

Royal American Magazine, 1774-1775

THE plates which Revere made for the *Royal American Magazine* in 1774-1775 constituted one of his most important undertakings in the field of engraving. The magazine had a wide circulation, about a thousand copies, and Revere's name was carried to places where he was hitherto unknown. It is true that the designs were copied mostly from English originals, but Revere never professed to be an artist. He was only an engraver and in that respect exceedingly proficient. The copies which he made from English originals were faithfully and attractively done, losing none of the beauty of the initial designs.

The *Royal American Magazine* was established by Isaiah Thomas with the issue of January, 1774, and continued by him through the issue of June, 1774. Perplexed by the condition of affairs in the colonies, and by the lack of funds, he ceased publication in June and was immediately followed by Joseph Greenleaf, who published the magazine from July, 1774 to its final issue in March, 1775.

The fifteen numbers contained twenty-two full-page engraved plates, thirteen signed by Revere, and three by Callender. Of the six unsigned plates, internal evidence or documentary proof show that four were by Revere and two by Callender.

In common with the practice of the times, the text was largely taken from London magazines, and the plates were nearly all based on English originals. In the first two issues there was some attempt made to give the title of the magazine from which the text was taken, but thereafter the material was generally lifted bodily from London periodicals without credit. Of course a fair share of the text was of American authorship, but American writers were increasingly difficult to obtain. There were copyright laws in England to protect the publisher, print-seller, or engraver. The so-called "Hogarth Act" of 1735 protected an engraver for fourteen years against piracy of his print, except with permission of the publisher. The Act was amended in 1767 and again in 1777. But it was neither en-

forced nor observed. English magazines frequently copied each other's prints. In the far-away colonies there was never a thought that it was illegal or improper to copy a print. Therefore Revere, like all other American engravers, felt entirely free to copy any plate that his publisher gave him to engrave. The source of his prints, however, is historically and bibliographically interesting. Fortunately most of the originals have been discovered, as will be shown in the list that follows.

The initial issue of the *Royal American Magazine* was that for January, 1774. It included two plates. The frontispiece was "A View of the Town of Boston with several Ships of War in the Harbour," size $6\frac{1}{16}$ by $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches, to the border lines. Above the plate, at the upper left, is engraved the words "Vol. I. No I." There is no signature or lettering below. In Revere's Day Book, under date of February 6, 1774, is the charge against Isaiah Thomas "To Engraving two plates for Magazine 6-0-0." This included the charge for the plate of "The Thunder Storm," also in the January issue. The View of Boston is characteristically Revere's work and is very similar to his earlier views of Boston. It follows in size, design, and general appearance his large view separately issued in 1770, except that it extends the shore line of Boston further to the left of Long Wharf, showing the South Battery and Fort Hill, as he had done in the small woodcut view of Boston in *Edes & Gill's North-American Almanack* for 1770. In the Royal American engraving the ships-of-war are numbered and the shore locations are lettered to correspond to a key, which is printed on page 40 of the magazine. For the supposition that Revere based all these views of Boston on a water-color by Christian Remick, made in 1769, see my chapter on the 1770 Landing of the Troops. The print is reproduced, in reduced form, in Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, 1881, Volume 2, page 411, and in W. L. Andrews's *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, page 43. A copy of this print was sold in the William H. Whitmore Sale at Libbie's, November 11, 1902, number 2798, for \$95. (See reproduction, Plate no. 31.)

In addition to charging Isaiah Thomas for two plates for the January magazine, Revere under the same date of February 6, 1774, also charged him "To Engraving a Leading Cutt for Magazine 0-16-0." This was the vignette which appeared on the title-page of each issue. It is discussed under the heading of "Revere's Metal Cuts."

The second engraved plate in the January issue is "The Thunder Storm," opposite page 26, size $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to the border lines. Above the border line is "Vol. I No. II," and below is "P. Revere sculp" and the title. For Revere's charge in his Day Book see the entry under the "View of the Town of Boston." The engraving of "The Thunder Storm" was a faithful copy of a plate, with the same title, in the *Town and Country Magazine*, London, September, 1773, Volume 5, page 473. (See reproductions, Plate no. 32.)

