

## Boston Massacre, 1770

PAUL REVERE'S "Boston Massacre" is the most famous and most desirable of all his engravings. It is the corner-stone of any American collection. This is not because of its rarity. More than twenty-five copies of the original Revere could be located, and the late Charles E. Goodspeed handled at least a dozen. But it commemorated one of the great events of American history, it was engraved by a famous artist and patriot, and its crude coloring and design made it exceedingly decorative. The mystery of its origin and the claims for priority on the part of at least three engravers constitute problems that are somewhat perplexing and are still far from being solved.

There were three prints of the Massacre issued in Massachusetts in 1770, as far as the evidence goes — those by Pelham, Revere, and Mulliken. The sequence of the advertisements in the newspapers is important. The *Boston Evening Post* of March 26, 1770, carried the following advertisement, "To be Sold by Edes and Gill (Price One Shilling Lawful) A Print, containing a Representation of the late horrid Massacre in King-street." In the *Boston Gazette*, also of March 26, 1770, appears the same advertisement, only the price is changed to "Eight Pence Lawful Money." On March 28, 1770, Revere in his Day Book charges Edes & Gill £ 5 for "Printing 200 Impressions of Massacre."

On March 29, 1770, Henry Pelham, the Boston painter and engraver, wrote the following letter to Paul Revere:

"THURSDAY MORNG. BOSTON, MARCH 29, 1770.

SIR,

When I heard that you was cutting a plate of the late Murder, I thought it impossible as I knew you was not capable of doing it unless you coppied it from mine and as I thought I had entrusted it in the hands of a person who had more regard to the dictates of Honour and Justice than to take the undue advantage you have done of the confidence and Trust I reposed in you. But I find I was mistaken and after

being at the great Trouble and Expence of making a design paying for paper, printing &c. find myself in the most ungenerous Manner deprived not only of any proposed Advantage but even of the expence I have been at, as truly as if you had plundered me on the highway. If you are insensible of the Dishonour you have brought on yourself by this Act, the World will not be so. However, I leave you to reflect upon and consider of one of the most dishonorable Actions you could well be guilty of.

H. PELHAM.

P S. I send by the Bearer the prints I borrowed of you. My Mother desired you would send the hinges and part of the press, that you had from her." (Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, 1914, Volume 71, page 83, and also photostat of original which is in Entry Book of letters dispatched, in the British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Record, C.O. 5/39, Part I, f. 1.) Following the letter is also a bill from Daniel Rea, Jr., March, 1770, for "Printing 575 of your Prints @ 12/Pr.Hund. 3:9." (Idem, page 84).

In the *Boston Evening Post* of April 2, 1770, appeared this advertisement, "To be sold by T. & J. Fleet, and Edes & Gill, [Price Eight Pence] The Fruits of Arbitrary Power: An Original Print, representing the late horrid Massacre in Kingstreet, taken on the Spot." The same advertisement, except for a transposition of the names of the printers, was in the *Boston Gazette* of the same date.

In the American Antiquarian Society collection is an engraving of the Massacre with the following inscription at the top: "The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or the Bloody Massacre, perpetrated in King Street Boston, on March 5th 1770, in which Messrs. Saml. Gray: Saml. Maverick. James Caldwell. Crispus Attucks. Patrick Carr were killed. Six Others Wounded Two of them Mortally." Underneath is a quotation from the Ninety-fourth Psalm, with a skull and cross-bones in the lower left-hand corner and a sword broken by lightning in the right-hand corner. The size of the print is  $9\frac{3}{16}$  by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches, within the rectangular lines. The print is unsigned, and this copy, one of two known and the only perfect copy, is partially colored. There is a water-mark of a crown, with the letters "LVG," which Dard Hunter assures me is probably the water-mark of Lubertus van Gerrevink, a highly regarded paper-maker of Holland.

There is not the slightest question in my mind but that the print entitled "The

Fruits of Arbitrary Power” in the American Antiquarian Society collection is the engraving by Henry Pelham. Revere’s print, which was described in the Boston newspapers as a “Representation of the late horrid Massacre in King-street” was first advertised on March 26, 1770, and put on sale. Revere entered his charge against Edes & Gill on March 28 for printing 200 impressions of the Massacre. Pelham, on March 29, wrote his letter upbraiding Revere for surreptitiously copying his print. Then, in the Boston newspapers of April 2, 1770, a week later, he advertised his print, “The Fruits of Arbitrary Power,” and described it as “An Original Print . . . taken on the Spot.” Note the word “Original.” By the time Pelham’s prints reached the street, Revere’s print had already flooded the market. In a letter of May 1, 1770, to Charles Pelham, Henry Pelham records that he is sending to his brother at Newton “two of my prints of the late Massacre.”

