [62] The connections made through association by location benefitted Gaine by allowing him access to people who shared with him the news, gossip, and other forms of information that flowed freely through the area.

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[59] *New York Mercury,* no. 5, August 31, 1752.
[60] *New York Mercury,* August 31, 1752.
[61] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1170, March 28, 1774.

When Gaine opened his printing house, he was one of two printing firms in the city of New York, the other being Weyman and Parker's shop. The number of printers in the province of New York would fluctuate, eventually encompassing at one point seven printing houses before the start of the American Revolution in 1775 - six in New York City and one in Albany. Of the six New York City firms four printers stood out in direct competition with Gaine during this period: Weymen, John Holt, James Rivington, and Samuel Loudon. Weyman left the partnership with Parker in 1759 to establish his own printing house on Broad Street. He mainly concerned himself with government printing jobs and his newspaper, *The New York Gazette,* competed directly with Gaine's *New York Mercury*. The following year, Parker entered into a new partnership with a journeyman from his New Haven printing house, John Holt. Holt managed the publication of Parker's newspaper *The New York Gazette and Post-Boy* until 1766 when he left their partnership to open his own printing house on Wall Street and began publishing the *New York Journal*. When Weyman died in 1768, Holt and Gaine were the only newspaper publishers in the city until the arrival of James Rivington's *New York Gazetter* in 1773. Shortly before 1775, the three would gain an additional competitor in the printing business when Samuel Loudon, another recently arrived Irish immigrant, opened a printing house on Water Street. Loudon and Holt were labeled as Whig printers due to the content of their papers which adamantly supported the revolutionary cause, whereas Rivington was quickly branded a Tory for his pro-British views.

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[62] Jeffery H.S. Knaack, *City of Brick and Stone: New York and Hanover Square from Settlement to Revolution, 1626-1783* (M.A. thesis, University at Albany, State University of New York, 2012) 33-7.

The number of bookshops in the lower point of Manhattan fluctuated alongside that of the printing houses, in part because they often encompassed the same space. Gaine, Holt, and Rivington all operated bookstores in addition to their printing duties. Rivington in particular appeared to create the most competition for Gaine. Following the establishment of Rivington's bookstore, the two men argued against one another in their advertisements with each claiming to be "the only LONDON BOOKSELLER, in AMERICA…in Hanover-Square."[63] As the son of an established London bookseller, the Englishman regularly emphasized his direct connection to the London book trade and the cosmopolitan nature of his stock in advertisements. Rivington would perhaps be Gaine's primary competitor for dominance in the New York book and newspaper markets as both men supplied colonial New Yorkers with identical stocks of books throughout the period leading up to and throughout the Revolution. In addition to Rivington, Gaine also competed with Garrat Noel, an educator from Cadez who immigrated to New York City in 1750. Noel concentrated the subjects of his stock to instructional works on “History, Divinity, Law, Physic, Arts and Science, and the Several Parts of Polite Literature" as well as travel books and French literature.[64] In 1763 Noel opened the city’s first circulating library, charging five dollars a year to borrow any of the titles included in the book lists Gaine printed for him.[65] Though the circulating library closed two years later, Noel continued to operate his bookstore until his death in 1776.

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[63] *New York Mercury*, no. 466, July 6th, 1761. These advertisements between Gaine and Rivington appear in the *Mercury* throughout the spring, summer, and early fall of 1761. Rivington claimed to be the "only London Book Store" while Gaine claimed the title of the "ONLY OLD LONDON BOOK-STORE" in Hanover-Square.

Opening a printing house in the colonies was a costly venture. At the age of 26 Gaine grappled with many of the same challenges that plagued every colonial printer. Bidwell estimated that opening a one-press shop in the eighteenth-century cost somewhere between £60 to £85 sterling.[66] Supplying a printing house in the colonies was an expensive venture in large part due to the lack of local suppliers and British imperial mercantilist policies. This often drove printers to engage in “long and painful negotiations” with European agents or other members of the trade to obtain their equipment.[67] Printers could either order new equipment from abroad or travel overseas to deal with suppliers directly, both of which cost absorbent amounts of money and were subject to long delays. Successful local manufacturers for printing presses and type would not be established in North America until 1764 and 1796 respectively. Even with access to local sellers, printers continued to import these items from England and Holland till the end of the eighteenth-century due to the higher quality of the materials.[68] When items couldn't be imported, printers could also purchase used equipment from other members of the trade which helped to mitigate costs.

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[64] Garrat Noel, *A catalogue of books, in history, divinity, law, physic, arts and sciences, and the several parts of polite literature; to be sold, by Garrat Noel, and Company, booksellers and stationers, next door to the Merchant's Coffee-House, fronting the Meal-Market.* (New York: Printed by H. Gaine, in Hanover-Square, MDCCLIX [1759]).

[65] Edwin D. Hoffman, “The Bookshops of New York City, 1743-1948,” in *New York History* 30, no. 1 (1949)
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[66] Bidwell, “Printers’ Supplies and Capitalization,” 167.

[67] Bidwell, “Printers’ Supplies and Capitalization,” 164.

Sets of type were the most valuable pieces of equipment in a printer's inventory due to the time and cost spent in procuring it. British type foundries required their American customers to both pay promptly and prepare their own shipping and financial arrangements. This included covering the cost of shipping, insurance, wharfage, and the bill of lading, in addition to paying their agent's commission if they used such services. This could amount to 30 percent of the base cost of type.[69] Printers often spent more on type than any other piece of equipment as they kept several different bodies of letters in sets of Roman and Itallica. Choosing the right kind of type was critical to the success of a printer and often defined their reputation as a competent artisan. Their decision was also influenced by the fact that readers began to identify with certain styles of type, which led printers to prioritize the use of these fonts over others. The Caslon typeface was the most popularly used font in the colonies due to its reputation for both quality and attractive appearance that made it suitable for extended passages of text.

The most vital resource needed to sustain a printing house was paper, of which supplies were increasingly limited. Up until the late-nineteenth century, paper was made from shredded and pulped linen and cotton rags. These were often collected from homes and recycled in order to manufacture the product. Though not as expensive as a printing press or type upfront, printers spent more on paper over the course of their careers than any of the other materials required by their trade. If they worked efficiently, printers could produce 250 sheets an hour during a workday, leading them to go through multiple reems of paper within a week. According to his account book, Gaine paid £5 for just 3 reams of printing paper in 1769 and later in 1773 paid £20 for 20 reems.[70] Printers needed to have the commercial skills and good connections to continually obtain paper at decent rates. In late 1764, Gaine began issuing advertisements for monetary incentives that encouraged customers to bring pounds of clean linen rags to his shop that would then be used to barter with suppliers.[71] Unlike other materials, paper could not be reused or recycled once a job was underway resulting in a printer's diligence as mistakes were costly. Paper was involved throughout the process of production from composing to printing, and eventually binding before anything hit the market.[72]

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[68] Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, *Vol I*, 219.
[69] Bidwell, "Printers' Supplies and Capitalization," 171.

Gaine would not be able to access any local supplies of paper until 1768 when a local merchant, John Keating, opened New York's first papermill in lower Manhattan. To supply his printing house in the between time, Gaine likely imported his paper from either England or the Rittenhouse papermill in Pennsylvania. Both options could be costly and slow to arrive as evident by Gaine's occasional reduction in the size of his newspaper due to "an unforeseen Accident, and the Inclemency of the Weather, which has prevented our receiving the usual Supply of large Paper from a neighbouring Province."[73] In 1772, Keating moved his papermill farther north. To meet his supply need for a reliable and direct source of paper, Gaine established a paper mill in partnership with two Dutch friends, Hendrick Onderdonk and Henry Remsen, two miles from New

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[70] Hugh Gaine receipt book, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

[71] *New York Mercury*, no. 686-93, December 17, 1764 to January 18, 1765.

[72] Bidwell, "Printers' Supplies and Capitalization" 172. Jonathan Senchyne, *The Intimacy of Paper in Early Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020) 9.

[73] *New York Mercury*, no. 690, January 14, 1765.

York in Hempstead Harbor, Long Island the following year. As with many colonial operations during the period, Gaine and his partners struggled to acquire an adequate amount of rags needed to properly run the mill. He often informed his newspaper readers of the "great Want of a Quantity" for rags by the paper mill and "therefore hoped, and most earnestly requested, some little Attention may be paid to [their] Preservation."[74] Despite these difficulties, the mill remained a successful business venture for the partners, expanding later into two mills supported by nine employees that were housed in close proximity.[75]

Hugh Gaine began his career as a printer and bookseller within a transatlantic trade that relied on global relations to serve local needs. He operated amongst a group of printers in England, Ireland, and Scotland who worked within a stable environment due to the lack of technological change and the formation of a secure commercial system.[76] But the conditions of the colonial print trade were anything but stable as printers struggled to consistently secure the credit and access to materials needed to supply their printing houses. Gaine's background in the Irish printing trade gave him an advantage upon his arrival in colonial New York as he was not only conscious of the British mercantile policies, but also possessed the skills and connections to operate as a printer successfully within the restrictions they posed. The period between 1744 and 1804 would see him become a prominent member of New York Society as he integrated himself into his new community by joining cultural societies in an effort to benefit his printing business and social standing. His career saw the growth of the colonial trade that remained steadily dependent on European, and particularly English, support to maintain their production and distribution. With revolution looming in the distance, Gaine would have to re-evaluate his priorities as a businessman and constructed identity as a British colonist. The community that he served would begin to shift in their understanding regarding the role of the press as a means for community expression, leaving the Irishman to adapt as he saw best for his own self-interests.

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[74] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1155, December 13, 1773.
[75] *Commercial Advertiser*, no. 1020, January 10, 1801.
[76] Sher, Th*e Enlightenment and the Book*, 6.

Chapter 2: "The Publick's humble servant": Publishing the *New York Mercury*

In August 1788, a procession moved down the streets of New York City, from Broadway and over to Hanover Square and Pearl Street, "to demonstrate to the world, the pleasure, that… had pervaded all ranks and degrees of the community" in response to the ratification of the federal constitution. Participants were divided into ten divisions, representative of the ten states who consented to the adoption.[77] Among those honored in the festivity were the printers of the city "Preceded by Meffrs. Hugh Gaine and Samuel Loudon, on horseback." Behind them came a stage, drawn by four horses, where journeymen and compositors worked on a printing press to produce and distribute copies of an ode adapted for the occasion. Gaine's position in the parade was meant to celebrate the contribution of printers in supporting the efforts of the American Revolution twelve years earlier, but also served as the city's way of recognizing Gaine as a prominent figure within New York society. His feature amongst the pomp and circumstance marked a turn in public sentiment as five years earlier the printer had been resented by a number of his peers for his apparent loyalism during the imperial crisis. The stain to his reputation has resulted in the depiction of Gaine as a loyalist printer, though as evident by the regard held for him within the community of New York City his economic and social contributions outweighed the political.

Commercially successful printers in the North American colonies built themselves up to become central, and respected, figures within their community. They used their newspapers to frame their community's perception of self both at home and within the wider Atlantic world. By selecting and arranging content for their paper, printers offered readers a shared common knowledge and language that connected them across the physical space of both the North American colonies and the overarching British Empire. The oncoming crisis of the American Revolution challenged many printers' personal morals and ability to provide "the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic" to their readership.[78] After the end of the war in 1783, the content of many colonial newspapers became more localized. Rather than reflecting the movements of the transatlantic world, printers dedicated their columns to local and more partisan-based news following the war. The example of Hugh Gaine and his paper, the *New York Mercury,* demonstrates the experience of colonial printers in trying to adapt to the changing needs of their readership. His newspaper functioned as a mobile and condensed transatlantic town square that sustained a developing form of mass communication which informed the broader public of the ongoings of local and international movements and discussions. The events of the Revolutionary period between 1765 and 1783 required Gaine to adapt in an effort to adequately provide the same services for his customers and maintain his business.

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[77] *The Daily Advertiser*, no. 1076, August 2, 1788.

This chapter examines how Gaine, in his role as a community-based printer, navigated the Revolution in his effort to provide information to his readers that connected them across the transatlantic space. It also seeks to understand how artisans and business owners like Gaine were affected by the economic upheaval caused by the Revolution and the British occupation of New York. This study approaches the Revolution at a critical juncture – on one side newspapers located colonists within the world of the British

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[78] *The New York Mercury*, no. 5, August 31, 1752.

Empire, while after the war they communicated the reduced perceptions of a developing American society. Newspapers came to reflect the needs of a community that Gaine felt he could no longer serve. The chapter highlights that while the Revolution certainly altered the social and political ideologies that printers were addressing, not all reemerged within the narrowed scope.

Becoming a Community-Based Printer

A community-based printer was one who integrated themselves within the organizations of their immediate community in order to better serve consumers, which in turn benefitted the growth of their business as well as their social position. The printing trade required master printers to accrue large amounts of capital and access to steady and reliable sources of information in order to retain a certain level of economic success. They also had to be conscious of public sentiment and taste, and in turn played a role in shaping it, if they wanted to satisfy their subscribers' interest. To meet these requirements, printers established and maintained a range of contacts that were both personal, professional, and economic in nature. A well-connected printer would have contacts that stretched around the Atlantic world in order to attain ready access to supplies and the freshest advices for their publications. As entrepreneurs, colonial printers operated within a symbiotic relationship with their subscribers established through mutual self-interest.[79] The economic success of the printer depended on communal support and colonists depended on the printer to provide them with news that connected them not only to each other, but to the wider British Empire and beyond. A successful printer used this position to become a respected figure within society and build their capital in order to raise their social rank. Additionally, the printing house emerged as an intermediary space through which people and information from across the transatlantic space flowed in and out of.

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[79] Michael D. Hattem "As Serves our Interest best": Political Economy and the Logic of Popular Resistance in New York City, 1765-1776" *New York History Vol. 98*, no.1 (Winter 2017), 43. Hattem proposes that New Yorkers own self-interest became interrelated to the interest of the city through the intersection of their political experience and economic goals. By the revolution this develops into an "enlightened self-interest" in which the public good comes from the individual's pursuit of their own interests.

In an effort to benefit the reach of his printing house, Gaine sought to integrate himself into the civic life of the city by joining cultural societies that extended his connections and helped elevate his notoriety amongst the public. While still working as a journeyman in James Parker's printing house in 1745 he joined the masonic society in New York. By 1753 he worked his way into their administration, serving as the group's secretary. The same year, he also became a founding member of the New York Society Library. The group employed Gaine to print their charter and by-laws in 1758, along with their book catalogue which listed the printer as a subscriber. In 1769, Gaine payed one pound and ten shillings to renew his subscription for the next three years.[80] In 1784, Gaine along with Daniel McCormick, William Constable, and Robert Rosswadell formed the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick which cemented his position as a prominent upper-middle class Irishman within New York. Other printers who emigrated during the same period as Gaine joined similar ethnic societies like the St. Andrew's Society and the German Society. As they integrated themselves into these colonial communications structure, printers began to create what Joseph Adelman describes as a

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[80] Hugh Gaine's receipt book, Manuscript and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

"new national communications structure" which aided them in the establishment of their businesses.[81]

In addition to the cultural societies he joined, Gaine also positioned himself within the religious life of New York. Unlike other Northern Irishman who commonly belonged to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Gaine was a member of the Anglican church. Several receipts from his account book demonstrate his position as a vestryman for the Parish of Trinity Church. Gaine made annual and bi-annual payments until at least 1792 to rent pew 21 in St. Paul's chapel. In 1783, he paid £15 to the church warden "for the use of the Ground for building a Vault in the Trinity Church Yard." Additionally, Gaine made two payments of £50 in August 1788 to help rebuild Trinity Church after the original building was destroyed in a fire in 1776.[82] His involvement within the Anglican community of New York greatly influenced his business and personal life. Not only did prayer books and religious material form the basis of his printing work, but contemporaries of Gaine also described him as someone "of correct moral habits."[83] Morality, in accordance to 18th-century philosophy, was innately apart of human nature and reflected the sentiment and sympathy one had for their fellow peers.[84] To be of correct moral habits meant that Gaine was seen by his peers and subscribers as someone who's qualities and decisions were valued for how they demonstrated his commitment to others, which would eventually inform his decision making at the onset of 1776 and the ensuing revolutionary crisis.

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[81] Joseph Adelman, "Trans-Atlantic Migration and the Printing Trade in Revolutionary America," *Early American Studies 11* (Fall 2013): 517-518.

[82] Hugh Gaine's receipt book.

[83] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers in Two Volumes, Second Edition, Volume 1* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 301.

[84] David Hume, *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals,* Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

Gaine further extended his reach within the city by producing and circulating his own newspaper, *The New York Mercury*. The first issue appeared on August 3, 1752 and functioned as a mass public forum to disseminate both news from the metropole as well as provide an open space for debate and discussion. As a standardized print medium, newspapers offered a complex and multi-leveled field in which time and space often contradicted itself. Their content mirrored not only the close surroundings of their reader in their offering of domestic intelligence, but it also manipulated the transatlantic space by making the far-away relevant.[85] Their distribution offered printers a means through which to increase their exposure within the city and provided a steady income through the subscriptions and advertisements taken out by its patrons. As the paper's editor, printers brought together the economic, social, and political interest of their community into a single location of the four 10 by 15-inch sized pages that comprised a typical colonial newspaper. They compiled and reprinted the comments, reports, letters, and advertisements contributed by residents and their transatlantic contacts, communicating information that before had been transmitted through private conversations to a mass, public audience. In this way, Gaine's newspaper functioned as mobile town square that connected readers through the consumption of information regarding the movement and interactions of goods and people both within the city of New York as well as the wider British Empire.