The February issue contained two plates. The first, used as a frontispiece, was entitled "Sir Wilbraham Wentworth." The size to the border lines is $6\frac{3}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Above the border line is "Vol. I. No. III.," and below is "P Revere sculp" and the title. Revere's charge in the Day Book, under date of March 5, 1774, reads "Mr Isaiah Thomas/ To Engraving a plate for Feby Magzin 3-0-0/ To Printing 1000 at 2-8 1-6-8." The article accompanying the print begins on page 53, credits the original printing to "a London Magazine," and adds "Illustrated with an elegant Engraving, not in the London Edition." The English Magazine was *The London Magazine* for May, 1768, where the article began on page 236 of Volume 37, but with no engraving either shown or mentioned. The American Antiquarian Society has an engraving identical with Revere's print, but without name of subject. It is very slightly larger than the Revere copy, being $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, to the edge of the engraved surface. Above is the number "14," and below is "Collet invt et del." and "R. Pranker sculp.," and at the bottom of the print, "London, printed for Robt. Sayer N. 53 Fleet Street, as the Act directs." What the number means above the engraving or why it does not have the name of the subject, I have not found, although I have searched at the British Museum and elsewhere. Presumably it must have been a portrait of Sir Wilbraham Wentworth, or Revere would not have so used it. Perhaps our copy is a proof before letters. There are other similar engravings by Pranker after Collet. The Revere print and the English original are reproduced (Plate no. 33), as in the case of all the engravings in the *Royal American Magazine*, where the English originals are known.

The second plate in the February issue, at page 57, is "The Night Scene," signed "J. Callender Spt." Although this chapter primarily lists Revere's engravings, it can be noted that the original of this plate is in *The Royal Female Maga-*

zine for July, 1760, Volume 2, page 17, a copy of which is in the American Antiquarian Society.

The March issue contains two plates. The first, used as a frontispiece, was entitled "The Honble. John Hancock, Esqr.," is signed "P Revere sc," and has a line at the top "No. V Engraved for Royl. American Magazine Vol. I." The measurements, including the lines of print, are $5\frac{1}{16}$ by $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The description of the engraving on the title-page refers to it as "The Bust of the Hon. John Hancock, Esq; supported by the Goddess of Liberty and an ancient Briton." The portrait is presumably Revere's own design, based on Copley's portrait of John Hancock painted in 1765. The supporting frame follows, with some variations, the emblematic vignette bust portrait of Richard, Earl Temple, in *The Scots Scourge, being a Compleat Supplement to the British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, Volume 1, third edition, [1765], plate following title-page. The same plate, apparently the same copper, appears in *The North Briton Extraordinary. No 1763. Or, a Peep into Futurity* [caption title], no date, opposite page 48. Both books are in the American Antiquarian Society, as well as a separate print in red instead of black. (See reproductions, Plate no. 34.)

The English print, as is shown in the reproduction, has the portrait of Richard, Earl Temple, in a different type of medallion, with mantling and decoration. At the left stands the figure of Liberty with liberty cap and staff, and leaning against her a lion with his paw clutching the shoulder of Lord Bute. At the right is a soldier in armor with spear and shield. Above is the angel of Fame sounding her trumpet and facing to the left. Below is a scroll with the words "Magna Charta." The print is described, with its political significance, in the *British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 1883, Volume 4, page 247, where it is dated in 1763. Revere copied the design of the English plate, but reversing right to left all of the figures. The figure clutched by the lion is labelled "G R XXIX," signifying a soldier of the "infamous" twenty-ninth regiment which had taken part in the Boston Massacre.

In his Day Book Revere, under date of April 11, 1774, has the following entry: "Mr Isaiah Thomas Dr/ To 1000 prints for March Magazine 6-0-0." His charge for engraving a print for the magazine was usually £3. Therefore

this undoubtedly meant that he charged at the same time for the similar Samuel Adams print, which did not appear until the April issue.