That Henry Pelham could engrave prints is well known to the antiquarian, although I have not been able to locate some of those which he made in Great Britain after his departure to that country. William H. Whitmore, in his article on “Painters and Engravers in New England” in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, May, 1866, Volume 9, page 204, says that Henry Pelham “certainly painted and engraved a picture on The Finding of Moses.” The London *Notes and Queries*, Series 1, Volume 4, page 306, contains an article by A. B. Rowan, noting a mezzotint by Henry Pelham of Katharine Fitzgerald, Countess of Desmond, published by him June 4, 1806. He says that Pelham executed “a great part of a large county and baronial map,” and gives considerable information regarding Pelham’s later life in Ireland, where he died in 1806. Martha B. Amory’s *Life of John S. Copley*, 1882, pages 3-5, quotes a letter by John Singleton, written in 1859, which notes several of Henry Pelham’s engravings, including the 1777 Map of Boston, and the map of County Clare in Ireland, and calls him both an engraver and a painter. The Map of Boston, published in London in 1777 is well engraved and a highly valuable map. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society and in most of the Boston libraries, and it is reproduced in full size in the *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston*, 1876. The best sketch of Henry Pelham, by Denison R. Slade, is in the

*Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1898, Volume 5, pages 193-211.

Pelham's letter to Revere did not come to light until 1893, when Paul Leicester Ford contributed an article on the Copley-Pelham letters to the *Atlantic Monthly* for April of that year, in which he printed the Pelham-Revere letter. In May, 1893, William H. Whitmore read the letter at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society and it was printed in the Society's *Proceedings*, Series 2, Volume 8, page 227. In 1902 Paul Leicester Ford printed the letter in the March issue of the *Bibliographer*, page 117. Then in 1914 Worthington C. Ford had all of the Pelham letters copied from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office and printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in Volume 71 of its *Collections*. All of Pelham's letters were in the form of rough drafts, which has caused some sceptics to query whether Pelham's letter was written only in draft form, and never delivered. No comment upon the matter by Revere has ever been found. It was customary in the eighteenth century for engravers to copy anything which came their way, without credit or acknowledgment. Perhaps Revere did not know that Pelham intended to publish the print, or possibly he even shared with Pelham some portion of the profit. It is all a matter of surmise. Certain it is that Revere was an outstanding patriot and saw the opportunity of furthering the patriot cause by circulating so significant a print. Certain also it is that he never could have designed it. He was an engraver, not an artist, and could only copy the designs of others.

The Revere engraving is too well known to need a detailed description. The size of the print is  $7\frac{7}{8}$  inches high by  $8\frac{11}{16}$  wide for the size of the cut, or  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  wide to the edges of the text. The water-mark in the Revere print, at least in some copies which I have seen, is a capital letter "W." In other copies the water-mark is a crown, and underneath are the letters L V G, supposedly standing for Lobertus van Gerrevink of Holland, the same water-mark which was used in the Pelham "Fruits of Arbitrary Power." As can be seen in the reproductions, the differences between the Pelham and Revere engravings are many, although at first glance they seem identical. The Revere print has the moon facing to the left, has seven columns instead of eight in the cupola of the First Church

to the left of the Town House, omits a smoking chimney behind the figure of the unicorn, omits a slender steeple to the right of this chimney, has no clear design of the sun-dial on the Town House, and inserts the words "Butcher's Hall" on the second story of the "Custom House." The chief difference between the two engravings is the inscription above and below, as will be seen in the reproductions. The Pelham engraving is drawn with a much freer hand, has more depth and artistic expression, and gives a more lifelike feeling to the figures of the soldiers — all of which would be expected from an artist of Pelham's ability.