The arrangement of the information included in the *Mercury* were committed in a conscious effort by Gaine. He organized the information into discrete sections that not only benefited his readers ability to absorb the knowledge they needed, but also mitigated the cost of having to reset the type and reprint the page. Pages would be printed on the front side of each page earlier in the week, hung to dry, and then the inside pages would be printed later. Government announcements were typically featured directly on the front page, while advertisements for market goods and ship departures filled out back pages. The second page of a colonial newspaper may have also included news reprinted from other colonies and London, as well as letters from ship captains detailing events occurring elsewhere in Europe. The intentionality behind the arrangement of the newspaper demonstrated the printer's commitment to provide their customers with stories and the commercial knowledge needed to participate in the transatlantic community of the eighteenth century. They condensed these items into one centralized location. As an ephemeral object, colonists were able to share amongst each other in physical communal spaces like the coffeehouses and taverns of the city. This process allowed for greater access to information on a mass scale and encouraged interaction amongst members of the community that led to a new form of social culture within the colonial space.

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[85] Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012) 2.

Gaine arranged the *Mercury* using an open press policy that was characteristic of his contemporaries' colonial papers in the mid-18th century like Benjamin Franklin and David Hall's the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and James Parker's *The New York Gazette*. An open press meant that Gaine served the needs of all parties – political, social, and religious – which implicated that his newspaper was likely to attract wider support and be read by all people.[86] As a part of the policy, Gaine presented himself as an impartial and disinterested observer. He facilitated discussion by producing the text and provided the public access to both sides of the argument rather than favor one faction over the other. In November 1754, he outlined his editorial policy to the public, printing in the *Mercury*:

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[86] James N. Green, "Part One: English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume I: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000) 256.

> the Printer of the Mercury, after many importunate Applications, is determin'd to give both Parties an Opportunity of being heard in his Paper: --- Therefore, from this Time forward, shall lay himself under no Restraints… the Publick would be pleased to consider him entirely disinterested in all his prints; and that no man would think him an Enemy to any particular Sect.[87]

Gaine published the address in response to accusations made by Presbyterian members of the New York assembly during the second year of the *Mercury's* run. The men contended that the printer, due to his association with the Anglican church, forfeited the freedom of the press for his own personal gain when he refused to print an essay in his paper that challenged the Anglican control of the board of trustees for King's College, now Columbia University. The controversy dragged on through 1753 and into 1754. Gaine included several direct messages to his readership in the *Mercury* in an effort to defend both his character and "his Means of subsisting in this World."[88]

In filling the columns of his newspaper, Gaine relied more heavily on imperial news from Britain and other colonies than local reports from New York City. The pieces served to provide American colonists with an understanding of their place within the British Empire and wider Atlantic world. To obtain these news items, Gaine maintained relationships with ship captains, merchants, and various personal connections who were able to provide him with a steady flow of news from the ports within the Atlantic rim. Over the years, he maintained connections with a number of ship captains that provided him with access to reports not only from the British Isles but continental Europe and the West Indies as well. The combination of these reports turned the newspaper into a tool of empire building as they informed colonists of the spectacles of imperial rivalries, tragedies, and celebrations in metropolitan cities like London, Paris, Constantinople, and Berlin. Reports detailing military and diplomatic missions as well as official royal and parliamentary proclamations connected colonial readers to the international efforts of British imperialism. The global exchange of news further integrated colonists into the British Atlantic by linking the commercial interests of colonists to negotiations within the transatlantic marketplace.[89] Through the newspaper, Gaine provided colonial merchants in particular with the information required to navigate the market as changes in imperial mercantile policies and naval skirmishes affected their ability to transport goods across the sea.

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[87] *New York Mercury*, no. 119, November 18, 1754.

[88] *New York Mercury*, no. 56, September 3, 1753.

Printers also gained intelligence, both foreign and domestic, from other newspapers by reprinting their articles when letters could not suffice. The *London Gazette* was the most common British newspaper that Gaine included excerpts from in his own paper. As the official newspaper of the Crown, the paper offered its subscribers like Gaine authoritative and reliable news concerning both the monarchy and Parliament. It also functioned as the carrier for official news concerning the War Office and Ministry of Defense. By reprinting excerpts from this paper into his own, Gaine parlayed the intelligence it offered to his readers and further extended the reach of the metropole into the colonial space. The authoritative nature of the source in turn strengthened the authenticity of the *Mercury* and increased colonists' reliance on Gaine for communication regarding the imperial state. In a reflection of New York's origins as a

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[89] Phyllis Whitman Hunter, "Transatlantic News: American Interpretations of the Scandalous and Heroic," in *Books between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620-1860*, ed. Leslie Howsam and James Raven (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2001) 64-6.

Dutch colony and its large Dutch population, Gaine also included reports from Dutch newspapers such as the *Utrecht Gazette* and the *Amsterdam Gazette*. For colonial news, Gaine included excerpts from newspapers such as the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, *South Carolina Gazette*, and *Antigua Gazette*. His sources for colonial news increased as the newspaper market grew over the subsequent decades, with approximately 20 colonial newspapers existing in 1760 and that number more than doubling by 1775.[90] The inclusion of these reports from surrounding colonies mentally transported readers to the events communicated through the press, resulting in a shared knowledge and understanding of the colonial empiricism. Readers were at once members not only of their immediate community, but also experienced a sense of connection to communities that physically existed beyond the immediate space of New York when they read the pages of Gaine's *Mercury*.

As a system of mass communication, the newspaper allowed Gaine to administer and expedite the needs of colonists in New York. The public were able to use the space of the *Mercury* to express their private needs and thoughts to a wider swath of people than what was possible before. What once had been a form of communication conveyed privately amongst individual social groups now all appeared in one common, public space. These expressions took the form of notices, advertisements, and commentary essays that New Yorkers submitted to Gaine or paid to have appear in the columns of the paper. Subscribers submitted personal advertisements for the sale of items such as land, houses, servants, and livestock. These submissions also included notices "to warn and desire all Manner of Persons whatsoever, at their Peril, not to credit, trade or deal with" wives who had separated from their husbands or eloped.[91] Runaway ads for enslaved and indentured people were also common occurrences and appeared frequently throughout the *Mercury*. These personal advertisements, along with the mercantile ads, expanded the role of the printer and his print house as commercial facilitators for the community. Gaine, as the proprietor of the paper, often served as a mediator in business transactions that occurred as a result of the adverts. Interested buyers or reward seekers were typically instructed to "[apply] at the Printing-Office at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-square" in order to claim their new property.[92] His occupation allowed him to effectively serve the people of New York by providing a material object through which they could communicate with one another weekly to define their own needs both individually and as an economic community.

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[90] Joseph Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks: The Business and Politics of Printing the News, 1763-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019) 143.

Subscribers also contributed essays, poems, and news accounts that helped broaden the material Gaine filled his newspaper with and further disseminate private interests to benefit the development of their fellow colonists. These were often written in the form of anonymous letters addressed either to Gaine as the printer or directly to the public. In one of the earliest issues of the *Mercury*, Gaine included a poem addressed to a charitable citizen and written by "A Lover of Benevolance." This was done at the request of the author who wrote, "If you think the following Lines worth a Place in your Paper be so good as to insert them in your Next."[93] The interactivity of the newspaper created a centralized point through which the community could interact and commune with one another. The *Mercury* emerged as a public space that allowed individuals and groups to appeal directly to the “Esteem and Opinion of the good People of this City.”[94] Within this form of mass communication, they were offered a universally accessible space to vindicate their character, integrity, and honor “in the fullest and most public Manner.” Their addresses to the printer directly recognized Gaine’s position as the facilitator of these communal conversations and discourse in addition to their trust that he would include their voice within the public forum.

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[91] *New York Mercury*, no. 450, March 23, 1761.

[92] *New York Mercury*, no. 422, September 15, 1760.

[93] *New York Mercury*, no. 15, November 20, 1752.

Advertisements reinforced the newspaper as a tool of mass communication and proved vital to the financial success of every printer. As printers often had difficulty in getting their subscribers to settle their accounts regarding subscription fees, advertisements provided the bulk of the money printers made off their newspapers. For colonists, ads supported the process of linking them to the transatlantic community by disseminating the offerings of the market for imported goods from the British markets. Local merchants and businesses would place ads within the *Mercury* that encouraged customers to participate in the growing material culture of the British Empire. Their descriptions provided context of physical space and movement to an imagined community as they not only detailed where the business or stall was located within the city but reminded customers of their cosmopolitan origin being ‘Just imported from London.’ In an example, a local merchant listed an ad in the *Mercury* notifying the public of the goods recently “imported in the last Vessels from London and Bristol” that included “Irish linnens, Manchester linnen and cotton checks… Scotch carpets… best Gloucester and Cheshire cheese, bees wax, West-India rum by the hogshead, [and] a few pipes of old Madeira wines.”[95] Notices such as this stimulated colonists’ participation within the economic expansion and material culture of the imperial market. Coupled with the notices for ship arrivals and departures, Gaine ensured that colonists were made fully aware of the physical movements and prospects of exchanges for material goods and people that occurred between the colonial and transatlantic markets.

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[94] *New York Mercury*, no. 298, May 1, 1758.
[95] *New York Mercury*, no. 422, September 15, 1760.

The associations and communal organizations that Gaine joined to broaden his own connections began to take up space within the *Mercury* as well. The trustees of the New York Society Library frequently used the space of the paper to notify the public of the proceedings and offerings of the organization. They also employed Gaine to print notices in the paper regarding book dues and requests for subscribers to return books without delay.[96] Social clubs and associations, likewise, used the *Mercury* to notify their members of when and where their next meeting would be held. The Society of St. Andrew, which Gaine was a member of prior to forming the St. Patrick Society, utilized his paper to inform the public of their social events and club meetings.[97] As the secretary for the freemason society, Gaine likewise used the *Mercury* to announce their meetings and notices.[98] The newspaper also included notices for theater performances that reflected Gaine's own patronage to the emerging New York theatre scene. Throughout the run of the *New York Mercury*, Gaine included notices for theaters on Nessau Street, one "near Mr. Crugers Wharff," and another on Chapel Street that performed the likes of Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies as well as newer plays from Britain including *The Beggar's Opera* and *Douglas*.[99] Not only could the public purchase their tickets at the

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[96] *New-York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1243, August 7, 1775.

[97] *New York Mercury*, no. 277, December 5, 1757. *New York Mercury*, no. 810, May 11, 1767.

[98] *New York Mercury,* no. 69, December 3, 1753.

[99] *New York Mercury*, no. 77, January 28, 1754. *New York Mercury*, no. 84, March 18, 1754. *New York Mercury*, no. 336, January 22, 1759. *New York Mercury*, no. 338, February 5, 1759.

Bible and Crown, but Gaine also carried copies of the plays in his bookshop. Gaine's involvement within the community of New York resulted in his printing house becoming a communication center for the social and cultural interests of the public.

The success and reception of the *New York Mercury* and Gaine can be ascertained from other newspapers published during the second half of the eighteenth century as well as from evidence of Gaine's economic success in his trade. In *History of Printing in America*, Isaiah Thomas recounted that the circulation of the paper became extensive but did not provide further details that supported the claim.[100] Gaine asserted that the paper was "conveyed to every Town and Country Villiage in the Provinces of New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode-Island and New-York; to all the Capital Places on the Continent of America, from Georgia to Halifax; to every English Island in the West Indies, and to all the Sea Port Towns and Cities in England, Scotland, Ireland and Holland."[101] The accuracy of this geographical distribution range can be derived from other newspapers who reprinted excerpts of the *Mercury* in their own columns. Excerpts from Gaine's *New York Mercury* appeared in colonial newspapers including the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, *Boston Post Boy* and the *Boston Evening Post*, as well as the *Providence Gazette*. Internationally, several London newspapers including the *London Evening Post*, *Morning Chronicle*, *London Courant*, and the *London Chronicle* reprinted news regarding New York that they copied from Gaine's paper. Newspapers in smaller cities including Manchester, Leeds, and Norfolk also included excerpts. Magazines including *The Scots Magazine* and the *Gentlemen's Magazine* included essays that had been taken from the *Mercury* as well.[102]

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[100] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers in Two Volumes, Second Edition, Volume 2* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 110.
[101] *New York Mercury*, no. 511, May 17, 1762.

The methods Gaine used to distribute his newspaper allowed him to gradually expand the reach he held within the province of New York. For the immediate distribution of the *Mercury*, subscribers and new customers could pick up copies of the paper directly at the Bible and Crown. As the demand for the paper spread, Gaine hired two men to deliver the paper to subscribers outside of New York. His receipt book shows that his paper was distributed to subscribers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia by payments he made for his carrier boys' wages.[103] The space for advertisements grew in tandem with the paper's growing subscriptions, which subsequently expanded the use of the *Mercury* as a mobile public square for the community. In the early years of the paper, Gaine published around sixteen advertisements per issue. By 1756 this number doubled and within five years he averaged around sixty or more advertisements per issue. Gaine also began producing a supplement to the paper, titled the *New York Mercury Extrodinary*, that appeared occasionally once a month and contained additional advertisements and public notices. The money he accumulated from subscriptions, advertisements, theater tickets, and book sales allowed Gaine to invest in multiple properties within the colony of New York. In 1759 Gaine raised £975 to purchase the house in Hanover Square where he lived and worked after his landlord died. Almost a decade later in 1770, Gaine began making payments of £202, one shilling and eight pence as part of one sixth purchase money for an estate in Albany that held 6,000 acres.[104]

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[102] Examples in colonial newspapers include *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1043, August 25, 1755. *Providence Gazette*, no. 58, November 26, 1763. *Providence Gazette*, no. 114, December 22, 1764. *The Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*, no. 514, June 22, 1767. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, no. 48, December 19, 1772. *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, no. 52, May 23, 1775. Examples in London and British newspapers include *Leeds Intelligencer*, no. 462, January 4, 1763. *Leeds Intelligencer*, no. 892, July 31, 1770. *London Chronicle*, no. 3777, February 13-15, 1781. *London Evening Post*, no. 8357, October 12-14, 1775. *Manchester Chronicle: or Anderton's Universal Advertiser*, no. 26, January 1, 1763. *Morning Chronicle*, no. 3414, April 27, 1780. Examples in magazines include *The Scots Magazine*, September 1, 1770. *The Scots Magazine*, January 1, 1780.

[103] Hugh Gaine's receipt book. Names included William Davis, Nathanial Sauper, Joseph Snag, John Reynolds, John Van Kleech, and Johann Rockefeller.

"No Stamped Paper to be had": Beginning of an Imperial Crisis

In March 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act which went into the effect the following November. Following the end of the Seven Years' War, Britain amassed a massive debt in their aim to become the dominant power in North America. The government responded to their debt crisis by crafting a series of statutes directed towards the colonies with the intention to restructure and streamline the administration of empire in the realms of customs, the military, and trade regulations. They argued that the North American colonists should contribute more to eliminating the debt as they both paid the lowest taxes in the empire and directly benefited from Parliament's new expenditures that included defending the North American frontier. This impetus to make the provinces whole with the empire would become a transforming force in the period leading up to the Revolution.[105] The Stamp Act marked the first instance in which the colonists were taxed on internal business rather than external trade. The act required "every Skin or Piece of Vellum or Parchment, or Sheet or Piece of Paper, on which shall be ingrossed, written or printed… within the British Colonies and Plantations in America a Stamp Duty."[106]

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[104] Hugh Gaine's receipt book.

[105] Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688*-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 79.

[106] *The Stamp Act, 1765* (New York: A. Lovell & Company, 1895) 2, https://archive.org/details/stampact176500grea/page/10/mode/2up.

These duties ranged from three pence to ten pounds per item. The act touched nearly all aspects of public life and led to significant increases in business expenses for the merchant and business groups in the colonies.

Of all the groups affected by the implications of the act, printers experienced the hardest economical hit as it affected nearly every aspect of their business. The act imposed duties in advance of the sale which created additional costs to their already strained pocketbooks. Furthermore, printers were required to use prestamped paper that could only be purchased using British sterling rather than colonial currency. Newspapers, pamphlets, and almanacs received their own designations as each sheet was individually taxed, with the amount owed depending on the size of the sheet. Papers that were half a sheet cost printers one half-penny in duties, while pages larger than one sheet costed a shilling. Almanacs were singled out from newspapers and pamphlets and given even higher duties likely due to their popularity among the colonists. Though a majority of almanacs only documented one calendar year, issues that intended to serve readers for several years were taxed four pence for each year it covered. The act also imposed a duty of two shillings for "every advertisement to be contained in any Gazette, News Paper, or other Paper, or any Pamphlet which shall be printer."[107] Many printers already found it difficult to sustain their business due to the unstable economic nature of the colonial trade. The additional costs incurred by duties imposed by the Stamp Act threatened to undermine the delicate business model they had created in order to sustain their livelihood.

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[107] *Stamp Act, 1765*, 9-10.

In response, printers across the colonies took several different approaches to navigate and combat the implications of the Stamp Act. A small number of colonial printers, mainly those in Canada and the West Indies, continued to print using stamped paper.[108] A second group of printers consisted of those who were forced to close their shops or suspend their publications due to underlying financial troubles. This group included Gaine's former employer, James Parker, who shut down his paper in New Jersey. It appeared that Gaine also planned to suspend the publication of the *Mercury* due to the costs of the impeding Stamp Act. In the issue in October 1765, Gaine notified his readers with the announcement:

> The Printer of the Paper, returns his hearty Thanks to the Publik in general, for the many Favors he has received from them since the 8th of August 1752, that being the Day this MERCURY was first published here; and its universal Reception is the most convincing Proof of its Utility: It must now cease for some Time, and the Period of its Resurrection uncertain; the Reason of which, is too well known to every Individual in America. --- When it is revived, the Printer hopes for a Continuation of the Favour of his Friends, as they may depend upon being well served, and upon as early Terms as by any other in the Province. He also requests all those in Arrear for the MERCURY, that they would pay off what they owe as soon as possible; likewise all Persons indebted for Books, Stationary, Advertisements, ect. Discharging their Accounts will much oblige
>
> Their very Humble Servant,
> H. GAINE[109]

In the same issue, Gaine included a supplement titled "No Stamped Paper to be had" that detailed reports from Boston of a protest in Halifax where "the Effigies of a Stampman, accompanied with a boot and Devil" hung from the gallows.[110] The insert broadcasted the collective displeasure of North American colonists with the Stamp Act and bolstered a collective public sentiment towards its opposition. Printers reproduced the reports in almost every colonial newspaper which connected readers across the colonial landscape directly to the events despite the physical distance.