The John Hancock print is reproduced in E. H. Goss's *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, page 89, in W. L. Andrews's *Essay on the Portraiture of the American Revolutionary War*, 1896, page 75, and in the American Art Association Catalogue of the John C. Williams Sale, November 6, 1929, page 31.

In the Hampton L. Carson Sale of Engraved Portraits, conducted by Henkels, December 16, 1904, Catalogue Number 906, Part III, Lot #3186, there is described a bust portrait of John Hancock in an oval between laurel branches, and over the oval a liberty cap and diverging rays. The size is given as $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high by $3\frac{5}{8}$ wide. The statement is plainly made that the engraving was "engraved by Paul Revere." There is a full size reproduction used as a frontispiece to the Catalogue. According to our annotated copy of the Catalogue, this engraving was bought by a buyer under the name of "Buck" for \$85. The buyer I cannot identify.

In the *Antiquarian* for October, 1925, Volume 5, page 27, is an article by Russell W. Thorpe on the Portraits of John Hancock, in which this engraving, called unique, is reproduced in reduced size and the ownership ascribed to a private collection.

I can see no reason whatever for assigning this portrait to Revere. It is not characteristic of his work and resembles the portrait credited to Littleford and reproduced at several times in 1775 and afterwards. Revere had engraved his portrait of John Hancock for the *Royal American Magazine* in March, 1774, Volume 1, opposite page 80. He followed for his model Copley's portrait of Hancock which had been painted in 1765, although he used an English engraving for the framework around the oval portrait. This portrait was signed by him. I believe that the statement in the Carson Catalogue is erroneous.

The same portrait of Hancock was used on a broadside Declaration of Independence, in fact it is apparently from the same copper as the print in the Carson Sale. The original is in the John Carter Brown Library and is described in M. J. Walsh's *Contemporary Broadside Editions of the Declaration of Independence*, 1949, number 17. This broadside Mr. Walsh believes to have been printed in

England. The Carson print, failing an examination of the original, may well have been cut from the top of the broadside Declaration.

The second plate in the March issue, at page 101, is "The Fortune Hunter," signed "J. Callender sculp." The original of this plate is in *The Royal Female Magazine* for August, 1760, Volume 2, page 53, a copy of which is in the American Antiquarian Society.

The April issue contains two plates. The first, used as a frontispiece, was entitled "Mr. Samuel Adams," is signed "P Revere Scp." and has a line at the top "No VII Engravd. for Royal American Magazine Vol. I." The measurements, including the lines of print, are $5\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The portrait itself, in an oval frame, is apparently Revere's own design, based upon Copley's portrait of Adams, at that time owned by John Hancock, and painted in 1770 or soon afterward (see Parker and Wheeler's *John Singleton Copley*, 1938, page 18). Revere again used the Earl Temple design for his model of the framework, placing the figure of Liberty at the left, substituting for the soldier a female figure, with a shield and spear on the right, and having the Angel with the trumpet above facing the left. The figure of Liberty stands upon a large book lettered "Laws to Enslave America," the figure of the woman on the right is holding her spear upon the shoulder of the soldier of the twenty-ninth regiment, and below is the scroll of "Magna Charta." Revere's charge for the engraving is noted in the description of the Hancock print. The Adams engraving is reproduced in E. H. Goss's *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, page 88. (See reproduction, Plate no. 34.)

The second plate in the April issue, at page 152, is "The Hill Tops, A New Hunting Song," signed "J. C. sp." I cannot find the original of Callender's design in an English magazine.