The third engraving of the Massacre, apparently contemporaneous, is that inscribed "Jona. Mulliken Newbury Port sculp." This follows the Revere print almost exactly, except that there are a sufficient number of differences, such as having only six columns in the cupola of the First Church, the use of "ye 29th Regt" instead of "the 29th Regt," and many variations in the drawings of lines and letters, to show that it was an independent print, and not a restrike. The size of the Mulliken print is  $9\frac{7}{8}$  inches high by  $8\frac{5}{8}$  wide, to the edges of the text. Jonathan Mulliken was a clock-maker of Newburyport who was born in 1746 and died in 1782. Although he is not credited with any other printed engravings, he is known to have executed some etching on the brass faces of clocks. The Newburyport *Essex Journal* of May 25, 1774, has his advertisement as a clock- and watch-maker. From the appearance of his print of the Massacre it would seem to be a fairly faithful copy of Revere's work and was probably issued contemporaneously for sale in Newburyport. There was no Newburyport newspaper in 1770 to advertise such a print, and no other paper in Salem or Boston mentioned it. There are copies of this print owned by the American Antiquarian Society, Harvard College, Henry L. Shattuck of Boston, Miss Caroline C. Hollingsworth of York, Maine, Charles F. Rowley of Boston, the Winterthur Museum, and the William B. Goodwin Estate of Hartford. Most of these copies are colored.

In connection with Revere's print, it should be noted that there was a variant, with the hands of the clock on the First Church pointed to 8 o'clock, instead of 10.20 o'clock. This was first noticed, so far as I can find, in the 1902 Catalogue Number 8 of Burnham's Antique Book Store, number 41, priced at \$700 and reproduced in the catalogue. This copy was previously owned by Francis LeBaron

Goodwin, a surgeon's mate in the Revolution. It is advertised in the Anderson Auction Catalogue, April 11, 1905, no. 685, \$700; in George D. Smith's Catalogue in 1908, no. 334, \$1200; in the Rosenbach Catalogue of March, 1913, no. 497, \$1000. Apparently these sales were of the same copy, now owned by J. Wm. Middendorf, II, of Greenwich, Connecticut. The Rosenbach copy was sold to Dr. A. H. Rich of New York, and, after his death in 1956, to Mr. Middendorf. This so-called "eight o'clock" print has the hands at 8:10. The "ten o'clock" print has the hands at 10:20. Revere could not copy the time on the clock from the indistinct Pelham print. Presumably the hands, in any case, could not be easily seen by moonlight; according to the *Short Narrative of the Massacre*, the height of the disturbance in King Street occurred just before 10 P.M.

Edes & Gill not only published Revere's print of the Boston Massacre, but they used it in issuing late in March, 1770, a large broadside, 19 inches high by  $15\frac{3}{8}$  wide, printing the account of the Massacre taken from the *Boston Gazette* of March 12 and 19, 1770, and also using the copper-plate of the engraving,  $8\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$  inches, exactly as originally issued. The broadside took five columns of printed matter, with the cut taking three columns at the top. It was headed "An Account of a late Military Massacre at Boston, or the Consequences of Quartering Troops in a populous well-regulated Town, taken from the Boston-Gazette, of March 12, 1770." (See Plate no. 16, slightly reduced.) The only known complete copy is owned by the New-York Historical Society, and is reproduced in the Society's *Annual Report* for 1930. A defaced copy, showing the print only, with part of the title at the top, is owned by Frank H. Schramm, of Burlington, Iowa.

The original copper-plate of Revere's Massacre is now in the State House in Boston, in the Archives Office. It was used by Revere when he was engaged to engrave the Massachusetts paper money issue of May 25, 1775, altered for date only in the issue of July 8, 1775. To reduce the plate to proper size he cut it off at the top, removing the title, and at the bottom, removing all of the verses. As reduced it measured  $8\frac{1}{8}$  by  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches. On the reverse he engraved the 10, 12, and 18 shilling notes. The Massacre side of the plate shows several smooches and scratches. Restrikes have been made from this defaced copper many times. The American Antiquarian Society has a dozen varieties. Two of them are old, perhaps early in

the nineteenth century, one showing all of the smooches on the copper, and another with such defects carefully removed.

An interesting side-light on Revere's connection with the Boston Massacre is his pen-and-ink plan of the scene of the massacre which was used in the trial of the British soldiers. This plan was formerly owned by Mellen Chamberlain, and was first reproduced in his chapter on "The Revolution Impending" in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, 1888, Volume 6, page 48. Chamberlain says that it was drawn by Revere, and the lettering and figures are undoubtedly in Revere's hand. It was again reproduced in E. H. Goss's *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, Volume 1, page 73. Neither Chamberlain nor Goss reproduced the original designations for the streets and house owners shown in the original, but substituted a key to describe all such locations. William Loring Andrews, in his *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, page 99, reproduces the plan, engraved by Sidney L. Smith, reduced from the original size of 12½ by 8 inches. In Esther Forbes's *Paul Revere*, 1942, following page 146, the original is photographically reproduced, with identification of the victims killed. The plan is now in the Chamberlain collection in the Boston Public Library.