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[108] Joseph Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks,* 59. Adelman details how printers from these areas typically "served as the official organ of the colonial government" which allowed them easy access to stamped paper.

[109] *New York Mercury*, no. 731, October 28, 1765.

[110] *New York Mercury*, no. 731.

Recognizing the utility of his paper to the New York public, Gaine abruptly changed plans rather than shut down his publication. He participated in a third grouping of colonial printers who chose to continue the producing publications anonymously and without the title of their paper. These pieces appeared in early November following the official implementation of the act. It is likely that Gaine was persuaded to keep his printing house in operation after receiving a letter from the Sons of Liberty that encouraged the printers of New York to ignore the act and continue with their publications. The letter implied that the decision to close their business would result in the imminent danger of their property.[111] Whether in an effort to undermine the legality of the Stamp Act or avoid the destruction of his business, Gaine, along with a group of Philadelphia and New York printers, published a short, single-sheet account of the news the week following the commencement of the act. In place of the *New York Mercury's* masthead, Gaine replaced it with the heading he used the week prior: "No Stamped Paper to be had."[112] The piece included reports from cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia of protests performed by colonists in opposition to the act. In Boston, printers intended to continue their papers under their own name and without stamps. In New Jersey, New York, and Philadelphia merchants and Freemen formally declared their position to "discourage, by all lawful measures, the execution and effect of the stamp act" and promised “not to buy any Goods, Wars, or Merchandizes, of any Person or Persons whosoever, that shall be shipped from Great-Britain… unless the Stamp Act shall be repealed.”[113]

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[111] Lorenz, *Hugh Gaine: A Colonial Printer-Editor…*, 44. Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers in Two Volumes, Second Edition, Volume 2*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874) 107. John Holt received a similar letter which he published in the *New York Gazette and Post Boy* dated November 7th.

[112] *New York Mercury*, no. 732, November 7, 1765.

The publication of these sheets continued through the month of November. The pieces expanded in size over the three weeks, going from two sheets to four, and were completely absent of advertisements. The contrast of these smaller issues with that of what was produced prior to the act exemplified the willingness of colonial printers to risk their financial self-interests. The desire to continue their publications, though in an imperfect form, further demonstrated the role the press had taken up within colonial society as a communication device to the overall public, as well as the need to protect the press from any form of censorship perpetrated by economic policies of the Stamp Act. Printer’s occupation to provide information to the community only helped to strengthen of the anti-Stamp Act sentiment amongst the communities they served. By the end of the month Gaine, as well as other printers producing the shorted papers, gradually reinstated the title of their newspapers on unstamped paper due to the lack of pushback from royal officials. Gaine reinstated his colophon “Printed by Hugh Gaine” beginning with the issue for December 2nd, though he buried it at the bottom of the third page underneath the last column of news.[114] This was perhaps done out of caution, though the full colophon appeared in the nameplate the following issue signifying his ownership in defying the imperial act. Throughout the remaining duration of the Stamp Act, Gaine continued the Mercury’s production on unstamped paper and face little opposition from British authorities.

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[113] *New York Mercury*, no. 732.

[114] *New York Mercury*, no. 736, December 2, 1765.

The open press policy that characterized the arrangement of his paper continued to influence Gaine's editorial decisions despite his personal opposition to the act. Isaiah Thomas noted in his second volume of *A History of Printing in America* that Gaine appeared "unstable in his politics" due to his penchant to stay neutral in times of turmoil.[115] In anticipation of the act's passage, Gaine reprinted a section of Stephen Hopkins' essay, "The Rights of the Colonies Examined," on the front page of the January 28th issue in 1765. The piece called for representation in Parliament for the British colonies and relied on the philosophical points of the natural rights of man and the social contract. Though Hopkins originally wrote the essay in protest to the Sugar Act, its inclusion following the announcement of the Stamp Act reinforced the argument that the methods of Parliament were unconstitutional in the eyes of the colonists. In later issues of the paper from the same year, however, Gaine also reprinted correspondence from London that expressed support for the British counterargument. Rather than being 'unstable' Gaine understood the position of the press in fostering public opinion and believed that his subscribers should "be well acquainted with those Arguments, in Support of Measures which so nearly concerns us, is undoubtedly desired by every judicious Reader."[116] The production of the shorted "No Stamps to be had" papers signified his fixed position in opposition to British imperial legislation and participation in an effort by colonial printers to protest. The Stamp Act threatened the business and social position Gaine had built for himself since first opening the Bible and Crown in 1752. The decision to oppose the act was likely made out of a need to protect his self-interests, which in turn ensured the communal interests of the New York public.

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[115] Thomas, *History of Printing in America Vol 2*, 110.

[116] *New York Mercury*, no. 708, May 20, 1765. *New York Mercury*, no. 712, June 17, 1765.

Resistance by colonial printers to the Stamp Act continued through the winter and into the new year. On February 20, 1766, Gaine issued copies of his supplement, *The New-York Mercury Extraordinry*. The supplement included letters the printer received from a ship captain recently arrived from London that demonstrate the exchange of news between colonial and English newspapers. Colonists learned from Gaine that almost every English paper had included extracts from the charters and resolutions commissioned by the colonies earlier that fall in their opposition to the Stamp Act. The letters' author informed them that several accounts from official circles expressed that there was "no doubt the Stamp-Act will be repealed" due to the approval by English citizens of the colonies' opposition to the tax.[117] In May, Gaine published a broadside announcing the repeal of the act by Parliament. In issues of the *Mercury* that followed this announcement, New Yorkers learned of the celebrations taking place across the colonies and congratulatory remarks from gentlemen in London over the repeal.[118] The feeling of victory would be short lived as Parliament passed several acts in the following years that taxed colonists in North America on goods imported from England and continued attempts to reduce the power of the colonial assemblies.

Among the new parliamentary acts that were passed, the Townshend Acts caused further distress to the colonial printing trade as it did for many colonists. The acts, passed in 1767, placed further direct taxes on colonists in the form of import duties on consumer goods including tea, paper, paint, lead, and glass. Designed to gain revenue for the imperial state after the failure of the Stamp Act, the duties only aggravated the financial problems of the colonists. Printers, who were commissioned by the colonial assembly to print paper currency, were prohibited from doing so by the Currency Act in 1764. As currency was in short supply three years later the community suffered as business within New York grew steadily more deficit.

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[117] *New York Mercury*, no.747, February 20, 1766.
[118] *New York Mercury*, no. 761, May 26, 1766. *New York Mercury,* no. 762, June 2, 1766.

As he had with the Stamp Act, the economic shortfalls of the Townshend Acts drove Gaine to oppose the law in an effort to protect his economic self-interests. He reprinted John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* throughout the winter and spring of 1767 and 1768. The letters first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* and quickly spread across the colonies as printers recognized the popularity surrounding the philosophical debate incited by Dickinson. Interest proved to be so great that they also traveled across the Atlantic, appearing in newspapers in London, Dublin, and Paris. The reproduction and wide circulation of the letters allowed New Yorkers to participate in the broader theoretical discussion regarding colonists' rights. As a result, colonists became intangibly tied to one another through their consumption of the text, whether or not they agreed with Dickinson's arguments. The mass circulation of *Letters from a Farmer* through the newspaper represented a shift in the print medium as a device for community development. Before, the newspaper placed colonists within the expanse of the British Atlantic whereas now it offered them a form of print culture that encouraged a reimagination of their place as British citizens. Additionally, the ephemeral and inexpensive character of the newspaper allowed for a more efficient transfer of ideas that traditionally had been confined within the elite sphere of the *belles-lettres*. Instead, such ideas could be conveyed across social classes, which encouraged a unified sentiment based on ideology going into the Revolutionary period. The Townshend Acts, except for the duty on tea, were eventually repealed in 1770.

Additionally, the Crown approved a new emission of paper currency, which Gaine printed in his role as public printer for the colony of New York.

The position of public printer raised Gaine's reputation amongst the public upon his appointment in 1768. The role brought with it the benefits of a secured income as the official printer for the New York Assembly. In addition to the paper currency, Gaine also produced the group's votes and proceedings and broadsides of any official proclamations. To note his new position, Gaine changed the name of the *Mercury* on February 1, 1768 to the *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury*. The first-hand knowledge of changes in legislation resulted in the raised status and reception of the newspaper by its readership as Gaine frequently published exerts of the government items he printed in the *Gazette*. The Assembly chose Gaine over his former fellow-journeyman William Wyman, who had been reprimanded by the group for his careless printing.[119] Gaine would later become the printer for the city of New York in addition to his duties as public printer for the colony. His responsibilities to produce all of the needed documents and proceedings for both government bodies reinforced Gaine's decision to maintain an open press even as the political debates between Royalists and Whigs began to dominate public interest. He held onto the concept that by meeting the needs of both groups, he would incur the wrath of neither.

Gaine differed from many of his peers as the reaction to the Stamp and Townshend Acts signified the beginnings of the newspaper's shift away from the open press ideology. Other New York printers, such as John Holt, found it difficult to separate their own political ideologies from how they arranged the content of their newspapers.

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[119] *Votes and Proceedings*, II, 688.

Opportunities for partisan debate and public discussion broadened especially in cities where printers had established multiple newspapers. This chiefly encompassed the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Several printers in these locations began to associate with political bodies on either side of the argument for both local and imperial disputes. This corresponded with the overarching switch to a republic leaning ideology that previously had been assumed by historians to be a constant in Anglo-American political culture, but in actuality was a response to the disorder in the Atlantic world following 1765.[120] The idea of remaining neutral became increasingly disrepute. The roots of partisan printing based on political ideology which would define the press in post-Revolutionary America began to take shape.

Fleeing the City: The Occupation of New York, 1776

The summer of 1776 encompassed a period of social upheaval in the North American colonies as printers circulated the colonists' *Declaration of Independence* both in their newspapers and as broadsides throughout the month of July. In response, British warships began to lay anchor off Sandy Hook, New York over the course of the summer. By August, Gaine informed readers that American troops from neighboring colonies were marching towards New York City in an effort to reinforce its defense from a British invasion. By August 28th, the British landed in Long-Island and within hours of their arrival Washington's army was forced to retreat into Manhattan, likely passing the Bible and Crown as they moved through the city. Gaine reported on the Battle of Long Island in the September 2nd issue of the *New York Gazette*. His accounts championed the colonist's soldiers, writing that they "fought and fell like Romans," but warned that the city "is now invaded by a powerful fleet and army; the inhabitants are obliged to see retreat in the Country."[121] The following week a shortened issue of the *Gazette* was printed that forewarned readers of the encroaching British warships. By September 15, 1775 British military forces officially occupied New York City as General Washington and his army were forced out of the city, moving eventually across New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

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[120] McConville, *The King's Three Faces,* 79.

Gaine never oversaw the distribution of the issue as he had already fled the city in anticipation of the arrival of the British. The decision to leave New York City was likely made by the printer immediately following the military battle and mirrored the departure of at least a quarter of the city's population. He included no notice to his readership in the *Mercury*, though the moment of his departure can be estimated from letters Gaine wrote to his more affluent customers including Philip Schuyler and Richard Varick. In a letter to Varick dated September 8th, the printer sought to settle his business accounts and asked the future mayor of New York City to direct any more correspondence to him in Newark, New Jersey.[122] Gaine moved across the Hudson River with the intention of re-establishing his press now dedicated to promoting the patriot cause. He brought with him one press and a limited supply of paper and type to the new city, as well as a small supply of Bibles, writing paper, quill pens, and medicines that he offered "for curing all disorders incident to Soldiers in a Campaign."[123]

With his shop unattended, the British commandeered Gaine's New York printing house. They overtook the publication of their own edition of the *New York Gazette*. At the time there were no newspapers being published within the New York City. This was the result of printers like Gaine and his competitors John Holt and Samuel Loudon choosing to remove themselves from the city to avoid the consequences of the British occupation. Loyalist printers like James Rivington had fled earlier in the fall due to attacks from colonial leaders that included the destruction of his press and being hung in effigy.[124] In Rivington's absence, Governor William Tryon appointed Ambrose Serle, private secretary to General William Howe, to manage Gaine's printing house as an extension of his methods to suppress the rebellion. The paper provided the Loyalist coalition with "a regular and respectable mechanism to refute revel allegations, to criticize rebel ideology as tyrannical and ungrateful, and to remind readers of the harmony and strength they enjoyed within the British Empire."[125] To colonists who had remained in the garrison town, the publication of the paper on September 30th gave all the appearances that Gaine's service to them remained uninterrupted as the colophon continued to name the printer as its publisher. The consistency provided by the distribution of the *Gazette* provided colonists with a form of stability that contrasted with the chaotic transitory nature brought on by the British occupation.

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[121] *New-York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1299, September 2, 1776.
[122] Letter to Richard Varick from Hugh Gaine, dated September 8, 1776, New-York Historical Society.
[123] *New-York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury* (Newark), no. 1301, September 21, 1776.

The involvement of Gaine in the publication of the British edition of the *Gazette* has been a topic of debate amongst historians as they assess the political motivations behind his departure from New York. Scholars during the 1970's, such as Timothy Barnes, speculated that Gaine allowed Serle to manage the New York edition.[126] This line of analysis maintained that Gaine sought to profit from both sides of the Revolution in publishing two differing newspapers in close proximity to each other. More recent studies of Gaine's move to Newark, such as Ruma Chopra's *Printer Hugh Gaine Crosses and Re-Crosses the Hudson,* describe Gaine's confusion at the appearance of the paper. From an analysis of Serle's diary written during his time in the colonies, it is likely that Gaine knew that the paper would appear on September 30. According to an entry for September 26th, Serle called upon both "Govr. Tryon and Gaine the Printer, to settle the Publication of a News paper, which is to be accomplished on Monday next."[127] What exact exchange occurred between the two men during Serle's visit to Newark is unclear. It became apparent, though, that Gaine had relinquished his press and newspaper to British military control based off an entry for September 30th which indicated that only Serle was preparing the newspaper without Gaine's involvement in its production. The reasoning behind keeping Gaine's name in the colophon for Serle's first issue likely had been to maintain the trust of the paper's many subscribers, who Serle was eager to assure of the British's success in suppressing the rebellion. Gaine's name was removed from the publication of the paper in the weeks that followed, signifying his disassociation with the publication.

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[124] Francis G. Walett, *Patriots, Loyalists, and Printers: Bicentennial Articles on the American Revolution* (Worchester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1976) 36.
[125] Ruma Chopra, "Hugh Gaine Crosses and Re-Crosses the Hudson," *New York History 90*, no. 4, (Fall 2009) 282.
[126] Potter and Calhoon, "The Character and Coherence of the Loyalist Press," 232-33. Timothy Barnes. *Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution: A Bibliography* (Worchester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1974) 226.

In Newark, Gaine committed himself to printing the *New York Gazette* for the revolutionary cause. The first issue appeared on Friday September 21st with Gaine's same nameplate as the New York edition and contained international news on the front page and local reports on the back. The paper was notably almost completely absent of advertisements. As the publication of the paper progressed, Gaine allocated more space to reports from other colonial papers and local correspondence. From the content and language applied in the columns of the paper, it was evident that Gaine fully embraced his support for the American rebels. The newspaper included proceedings of the Continental Congress, letters from General Washington and Patriot soldiers, and reports of events in various colonial cities. Gaine also began re-printing the speeches of New Jersey's governor, William Livingston, that encouraged people to have a universal "spirit of economy, industry, and patriotism" in the new congressional government.[128] These news items connected readers to the ongoings of the war and cultivated a communal understanding of political and social events that lent themselves to an emerging American consciousness in opposition to empirical rule. The transition to dedicating a greater amount of space to domestic news within the colonial newspaper fostered a greater sense of self within a new idealized American identity for many colonists than ever before.

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[127] Ambrose Serle, *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle*, ed. Edward H. Tatum, Jr (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1940) 114.

The subsequent lack of international news after the first issue of the Newark version of the *Gazette* reflected an editorial shift that occurred in many colonial papers as the revolution gained momentum. The change in newspapers' contents provided colonists with a tool through which they could begin to negotiate their transition from British subjects to citizens of an independent nation. The reduced sections of international news that appeared typically related to reports from London concerning the war or other European countries and their responses to the revolutionary crisis. These articles framed the revolutionary cause not as an internal conflict within the British Empire but as a legitimate separation between the two political bodies. In the October 19th issue, Gaine included an extract of a letter received from Amsterdam that discussed the new maritime policies of foreign nations in relation to the North American colonies. The writer informed Gaine's readers that though "it was in the power of Great Britain to prohibit her colonies to trade with foreigners… it is not in her power to prescribe laws to other nations, prohibiting them from trading with America."[129] American colonists were assured by the piece that if Britain continued to insist on this right, political powers such as France and Spain were "determined to oppose her by force of arms." The independence of the North American colonies undermined Britain's power on an international scale. Rather than placing them within a transatlantic identity as British empirical subjects, news items such as this recognized the independent identity of Americans as a mercantile body within the transatlantic space. The international support further reinforced to the rebelling colonists the legitimacy of their cause.

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[128] *New-York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury* (Newark), no.1303, October 5, 1776.

The endeavor to re-establish his printing house in Newark ultimately proved to be a financial failure. In moving his press Gaine experienced many difficulties including low paper supplies and generating the public's interest in subscribing or issuing advertisements to the Newark edition of the newspaper. The occupation had caused many New Yorkers to flee the city in order to avoid being subject to the martial law imposed by the imperial forces. British troops and eventually loyalist refugees overtook the city leading to a housing crisis that left many people further scattered and in distress. Gaine's printing business also suffered as he had only been able to bring a small portion of his book and stationary inventory with him, which often were his greatest financial assets apart from advertisements. Mid-way through the production of the Newark *Gazette*, Gaine issued an announcement to his readers in an effort to generate funds that stated:

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[129] *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury* (Newark), no. 1305, October 19, 1776.