The May issue contains but one plate, at page 185, "An Indian Gazette," size $6\frac{5}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Although unsigned, the style of the lettering and the method of design show it to be Callender's work. There is no entry in Revere's Day Book for the May magazine. The print was copied, both text and plate, from the *Royal Female Magazine* for May, 1760, Volume 1, page 219. The text states: "This print is engraved from an authentic copy, drawn by a French engineer, from the American original." In smaller form this plate had previously appeared in

LaHontan's *New Voyages*, in both the French and English editions, from 1703 to 1741 — for instance, in the English edition, London, 1703, page 86. But in all the editions of LaHontan the ten sets of hieroglyphics are placed in a narrow print, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and about 3 inches wide, slightly narrower at the top than at the bottom. The text of LaHontan is different from that of the *Royal American Magazine*. Between 1770 and 1774, John Dunlap of Philadelphia published the *Indian Gazette* as a broadside, with the full text below, and the plate, which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{15}{16}$ inches, above. The full size of the broadside is $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Dunlap presumably copied it from the *Royal Female Magazine*. The broadside first appeared in a Rosenbach Catalogue priced at \$80. It was bought by C. F. Heartman who put it in an auction sale of April 21, 1923, from which it was purchased by the American Antiquarian Society for \$100. The Society files it in its broadsides under 1774. Isaiah Thomas included both the text and the plate in his *History of Printing in America*, 1810, Volume 2, page 184. He says: "Annexed is an engraving of a copy of an *Indian Gazette* taken many years since, by a French officer, from the American original, and an explanation of the same. It relates to an expedition of a body of Canadian warriors, who, soon after the settlement of this part of America, took up the hatchet in favor of the French, against a hostile tribe that adhered to the English. It was communicated to me about forty years ago, and soon after I had it engraved for the *Royal American Magazine*. It had previously appeared in several works published in Europe." The size of his plate is $6\frac{5}{8}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and it is apparently from the original copper which Thomas of course could have retained. All of the items noted above are in the American Antiquarian Society. The print is reproduced, in reduced form, in W. L. Andrews's *Paul Revere and his Engraving*, 1901, page 144.

The June issue contains two plates. The first, used as a frontispiece, was entitled "The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught," is signed "P Revere Sculp," and has a line at the top "No X Engraved for Royal American Magazine. Vol. I." The measurements, to the border lines, are $3\frac{5}{8}$ by $5\frac{13}{16}$ inches. In his *Day Book*, under date of August 8, 1774, Revere has the following entry: "Mr Isaiah Thomas Dr/ To Engraving plate for June Magazine 2-0-0/ To Engraving Dito for Dito 0-16-0/ To printing 1000 impressions at 2-8

1-6-8." The plate is a faithful copy of the cut in the *London Magazine* for April 1774, Volume 43, page 185, which has the same measurements. The only change Revere inserted was to letter "TEA" on the tea-pot used in the London print. (See Plate no. 35 of both prints.) The *Hibernian Magazine*, published at Dublin, in its issue of May, 1774, Volume 4, page 251, copied the plate from the *London Magazine*, although reversing it. The British Museum *Catalogue of Satires*, 1935, Volume 5, page 165, describes in detail the English engraving, dating it May 1, 1774, and explaining all of the characters shown in the print. In Philadelphia in August, 1774, the print was re-engraved from the *London Magazine*, but reversed, in much larger form, and entitled "The Persevering Americans or the Bitter Draught Return'd." It bears the imprint "Phila Published Augt 8 1774." The size to the border lines is $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This rare print was acquired by Matt B. Jones in 1939 and went with most of his library to the Harvard College Library. The American Antiquarian Society has an original copper-plate, which on the obverse side has an engraving, copied from the *London Magazine*, of the "Able Doctor" print, but in addition has the figures numbered from 1 to 10, evidently a key to some unidentified text. On the reverse of the copper is cut the elaborate advertising card of William Putnam, whose shop was "at the Sign of the Crown and Cushion opposite the Rev. Mr Barnards Meeting-House in Salem." This was a larger plate which had been cut down, as several of the words in the Putnam advertisement are cut off at the bottom of the plate. Presumably it was a reproduction of the "Able Doctor" print made in Salem, accompanying a text not yet identified. Revere's print is reproduced in E. H. Goss's *Life of Paul Revere*, 1891, page 151; W. L. Andrews's *Paul Revere*, 1901, page 33; and the Old Print Shop *Portfolio*, July, 1946, page 236.