It has been frequently supposed that the *Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre*, Boston, 1770, carried the view of the massacre as a frontispiece. John Doggett's edition of the *Narrative*, 1849, showed a frontispiece view, but stated that it was a facsimile of the original engraving by Paul Revere, yet it was far from an exact facsimile as all of the lettering and much of the design were omitted. Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, 1869, number 6739, in listing the *Short Narrative*, calls for a plate, although later in his work, in 1891, number 80,668, he omits mention of a plate. Frederic Kidder, in the *History of the Boston Massacre*, 1870, used the same small frontispiece plate as Doggett, except that the Kidder plate has a line below the print, "Am. Photo-Litho. Co. N. Y. (Osborne's Process)." Kidder does not mention the plate or its source. Justin Winsor, in the *Memorial History of Boston*, 1881, Volume 3, page 39, implies that the Boston, 1770, *Short Narrative* was accompanied by a folding plate of the Massacre, and in his *Narrative and Critical History*, 1888, Volume 6, page 47, says definitely: "Revere engraved a large folding picture of the massacre, which appeared in the

official *Short Narrative*." E. H. Goss, in his *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, Volume 1, page 66, says that Revere's view of the Massacre "was a large, folded plate, issued in the 'Short Narrative' by the Town, and printed by Edes & Gill." W. L. Andrews, in his *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, page 104, says that the "first copy" of Revere's engraving of the Massacre is the one which forms the frontispiece of the official *Short Narrative* of 1770, that it measures only  $6\frac{5}{8}$  by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches and has no inscription at the top, and has an inscription below reading: "The Massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770, in which Messrs. Saml. Gray, Saml. Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks Patrick Carr were Killed, six other Wounded two of them Mortally." He continues: "It is not improbable that this engraving is the handiwork of Paul Revere, but it cannot be identified as such." Andrews reproduces the engraving on page 109, and the inscription above is taken from the reproduction. But it turns out that this plate is the exact frontispiece of the Dilly edition printed at London in 1770. I have seen it inserted in at least one copy of the Boston, 1770, *Short Narrative*, the Brinley copy sold to the American Antiquarian Society in 1878, I suppose because it was of small size, unlike the large plates engraved by Revere and others. There is no evidence that a plate was issued with the Boston, 1770, edition of the *Short Narrative*, and much evidence to show that it was not.

Christian Remick, mariner and artist, has for a century or more been credited with coloring Revere's print of the Boston Massacre. It is the crude, but effective, coloring — red for the British uniforms and the blood, blue, green, brown and black — that gives charm to the print and makes it more desirable for the collector. Yet there is no documentary proof to show that Remick was the colorist, except that the copy in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has in the lower right corner the inscription, in contemporary hand, "Cold by Christn Remick," apparently written by Remick himself. There is reason to support the assumption, as only a few weeks earlier, in the *Boston Gazette* of October 16, 1769, Christian Remick had advertised that "he performs all sorts of Drawing in Water Colours, such as Sea Pieces, Perspective Views, Geographical Plans of Harbours, Sea-Coasts, &c. Also, Colours Pictures to the Life, and Draws Coats of Arms, at the most reasonable Rates." Revere used him to color his View of Boston and the Landing of the



Troops, issued in April, 1770, and a copy of this latter print, owned by the late Valentine Hollingsworth, bears the signature "Cold. by Chn. Remick," apparently in Remick's own hand.

Remick also drew and painted a "Perspective View of Boston Harbour," showing the landing of the British troops in October, 1768. There are at least six different copies of this view, generally dedicated to the purchaser or owner. They vary in size and coloring, but most of them are about five feet wide by one foot high. Five of the views are described in Henry W. Cunningham's *Christian Remick*, published by the Club of Odd Volumes in 1904. A sixth copy, recently revealed, owned by Henry L. Shattuck and formerly belonging to William G. Shillaber, was reproduced in 1950 by the Iconographic Society of Boston in a collotype facsimile of 110 copies. Christian Remick also made a water-color view of Boston Common, showing the Hancock house and other houses on Beacon Street, drawn and painted October 1, 1768. This view was reproduced by Charles E. Goodspeed in 1902 in an edition of seventy-five copies, engraved by Sidney L. Smith, from the original in the Concord Antiquarian Society. One copy is reproduced in James H. Stark's *Antique Views of Boston*, 1888, page 205; another in the William H. Whitmore Auction Sale Catalogue of November 11, 1902, much reduced and reissued in an edition of fifty-one copies for the Club of Odd Volumes. The Whitmore copy, purchased by the Club of Odd Volumes, was reproduced in facsimile in 1904, in an edition of one hundred copies, by Sidney L. Smith.