> This paper has now been published in this town four weeks and sent to the customers, that could be found, as usual. The Great and uncommon expense attending the carrying on business at this juncture, oblige the publisher to request those in arrears to discharge their accounts, which will be gratefully acknowledged, by
>
> The Publick's humble servant,
>
> Hugh Gaine.[130]

Requests by printers to their subscribers to pay their dues were common occurrences in colonial papers, however it was often difficult for the printer to enforce such requests. The conditions wrought by the revolutionary crisis only exacerbated the inability to collect dues or fill his columns with more advertisements. Businesses' access to supplies were effectively cut off due to a declaration by Parliament which prohibited both domestic and international trade between several northern colonies including both New York and New Jersey. Spurred by his financial losses, the Newark paper only lasted for a little over a month by which time Gaine returned to New York at the beginning of November.

The final issue of the Newark *New York Mercury* appeared on November 2, 1776. Unlike with the Stamp Act, Gaine provided no notice or reasoning to his readership regarding his departure or closure of the newspaper. His decision was likely abrupt as Gaine abandoned the press and type he had brought with him to Newark, which was later seized by the New York Provincial Congress who authorized the decision in January 1776.[131] Perhaps the reports that a fire which engulfed a large portion of New York City had been started by Patriot soldiers reinforced Gaine's aversion to violence and motivated him to commit to the Loyalist side.[132] The threat of having to move his press once more and be further away from his readership due to reports that the British intended to extend their campaign for invasion into New Jersey possibly pushed Gaine to return to New York City in order to preserve his self-interests. Additionally, the British had earlier extended an offer of amnesty through an official declaration, which Serle reprinted in the October 7th issue of the *New York Gazette*. The declaration offered pardons "to those, who, in the Tumult and Disorder of the Times, may have deviated from their just Allegiance, and who are willing, by a speedy Return to their Duty, to reap the Benefits of the Royal Favor."[133] Special consideration was given to those who had "meritorious Services of all Persons, who shall rid and assist in restoring the public Tranquility in the said Colonies, or in any Part of Parts thereof." Given Gaine's noted skills as a printer and reputation amongst New Yorkers, as well as his previous position as the public printer for the colony, it would have been beneficial to the British government to utilize the printer for their own benefit.

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[130] *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury* (Newark), no. 1304, October 12, 1776.

[131] *Journal of the New York Provincial Congress*, January 21, 1777.

[132] Gaine included reports of the fire in the issues of the *New York Gazette* (Newark) from September 21st and 28th, 1776.

The need to preserve his own self-interests arguably pushed Gaine to move himself and his family back to New York. The economic security provided by the business, readership, and connections that he had built over the last twenty-five years seemed more beneficial rather than starting over somewhere that would be unable to support a new printer due to the economic constraints imposed by the Revolution. Though printers were one of the most mobile groups during the 18th century, their success hinged on the availability of work in whichever town they decided to settle in.[134] A large majority of printers throughout the period were unsuccessful in their business endeavors and lived in relative poverty. As he had been one of the few printers to achieve an above average level of success and wealth within the trade, Gaine remained determined to maintain his business in leu of his political convictions. He had been able to build enough wealth for himself to invest in property both within New York City and his estate in Albany. His patronage to the theatre, religious, and social associations gave him footing within the community of New York as well as loyal patrons for his business. The unsuccessful attempt to re-establish his printing house in Newark reinforced his decision and the offer by the British government for a pardon presented an opportunity to maintain his livelihood. The Phillip Freneau poem concerning Gaine's reputation seemed to encapsulate this mindset with the verse: "Now tell me dear penitent, which is best// To be with the rebels, pursu'd and distress'd// Devoid of all comfort, all hopes of relief// Or else to be here, and eat the King's beef?// More people resemble the *snake* than the *dove*,// And more are converted by terror than love."[135]

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[133] *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury* (Newark), issue 1301, September 30, 1776.

[134] Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks*, 26. Hall, "The Atlantic Economy in the Eighteenth Century," 155-59.

Printing in British-Occupied New York City

Though Gaine resumed the ownership of his New York printing house, the newspaper remained predominantly under the supervision of Serle. The colophon of the paper did not list "Printed by Hugh Gaine" until the November 11th issue, two weeks following his return to New York City. The editorial process of the newspaper laid with Serle, whereas Gaine operated as the master printer overseeing the physical work of production. This resulted in the issues of the *Gazette*, as well as other items Gaine produced on his press, carrying a decisively Loyalist tone that degraded the rebel cause. Edward Tatum discerned in his study of Serle's journals that a number of the more radical Loyalist essays and comments that appeared in the *Gazette* during 1776 and 1777 can be attributed to Serle due to the similarities in the language employed.[136] Serle was acutely aware of the press's ability to shape and maintain public sentiment, as evident by his argument to Lord Dartmouth that no other mode of mass communication "had a more extensive or stronger Influence than the Newspaper of the respective Colonies."[137]As a means to assist in the establishment of order under the British military occupation, British officials used Gaine's newspaper to shape rhetoric in favor of British exploits and celebrations that strengthened the public's communal ties to the empire. It was a part of a larger campaign to restore public support as even Serle noted the growing selfhood of American independence amongst colonists. He remarked that "this is the Crisis, wch, under Providence, will determine the Fate of the British Empire in America… Peace may perhaps last for the present Generation, but, in the Course of a few Years, when America begins again to feel her growing Strength & Importance, she will bid Defiance to a Power."[138]

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[135] Philip Freneau, "Hugh Gaine's Life," in *Massachusetts Spy*, no. 618, March 16, 1783.

Serle's manipulation of the press proved detrimental to the reputation Gaine had constructed for himself within the printing trade. Contemporaries like John Dunlap assumed Gaine's printing activities to be traitorous to the patriot cause. Parodied accounts of Gaine's situation began appearing in colonial newspapers in both Philadelphia and Boston. Dunlap reformatted his *Pennsylvania Packet* to mirror the *New York Gazette*, titling one header "The Impartial Chronicle, or the Infallible Intelligencer:

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[136] Tatum, Jr. ed., *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle*, xx.
[137] Ambrose Serle to the Earl of Dartmouth, November 26, 1776, in *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, printer, Volume I: Biography and Bibliography*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902) 57.
[138] Tatum, Jr. ed., *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle*, 150.

upon the plan, and the manner of, the New York Mercury" and renaming the printer Hugh Lucre.[139] The implication of the latter slight appeared to demonstrate other printers' belief that Gaine had returned to British occupied New York in an effort to financially benefit from the occupation rather than out of communal self-interest. Gaine was not the only returned New Yorker to be accused of profiteering from the war. Several merchants within the city conversely benefitted from the trade restrictions implemented by the British occupation due to the fluidity of the population as thousands of British and Hessian troops as well as Loyalist refugees moved in and out of the city. The reaction by printers outside of the occupied space only bolstered Serle's fervor for using the newspaper to undermine colonists' support of the Revolution. In his journal he commented that, "the Rebel News papers… shew great Spleen at the New York Gazette, which gives me some Proof that it has good Effect, and that my Labor & Superintendence of it have not been thrown away."[140]

While printing under the British, Gaine maintained a private journal that detailed his personal sentiments towards the ongoings of the crisis. Passages typically recorded day-to-day interactions and experiences, though a number of entries remarked of "nothing stiring" or "Nothing worth of notice." Of importance are the notations of correspondence the printing house received detailing troop movements and military skirmishes for five years of the Revolutionary War. These passages correlated with announcements that appeared in the newspaper. By comparing the two sets of documents with one another that analysis offers further insight into how Gaine balanced his editorial decisions with his own sentiments towards the crisis. Gaine's experience provides a glimpse into the fluidity of colonists' association with the British Empire and how they navigated the changing culture. Biographers of Gaine have argued that the tone of the journal marked his Loyalist sympathies as the entries reflected a prejudice sentiment towards the rebel cause.[141] Upon further examination there are only a handful of occurrences where Gaine uses "our" to associate himself with the British forces, but there is little in terms of any antagonistic entries towards the rebellion. One instance that does occur followed an entry from October 1777 which criticized Sir Charles Hardy's inability to find the opposing side's naval fleet. He found that the intelligence of the event "and our Indolence here gives much Uneasiness to every Lover of Liberty and Good Government."[142]

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[139] *Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser,* no. 275, February 18, 1777. The name of Lucre likely stemmed from a biblical reference used for those who teach others wrongly for the sake of money.
[140] Serle, *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle,* 219.

The language used in his journal further emphasized the notion that early reports depicted in the *Gazette* were not edited by Gaine but instead Serle. Reports informing readers of military and supply movements typically appeared in the *Gazette* the week following Gaine's journal entry. The journal entries written by Gaine were brief in their description, whereas in the newspaper reports were embellished in a way to persuade readers on the success of the British leadership. On April 14th, 1777 Gaine noted in his journal of an attack at Bound Brook where "80 Rebels [were] taken and many killed and wounded."[143] A report of the attack, led by General Cornwallis, appeared the following week in the April 21st issue of the *Gazette*. The numbers concerning the Rebel side seemed to exaggerate the British victory, noting that “Above one Hundred of the Rebels were killed, [and] Eighty-five taken Prisoners.”[144] It also reported that the rebels were “the most miserably looking Creatures that ever bore the Name of Soldiers, covered with nothing but Rags and Vermin.” The embellishment of the details surrounding the battle emphasized not only the British victory over the rebelling colonists, but it also served to reframe New Yorkers’ perceptions of the enemy. They could be unified in their disdain and desire to disassociate themselves from people on the opposing side of the war based on these visceral descriptions. The circulation of reports using similar language created a loop of information that challenged the legitimacy of the American cause.

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[141] *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, printer, Volume II: Journals and Letters*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1902), vi. The editor of the journals, Paul L. Ford, argued that the newspaper and the journal entries were in "absolute contradiction to each other."
[142] Hugh Gaine, *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Vol. II,* 68.
[143] Gaine, *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Vol. II,* 28.

Serle removed himself from the print house with the departure of General Howe’s fleet in July 1777. This event allowed Gaine to resume editorial control of his press. The language of his newspaper subsequently returned to a tone that reflected his disinterested hand in arranging the information as it came to him. As the war and occupation of New York continued through the next seven years Gaine refrained from being overly critical of the revolutionaries in his paper despite his personal ideological support for the British as evident by his journals. Though printer’s outside of New York struggled to maintain the same level of quality in their output due to the economic disruption caused by the Revolution, the layout of Gaine’s *New York Gazette* remained considerably consistent throughout the occupation. Many of the established communication networks that fed into the printing trade were cut off due to the conditions of the war. Printers on both sides of the war were scattered and effectively no longer shared their commercial and communal connections with each other or within the transatlantic space. Gaine, however, benefited from staying in occupied New York as the movement of military ships provided easier access to both supplies and information. This included receiving copies of the *London Gazette* that soldiers brought with them and which Gaine used to reprint rulings from the British courts in his own paper.

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[144] *New York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1330, April 21, 1777.

James Rivington returned to New York in September 1777, thus re-establishing competition for Gaine within the newspaper market. The Englishman received the official appointment of the King's printer to the occupied city, which created new restrictions for Gaine. One caveat of Rivington's appointment prohibited Gaine from publishing any official news until after Rivington published it in his own newspaper. Gaine noted in his journal that the British military ordered the printer to "desist from printing an Account" related to the British capture of Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton in October 1777. The account subsequently appeared that same day in Rivington's paper as "Printer to his Majesty."[145] The language used in news reports for the province of New York reflected the concentrated effort by British authorities to employ the press to reshape colonists' perception of the war. The pieces were reprinted in every newspaper produced in the city, which in addition to Gaine's and Rivington's included James and Alexander Robertson's *Royal American Gazette* and William Lewis' *New York Mercury; or General Advertiser*. New Yorkers were inundated with information during the occupation as a publication appeared every day except for Sunday. The British effectively controlled the broadcasting process as they adopted a licenser system similar to the one in London that monitored and censored the printers in accordance with the wishes of the British authorities.

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[145] Gaine, *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Vol II,* 50-1.

So long as Gaine circulated the “Printed by Authority” news items, British authorities imposed less oversight over his paper. The character of Gaine’s press appeared to make him “the least ardent of New York’s printers” in his support for the British. [146] His support for the American rebels while in Newark led the imperial government to mistrust the printer resulting in shifting their support to Rivington. This allowed him enough space to electively reprint items from rebel papers like John Dunlap’s *Pennsylvania Packet* and Samuel Loudon’s the *New York Packet*. In doing so Gaine offered a balanced account of colonists’ opinions and depictions of the Revolution. Under Serle’s control, these pieces had been designated under their own column “From Rebel Papers,” but Gaine laid them out openly alongside the required pieces of propaganda from the British. The dissemination of these articles and essays alongside one another in one place allowed readers to more easily examine and consider the thoughts and arguments of the war. Gaine provided them with the means to reconstruct their own understanding of where they aligned within the ideological spectrum that shaped the Loyalist and Patriot circles.

This approach allowed the *New York Gazette* to stand out amongst the other New York papers produced during the occupation. Rivington devoted a considerable portion of his *Royalist Gazette* to informing readers about the triumphs of the British imperial forces as well as the foibles of the American cause often using false and misinterpreted information. The reprinted essays and reports from other colonial papers that Gaine included in his Gazette, along with those from London, in contrast often fostered discussions on the rights of citizens and the role of empire. Both printers were required to reprint the Manifesto of the Congress of the United States and the critical remarks in response to it "by Authority" in November 1778. New Yorkers were informed of the piece first by Rivington in his issue published on the 18th, whereas Gaine re-printed the document in the *Gazette* on the 25th. The manifesto reinforced the American's push for rebellion in response to the "offensive and tyrannous measures of Great-Britain." The remarks by the British authority asked the public to reconsider the allegation and compare the conduct of the British troops to those of the American, whom they framed as perpetuating falsities and half-truths. In the same issue, Gaine reprinted an article from Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* entitled, *A Dialogue between a Farmer and a Citizen*. The discussion sought to appeal to the public's reason and argued that those who were prevented by their sovereign from "voting for his rulers, is all intents and purposes a slave. He is governed (as the British Parliament attempted to govern America) without being represented."[147] In offering his readers both sides of the dialog, they could determine for themselves where they stood in association with the American cause or British efforts.

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[146] Barnes, “Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution: A Bibliography,” 226.

Gaine seemed to make an effort to repair his reputation that Serle's editorial leadership had damaged by using his newspaper to appeal to public sentiment. In September 1777, he reprinted a letter published in Loudon's paper from the American general John Sullivan. The author's request to the printer to provide the public with the letter demonstrated an effort to inform them of the British tactics to dissuade people from committing to the revolution. Sullivan argued that the British were "so far lost to all sense of honor and honesty, that they by their own feelings judge it a right matter for a person to sacrifice his honor and conscious by betraying the trust reposed in him by his country."[148] Such remarks reflected the sentiment held by other printers who saw Gaine's return to New York as a betrayal as much as the letter itself demonstrated the arguments used to persuade him. The British official attempting to persuade Sullivan argued "perhaps you mistook the popular delusion for the cause of your country (as many others did, who returned to their duty) and engaged in it warmly; but when you found your error you earnestly returned." In reprinting the letter, Gaine reaffirmed Sullivan's sentiment of the importance in providing colonists with information that showed the character of the imperial officials. The letter's circulation broadcasted an effort to protect an evolving homogenous American identity based on the collective ownership of "the greatest attachment and the strongest ties to bind them to the cause of their country."

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[147] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1414, November 23, 1778.

Neutrality in the newspaper became increasingly impossible to maintain during the course of the occupation, which challenged printer's abilities to maintain an open press policy. The dismantled communication networks established before the war forced printers to adhere to the political camps of Patriot or Loyalist. Once they publicized what faction they intended to promote using their press, economic concerns to maintain production took over. Gaine seemed to have mitigated this situation by reversing the situation, first by securing the means to stabilize his economic resources by staying in British occupied New York and then determining his political stance. His prerogative remained to fashion public thought by keeping his newspaper open to all parties. This was interpreted by supporters on both sides of the Revolution as standing with the opposition. The task of balancing his political sentiments along with his business practices during the war period proved difficult as it would for anyone. The additional impediment of having to wait on Rivington to publish news items first became frustrating for Gaine. All together, the toll of managing a printing house during the Revolution began to affect his editorial decisions.

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[148] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1349, September 1, 1777.

During the Battles of Saratoga in the fall of 1777, Gaine wrote in his journal of his disbelief and disappointment in the surrender of General Burgoyne. He acknowledged on October 20th of the "dismal Intelligence from G. Burgoyne of his being obliged to surrender at Discretion to the Rebels," but did not inform the public of the event until November 10th. On October 26th, Gaine learned that Burgoyne had been taken prisoner and asked himself, "What shall I say" in awareness of the public's concern for the wellbeing of the general.[149] Both Gaine and Rivington included the same news column for New York the week prior that conservatively reported on the conditions of late expedition, but Gaine led with the notice:

> As no Accounts, properly authenticated, of the Situation of the Northern Army, have yet been brought to this City, the Printer entreats the Public to excuse his inserting any of the Reports that have been circulated, until he may be warranted by Intelligence derived from General Burgoyne.[150]

The need to provide authenticated reports rested on Gaine's need to sustain his reputation for being a reliable center for communication to the citizens of New York City. The moment proved that even Gaine was not impervious to bias in his editorial work as his disbelief in the defeat of the British by the American military affected how he framed the narrative for his public.

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[149] Gaine, *The Journals of Hugh Gaine*, 46-53. In early September, Gaine noted that the "Publick seem better satisfied, that Matters are [not] so bad with Burgoyne, as represented by the Rebels."

[150] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1358, November 3, 1777.