The second plate in the June issue is "The Hooded Serpent," appearing at page 224. The lettering underneath is "Engraved for Roysl. American Magazine," and above, "Vol. I The Hooded Serpent No XI." The measurements, to the outside edges of the printing, are $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{5}{16}$ inches. The plate is unsigned, but it is characteristically Revere's work. In addition, in his Day Book, under date of August 8, 1774, Revere charges for a second plate in the June issue, as will be seen from the copy of the charge under the account of the first plate. Why he

charged only sixteen shillings for engraving is not clear, when he generally charged £1-16-0 for a simple plate without much engraving. Thomas copied the plate and the text from the *Gentleman's Museum and Grand Imperial Magazine* for February, 1771, Volume 1, page 344, a copy of which is in the American Antiquarian Society. (See Plate no. 36.) The same print had previously been published in the *Royal Magazine* for April, 1766, Volume 14, page 176.

The only plate in the July issue, appearing at page 235, is "Spanish treatment at Carthagená." At the top of the engraving is "No XII. Engrav'd for Royal American Magazine. Vol. I," and at the lower right corner is "P Revere, sc." The measurements, to the border lines, are $3\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{5}{16}$. Revere in his Day Book, under date of September 10, 1774, has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr/ To Engraving a Plate for July Magazine 2-8-0/ To Dito for August Magazine 1-16-0." This was Greenleaf's first issue and he apologizes in a preface for bringing out the July number in September. Revere copied the plate from the *London Magazine* for December, 1771, Volume 40, page 610, but the source of the text I have not located. (See reproductions, Plate no. 37.)

The only plate in the August issue, at page 285, is "The Method of Refining Salt-Petre." At the top is "No. XIII Engrav'd for Royal American Magazine. Vol. I." The plate, although unsigned, is characteristically Revere's work, and in addition he charges Greenleaf in his Day Book for engraving the plate, at £1-16-0 (see entry in account of previous plate). The measurements are $3\frac{13}{16}$ by $6\frac{9}{16}$ inches. Revere undoubtedly copied the plate from an earlier English engraving, but so far I have not found the source. (See reproduction, Plate no. 38.)

The only plate in the September issue, at page 341, is an engraving of a Water-Spout. It carries no title, but in the text on the page opposite is the line "Exhibiting an Elegant Engraving of a Water-Spout." Above the engraving is the line: "No. XIV. Engraved for the Royal American Magazine. page 341. Vol: I." The plate is unsigned but was unquestionably engraved by Callender. The text and plate were taken from Benjamin Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, Fifth Edition, London, 1774, pages 224-241 (the same plate is in the London, 1769, edition). The plate in Franklin's book, at page 232, contains three figures — No. I, the ground plan of a whirlwind; No. II, the elevation of a

water-spout; and No. III, the figures of a "magic square," which is a later study on a different subject by Franklin and noted in his *Experiments* at page 360. Also in the water-spout article, Franklin inserted on page 237 the line-cut of a section of the water-spout, showing the vacuum. Greenleaf, in executing his plate, omitted the "magic square," Figure III, and substituted the vacuum plate. He also changed the wording in Franklin's article from "by inspection of this figure in the margin" to "by inspection of Fig. III." Sparks, in his edition of Franklin's *Works*, 1838, Volume 6, page 156, reproduced the plate, but followed the plate and text shown in the *Royal American Magazine* rather than the design engraved for Franklin's *Experiments*. Bigelow's edition of Franklin's *Works*, 1904, Volume 2, page 392, follows Sparks. Or perhaps Greenleaf, Sparks, and Bigelow all copied the plate from some early magazine publication which I have not discovered.

The only plate in the October issue, at page 365, is "The Mitred Minuet." At the top is "No XV. Engrav'd for Royal American Magazine. Vol. I," and at the lower right corner is "P Revere sc." The measurements, to the border line, are $3\frac{5}{8}$ by $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Revere in his Day Book, under date of November 7, 1774, has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr/ To Engraving a Plate for October Magazine 2-8-0." Revere copied the plate from the *London Magazine* for July, 1774, Volume 43, page 312, which has the same measurements. (See Plate no. 39.) The *Hibernian Magazine*, of Dublin, for November, 1774, Volume 4, page 680, copied the plate from the *London Magazine*, although reversing it. The British Museum *Catalogue of Satires*, 1935, Volume 5, page 166, describes in detail the meaning and characters of the English print. Revere's print is reproduced in W. L. Andrews's *Paul Revere*, 1901, page 72.