Christian Remick was a little known figure of the eighteenth century, but researches of recent years have pieced together many details of his life. He was born at Eastham, Massachusetts, in 1726, married at Harwich in 1752 Sarah Freeman, and followed the sea as a mariner and pilot. His advertisement as an artist and colorist, and the several examples of his work which have survived, reveal that interesting side of his career. During the Revolution he served on various vessels, the details of which service are given in the official record published by the State. He is mentioned in the Will of his father, Christian Remick, in 1783; but nothing is known of his later life or of the date of his death. Perhaps he was lost at sea. The best summaries of his career are in Mr. Cunningham's volume published in 1904, and Winifred L. Holman's *Remick Genealogy*, 1933, pages 91-94.

A woodcut of the Boston Massacre, size  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by  $3\frac{7}{8}$  wide to the border lines, was published in two forms in 1771-1772. Isaiah Thomas published *The Massachusetts Calendar, or an Almanac for 1772*, containing a woodcut of the Massacre, drawn closely after the Revere print, on the reverse of the first leaf, and below the cut an eight-line patriotic verse. It was unquestionably engraved by Thomas's friend, Paul Revere, as it was characteristically his work, and of the Boston engravers he was the only one who excelled in engraving on wood. In the *Massachusetts Spy* of October 3, 1771, Thomas advertised that the almanac would be published on "Monday next," which was October 7. There are copies of the almanac in the American Antiquarian Society and several other libraries, and it was sold at a Libbie Sale of April 13, 1904, number 1422, for \$44, and at the E. B. Holden Sale of April 18, 1910, number 3694, for \$1.50. W. L. Andrews, in *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, used the woodcut, somewhat enlarged, as lining-papers for the covers of his book.

The second publication of the woodcut was in a broadside entitled *A Monumental Inscription on the Fifth of March. Together with a few Lines On the Enlargement of Ebenezer Richardson, Convicted of Murder*. The size of the broadside, to the border lines, is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $9\frac{3}{4}$  wide. The woodcut occupies the upper left corner; below it is a featured summary of the events of the Massacre and the previous murder by Ebenezer Richardson, who was still in jail on March 5, 1772, and to the right is the poetical inscription on the "enlargement" (release) of Ebenezer Richardson. Richardson was released from jail on March 10, 1772, according to the *Boston Gazette* of March 16, 1772. Isaiah Thomas, in his *Massachusetts Spy* of March 5, 1772, printed the summary of the murderous events in the same type as that of the broadside, and evidently, a few days later, printed the broadside, although like most broadsides and leaflets it was not advertised. There are original copies of the broadside in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society and New York Public Library. It is reproduced in Ola E. Winslow's *American Broadside Verse*, 1930, page 97. Both the almanac woodcut and the broadside are herewith reproduced, Plates nos. 17 and 18.

There were three English reprints of the Boston, 1770, engravings of the

Boston Massacre, all of them of much historical interest. The English Whigs were only too willing to capitalize on any happening that would annoy the Conservative Tories. Edes & Gill, in the *Boston Gazette* of March 26, 1770, state that they have been hastening the printing of the *Short Narrative of The Horrid Massacre in Boston*, as follows: "The Betsey Packet, a prime sailing Schooner . . . has been hired by this Town, to carry to England, a full Representation of the tragical Affair on the Evening of the 5th of this Month; and we hear will sail the first Wind . . . our whole Time has been taken up in printing the Narrative and Depositions of the late horrid Massacre in this Town, to go by the above Express to England." On April 2, 1770, the *Gazette* stated: "The Betsey, Capt. Andrew Gardiner, hired by this Town, to carry a particular Account of the late horrid Massacre, sail'd Yesterday for London." The vessel arrived at Bristol, England, on May 1, according to the *Massachusetts Gazette. and Boston News-Letter Extraordinary* of June 21, 1770, which also stated that a faster vessel had arrived in England on April 22, and that the news of the Massacre was immediately forwarded to London. In the *London Chronicle* of May 5, 1770, is the advertisement: "This Day was published, Price 2s. Ornamented with a Frontispiece representing the Soldiers in the very Action, A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre . . . Boston, printed by Messrs. Edes and Gill, by Order of the Town of Boston; re-printed for W. Bingley, in Newgate-street, London." The news reached Boston in time for the newspapers of June 18. The *Boston Gazette* of June 18, 1770, announced that the *Short Narrative* has been reprinted by William Bingley and concluded: "With this authenticated Narrative Mr. Bingley received a copper plate print, representing the soldiers firing on the unarmed townsmen of Boston, while they were removing their murdered countrymen. The plate he has had engraved, and has prefixed it to the Narrative by way of frontispiece."