Though the conditions of the occupation resulted in great duress to the public, New Yorkers continued to ensure their trust with Gaine as a facilitator for community discussion. In 1780, Gaine advertised for a person to help deliver his newspaper indicating the demand for both the paper and its uninterrupted distribution.[151] Subscribers continued to use the *Gazette* for personal and mercantile advertisements as they had done prior to the war. The number of advertisements in comparison to what had been listed prior to the Revolution remained largely the same. Changes in the form of advertisements occurred as notices of public auctions appeared more often in the place of adverts merchants traditionally listed in the paper for their latest imports. Furthermore, readers recognized the benefit of Gaine's history of maintaining an open press. Following an "erroneous Narrative" concerning a regiment from Staten Island in James Robertson's *The Royal American Gazette*, a subscriber "induced by the Belief of [Gaine's] impartiality" requested of the printer "as a Servant of the Public, [to] take the trouble to ask an impartial Spectator… for confirmation of the Truth of the following Facts."[152] The request demonstrated the public's continued use of newspaper as a central device through which they could commune with one another. Even when the conditions around them were fluctuating, the community continued to rely on the printing house to bring together and mediate their interests.

Members of the British military likewise began to issue advertisements and announcements in the *Gazette*. Their awareness of the colonial printing house's wide influence within the community encouraged them to participate in the public forum in order to urge public compliance with their own needs. To meet supply demands they issued advertisements like one directing farmers to deliver “all the STRAW they have already thrash’d and that they without delay get the remainder ready” to the British magazines to be used by the Crown’s forces. New Yorkers who occupied residences formerly owned by people now considered to be “in rebellion” were also given notice to comply with the Quartering Act. The constant circulation of these notices reminded them to support the efforts of the empire by providing themselves with other forms of lodging before the first of November. Officials argued that “After this public intimation, no one can deem it a hardship to be ordered out [when must be the case] when his Majesty’s troops are to be supplied with quarters.”[153] Even Gaine and his family of five complied with the order and quartered a British ensign in the lower room of his printing house and home. James Dick, a naval commissioner, appealed to the printers of the city that it was his “Duty to request that his Majesty’s faithful Subjects may be made acquainted… through the channel of the public Newspapers” of the new regulations regarding housing prisoners of war.[154]

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[151] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1508 September 11, 1780.
[152] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, September 1, 1777.

The conditions brought on by the increased military presence in the city led to a number of the New York societies Gaine had positioned himself within before the war to disband. British soldiers had destroyed and looted from the stacks of the New York Society Library upon their arrival in the city. Some of the books they stole were torn up and used to make wadding for rifles or sold for other goods like rum. A few of their holdings were stored in St. Paul’s Chapel, which had escaped destruction during the city-wide fire in 1776. Trinity Church, however, had been destroyed in the flames. These institutions would not be restored until after the war in 1789. Gaine as a committed member of New York society assisted in their rebuilding efforts. When the Library Society wrote their new charter so as to disassociate themselves from their previous royal declaration written in 1753, Gaine was one of twelve men appointed as trustee and continued in his role as the society's printer by publishing their charter and by-laws as well as their book catalogue. Gaine additionally contributed to the subscription for the reconstruction of Trinity Church.

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[153] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1353, September 29, 1777.
[154] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, November 23, 1778.

The one consistent means through which Gaine continued to participate in his community outside of his printing activities was through his patronage to the New York theater. Beginning in 1778, Gaine made regular tri-monthly payments of £10 to Anne Kierarstadt to rent "the Play House and the Lane adjoining" on John Street.[155] The theater had been closed two years earlier as the Continental Association labeled it a threat to public morals. The British had renamed the playhouse the "Theatre Royal" in 1777. The theatre gave its first performance on January 6th, 1778 and performed the Scottish play, Douglas.[156] Most plays were put on as charity fundraisers to benefit the children and widows of British soldiers. Gaine frequently advertised for the performances and notified interested parties that tickets could be purchased at his printing house. Performers were often men in the British Army and Navy who were stationed in the city and made to participate as a way to prevent them from spending their time in more "pernicious employment."[157] Gaine continued to pay the rent for the play house throughout the occupation of the city and continued to do so until 1790. Gaine ran the theater in partnership with William Dunlap, Lewis Hallam Jr., and John Hodgkinson.

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[155] Hugh Gaine receipt book.

[156] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury,* no. 1368, January 12, 1778.

[157] William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832) 51.

The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* continued to function in its role as a mobile town square without interruption throughout the occupation. Gaine focused the layout of his newspaper on providing information that connected New Yorkers to the civic life of the colonies in addition to the progress of the war. The space of the paper began to shift from a wide scope that informed subscribers of events within the transatlantic world to a more narrowed scope that reflected a homogeneous perception of North American life. Issues of the newspaper during the final two years of the war heavily featured reports from cities including Philadelphia, Boston, Charlestown, Baltimore, and Richmond. They contained little to no mention of international news and reprinted articles from London newspapers less frequently. In August of 1782, Gaine reported that independence of the thirteen colonies had been proposed at the peace conference in Paris, but cautioned "Loyalists everywhere… to continue firm to the professions he has made of loyalty and zeal for the reunion of the Empire… By such a conduct we shall preserve a claim to national regard and protection, which it would be madness to forfeit."[158]

In contrast, his journal reflected a turn in his sentiment towards the American forces. He appeared to celebrate the official announcement of independence in an entry from the 3rd and 4th of August. The following day he wrote, "Much trouble to appearance now approaching, I dread the consequences."[159] Whose appearance he was referring to is unclear, whether it was the appearance of peace within the city of New York or his own. Perhaps the remarks were a self-conscious acknowledgement of his reputation outside of the city and the animosity held by those in the profession who still considered Gaine a traitor for returning to work under the British occupation.

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[158] *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, no. 1608, August 12, 1782.
[159] Gaine, *Hugh Gaine's Journal*, 155.

The Final Issue of the New York Mercury

Following the departure of the British from New York in 1783, the Crown fell from the sign at the Bible and Crown in Hanover-Square. The population of the city changed in response as well with a number of Loyalists leaving and being supplemented by Americans returning to New York. Gaine recognized that their ideological sentiments regarding their perception of newspapers as a communal tool likely saw the printer only for the loyalism he had displayed at times during the war. Older printers expected to resume the roles they had held prior to the Revolutionary crisis but were quickly outnumbered and replaced by younger tradesmen who were hungry to make their mark within the social and political landscape. The open press policy that had enabled colonists' connections to an Atlantic community and guided Gaine's layout of the *Mercury* was seen by many in the incoming group of printers as outdated and ineffectual. Newspapers and their printers following 1783 attempted to distance themselves from the transatlantic nature that had characterized publications prior to the imperial crisis. Printers became increasingly partisan as they employed their press to foster discussions regarding the new political identity of American citizenship.

In an effort to maintain his self-interests regarding his printing house, Gaine retired from his occupation as newspaper editor and ceased production of the paper. The final issue of the *New York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury* was published on November 10th, 1783. The paper had served the city and its surrounding community for over thirty years, making it one of the longest surviving colonial newspapers during the eighteenth century. The final issue appealed to incoming victors by reprinting George Washington's farewell to the American Army. Gaine introduced the General as "the worthy and most esteemed American Fabius" a reference that appropriately linked the new republic to the old. The loyalism he had previously been criticized for was soon forgotten by the public who came to recognize both his skills as printer in addition to his contributions in serving the community of New York.

The departure from the newspaper business did not dissuade Gaine from leaving the city as other printers began to do. Instead Gaine carried on in his work as a community-based printer by producing pamphlets, broadsides, play booklets, and other works that he carried in his bookstore. Bookselling often outweighed Gaine's role within the community over the newspaper as he facilitated the development of the city's taste and thought through the transatlantic exchanges for material culture that occurred within his bookstore.

Chapter 3 Importing Culture: Colonial Bookselling at the Bible and Crown

> Just Imported in the Ship Prince George, Capt. Finglass, from LONDON, and to be sold, at the ONLY OLD LONDON BOOK-STORE and Printing-Office, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, kept by HUGH GAINE, From IRELAND
>
> *The New York Mercury*, no. 457, May 4, 1761.

The transactions that occurred as a result of the colonial printing house's activities as a bookstore reinforced the space as a commercial outpost for material culture created in the metropole. Advertisements promoted the international character of the printing house in an effort to entice and convince customers of their legitimacy as cultural agents. By saying "Just imported from London" or claiming the status as a "London Book-Store," colonial printers like Hugh Gaine established cultural ties that linked New Yorkers to the global market and strengthened their identity as members of the British Empire. Gaine and his printing house externalized the transatlantic nature of the book trade both in his transition from the Irish trade to the American colonies and the further exchange of material goods between British booksellers and himself that supplied customers with the latest books produced by the presses in London. His shop, the Bible and Crown, became a central point for colonists to participate in the evolving religious and intellectual culture of the British Empire as the space combined the workspace of the printing house with a general retail room in the front. Customers were encouraged to browse and converse, exchanging news and information with one another as they would in any other formal meeting place.

Printers in their capacity as booksellers facilitated the formation of American taste and thought throughout the second half of the eighteenth-century. Books in their various forms served not as static or neutral objects but fostered a mode of mass communication that shaped public sentiment and opinion. They were often promoted as instructive tools to foster a civil society by training readers' moral sentiment that further encouraged social cohesion as well as dissent. The book trade strengthened America's connection to the transatlantic world as booksellers continued to rely on foreign imports to satisfy its market. As he negotiated with London and other foreign agents, Gaine connected colonists to the standards of taste and ideas emerging in the metropole. The Revolution and subsequent independence from the British Empire allowed American booksellers to expand their networks of suppliers as they were no longer constrained by the imperial mercantile policies. Producing books domestically proved to be a business venture rife with financial risks both before and after the Revolution, resulting in printers' continued reliance on foreign agents in order to meet popular demand.

This chapter examines how Gaine, in his occupation as a bookseller, fostered the development of colonists' taste and thought that resulted in the formation of communities bound together by mutual interest. By supplying the material through a system of print-capitalism, Gaine provided readers with the means to construct their imaginary communities often based around intellectual and religious sensibilities. Bookselling in turn strengthened Gaine's ties within the New York community and their image of him as a figurehead within it. It positioned the printing house as the communication center for the city and connected his customers to the global book market. The study considers the transatlantic community not within a single, bound identity, but one that functions as a series of identities that sustain and give shape to each other through their material consumption of knowledge and physical forms of communication. This chapter demonstrates how American colonists were continuously tied to and consumed British culture even after the Revolution using the context of the history of the book during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Culture of Reading

The colonial book trade is often considered as a neglected phenomenon due to the lack of domestic production. Colonial books, as defined by Hugh Amory, encompassed anything bought and read, or printed and reprinted by colonists with "no special importance attached to its place of manufacture."[160] Culturally, colonial books produced or imported to North American cities retained their ties to London as booksellers who controlled the copyright to many of the titles sought-after by colonists considered colonial capitals like New York as extensions of the English trade. They supplied colonists in the same manner as they did with other English provincial cities such as York or Manchester, in part due to the heavy restrictions implemented by the London booksellers. Any books produced locally differed little from that of the metropolis as everything from the language to the kind of type used were overwhelmingly characteristic of English print culture. A small number of imprints appeared in languages including Swedish, German, Dutch, and French, but the demand for these titles was minor in comparison.[161]

The ability to produce books in the colonies remained for the most part outside the realm of what printer-booksellers were capable of making due to the costs associated with book publication. Paper was the most valuable resource to printers and took up a large portion of their expenditures. An individual book used at least 20 sheets of paper that were folded several times in order to determine the book's size of folio, quarto, octavo, or duodecimo.[162] In comparison, newspapers were typically one sheet folded once to make four pages. Their costs were offset by fees accrued by subscriptions and advertisers. Printers had to put up the capital required for book publication up front, running the risk of financial failure if the publication proved to be unpopular. The wide dispersal of the colonial population further challenged printers' abilities to generate interest in supporting the domestic publication of books. The population of New York rested at around 18,000 people in 1760 in comparison to the 750,000 Londoners who bought into the London book trade. Though support for book publishing existed amongst wealthier patrons to Gaine's bookstore, few books were printed domestically as they were too expensive for a larger portion of the population consisting of people in middling and lower social classes.[163] Colonial printers were able to meet public demand for smaller works including almanacks and other forms of cheap print. The colonial market was not developed enough to sustain a domestic book trade completely independent from global suppliers. Rather than risk the expense of publishing new books, colonial printer-booksellers relied heavily on imported titles from England to stock their bookshops.

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[160] Hugh Amory, "Reinventing the Colonial Book," in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 27-8.

[161] Amory, "Reinventing the Colonial Book," 30.

The few books that were produced domestically before the Revolution were often done in partnership with other printers in nearby cities. The strategy allowed for a wider distribution of the text and a break-up in expenditures that eased the economic burden of book publishing. These partnerships mirrored the printing congers that monopolized the London book trade. They often employed the technique of printing books by subscription, which further mitigated the risk of publication. This allowed printers to publish books in multiple volumes as subscribers were expected to pay for each book as they were delivered. The method provided capital for the next book in the series in addition to distributing the work of publishing larger titles more evenly over time. The books printers produced domestically typically were reprinted titles of popular works already published in Britain. Advertisements for subscription prospectuses appeared more frequently in newspapers beginning in 1770, indicating stable enough conditions to support a fledgling system for domestic book production.

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[162] Printed sheets folded once to make two leaves and bound were a folio, folded twice created a quarto, eight leaves created a quarto, and twelve leaves or more are duodecimos. For more information see The Antiquarian Booksellers Association of America, "Book Formats," https://www.abaa.org/glossary/entry/book-formats#:~:text=Duodecimo%20(12mo)%3A%20approx.,inches%20tall%2C%20average%206.5%20inches.

[163] Elizabeth Carroll Reilly and David D. Hall, "Part Two. Customers and the Market for Books" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 387.

Prior to the establishment of Gaine's printing-house in 1752, approximately 5,575 books were imported to colonial New York from London between 1701 and 1750. This number more than tripled during the second half of the eighteenth century.[164] A majority of books during the earlier period were exported from Britain to the colonies by general merchants, who continued to import common books including Bibles and schoolbooks. Their contribution to the book market declined as a wave of Scottish, Irish, and English journeymen emigrated to America beginning in the 1740's. These men joined established printing firms as Gaine did with James Parker in 1746 and eventually acquired enough capital to establish their own businesses. Their arrival produced firmer ties between British booksellers and printer-booksellers in the colonies, which resulted in an expansion of the cosmopolitan nature of the books that were more readably accessible to colonists post-1750. Printer-booksellers emphasized their connections with their London counterparts by modeling their own book shops after the cultured institution of the London bookstore, as Gaine did when he claimed to be "The Only Old London Book-Store and Printing-Office" in New York.[165] The growth in the number of books cannot be attributed to Gaine alone as bookselling in New York came to encompass at least six other bookshops prior to the breakout of the revolution in 1776. This included Garrat Noel and the London-transplant James Rivington who opened their bookshops in 1752 and 1761 respectively.[166]

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[164] Hugh Amory, "Graph 7a. Exports of books from London to North America and the B.W.I, 1701-1780" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 514.

An increase in imports from Britain can also be contributed to the mercantile and monopolistic policies of the imperial state. The Navigation Acts established a century prior to Gaine's arrival in the colonies enforced measures that limited colonists' access to materials and supplies produced outside of England. Books published in other parts of Europe had to travel through London first before they arrived in the colonies, leading to increased costs for colonial booksellers. London booksellers took advantage of the system to expand their trade into the transatlantic space and increased shipments of their own stocks of books to the colonies. They offered high levels of discounts for books wholesale to their colonial counterparts, which further put off colonial printer-booksellers from producing domestic editions.[167] These exchanges also allowed some London booksellers to use the colonies as a dumping ground for unpopular sellers, known as rum books. These titles, according to James Raven, appear in relation to wholesale auctions rather than as a primary example of the quality of material imported by colonial printers.[168] The demand and interest for imported books continued to rise through the second half of the eighteenth century despite the costs and inconveniences involved.

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[165] *New York Mercury*, no. 457, May 4, 1761.

[166] For more on James Rivington's bookstore see James N. Green, "Part One. English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 279-283.

[167] James Raven, "Part Three: The Importation of Books in the Eighteenth Century" in in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 187.

The printing house emerged as an intermediate link to cultural identities within the British Empire as books imported to the colonies induced material connections. Printer-booksellers, like Gaine, facilitated these cultural exchanges between the London market and their colonial customers. In stocking their bookshops with British imports, they created opportunities for people to participate in the wider reading culture of the British Empire. The ownership of specific books and prints also led to the creation of new groups based around communal ties and interests.[169] To encourage participation Gaine frequently published his book catalogues or shortened lists of his latest imports both individually and in his newspaper, the *New York Mercury*. These lists demonstrate the changing interests and demands of the New York public as well as the progression of literary fashion during the eighteenth century. Book collecting as an activity became increasingly popular as certain books marked a person's social status. The ownership of editions that were larger in size, such as folio or quarto, remained too expensive for middle and lower-class people to purchase. Books also came unbound and as bookbinders were scarce in the colonies bound books further emphasized a customer's wealth. Books published by subscription often listed the names of those who contributed financially to their production. As these lists provided a tangible sense of who was participating in the enlightened culture of the eighteenth century, printer-booksellers used them as advertising tools to expand their customer base and elevate the position of their business within the community through association. The social circumstances of customers to Gaine's bookstore based around wealth, gender, education, and religion at once limited and sustained the practices of literacy and subsequent community building.

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[168] James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2002) 7.
[169] Daniel Maudlin, "Introduction" in *The Materials of Exchange between Britain and North East America, 1750-1900*, ed. Daniel Maudlin and Robin Peel (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013) 1-3.