There are two plates in the November issue. The first, at page 407, is "The Gerbua or Yerboa," signed "P Revere Sc." Above the top border line is "Vol I. Engrav'd for Royal American Mag. No XVI." The measurements, to the border lines, are $5\frac{13}{16}$ by $3\frac{11}{16}$ inches. Revere in his Day Book, under date of December 5, 1774, has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esq Dr/ To Engraving a Plate for Novr Magze 1-12-0/ To Engravg Dito for Novr Magazine 3-6-8." The second charge was for the plate of "Mademoiselle Clairon" and the disparity between the charges undoubtedly represented the difference in the amount of en-

graving. The Gerbua plate was copied from "The Gerbua or Yerboa" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1768, Volume 38, page 151, following the cut, the text, and the size. The London plate, however, included the front and reverse of a Russian coin, which Revere omitted. (See Plate no. 40.)

The second plate in the November issue, at page 421, is "Mademoiselle Clairon," signed "P Revere Sc." At the top of the plate is "Engd for Royl Ameri Mag" and under the top line, "Vol. I" and No XVII." The measurements, to the edge of the engraving, omitting line of title, are $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Revere's charge of £ 3-6-8 for the engraving is shown in the entry above. The plate was copied, for cut, text, and size, from the *Court Miscellany* for October, 1765, Volume 1, page 169. (See Plate no. 41.)

There are two plates in the December issue. The first, at page 449, is "A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and Colonel Bouquet, in the Year 1764," and is signed "P Revere Sc." At the top, in two lines, is "Engd. for Royl Amer'n Mag" and "Vol. I No XIX." Revere in his Day Book, under date of January 5, 1775, has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esq D/ To Engraving plate for Decmr Magazine 2-8-0/ To Engraving Dito for Dito No 19 3-0-0." Revere entered the plates Numbers 18 and 19 in that order, but Greenleaf placed Number 19 at page 449 and Number 18 at page 465. The measurements of the Bouquet plate, including all of the frame and the lettering underneath, are $6\frac{9}{16}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The plate and text were copied from the *Court Miscellany* for November, 1766, Volume 2, page 606. This, in turn, was copied, although somewhat reduced, from an engraving, 8 by $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, by Grignion of a painting by Benjamin West, facing page 14 of the London, 1766, edition of Bouquet's *Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians*. The American Antiquarian Society has an impression from the original Revere copper-plate on a copy-book cover, which was used for early nineteenth-century manuscript entries. Evidently Greenleaf preserved the copper and used it on a copy-book, a custom which seems to have been prevalent with publishers of the period. At least one other Revere copper was so used. The Revere engraving is reproduced in W. L. Andrews's *Paul Revere*, 1901, page 75. (See reproductions, Plate no. 42.)

The second plate in the December issue, at page 465, has no title underneath,

but is described on the title-page of the issue as "The manner that Bees take their repose, &c." The text which relates to the plate covers pages 465 to 471. The measurements of the plate, to the border lines, are $6\frac{7}{8}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$, of such length as to preclude lettering underneath. At the top is "Vol. I. Engrav'd for Royal American Magazine. No XVIII." The plate is not signed but is unquestionably by Revere. Also in his Day Book, as will be seen from the previous entry, Revere charges Greenleaf £2-8-0 for engraving the plate. It was copied, both plate and text, from the *Universal Magazine* for June, 1768, Volume 42, pages 356-359. (See reproductions, Plate no. 43.)