The Bingley edition of the *Short Narrative*, London, 1770, is to be found at the American Antiquarian Society, John Carter Brown Library, American Philosophical Society, Harvard, Massachusetts Historical Society, Yale, British Museum, and other libraries. It went through two editions, differing in pagination and even in set-up of title-pages. The engraved frontispiece was also sold separately, as is shown in the imprint of the engraving, where the price of it alone is

given as 6d. Also in the *North Briton*, for May 12, 1770, London, printed for W. Bingley, page 398 (copy in American Antiquarian Society), Bingley advertises his publication of the *Short Narrative*, stating that the frontispiece is sold separately, price 6d. The British Museum copy of the engraving, which was presented by Thomas Hollis, May 14, 1770, has never been folded or creased. The copy of the frontispiece in the American Antiquarian Society collection is a proof before letters, with no text whatever. The title-page of the Bingley edition is reproduced in the E. D. Church Catalogue, Volume 5, page 2145, also in C. F. Heartman's Auction Catalogue, February 22, 1927, number 30, where the copy was sold to L. C. Harper for \$325.

When Bingley had the plate engraved, he evidently had both the Pelham and Revere plates before him. As will be seen by the reproductions, Bingley copied both of the plates for his text. For the heading he copied the heading of the Pelham plate, except that he omitted the date "on March 5, 1770," omitted "by a Party of the XXIXth Regt.," and added the names of the two wounded, "Christopher Monk and John Clark." For the inscription below, he preserved Pelham's design of the skull and cross-bones and the broken sword, but split the quotation from Psalms into two sections, at the lower left and right. He used Revere's eighteen-line, three-column poem, splitting it into two columns of eight and ten lines. He inserted the imprint "Printed for and sold by W. Bingley, in Newgate-Street, Price 6d."

As for the design of the Massacre, he followed Pelham's drawing, with the moon facing right, eight columns in the steeple of the Church, and the smoking chimney to the right of the Town House tower. He omitted, as Revere did, the narrow church spire in the far right background. The only items which he took from Revere's design were the words "Butchers Hall" and "Custom House" for the building at the right. Bingley also improved and lightened the print by drawing in the panes of windows and the texture of the brick in the Town House. The detail and carefulness of his design were much superior to either Pelham's or Revere's. The measurements of the Bingley plate are  $9\frac{1}{16}$  inches high by  $8\frac{5}{8}$  wide to the border lines of the Massacre design, and  $13\frac{7}{16}$  by 9 inches to the extreme margins of the text. (See Plate no. 19.)

The second English printing of *The Short Narrative* was that published by E. and C. Dilly. The title-page follows closely the Boston edition. The imprint reads: "Printed by Order of the Town of Boston: London, Re-printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry; and J. Almon, in Piccadilly. M.DCC.LXX." In the *London Chronicle* of May 8, 1770, its publication is recorded as follows: "This Day was published, Price 2s, 6d. Printed on a fine Paper, with a Copper Plate, representing the Scene of Action near the Town Hall of Boston, A Narrative of the Horrid Massacre . . . London reprinted for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry; and J. Almon, Piccadilly." Copies are in the American Antiquarian Society and other libraries. The frontispiece plate, omitting the inscription, measures 6 inches high by  $4\frac{1}{8}$  wide. It follows the Pelham plate carefully. The engraved inscription below the plate follows Pelham's title, omitting only the words "The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or the Bloody," and beginning "The Massacre." It copies Pelham in detail, even to the slender spire in the upper right background, and not including the signs "Butchers Hall" and "Custom House." It omits the moon which is in all previous designs, places nine columns in the steeple of the Church, and inserts a third smoking chimney at the right, perhaps to give symmetry. (See Plate no. 20.)

The third English printing of the Massacre plate is in *The Freeholder's Magazine* for May, 1770, London, printed for Isaac Fell, opposite page 136, accompanied by a six-page article giving an account of the massacre. The print, which is newly engraved, follows the Dilly print carefully. There are minor differences, such as capitalization and punctuation in the inscription below, and the drawing of eight instead of nine columns in the steeple of the Church. The outstanding difference is the omission of the nonchalant dog in the foreground, the only instance in contemporaneous prints where this prominent animal is omitted. The size of the print, to the border lines, is  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  wide. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society and many other libraries. (See Plate no. 21.)