Supplying Colonial Customers

The booklists that Gaine published were carefully organized, grouping genres and subjects together. The layout of the pages communicated to his customers a rationalized method in how to find the titles they needed or interested them. The groupings by subject further communicated not only the popular ideas and opinions from scholars, but also the particular intellectual preoccupations of Gaine's customers. The lists framed the social interests of the community at large, acting as an agent of social cohesion and dissent as customers could discuss with both one another and Gaine the relevance and importance of certain titles over others. They served as a form of advertisements that at once served and influenced public interests. These lists often encompassed large numbers of books, once claiming to have "Ten Thousand other Books too tedious here to insert."[170] In actuality popular books of history and philosophy were typically ordered in small quantities or could be ordered on an individual basis. Gaine often reminded his New York patrons that "All those who are inclined to purchase his Work, are desired to send their Names to H. Gaine" who would then relay orders for "as many volumes as will be wanted" to the London booksellers and printers he coordinated with.[171] The printing house became the middle ground between customers and their participation as customers in the commercialized world of the transatlantic book trade.

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[170] *New York Mercury*, May 4, 1761.
[171] *New York Mercury*, no. 153, July 14, 1755.

In categorizing books into different genres, printer-booksellers fashioned a hierarchy of value that varied among different ideological communities. Genres were often determined by the book's "implied reader," which printer-booksellers and consumers could identify in the title's preface.[172] While some hierarchies remained explicitly secular, these groupings were often fluid within one another as books crossed into different genres. Readers were not confined within one bound identity or communal grouping, but consumed books outside of the genres marketed specifically towards them. As literature in the eighteenth century progressed, the modalities of reading expanded beyond secular circles as colonists became influenced by Enlightenment ideologies of reason and sentiment. These ideas centered on the argument that oneself is a conscious and thinking thing whose mind is shaped by experiences, sensations, and reflections that form our ideas.[173] Whereas more religious readers may have used the term "affections" where philosophes used "sentiment," both represented an inward and emotional experience to narrative themes that were present in the texts they read. Sentimentalism, as it came to be called during the period, designated books as a tool to expand one's moral convictions that in turn trained individuals to be more virtuous members of society. Moral sentiments thus determined how individuals interacted and emotionally related to others within their community.[174]

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[172] Reilly and Hall, "Modalities of Reading," 405.

[173] See John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[174] See David Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, *Enquiring Concerning the Principles of Morals*, and Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ECCO.

Gaine published one of his first book catalogues in the mid-1760's which detailed the extensive list of books that he carried at the Bible and Crown.[175] The twenty-two-page pamphlet listed history and travel books that not only connected colonists to wider parts of the British Empire but also informed them of the process of empire in other parts of the world. Histories in particular were considered to be works of national importance and public utility as they propagated the character of a nation's people.[176] Gaine also carried instructional works like *The Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, or an Introduction to Languages, Poetry, Rhetoric, History, &c.* and Isaac Watts' *The Art of reading and writing English: Or, the chief Principles and rules of pronouncing our Mother Tongue*. Books such as these codified and standardized how people should participate in the intellectual and social culture of the Atlantic World in the eighteenth century. Their dissemination by printer-booksellers like Gaine aided in the establishment of a recognized language that regulated conduct and formed communities amongst consumers. Gaine also provided copies of mathematical essays, grammar books and dictionaries, and philosophical works on the role of education and commerce that invited further debate and discussion.

The most visible customers in Gaine's printing house were affluent and learned white men who had the financial means and leisure to buy British books. Gaine often directly addressed this group even in his earliest advertisements. In an advert notifying the public of his latest imports from London, he assured the "City and Country

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[175] Hugh Gaine, *A book catalogue* (New York, 1760). The catalogue is missing the first five pages including the frontispiece and is the only known existing copy. Library of Congress dated the item as 1760, but as works such as *The Social Contract* and *Emile* were first published in French in 1762 and in English in 1763, I argue that the catalogue was more likely printed sometime after 1763.

[176] Ernest Campbell Mossner, Harry Ransom, and Gavin Hamilton, "Hume and the "Conspiracy of the Booksellers": The Publication and Early Fortunes of the "History of England"," *The University of Texas Studies in English 29* (1959), 163, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20776018.

Gentlemen, Storekeepers and others" that they "may depend on being well served and on easy Terms as possible."[177] This group of men saw reading as a gateway into polite and sociable forms of culture that predicated itself on the ideas emerging from the European Enlightenments in France and Scotland. In purchasing and reading books from Gaine's store, they acquired information that legitimized their participation in the intellectual culture of the British Empire. The transatlantic exchange of knowledge produced through the British book trade commercialized the intellectual exchanges of the English world of belles lettres. The public sphere occupied by society's intellectual elites expanded as the mass market for books conveyed their thoughts to wider audiences of people in a similar manner to that of letters exchanged between social relations. Gaine offered editions of folios and quartos of the latest texts printed in England such as *David Hume's Essays and Treatises on several subjects*, transmitting the thoughts of the philosophical and religious movements of the Scottish Enlightenment and the Great Awakening to colonial audiences.

Gaine developed a reputation amongst his peers and customers as a leading seller of religious material, which made up a majority of his book stock. This was in part due to his own dedication to the Episcopal community of New York. Bibles in particular were foundational tools in training a reader's moral sentiment, and Gaine sold them in every shape and form possible. His earliest stock of the Bible and Crown included "Quarto, Octavo, and School Bibles, [and] small Bibles with the Common-Prayer of most Sizes."[178] Protestant communities in particular emphasized the practice of active reading through self-reflection, which was moderated by the use of reason to sort through and evaluate one's inner thoughts. Additionally, Gaine carried and printed a number of sermons and religious titles including *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Fordyce's Sermons for Young Women*, *The Institute of the Christian Religion*. Eighteenth century customers believed that these types of texts appealed to a person's sentiments, which in turn allowed a person to test and expand their moral sentiment. Their sustained relevance amongst reading communities in New Yorkers is apparent by their frequent appearance on Gaine's book lists and in advertisements that appear throughout the pre-Revolutionary period and even after the colonies gained political independence from the British Empire.

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[177] *New York Mercury*, no. 430, November 10, 1760

[178] *New York Mercury*, no. 31, March 12, 1753.

As Gaine entered into his tenth year of operating the Bible and Crown, the book trade saw a rapid expansion in the number of colonial printers who brought further competition to the colonial and transatlantic book markets. Imported books from Britain nearly quadrupled as a result of the growth in wealth and population, which further strengthened colonists' economic and cultural ties to the empire.[179] The period between 1762 and 1775 also saw an attempt to introduce circulating libraries in New York that increased the reading public's accessibility to books by making popular titles more readily available to middle- and lower-class groups. The New York Society Library first opened in 1754, but as a subscription library their membership was limited to the city's merchants and upper class. Garrat Noel, a bookselling competitor of Gaine's, opened the city's first circulating library in 1763. Circulating libraries appealed to readers who had spending money, but not the capital needed to invest in a subscription library. Noel capitalized on the leisure hours of "those who delight in Reading" by offering them "Several Thousand Volumes of choice Books, in History, Divinity, Travels, Voyages,

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[179] Green, "Part One. English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin," 276.

Novels, &c" that could be exchanged daily.[180] The venture was short-lived as he closed the operation two years later. Samuel Loudon revived the presence of a circulating library in the city when he opened his own out of his own printing house in 1773. New Yorkers from all walks of life had greater access to books as the printer-bookseller allowed occasional readers to pay pennies for borrowing a book depending on the original price of the volume.[181]

The British book trade began exporting more books annually to the American colonies than to Europe or the rest of the world by 1770, resulting in reduced prices for popular titles. As the market of the transatlantic book trade expanded so too did the makeup of its customers. Female readerships developed substantially during the mid-eighteenth century. Earlier in the period women from upper class families often acted as adjuncts for their male relatives within the printing house. According to studies that judged the rate of literacy measured by signatures on documents, approximately 45 percent of white colonial women were literate during the early part of the eighteenth century.[182] This number grew steadily over the century with advances in literacy being more substantial among urban women. The development in a new marketable audience for books did not go unnoticed by printer-booksellers who often acknowledged the growth in their female readership. In an advertisement for his circulating library, Loudon broadcasted to future customers that "the ladies are his best customers, shew a becoming delicacy of taste in their choice of books."[183] Though printer-booksellers tried to market certain genres such as conduct books to women, female readers actively participated in the fluid print culture of the transatlantic market.

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[180] *New York Gazette*, no. 246, August 29, 1763.
[181] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, 1205, November 4, 1774. The prices for subscribing to Loudon's circulating library included 20 s. per year, 12 s. for half a year, 8 s. for a quarter of the year, and one penny for each shilling the book was valued at if the customer was an occasional reader.
[182] Ross W. Beales and E. Jennifer Monaghan, "Part One: Literacy and Schoolbooks" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 380.

The expansion of the book trade brought further recognition to the role of books as the primary communicators of knowledge and culture. By the 1770's newspaper advertisements highlighted the chief role books played particularly as instructional tools. Printer-booksellers touted the conception that "Books are standing counsellors, always at hand, and always disinterested; having this advantage over all other instructions, that they are ready to repeat their lessons as often as we please."[184] The encouragement of active reading compelled men and women in the American colonies to participate in the broader cultural revolution of the eighteenth century. The books that printer-booksellers received from London agents transmitted ideas about morality, sentimentalism, and natural rights from the metropole and into the colonial space. They equipped colonists with the means to determine for themselves how they wished to participate in popular British culture. The practice of reading as a means to train a person's moral sentiments encompassed both the goal of strengthening one's virtue for the broader benefit of their community and the fear of it potentially corrupting a person's morals. This fear applied in particular to female readers as moralists contended that though sentiment was natural to both sexes, women were more vulnerable and susceptible to illusion due to their "emotional excess."[185]

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[183] *New York Gazette,* November 4, 1774.
[184] *New York Gazette*, November 4, 1774.
[185] Reilly and Hall, "Modalities of Reading," 409.

Rather than fear corruption, women embraced reading as a means to not only expand their moral education but also partake in the sociability of participating in the print culture of intellectual and religious life. In 1761, Gaine issued an advertisement that listed a handful of new editions recently imported from London.[186] Eleven of the books included in the shipment were specifically marketed towards women. This included titles such as *Mrs Rowe's Letters, Miscellanies, Works, and Devout Exercises*, *Young Woman's Companion*, and *The Conduct of a Married Life*. Known as conduct books, these titles represented examples of print that encoded and reproduced the domestic practices and duties of womanhood expected of females in the eighteenth century. The conduct book fostered a commercialized and imagined polity that conceptualized female behavior as a predictor of society's overarching social behavior.[187] The list also included new forms of fictional texts such as the *Young Lady's and Young Misses Magazines* and novels including Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* and more celebrated work *Clarissa*. As epistolary novels, these texts immersed readers in a first-person like narrative that magnified the idea that morality and realism were bound together within an individual's identity. These titles served as models of both "good" forms of reading in that as another form of a conduct book they encouraged women in their pursuit of a moral education by employing sentimentalism, while in contrast some critics contended that the more licentious scenes in the books would be too pleasurable and demean their virtue.

The pleasure of customers regardless of gender experienced from these texts - good or bad - encouraged Gaine to continue supplying similar titles. Gaine stocked

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[186] *New York Mercury*, May 4, 1761.

[187] Kathryn Sutherland, "Writings on Education and Conduct: Arguments for Female Improvement" in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 26.

Pamela and *Clarissa* consistently throughout the second half of the eighteenth century as evident by their frequent appearances in his book catalogues and advertisements.[188] He further expanded his lists by incorporating other popular literature and pieces written by female authors. In the 1760's titles such as *Lady Montague's Letters*, which documented Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's travels to the Ottoman Empire, and the *History of the Marchioness de Pompadour* by Marianne-Agnes Pillement made their first appearance in Gaine's catalogue. Alongside these works, Gaine listed an additional twenty-two titles in his book catalogued that included romance novels and memoirs, adventure novels, as well as mock-heroic satires including *The History of Pompey the Little: Or, the Life and Adventures of a Lap Dog*.[189] These types of works connected colonial audiences to the histories and insights of the broader Atlantic world that in turn reinforced their ties to popular European culture. They demonstrated the intersection between intellectual and moral instruction that became increasingly inescapable to readers in the mid-eighteenth century by demonstrating the sentiments of how women could engage within the larger world. As readers embraced these products of material culture Gaine sold to them, he also assisted in a counter-process that bound them within a prescribed form of virtuous domesticity. The consumption of these texts provided readers with a communal understanding of sociability and morality that shaped how they prescribed meaning to their own experience.[190]

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[188] *New York Mercury*, no. 663, July 9, 1764. *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1008, February 18, 1771. *New York Gazette*, no. 1515, October 30, 1780.

[189] Gaine, *A book catalogue*, 6-7.

[190] Dianne Dugaw, "Women and Popular Culture: Gender, Cultural Dynamics, and Popular Prints" in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1700-1800*, ed. Vivien Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 263.

The emergence of a commercialized market for children's literature also accompanied the expansion of the transatlantic book trade in the mid-eighteenth century. Adults who mastered the practice of self-reflection sought to in turn pass on the teachings to their children. The household served as the primary site for preliminary educational instruction for most colonists. Educational institutions for children varied from one colony to the next due to the infrequency in which parish schools and private entrepreneurs licensed schoolmasters and regulated what was taught.[191] Gaine offered a ready supply of primers, spelling books, and schoolbooks in his printing house that parents could purchase at a low cost. These texts typically functioned as the first book children would encounter and were largely denominational texts. Spellers in particular created a systematic way for children to understand the practice of reading by linking letters to pronunciations. Children's literature as a form of entertainment developed during the mid-eighteenth century out of the idea of using distinctive and easily digestible texts as instructional tools to shape children's sentiments and morality from an early age. Based on Locke's philosophy of tabula rasa, printers began to carry new primers and books targeted towards children that continued the association of literacy with morality.

Among the books that came to be seen as an inaugural text both as an English novel and early children's literature was Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. The themes of the book spoke not only to the idea of self-interest as a chief motivating force of human beings, but it also presented readers with images of a successful impulse of colonization and a revolt against parental authority. Educational theorists like Jean Jacques Rousseau in his treatise *Emile* argued that the narrative of the book fit children's reading as it allowed them to vicariously experience Crusoe's own journey of self-reflection to become a more moral being. The format of a book allowed for the opportunity to revisit and repeat the lesson in the case that children didn't understand a passage or perhaps became too scared or distracted. The reader, whether it be the child or their parent, could simply close the book and open it at a later time when they were ready to return to the story. The cultural significance of Defoe's work rested in part on Crusoe's role in linking the projects of nation-making and bookmaking with the process of children's education. It became one of the best-selling novels in the colonies during the years leading up to the Revolution, as it legitimized colonists' disobedience against their mother country.[192]

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[191] Beales and Monaghan, "Part One: Literacy and Schoolbooks" 383.

The popularity of the book was apparent due to the proclivity of reprints in Ireland and America despite the British claim to perpetual copyright. In 1774, Gaine printed his own edition of *Crusoe* in the form of a chapbook marketed towards children. In the frontispiece for his edition, he used the popularity of the title to peddle towards his little customers and their parents that his store in Hanover-Square "had a great Variety of Little Books for Young Masters and Misses."[193] By marketing the book specifically towards adolescent readers, Gaine provided a form of permission for their exposure to the book's imagined exploration of adventures caused by disobedience and the development of their own moral sentiment. The format of the chapbook allowed for its wide circulation as it could be produced cheaply, and the simplified language aimed at novice readers appealed to the developing reading skills of children. Gaine's edition of *Crusoe*, along with his other forms of cheap print, allowed for a piece of such cultural importance to become readily accessible to all audiences.

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[192] Karen Sanchez-Eppler, "Over a Century of Shipwrecks: American Child Readers and Robinson Crusoe" in The Materials of Exchange between Britain and North East America, 1750-1900, edi. Daniel Maudlin and Robin Peel (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013) 118.

[193] Daniel Defoe, *The Wonderful Life and Surprising Adventures of the Renowned Hero, Robinson Crusoe. Who lived Twenty-Eight Years On an Uninhabited Island Which he afterwards colonized* (New York: Hugh Gaine, 1774) 1.

Domestic Products – The Cheap Print Market

Unlike the trade in England which saw a steady division between the occupation of booksellers and printers during the period of the eighteenth century, the colonial trade in North America remained intrinsically linked. Printer-booksellers during the mid-eighteenth century rarely specialized in bookselling and book publishing as these were typically side jobs to their larger job printing for government and religious bodies. As these positions were hard to come by, many printers adapted to the tight economic conditions by expanding their business to encompass the general needs of their customers. Beyond books, Gaine's printing house also offered an assortment of medicines, sailor's compasses, gold weights and scales, playing cards, penknives, various types of sealing wax in addition to the writing paper, pamphlets and almanacks he produced and sold.[194] Colonial printer-booksellers were able to produce their own editions of almanacks, psalters, psalm books, and primers despite the claim by London booksellers on the copyright. These items offered lower financial risks to produce in comparison to book publishing. In producing these pamphlets domestically, printers relied on the argument first used by Irish printers that English copyright didn't extend outside of the British kingdom. As the trade stabilized towards the beginning of 1770, a number of colonial printers took advantage of the loophole to produce smaller, cheaper editions of popular British works.

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[194] *New York Mercury*, no. 259, July 25, 1757. *New York Gazette*, no. 1133, July 12, 1773.

What came to be known as cheap prints emerged as their own market within the colonial marketplace. Cheap prints differed from the expensive books Gaine imported by their characteristic small type, narrow margins, and lack of any bindings. These pieces were produced by Gaine and his journeymen and also used less paper, which not only ensured his ability to offer them in large quantities but also enabled the titles to be sold at significantly cheaper prices. Cheap prints like chapbooks, pamphlets, and most importantly almanacs appealed to customers regardless of economic status and were unconfined by subject or genre. The place of reading in everyday life for colonists remained largely restricted by cost and distribution as certain parts of colonies were still poorly served by the book trade. Cheap print offered an avenue to expand access to reading materials within developing urban areas like New York and fueled the importance of the practice in the people's cultural and intellectual life. The pieces emulated the broadsides of the London market and what Gaine didn't produce himself, he imported from the metropole. The dissemination of domestic products made it easier for colonists to participate in the material culture of the empire.