There is one plate in the issue of January, 1775, placed as a frontispiece, opposite title-page entitled "A Certain Cabinet Junto." At the top is "Vol. II. Engraved for Royal American Magazine. No. I." and it is signed "P Revere Sc." The measurements of the plate, to the border lines only, are $3\frac{15}{16}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Apparently there is no text accompanying the plate. Revere in his Day Book, under date of February 12, 1775, has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr/ To Engraving a copper plate for/ Jany Magazine 3-0." I have not located any plate in an English magazine exactly like Revere's cut. Apparently he adapted it from a plate in the *Oxford Magazine* for May, 1773, Volume 10, page 182, entitled "A retrospective View of a Certain Cabinet Junto," size, to border lines, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This shows a scene in which King George III, seated at the right, is conversing with Lord North, seated opposite. There are three other figures in the scene. There is a paper sticking out of North's pocket reading "Treaty of Alli[ance] with France & Spa[in]." The cartoon concerns the desire of the Junto to obtain a subsidy from France while at the same time shamming war with that nation (see British Museum *Catalogue of Satires*, 1935, Volume 5, page 122). Revere faithfully copied the two seated figures and the paper in North's pocket, but omitted the other figures and the sentiments expressed in the English engraving. He finished out his scene with figures of his own composition or drawn by some American artist. The balloons in Revere's engraving express highly patriotic American sentiments, which probably would not have been published in England. (See Plate no. 44.)

In the February issue, at page 49, there is one plate, entitled "History of

Lauretta." Above in two lines is "Eng'd for Royal Americ'n Mag.," and "No II Vol. II." Below is the signature "P Revere Sc." The measurements of the plate to the edges of the frame, omitting only the lettering underneath, are $6\frac{5}{16}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In his Day Book, under date of March 9, 1775, Revere has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr/ To Engraving a plate for Feby Mag" 3-0-0." The text of the "History of Lauretta. A Moral Tale" occupies pages 49 to 54, which is the concluding installment of a story which had appeared in several preceding issues. The plate and text were copied from the *Court Miscellany* for September, 1765, Volume 1, page 152, where the cut is the same size as Revere's. (See Plate no. 45.) The American Antiquarian Society has a restrike from the original copper on a copy-book cover used by Samuel Hodges as a letter-book in 1816. Evidently Greenleaf, or his successors, preserved their coppers and used them to advantage later.

In the issue of March, 1775, the final issue, there is one plate, placed as a frontispiece, opposite the title-page, entitled "America in Distress." The measurements, to the border lines, are $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. At the top is "Vol. II. Engraved for Royal American Magazine. No III," and at the lower right is the signature "P Revere Sc." In his Day Book, under date of April 1, 1775, Revere has the following entry: "Joseph Greenleaf Esqr Dr/ To Engraving plate for March Mag. 3-0-0." The plate was copied, with a few variations, chiefly in the sentiments expressed in the balloons, from "Britannia in Distress" in the *Oxford Magazine* for February, 1770, Volume 4, page 64, size $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{16}$ inches. A comparison of the two plates, which are reproduced, will show how the sentiments were altered to suit American consumption. The English plate was rather crudely drawn, and this is one of the few occasions when Revere was able to improve upon the original. (See reproductions, Plate no. 46.)

Complete files of the *Royal American Magazine* are indeed scarce, as I have found by canvassing the holdings of over thirty libraries. There are only four sets complete for both text and plates. The file in the American Antiquarian Society is the most desirable as it is complete for text and plates, and nearly all the numbers are as issued, uncut, and with front and back covers. The covers are interesting because of the announcements and the advertisements. The three other complete

files are in the New York Public Library, Yale, and the Boston Athenæum. Sets which are nearly complete are in the Boston Public Library which lacks one plate, the Massachusetts Historical Society which lacks the final issue and two plates, and the John Carter Brown Library which lacks a few pages and two plates. All other files checked lack text and from four to twenty plates. I have a detailed list of the plates missing in the several files.

I also have a record of all sales of the *Royal American Magazine* at auction, from 1879 to date. Most of the files so offered were very incomplete. The best file to appear at auction was in the John C. Williams Sale at the American Art Association, November 6, 1929, which had all the plates and lacked only the pages of Hutchinson's *History* in Volume I and four pages in Volume 2. It brought \$1850, and was acquired by Francis P. Garvan, later given to Yale.