The engraving in *The Freeholder's Magazine* of 1770 was reprinted in 1775, identically the same plate, as the frontispiece of a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Commencement of the Civil War in America; Addressed to the*

*People of England, &c. by an American. Embellished with an elegant Engraving, exhibiting an exact Representation, of the inhuman and horrid Massacre, exercised without Distinction of Age, Sex, or Condition.* It was printed at London for J. Williams, 39 Fleet Street, 1775, in a pamphlet paged [2], 46. Copies are in the New York Historical Society and the Boston Athenæum. (See Plate no. 21.)

The nineteenth-century reproductions and facsimiles of Revere's Massacre print are numerous, and except for the 1832 reprint and the 1835 woodcut are not reproduced in this volume. The 1832 facsimile is an interesting print. It copied the original Revere print as faithfully as any engraver could copy it, and is colored like the Revere coloring. The engraver honestly identified his print by inserting the line "Copy Right Secured" between the poem and the list of "Sufferers," and at the bottom he engraved the line "Boston, (Fac-Simile) Republished, at 15 Water St. March 5, 1832." If the lower line were cut off, and the words "Copy Right Secured" were scratched out, the facsimile could easily pass for an original Revere. There are minute differences, however, for instance in the drawing of the capital letters in the two lower lines of the print.

The plate, although unsigned in any way, was engraved by William F. Stratton, an excellent Boston engraver of his day. His name appears in the Boston Directory at various addresses from 1827 to 1834, but only in 1831 and 1832 is he at 15 Water Street. In the Directory for 1832, page 21, he has a long advertisement describing the nature of his work. The *Book of Strattons*, 1918, Volume 2, page 110, has a sketch of his life, with date of birth in 1803 and death in 1846. The size of the plate, to the edge of the text, is  $9\frac{7}{8}$  inches high by  $8\frac{3}{4}$  wide, and to the edge of the cut,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  high by  $8\frac{11}{16}$  wide. The American Antiquarian Society has two copies, one an early impression with margins of half an inch or slightly more, and the other a later and fainter impression, probably a restrike, with margins of from two to three inches. Strangely, although printed from the identically same plate, the width of the cut in the larger copy is  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch wider, presumably due to the quality of the paper. The American Antiquarian Society has the original pew-ter plate upon which the cut was engraved.

A woodcut reproduction appeared in the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* for 1835, Volume 1, page 221, published by the Boston

Bewick Company. This was a woodcut completely redrawn, with some details omitted and several new figures inserted. Its size was  $5\frac{5}{16}$  inches high by  $5\frac{3}{16}$  wide, to the border lines. It was signed "H," the signature of Alonzo Hartwell, on the publishing staff of the magazine. When the Boston Bewick Company failed in 1836, their stock was taken over by other Boston publishers. The *Family Magazine* for June, 1838, Volume 6, page 5, published at New York by J. S. Redfield, used the same wood-block, taking the text from C. H. Snow's *History of Boston*. The *Boston Weekly Magazine* of May 11, 1839, Volume 1, page 281, published by John B. Hall, also used the same cut, copying the text from the *American Magazine* of 1835. During the next decade this woodcut was extensively printed on copy-book covers issued by the successors of the Boston Bewick Company, and sold to various booksellers in Boston and surrounding towns. It was also used on the back cover of *The Stranger's Guide, or Information about Boston and Vicinity*, an eight-page pamphlet published at Boston in 1844 by John B. Hall. Here it is erroneously called a "fac simile of a copperplate engraving issued by Paul Revere." The American Antiquarian Society has all of the items mentioned in this paragraph. Only the cut in the *American Magazine* is herewith reproduced.

In the Bostonian Society is a colored print,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, entitled *Boston Massacre*, and described as from an original painting by Alonzo Chappel, published by Johnson, Fry & Co., New York. It is an imaginative view, quite different from the eighteenth-century prints.

In *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* of February 3, 1855, Volume 8, page 72, is a view of the Boston Massacre, entitled "State Street in 1770." It is an imaginative drawing by Samuel W. Rowse, with the background of buildings following Revere, but the grouping of soldiers and inhabitants completely changed. It carries an original text, measures  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches high by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  wide, and is not herewith reproduced.