Sermons in the form of devotional chapbooks and pamphlets made up the largest portion of the cheap print Gaine produced during the almost fifty years he worked as a printer-bookseller in New York. Early in his career, some of the first items Gaine produced from his own press were *A Scheme for the Revival of Christianity* and Isaac Watts' *Divine Songs for Children*. The technology of print revolutionized the oral culture of religious life as it allowed pastoral teachings to be reproduced and circulated amongst a wider portion of the population. Though Gaine himself became a respected figure within the Episcopal community of New York, he printed religious treatises and sermons that came out of the other religious sects within New York including the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Dutch Reformists. In 1759 Gaine printed a sermon by the Presbyterian pastor Chauncey Graham titled *God will trouble the troublers of his people*. The piece reflected a form of revivalism with Graham preaching to his spectators that the ruin of God's people was tied to the ruining of the public's interest by putting private interest over that of one's community. Gaine's reproduction and dissemination of the sermon ensured that "the Duty and the Interest of every Member, in their Conduct, to pursue the Good of the Whole; and where these come in Competition, to prefer the public Weal to their own private Interest" would reach a wider portion of society than what oration was capable of.[195] Colonists were tied to one another through the consumption of the sermon at a greater scale than before.

The production and sale of religious-centered chapbooks at the Bible and Crown allowed for Gaine to facilitate the public's exposure to works outside of their own denominations and re-enforced the central role of reading to the moral instruction of colonial society. In 1763, Gaine produced *A System Containing the Principles of the Christian Religion* by Lambertus De Ronde, a minister in the Dutch Church of New York. The aim of the text was to be "Useful for the Information of all Persons in the True Confession of the Faith." Furthermore, the pamphlet opened with a section targeted specifically towards colonial parents that provided guidance on how to instruct their children "in the Principles of the Christian Religion."[196] De Ronde was known to only deliver his sermons in his native Dutch, but the use of English as the print-language for the pamphlet and his collaboration with Gaine demonstrates a recognition in the capacity of the press to expand an organization's public by broadcasting their ideas to a wider audience. Additionally, the employment of Gaine's press over other printer-booksellers in New York acknowledged the reach and dominance Gaine held over the book trade in New York and the New England region.

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[195] Chauncey Graham, *God will Trouble the Troublers of his people. A Sermon preached at Poughkeepsie, in Dutchess-County, in the Province of New York. July 14th, 1758*. (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1759) 6.

[196] De Ronde, *A system: containing, the principles of the Christian religion,* frontispiece.

The instructional pamphlets and chapbooks Gaine printed extended beyond just religious tracts and encompassed the educational handbooks that influenced different sectors of society across age and occupations. In 1760, Gaine printed his first advertisement for his publication of the twelfth edition of Benjamin Franklin's *The American Instructor: or, Young Man's Best Companion*.[197] Written under the pseudonym George Fisher, the handbook was marketed towards young students as a handwriting manual. It intended to serve as the first step in shaping young men's minds to prepare them for their participation in the mercantile world of the 18th-century. Adapted from a similar British edition for the American colonies, the chapters instructed readers on proper letter writing and spelling, international standards of bookkeeping, methods of arithmetic, and legal writing. The handbook demonstrated the expansion and limitation of literacy education as while it's form as a cheap print made the practice accessible to a wider customer base, it intended to limit the education of writing instruction to males involved in business and trade. The edition also included a chapter discussing instructions on scientific activities including "the pleasant and delightful Art of Graffing and Inoculating" and the preparation of medicines that were deemed appropriate for young women.[198] These activities were characterized as fit and necessary for family units, which further enforced associations of gender with social education.

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[197] *New York Mercury,* no. 394, March 3, 1760.

Gaine produced a number of instructional chapbooks and pamphlets that aimed to prepare colonial readers to be informed and contributing members of British society. He supplied an assortment of books that covered subjects from surveying land, courtship, account books for merchants and schoolmasters, and grammar books and dictionaries in addition to the religious and educational handbooks. Gaine first published *Every Man His own Lawyer* in 1768 and continued to carry new editions of it in his bookshop throughout the imperial crisis and occupation of New York. The handbook contained a summary of the laws of England with particular attention given to instructive methods on "the Liberty of the Subject, Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and other Statutes."[199] In discussing this subject, the book aimed to equip "All Manner of Persons" so that they could be capable of defending "Themselves, and their Estates and Fortunes, In all Cases Whatsoever." As it cost only a few shillings the pamphlet was accessible to colonists regardless of their economic class. Gaine also carried other instructional books like *The British Negociator: Or, Foreign Exchanges made easy* that served to teach colonists on how to operate within the imperial systems of mercantilism.

One of the most popular forms of cheap print proved to be almanacs, which in a similar manner to newspapers, provided printer-booksellers with a steady form of income and recognition within their community. Almanacs were considered by people across the economic spectrum to be both entertaining and useful. They became staples of a growing colonial print culture in America due to their wide dissemination and information regarding domestic needs rather than that of the wider empire. Printers often doubled as the author of their almanac or worked with a local writer to communicate to readers local weather patterns, seasonal calendars, advice on farming, and astronomical and astrological anthologies. London booksellers had claimed a perpetual copyright to the production of almanacs earlier in the century, but colonial printers largely ignored this as imported editions would have been unsuitable to the conditions of the colony's ecology and the needs of colonists. As they grew in popularity, printers like Gaine produced editions that were region specific and developed the content of almanac to include dates for both county and general session courts. They additionally saw the piece as another object through which to convey moral instructions and began including extracts of poetry and small forms of literature in the almanac's margins. Gaine exposed his customers to a wide range of subjects within one locality that at once united their differing interests and formed a base to interlink their communal identities.

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[198] George Fisher, *The American instructor; or, Young man's best companion* (New-York: Printed and sold by H. Gaine, bookseller, at the Bible and Crown in Hanover-Square, 1760) preface iv-v.
[199] *New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, no. 868, June 20, 1768.

Gaine published multiple almanacs beginning in 1752 with the *John Nathan Hutchins Almanack*. The following year he began printing an English and Dutch almanac, later referred to as the *Low Dutch Almanack*, and then in 1754 he added *The New York Pocket Almanack* to his production.[200] In addition to his own, Gaine also stocked the reputable *Poor Richard's Almanack*. With multiple almanacs in stock, Gaine was able to accommodate the needs of the different communities located within the province of New York and nearby colonies. The *Hutchins Almanack* and the English and Dutch almanac resembled the standard farmer's almanac of the period, better serving the agricultural communities of the surrounding area. *The New York Pocket Almanack* catered to the needs of the merchant classes that existed within the city itself by providing information regarding currency values, lists of government officials in each of the surrounding colonies, road conditions, and postage rates. The edition also included interleaved blank pages that could be used to note transactions and was small enough to "easily put into any Pocket Book."[201] The diversity of Gaine's stock in almanacs made the Bible and Crown a central location for the needs of the overarching communities within the province of New York. The consistency he provided colonists with resulted in their continued reliance on the printer to sustain their private needs and connection to a communal material culture.

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[200] *New York Mercury*, no. 63, October 22, 1753. *New York Mercury*, no. 118, November 11, 1754. The first advertisement for the English and Dutch almanac written by George Christopher appeared in the 63rd issue of Gaine's newspaper but no physical copies of the piece could be located.

The low production cost of almanacs allowed Gaine to mass produce the text and sell them to larger numbers of the colonial population. A single copy of *Hutchins Almanack* initially cost sixpence, which allowed the piece to be accessible to colonists from any socio-economic class. Through this form of cheap print, Gaine exposed colonists to a range of reading material as topics related to science, philosophy, business, and literature were all covered within an almanac's short twenty-four pages. In 1759, Gaine expanded *Hutchins Almanack* by including an extra twelve pages that allowed him to insert additional reading material and renamed the title to *Hutchin's Improved*. A broadside advertisement for the new title highlighted that not only did the almanac contain the typical calendar and weather predictions for the following year but also selections of poetry including *Pride not made for Man*, *On Reason*, *Advice to the Ladies*, and *An Englishman's Wish*. In addition to the poems, Gaine noted the inclusion of selected pieces of prose that would “merit the Perusal of Young and Old, in what Station of Life soever they may be placed.”[202] The expanded version reflected a trend that began in the middle part of the century in which printers, recognizing the utility and popularity of almanacs, redeveloped the print medium to serve as an additional form of disseminating moral instructions to their readership.

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[201] *New York Mercury*, no. 227, December 13, 1756.

Beginning in December 1774, Gaine added an additional title to his lineup of almanacs sold at the Bible and Crown by publishing *Gaine’s Universal Register, or, American and British calendar, for the year 1775*. The title consisted of 168 pages that were split into eight volumes and printed as an octavo. Gaine acknowledged to the public that there may be inaccuracies in the text due to its small format, measuring only about five inches in length.[203] He also claimed that the *Register* was the first of its kind to appear in province of New York and asked that the public “ever indulgent to a new Attempt, will make Allowances for the Difficulties that naturally attend such a first Undertaking.” The almanac contained not only the items from *Hutchin’s Improved* but also accounts pertaining to the royal families of Britain and Europe, histories of the English, Scottish, and Irish nobility and government offices, and the establishment of the individual colonies in North American and West Indies and their present governments. In the front matter of the piece Gaine addressed the “Inhabitants of America,” arguing that as “all America is united in one great political Compact, for their common Security, it is certainly necessary that we should be furnished with as intimate a Knowledge as can be obtained of every Province."[204]

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[202] *New York October 8, 1759, Advertisement. Just published, and to be sold by H. Gaine, printer and bookseller, at his printing-office at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, in New-York, by wholesale and retail; Hutchin's improved; being an almanack and ephemeris for the year 1760* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1759) Broadside.

[203] *Gaine’s Universal Register, or, American and British kalendar, for the year 1775*, (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1774) front matter.

Though Gaine sold books such as Hume's celebrated *History of England* and histories relating to New England and Virginia, these works were inaccessible to a large portion of the colonial population due to cost. His *Universal Register* demonstrated an attempt to compile and link the histories of the American colonies to the imperial history of England in one comprehensive text that could be circulated amongst a wider portion of the city's population. It is likely that Gaine was incentivized to reformat his almanac to reinforce the place of America within a wider transatlantic history. Tensions between colonists and imperial officials over their political rights as citizens of the British Empire were quickly coming to a head by 1774. The thought of becoming independent from the empire grew increasingly stronger over the period beginning in 1764 with the introduction of the Stamp Act. The tax passed by Parliament placed duties on paper for colonial consumers, which directly affected their ability to access printed materials in a cheap and often uncensored manner. Throughout the imperial crisis, colonists were in a constant negotiation amongst themselves over their identities as British subjects. By 1774, as first Continental Congress convened perhaps Gaine published the *Universal Register* to inspire his readership in their blossoming ideology as an independent body of people. An informed citizenry, especially one equipped with the language regarding their history within the wider world, empowered the formation of a new community identity.

As printers built their capital on the sale of cheap prints and their newspapers, they began to expand their enterprise by attempting to foster a homegrown production of books. Printers had to be conscious of their community's interests and were a good deal more selective about the book titles they chose to produce. Due to their popularity, printers often chose to reprint British titles that had proved to be steady sellers rather than take on new titles from American-based authors. Large scale book publishing still remained a financial risk, so the few books that were published in the colonies were typically done in partnership with other printers so as to mitigate costs. These partnerships were often created between printers in the more dominant print cities of Philadelphia and New York. This practice allowed for a wider dissemination of the text as printers could solicit interest from a larger group of potential customers. In working together, printers created new networks amongst each other that established a foundation to build an independent American print culture from its British counterpart. Many of those involved in these new ventures had immigrated from Scotland and Ireland during the 1740's and into the 1760's. Having been trained in cities known for reprinting popular British books, the new American system of production mirrored the practices developed to undermine London's control over the transatlantic book trade. To some colonists, the reliance on imported books from Britain served as a constant reminder of their dependence.[205]

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[204] *Gaine's Universal Register,* front matter.

In 1774, Gaine partnered with the Philadelphia printers Robert Bell and John Dunlap to publish a copy of Thomas Leland's *History of Ireland* by subscription. The original book had been published in London the year prior in a two-volume quarto set. Rather than importing the title, the colonial printers aimed to offer the book at a lower cost and encouraged native manufacturing in the book trade. All three men had emigrated from

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[205] Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors & Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) 506.

Ireland during the period between the 1740's and 1750's. Gaine and Dunlap in particular frequently collaborated to gather subscriptions for other book proposals and included each other's advertisements in their respective newspapers. Bell had built his reputation by reprinting popular London books by subscription.[206] The book would be published in the same manner that he produced his other reprints such as William Robertson's *The History of the Reign of Charles V* and William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. The three men would print the title in four volumes rather than two which reduced the usual price from 36s. to one third the cost.

Gaine's reprint of Leland's *History* undermined the authority of the London bookseller's copyright. It demonstrated a transfer of knowledge by applying the practices he had learned as an apprentice in Ireland, where printers based much of their trade off of reprinting London owned books, to produce a domestic product in the American colonies. The infringement of the book's copyright did not go unnoticed and seemed to bother Gaine's competitor James Rivington, who issued an advertisement in his own paper for subscribers interested in the imported edition. The ad appeared three months after Gaine, Bell, and Dunlap had posted their first subscription notice for the American edition.[207] Rivington assured "Those Gentlemen who are disposed to become Subscribers" of the legitimacy of the octavo edition as it would be "sent to him immediately from the Hands of Dr. Leland." The ownership of such an edition served to reinforce the buyer's connection to the print culture of London. Depending on which form of material culture they desired to participate in, customers could purchase either edition or even both. When the books arrived later in June, Rivington continued to emphasize his edition's legitimacy as the official edition over Gaine's by printing "This edition is printed under the immediate eye of the admirable historian, and the press was corrected by his own hand."[208] Which book proved to be more popular is unclear as no subscription list could be found for either edition. Gaine continued to sell his edition of Leland's *History* over the course of the American Revolution as the book appeared on and off in his advertised book lists.

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[206] For more information see James N. Green "Robert Bell and the Beginning of a Native Reprint Trade" in *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 283-291. Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[207] *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, no. 39, January 13, 1774. *Pennsylvania Packet*, No. 103, October 11, 1773.

The partnership between the three printers to publish *The History of Ireland* represented a collective effort to create a piece of material culture that reinforced their cultural ties as Irish immigrants. The homegrown nature of the book encouraged the possibility of a domestic book industry that would allow the American print trade to decrease its dependence on the British imports. More importantly, the overall production of the book depicted the intersection between Gaine's own cultural identities, which transferred into the mindset of his customers through their purchase of the edition. The three printers connected their readership to a form of material culture that now took on a duality of identities. American reprints represented a transatlantic exchange of knowledge disseminated into a locally produced format. The process served to reinforce colonists' ties back to a national identity that they had left behind in immigrating to a new space while simultaneously assembling a new cultural identity through their participation in the domestic market. This process would be cut off by the division and economic crisis cause by the Revolution as the ability to domestically produce books wouldn't financially be possible again till the end of the century.

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[208] *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, No. 59, June 2, 1774.

Supplying Books During the Revolution

Gaine's ability to continue supplying imported books to American colonists appeared to be, for the most part, uninterrupted by the crisis caused by the American Revolution. Unlike a majority of printer-booksellers during the war period who were limited in their domestic output to newspapers and political pamphlets, Gaine benefitted from working within British occupied New York. Through his location in Hanover Square, he retained access to trade routes that connected him to the booksellers in London. These were not the traditional routes he and other printers had used prior to the war as the British military restricted certain forms of trade, but advertisements demonstrated a continued, though shorted, supply of imported books and other materials to the Bible and Crown. The drawback of working in occupied New York, however, was that the printing presses in the Bible and Crown remained under authoritative control of the British imperial forces. In complying with authorities so as to preserve his business, Gaine did not always have the autonomy over what he did and did not print.

The editorial control of Gaine's printing house came under the control of British admiral Lord Howe's private secretary, Ambrose Serle, following the printer's departure from the city in September 1776. When Gaine returned two months later after a failed attempt to establish a press in Newark, Serle retained his position as Gaine's overseer. Though Serle primarily oversaw the publication of Gaine's newspaper, the *New York Gazette*, he also wielded influence over the job printing Gaine produced from his press.

Newspaper advertisements show that Gaine printed a collection of military pamphlets and handbooks during Serle's editorial tenure. Titles included *Rules and Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Horses and Foot Guards, And all other his Forces* and *The Manual Exercise,* which were printed "by his Majesty's Command."[209] These pieces served to reinforce the military control of the city and benefit the instruction of the British and Hessian troops who moved in and out of the occupied space. Additionally, Gaine printed a series of sermons by both Charles Inglis and Samuel Seabury, including Seabury's *A Discourse on Brotherly Love*, which were published "at the Desire of His Excellency Major General Tryon."[210] As the only printer in the city at that point in time, authorities sought to control the press for their benefit by creating a material culture that forcibly reminded colonists of their duty to the British Empire.

Around March 1777, Gaine printed a now infamous book, *Military Collections and Remarks*. The book, written by British Major Robert Donkin, discussed the art of war and British military techniques using the context of the early events of the American Revolution. Particular attention was given to its footnotes, which prescribed methods such as dipping arrows into a matter of smallpox. Donkin continued with the advice to "twang them at the American rebels in order to inoculate them; This would sooner disband these stubborn, ignorant enthusiastic savages, than any other compulsive measures. Such is their dread and fear of that disorder!"[211] With Serle in control of Gaine's press and the usual expenses that accompanied book publication, it is likely that the decision to print Donkin's book was not made entirely by Gaine. Serle noted in his journal that he dined with Major Donkin in mid-January 1777.[212] Perhaps the two settled their agreement to produce the book during their evening. Letters between Serle and other British officials demonstrate his awareness of the influence the colonial press had on the community and likely produced the book both to shock colonists who supported the revolution and strengthen the power of the British military within the material culture.