Also not reproduced is the large colored lithograph of the Massacre drawn by W. Champney and lithographed by Bufford in 1856. Below the design it bears the title "Boston Massacre, March 5th 1770," and the imprint "Published by Henry Q. Smith 284 Washington St. Boston." Below the picture is: "Drawn by W. Champney. J. H. Bufford's Lith. 313. Washington St. Boston." Below the

title is: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1856. by H. Q. Smith in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts." The background, with the design of the buildings, is the same as, or similar to, Revere's print, but the position of the soldiers and the inhabitants is entirely different. This part of the design was completely changed, apparently with the desire to make the scene more imaginative. The negro, Crispus Attucks, was the central figure of the design. Both the moon and the dog, prominent in Revere's print, are omitted, and guns are being fired from the balconies of the Custom House and the building opposite. The size of the print, to the margins of the lithograph, is  $17\frac{7}{8}$  inches high by 24 inches wide. A copy of this print was sold, and reproduced, in the American Art Association Sale of April 29, 1935, number 661. The American Antiquarian Society has the print, also a signed receipt from Henry Q. Smith, dated January 26, 1857, charging \$6 for a picture of the Boston Massacre. Henry Q. Smith was a gilder and dealer in picture frames in Boston from 1854 to 1857.

There is another issue of the same print, identical in design and lettering except that in place of Henry Q. Smith as publisher, it bears the imprint "Published by Thomas A. Arms 270 Washington St. Boston." The size of the lithograph is 18 inches high by 24 inches wide. The American Antiquarian Society copy lacks the copyright line, which is the same as that in the print published by Henry Q. Smith. A copy of the print was sold at the Parke-Bernet Sale of October 25, 1949, number 600, where it was reproduced. Arms was a picture-frame maker in Boston from 1856 to 1866.

Later reproductions of Revere's print of the Boston Massacre, in historical works, society publications, auction catalogues, school-books, magazines, and newspapers are far too numerous to list. They are nearly always reduced, and often without the text. A crude photographic reproduction in exact size, but of the cut only, without text, appeared in a Boston publication of 1888 entitled *Boston in the Revolution. Illustrated. A Souvenir*, which was issued in newspaper form in sixteen pages. The best photographic reproduction, exact size and in color, is in the E. D. Church *Catalogue of Books relating to America*, 1907, Volume 2, page 2150. Other reproductions, much reduced but the first two in color, are in John Fiske's *American Revolution*, 1897, page 72; E. M. Avery's *History of the*



*United States*, 1908, Volume 5, page 108; Milton Waldman's *Americana*, 1925, frontispiece; G. F. Dow's *Arts & Crafts in New England*, 1927, page xvi; and M. B. Davidson's *Life in America*, 1951, Volume 1, page 132. Of all reproductions the most outstanding is that completely re-engraved by Sidney L. Smith for Charles E. Goodspeed in 1908, and colored by Mr. Smith's daughter, Amy, issued in an edition of seventy-five copies. Mr. Goodspeed also engaged Sidney Smith, in 1904, to make a personal bookplate reproducing the Massacre on a minute scale.

Original prints of Revere's Boston Massacre are fairly common for a supposedly rare pre-Revolutionary engraving. A striking fact is that about half of the prints discovered are in early, or original, frames, apparently showing that Revere sold many prints in his own frames, which may well account for so many copies having been preserved. I will not attempt to list all the copies which might be found, as I have made no effort to locate the copies sold at auction, nor have I canvassed libraries and private collectors. Those copies which I have seen in institutions are as follows: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library, Bostonian Society, Connecticut Historical Society, Essex Institute, Harvard, Huntington Library, Library of Congress, Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association, Massachusetts Historical Society, Metropolitan Museum, New York Historical Society, New York Public Library, Peter-  
sham Memorial Library, Philadelphia Free Library, Williams College, Winterthur Museum, Worcester Art Museum, and Yale Gallery of Fine Arts. Collectors whose copies I have seen or located are as follows: Mrs. John Nicholas Brown, Monroe F. Dreher, Dr. J. E. Fields, Henry N. Flynt, Mrs. Schofield B. Gross, Jr., Amor Hollingsworth, Caroline C. Hollingsworth, Josiah K. Lilly, Clarence C. Little, Mrs. Laird U. Park, Edward H. R. Revere, Carleton R. Richmond, Charles F. Rowley, Lessing J. Rosenwald, Society of the Cincinnati in New Hampshire, and Mrs. Louise L. Sturgis.