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[209] *New York Gazette*, no. 1360, November 17, 1777.

[210] *New York Gazette*, no. 1358, November 3, 1777.

[211] Robert Donkin, *Military Collections and Remarks* (New York: Hugh Gaine, 1777), 190.

The publication of the book and its subject rightfully upset colonists operating outside of British occupied New York. Gaine's reputation within his community of colonial printers was tarnished as they viewed his part in producing the text as a betrayal. Evidence of printers' spite for the New York printer can be found in newspaper ditties and fake advertisements issued in the wake of the books March publication. Benjamin Edes, the printer of the *Boston Gazette*, included in his catechism regarding the war: "Q: Who is the greatest liar upon earth? A: Hugh Gaine of New York, Printer."[213] Printers eventually left comments about Gaine's reputation out of their press upon the return of James Rivington to New York in September 1777. When Serle left New York in the summer of 1777, Gaine resumed editorial control over his press and returned to printing his usual line up of cheap print.

From the beginning of the British occupation of New York in 1776 to their departure in 1783, the restrictions on trade routes led to a reduction in the cheap prints Gaine pulled from his press. He managed to publish only a handful of religious and educational chapbooks including reprints of *The American Instructor* in 1778 and 1783. Additionally, his children's edition of *Robinson Crusoe* as well as *A Little Lottery Book*

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[212] Ambrose Serle, *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778,* ed. Edward H. Tatum, Jr. (San Marino, CA: The Hunting Library, 1940) 174.
[213] *Boston Gazette*, no. 1177, March 31, 1777.

for Children continued to appear in newspaper advertisement, indicating a continued interest and need for from adolescent readers.[214] The Bible and Crown remained stocked primarily with books Gaine was able to import from London and his almanacs which he produced annually. Despite the duress brough on by the occupation as people moved in and out of the city, Gaine provided his community with form of consistency. As colonists were reflecting on their own thoughts regarding the new social conditions that they found themselves in, their access to material culture kept them tethered to the transatlantic market. Not only did their access to books and various forms of cheap print provide them with the knowledge to assess, rationalize, or even challenge the conditions of the occupation and war, it also provided a means of brief escapism from their reality.

The socio-economic conditions brought on by the military occupation of New York likely affected Gaine's ability to produce his usual stock of cheap prints. Trade restrictions and the increase in population due to the influx of Loyalist refuges and military troops caused the prices for goods to inflate exponentially due to high demand and limited supply. These conditions affected Gaine's usual supply for paper as access and costs were in constant flux even after price regulation was implemented in 1780. His account book shows that Gaine purchased 120 reams of brown paper for £1:04:01, the equivalent to twelve days wages, in November 1777 from the Onderdonk papermill in Long Island.[215] In order to offset the costs of transporting paper, Gaine procuded supplies of linen rags that would be shredded and pulped. Throughout the period of the occupation Gaine printed at least thirty advertisements in his newspaper requesting readers to bring in linen rags to the Bible and Crown which he offered to buy off them for one penny to four pence per pound depending on the quality.[216] In February 1778, Gaine sent 2,700 pounds of rags to the mill which offset the costs by a fraction for 82 reams.[217] The limited access to a steady supply of paper led Gaine to focus his printing efforts on the newspaper and almanacs as they not only were the steadiest sellers, but also conveyed more useful information to his customers.

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[214] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1386, May 18, 1778.
[215] Hugh Gaine receipt book, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

New Yorkers were not without their access to British literary culture as the number and subjects of the books Gaine imported appeared to remain consistent with what he had carried in the years leading up to the war. Perhaps to save paper, Gaine did not publish any formal book catalogues during this period, but an understanding of his stock can be derived from the advertisements he printed in the *New York Gazette*. In a list published in October 1780, Gaine imported from England several sizes of family bibles and common prayer books, French and English dictionaries, British schoolbooks, and London magazines and pamphlets including copies of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*.[218] The list also comprised titles considered to be literary standards for any eighteenth-century library including Locke's *On Government and Understanding* and works by Homer and Plutarch. Additionally, Gaine began carrying navigational books for seamen and instructional books for the military likely marketed towards the influx of British troops that now resided in the city.

In 1782, his list appeared to carry books more so meant for his readers entertainment and intellectual interests than for their utility. A number of titles appealed to colonists' desire to retain their connection to the material culture of London which

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[216] See *New York Gazette* issues no. 1307-97 and 1602-1645.
[217] Hugh Gaine receipt book.
[218] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, no. 1515, October 30, 1780.

Gaine made accessible by importing *Fashionable Life, of the History of Miss Louisa Farmer*, *Distressed Virtue, or the History of Miss Harriet Nelson*, and a refreshed stock of *Clarissa* and *Pamela*. These books perpetuated the literary tradition of providing moral instruction that continued to be a central tenant of the literary culture of the eighteenth-century. The list furthermore demonstrated Gaine's awareness of the latest publications from the intellectual movements of the period as he imported David Hume's *History of England*, William Robinson's *History of America*, and William Alexander's *History of Women*. Even though the decision to stay in New York after the occupation by the British affected Gaine's professional relationships, his customers took little notice. They continued to come into the printing house and relied on the printer to foster their connection with the wider literary market.

Bookselling in the Early Republic

Following the departure of the British in 1783, Gaine carried on in his occupation as a bookseller to the community of New York. He had ceased production of his newspaper but continued with supplying his printing house, now called the Bible, with imported books, almanacs, and other cheap prints. As supporters of the Revolution returned to the city, his tarnished reputation amongst them seemed to recover quickly. By all appearances, Gaine embraced working in the new republic, taking on a more active role in the civic affairs of the city. The closure of his newspaper freed up labor for Gaine to dedicate his press to the production of cheap print that continued to foster Americans' instruction in moral sentiments. He performed this work in both a personal and professional capacity. Beginning in 1784, the Episcopal Church in the United States of

America contracted with Gaine to print materials related to their convention as well as a pamphlet relaying the reincorporation of Trinity Church. In 1793, Bishop of the Episcopal Church authorized Gaine to print *The Book of Common Prayers* as well as a quarto edition of their *Book of Offices*. Both texts eventually became the standardized editions for the church as decreed in their Canon from 1817.[219]

A year after printing *Common Prayer*, Gaine produced a chapbook titled *An Abridgment of the History of the Holy Bible*. A year later, he reprinted his own edition of John Bunyon's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. He produced the text in the format of a duodecimo and included a short elegy to the author on the last page. The book had become a staple piece for instructions on morality to any American reader. The small size of Gaine's edition carried on its capability to be available to anyone regardless of their social economic status. The production also marked the return of the domestic book trade that had been cut off by the economic conditions of the Revolution. A completely independent, American publishing industry would not come into fruition until the 19th century, but printer-booksellers in the late eighteenth-century began to restore its foundations.[220]

In addition to his religious titles, Gaine continued to promote tools for moral sentiment by broadening his selection of educational handbooks and pamphlets. His printing activity for children's books and conduct books increased during the period between 1784 and 1790. In 1785, Gaine published titles such as *The History of Little*

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[219] *Canons for the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.* (Newberry, MA: Printed and sold by William B. Allen and Co., 1817) 30.
[220] For more on the development of the printing trade in the 19th century see Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, *A History of the Book in America: Volume 2: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

Goody Two-Shoes: Otherwise called, Mrs. Margery Two-Shoes, The Mother's Gift: Or, a Present for all the little Children who are Good, and *a Pretty Play-Thing, for Children of all Denominations*. The production of these titles continued the work Gaine had done prior to the Revolution in providing customers with the means to impart their own reading practices to their children. Such books provided children with early lessons that upheld the Lockean philosophy to shape their minds while it was at its most pliable. The stories they experienced vicariously through reading encouraged their moral development and social integration.

Gaine's publication of *The Art of Speaking* signified his awareness to the sociability of nation's new oratory culture as the piece contained essays that discussed the "Rules for expressing properly the principle Passions and Humours Which occur in Reading or Public Speaking."[221] The same year Gaine published a new edition of *The American Instructor*. The edition contained much of the same literature that Gaine's 1760 copy included. A noted change, though, appeared in the title's description which now read "better Adapted to these American States."[222] As the city's senior printer-bookseller, Gaine helped the public navigate between their constructed identities as American citizens in a new republic and as former subjects of the British Empire. He assisted in facilitating people's understanding of the new modes of political and social thought being employed by cultural leaders as evident by the publication of John Adams' *Defense of the Constitution of the Government of the United States of America* and the inclusion of a reprinted copy of the new Constitution in the 1787 edition of *Hutchins Improved*.

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[221] *The Art of Speaking: Containing an Essay; In which…* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1785).

[222] George Fisher, *The American Instructor; Or, Young Man's Best Companion* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1785).

The books that were available to New Yorkers were limited in numbers due to the disruption to the trade by the war. The American printing trade of the mid-eighteenth century regressed in its productivity due to the economic depression caused by the Revolution. Only a handful of printers were able to maintain their operations throughout the Revolution. In the years that followed peace negotiations, many were barely able to continue producing their newspapers let alone cheap prints. The lack of access to type, paper, and financial investments from domestic suppliers resulted in the inability of the American book trade to support domestic production. The public was also unable to cheaply access books through community organizations like the circulating library. When Samuel Loudon returned to the city after the occupation, he reopened his circulating library but noted the deficits in his inventory and asked for "Some old volumes of Novels to complete broken sets." The printer relied on the interest of the community and their subscriptions to restore his establishment as he saw the need as "more necessary and useful at present."[223] The conditions of post-Revolution New York required printer-booksellers to continue their reliance on foreign imports to satisfy their customers' needs for reading material. The books that they brought in exemplified American's continued attachment to British culture.

Though American's wanted to read the works coming out of Britain's literary circles, independence from the British removed the old imperial mercantilist policies. The range of materials available within the transatlantic book market opened up for American booksellers as they were no longer legally required to buy books from London. Imported books from Scottish and Irish book agents increased as they offered consignments for reprinted London editions. American booksellers capitalized on these offers as the books were sold on more reasonable terms than what British booksellers offered to the former colonists. The book trade through North American became perhaps more transatlantic than it had been during its height in the mid-eighteenth century. This was in large part due to the nature of the books they imported from outside of England. The influx of foreign imports satisfied the needs of American readers and continued their consumption of British culture for more than two decades until the American book trade was able to support their own publishing industry.

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[223] *New York Packet*, no. 335, November 24, 1783.

Gaine's book catalogues from 1787 and 1791 demonstrate the expansion in global imports that occurred during the post-war period. His 1787 provided a comprehensive understanding of the approximately 400 books he held at the Bible as the document was split into categories based on book size and content. The first eighteen pages listed the imported titles alphabetically by their authors. He carried books on British theater and law, medicinal tracts from Edinburgh, copies of Addison's *Spectator* and the *Female Spectator*, and the philosophical works of figures of the European Enlightenment including David Hume, Adam Smith, and Voltaire. The following category listed a smaller collection of "Small Histories or Chapmen Books" that included his standard stock of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pamela*, and *Clarissa* as well as other titles aimed to entertain and instruct American audiences on sensibility and politeness.[224] The list also included the inventory of tragedies and comedic playbills Gaine stocked which reflected his hand in fostering the development of the theatre community within New York. American's taste in popular books changed very little from what it had been in the years prior to the Revolution. Though they were independent from the empire, they continued to participate in its literary culture.

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[224] *Catalogue of Books and Stationary, &c.* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1787) American Antiquarian Society.

For the 1791 catalogue, Gaine's inventory expanded by at least 100 titles. He directly highlighted the range in localities of his imports by noting that they were "Lately Imported From England, Scotland, and Ireland."[225] Organized by genre, the catalogue further highlighted the British nature of Gaine's stock as almost every title was written by authors from one of those countries. The list included case reports from the English courts and histories related to France, Scotland, India, Ireland, and Greece. These titles tied American readers to the legal and historic practices of national communities far outside their own and provided knowledge that informed their own discussions as they reconstructed their own conceptions of American citizenship. The inclusion of poetic works from James Thompson and Jonathan Swift demonstrated the continued consumption of popular British literary culture even after Americans had in a political sense left behind their British identity.[226] The only title that could be characterized as American was Thomas Paine's *Rights of Men*, which became a seminal piece of work as it demonstrated an American voice within the political space of the transatlantic literary world. Americans continued to persist in their cultural ties to the transatlantic market by reaffirming a cultural identity with Britain that was linked through the materialism of books.

The global nature of American bookseller's inventories continued well after Gaine's retirement from the trade in 1804. Throughout the imperial and revolutionary crisis and into the formation of a new government, colonists continued to persist in sustaining a cultural link to Britain through their consumption of books. As agents of material culture, printed works provided a means through which readers could assess public sentiment and opinions that led to the cultivation of communities based around mutual interests. Books broadcasted to them ideas that encouraged both social cohesion and dissent. Printer-booksellers like Hugh Gaine provided people with a wider access to books through their printing house than what had previously been available to them. They connected colonists to the transatlantic market through the business interactions made within their shop. In doing so, American readers could fashion cultural ties between themselves and the evolving communities of thought that emerged out of the eighteenth-century.

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[225] *Hugh Gaine's catalogue of books, lately imported from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to be sold at his book-store and printing-office, at the Bible in Hanover-Square* (New York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1791).

[226] *Hugh Gaine's Catalogue of Books Lately Imported From England, Ireland, and Scotland.*

Conclusion

The Hanover Square of Hugh Gaine's time no longer exists. Since the nineteenth century the area has evolved into the modern-day financial district of downtown Manhattan, with only one building at the corner of the Old Slip and Hanover Square remaining. Though the printing house of the Bible and Crown is gone, its impact on the cultural development of eighteenth-century colonial New York had a lasting effect. The colonial printing house of the eighteenth century emerged as a cultural center that brought together the commercial and intellectual activities of the community into one collective space. Its activities altered the way people traditionally interacted with one another as they used print to voice ideas that turned into public opinion through the broadcasting enabled by the standardization and circulation of newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Customers were tied to the wider material culture of the transatlantic world through the interactions they had with printers. As seen through Gaine, these cultural agents balanced their self-interests in order to uphold their responsibility of serving the intellectual and material interests of their community. The production that took place in the printing house enabled a new form of communication that brought the ideas that had once been conveyed through private communication networks of the intellectual elite into the hands of the wider public.

The career of Hugh Gaine as a printer and bookseller in colonial New York exemplifies the processes and development of the transatlantic print trade. When Gaine immigrated from Ireland to the colonies in 1746 he was one among a small group of printers who moved across the physical space of the Atlantic to employ the skills and practices of a trade standardized in Britain within the colonial space. The connections and knowledge that he brought with him strengthened not only the quality of the colonial printing trade, but in turn reinforced the trade's connections to the empire. Everything from the supplies, equipment, and the materials produced and imported to the colonial printing house were largely British in nature and connected colonial customers to the growing print culture of London.

As Gaine integrated himself within New York society, he and his customers demonstrated a symbiotic relationship with one another. The printing house became a central focal point within the community as colonists relied on Gaine, his newspaper, and the books he supplied to maintain their internal ties with the metropole. Through this work, Gaine fostered and facilitated the interactions between different transatlantic communities that were fluid amongst one another rather than bound to a single identity. In providing his subscribers with weekly editions of the *New York Mercury*, Gaine connected people across space by bringing together the news from the metropole with the needs and interests of readers' immediate community into one intermediate space. His use of the open press policy resulted in an interactivity amongst members of the New York public as they engaged both with the printer, themselves, and the broader Atlantic world in their use of the *Mercury* as a mobile town square. This policy, however, fell increasingly out of favor over the course of the Revolution as the newspaper came to convey more localized and partisan news to American readers. The loss of the transatlantic nature of the paper, coupled with his damaged reputation amongst the printing community, resulted in Gaine's closure of the *Mercury*. By focusing in on his practices as a bookseller and printer, Gaine maintained the function of facilitating the exchange of material culture that continuously tied Americans to the Atlantic market. The books and pamphlets that he supplied customers with allowed them to participate in the intellectual and religious communities of the transatlantic world. Even after independence, Americans retained cultural links to Britain through the material culture

When Gaine died in 1807, the colonial printing trade that he helped to foster prior to the war rebuilt itself from the disruption caused by the Revolution. Production in newspapers began to rise rapidly, with over 100 in circulation by 1790. The trade in imported books likewise resumed in full force. By the end of the period, printers regained enough financial stability to resume the production of domestic book publications of popular titles. With the trade expanding, the senior printer partnered with Matthew Carey, a Philadelphia bookseller, to organize trade fairs that brought together the members of the American printing trade. The two also founded a trade association for American booksellers in 1802 with Gaine serving as its first president. Americans were well served by the printing industry with over 450 printers working in the country by 1796. As the trade continued to grow bookselling and newspaper production became their own separate industries as the Industrial Revolution further modernized the production of printed texts.

It would be during this next period in the history of printing in America that Americans would attempt to create a national identity through a system of print-capitalism as they constructed a uniquely American literary catalogue for the first time. The imagined communities that the print trade of Gaine's time fostered were fluid and untethered by a single, bound identity. In the words of Hugh Amory, "Print represented both authority and nonconformity, the imperial center and the colonial periphery, the voice of the clergy and that of the laity, the loyalist and the revolutionary."[227] The reading public in eighteenth-century America, both before and after the Revolution, sustained their ties to British culture in their continued importation and consumption of popular British literature. Benedict Anderson's assessment of printers and their printing houses as facilitators of imagined communities is correct, in part. What he overlooks is the material reality of the print that the community consumed.

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[227] Hugh Amory and David Hall, "Afterword," *A History of the Book in America: Volume 1: The Colonial Book in America*, edi. Hugh Amory and David Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 283-291. Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006) 484.

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