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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON

BOSTON NEWSPAPERS,

1704-1780

BY

ALBERT MATTHEWS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
ON
BOSTON NEWSPAPERS
1704-1780

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REPRINTED FROM
THE PUBLICATIONS
OF
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
VOL. IX

CAMBRIDGE
JOHN WILSON AND SON
University Press
1907

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

BOSTON NEWSPAPERS

1704-1780

Boston News-Letter, 1704-1776.¹

- The Boston News-Letter: 1704, April 24 — 1726, December 29.
The Weekly News-Letter: 1727, January 5 — 1730, October 29,
The Boston Weekly News-Letter: 1730, November 5 — 1757, August 25.
The Boston News-Letter: 1757, September 1 — 1762, March 18.
The Boston News-Letter. And New-England Chronicle: 1762, March 26 — December 30.
The Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle: 1763, January 6 — March 31.
The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter: 1763, April 7 — 1765, October 31.
The Massachusetts Gazette: 1765, November 7 — 1766, May 15.
The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter: 1766, May 22 — 1768, May 19.
The Boston Weekly News-Letter: 1768, May 26 — 1769, September 21.
The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter: 1769, September 28 — 1776, February 22.

Boston Gazette, 1719-1780.

- The Boston Gazette: 1719, December 21 — 1741, October 12.
The Boston Gazette, or, New England Weekly Journal: 1741, October 20.
The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Journal: 1741, October 27 — 1752, December 26.
The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Advertiser: 1753, January 3, — 1755, April 1.

¹ Titles under which the newspapers are listed in the Check-List are printed in heavy face type.

4 CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BOSTON NEWSPAPERS

Boston Gazette, 1719-1780 (*continued*).

The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal: 1755, April 7 — 1756, April 5.

The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal: 1756, April 12 — 1779, April 5.

The Boston Gazette, and the Country Journal: 1779, April 12 — 1780, December 25.

New-England Courant, 1721-1726.

The New-England Courant : 1721, August 7 — 1726, June 4.

New-England Weekly Journal, 1727-1741.

The New-England Weekly Journal : 1727, March 20 — 1741, October 13.

Weekly Rehearsal, 1731-1735.

The Weekly Rehearsal : 1731, September 27 — 1735, August 11.

Boston Post-Boy, 1734-1775.

The Boston Weekly Post-Boy : 1734, October — 1730, June 4.

The Boston Post-Boy : 1750, June 11 — 1754, December 23.

The Boston Weekly Advertiser : 1757, August 22 — 1758, December 25.
Green & Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser : 1759, January 1 — 1763, May 23.

The Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser: 1763, May 30 — 1760, September 25.

The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser : 1769, October 2 — 1775, April 17.

Boston Evening-Post, 1735-1775.

The Boston Evening-Post : 1735, August 18 — 1775, April 24.

Independent Advertiser, 1748-1749.

The Independent Advertiser : 1748, January 4 — 1749, December 5.

Boston Chronicle, 1767-1770.

The Boston Chronicle : 1767, December 21 — 1770, June 25.

Massachusetts Gazette, 1768-1769.

The Massachusetts Gazette : 1768, May 23 — 1769, September 25.

Massachusetts Spy, 1770-1775.

The Massachusetts Spy : 1770, July 17 — 1752, October 1.

The Massachusetts Spy Or, Thomas's Boston Journal: 1772, October 8 — 1775, April 6.

New-England Chronicle, 1775-1780.

The New-England Chronicle: or, the Essex Gazette: 1775, May 12 — 1776, April 4.

The New-England Chronicle: 1776, April 25 — September 13.

The Independent Chronicle: 1776, September 19 — October 31.

The Independent Chronicle. And the Universal Advertiser: 1776, November 7 — 1780, December 28.

Continental Journal, 1776-1780.

The Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser: 1776, May 30 — 1780, December 28.

Independent Ledger, 1778-1780.

The Independent Ledger, and American Advertiser: 1778, June 15 — July 13.

The Independent Ledger, and the American Advertiser: 1778, July 20 — 1780, December 25.

Evening Post, 1778-1780.

The Evening Post; and the General Advertiser: 1778, October 17 — 1780, February 26.

The Morning Chronicle; and the General Advertiser: 1780, March 9 — May 11.

ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF
BOSTON NEWSPAPERS
1704-1780

- Boston Chronicle, 1767-1770.**¹
- Boston Evening-Post, 1735-1775.**
- Boston Gazette, 1719-1780.**
- Boston Gazette: 1719, December 21 -- 1741, October 12. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston Gazette, and Country Journal: 1756, April 12 — 1779, April 5. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston Gazette, and the Country Journal: 1779, April 12 — 1780, December 25. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston Gazette, or Country Journal: 1755, April 7 — 1756, April 5. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston Gazette, or, New England Weekly Journal: 1741, October 20.
- Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Advertiser: 1753, January 3 — 1755, April 1. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Journal: 1741, October 27 — 1752, December 26. See Boston Gazette.
- Boston News-Letter, 1704-1776.**
- Boston News-Letter: 1704, April 24 — 1726, December 29; 1757, September 1 — 1762, March 18. See Boston News-Letter.
- Boston News-Letter. And New-England Chronicle: 1762, March 25 — December 30. See Boston News-Letter.

¹ Titles under which the newspapers are listed in the Check-List are printed in heavy face type.

- Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle: 1763, January 6 — March 31. See Boston News-Letter,
- Boston Post-Boy, ~~1734-1775~~.
- Boston Post-Boy: 1750, June 11 — 1754, December 23. See Boston Post-Boy.
- Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser: 1763, May 30 — 1769, September 25. See Boston Post-Boy.
- Boston Weekly Advertiser: 1757, August 22 — 1758, December 25. See Boston Post-Boy.
- Boston Weekly News-Letter: 1730, November 5 — 1757, August 25; 1768, May 26 — 1769, September 21. See Boston News-Letter.
- Boston Weekly Post-Boy: 1734, October — 1750, June 4. See Boston Post-Boy.
- Continental Journal, 1776-1780.
- Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser: 1776, May 30 — 1780, December 28. See Continental Journal.
- Evening Post, 1778-1780.
- Evening Post; and the General Advertiser: 1778, October 17 — 1780, February 26. See Evening Post.
- Green & Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser: 1759, January 1 — 1763, May 23. See Boston Post-Boy.
- Independent Advertiser, 1748-1749.
- Independent Chronicle: 1776, September 19 — October 31. See New-England Chronicle.
- Independent Chronicle, And the Universal Advertiser: 1776, November 7 — 1780, December 28. See New-England Chronicle.
- Independent Ledger, 1778-1780.
- Independent Ledger, and American Advertiser: 1778, June 15 — July 13. See Independent Ledger.

Independent Ledger, and the American Advertiser: 1778, July 20 — 1780, December 25. See Independent Ledger.

Massachusetts Gazette: 1765, November 7 — 1766, May 15. See Boston News-Letter.

Massachusetts Gazette, **1768-1769.**

Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter : 1763, April 7 — 1765, October 31 ; 1566, May 22 — 1768, May 19. See Boston News-Letter.

Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser : 1769, October 2 — 1775, April 17. See Boston Post-Boy.

Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter: 1769, September 28 — 1776, February 22. See Boston News-Letter.

Massachusetts Spy, **1770-1775.**

Massachusetts Spy: 1770, July 17 — 1772, October 1. See Massachusetts Spy.

Massachusetts Spy Or, Thomas's Boston Journal : 1772, October 8 — 1775, April 6. See Massachusetts Spy.

Morning Chronicle; and the General, Advertiser : 1780, March 9 — May 11. See Evening Post.

New-England Chronicle, **1775-1780.**

New-England Chronicle : 1776, April 25 — September 12. See **New-England Chronicle.**

New-England Chronicle : or, the Essex Gazette': 1775, May 12 — 1776, April 4. See New-England Chronicle.

New-England Courant, **1721-1726.**

New-England Weekly Journal, **1727-1741.**

Weekly News-Letter: 1727, January 5 — 1730, October 29. See Boston News-Letter.

Weekly Rehearsal, **1731-1735.**

LIST OF
BOSTON NEWSPAPERS
BY YEARS

1704-1780

1704-1718	Boston News-Letter
1719-1720	{ Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter
1721-1726	{ Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter New-England Courant
1727-1730	{ Boston Gnzette Boston Kerns-Letter New-England Weekly Journal
1731-1733	{ Boston Gnzette Boston News-Letter New-England Weekly Journal Weekly Rehearsal
1734	{ Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy New-England Weekly Journal Weekly Rehearsal
1735	{ Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy New-England Weekly Journal Weekly Rehearsal

LIST OF BOSTON NEWSPAPERS BY YEARS

1736-1741	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy New-England Weekly Journal
1742-1747	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy
1748-1749	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston Kerns-Letter Boston Post-Boy Independent Advertiser
1750-1754	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy
1755-1756	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter
1757-1766	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy
1767	{	Boston Chronicle Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy
1768-1769	{	Boston Chronicle ^w Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy Massachusetts Gazette

1770	{	Boston Chronicle Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy Massachusetts Spy
1771-1774	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Boston Post-Boy Massachusetts Spy
1775	{	Boston Evening-Post Boston Gazette Boston Kerns-Letter Boston Post-Boy Massachusetts Spy New-England Chronicle
1776	{	Boston Gazette Boston News-Letter Continental Journal New-England Chronicle
1777	{	Boston Gazette Continental Journal New-England Chronicle
1778-1780	{	Boston Gazette Continental Journal Evening Post Independent Leclger New-England Chronicle

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE PURPOSE of this Introductory Note is to explain some of the peculiarities of the Boston newspapers of the eighteenth century, to state what will be found in this volume, and to set forth some of the difficulties that have been encountered in its preparation.¹

This volume consists of three features: (1) Check-List; (2) Collation of Numbers and Dates; (3) Bibliographical Notes.

I

CHECK-LIST

Each library listed is given a symbol, and if a library contains a certain issue the symbol for that library is entered under the date of publication of that issue. If the library also has a supplement to that issue, an italic *s* is added. If the library has the supplement only, *s'* is added. If the copy is mutilated, an italic *m* is added. The symbol $\frac{s}{m}$ means that either the main issue or the supplement is mutilated, or that both are mutilated.

The frequent practice of double-dating a paper has led to some confusion. Thus the first issue of the Boston News-Letter was dated not Monday, April 24, 1704, but "From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704." The date of publication was of course not April 17, but April 24, 1704; yet some writers have asserted that the first issue appeared on April 17, 1704.² The double-

The Editor wishes to express his indebtedness to Miss Ayer and to Miss Mary H. Rollins for aid rendered in collecting the necessary data.

² Among these is Mr. William Nelson, though the error is corrected by a facsimile of the heading of the paper. In Mr. North's account, the date of the first issue of the Boston News-Letter is variously given as April 4, 17, and 24, 1704. In his *Boyhood and Youth of Franklin*, written in 1829, Edward Everett erroneously stated that the Boston News-Letter began April 17, 1704, and that

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dating of the year in the issues published between January I and March 25, previous to the adoption of New Style in 1752, has also caused some mistakes in binding.

The question of mutilation presents some difficulties. The edges of a paper may be cut or torn, even the number may be cut or torn, and yet the text remain intact. In such cases the paper is not regarded as mutilated. But when the text is undecipherable — either through being cut, torn, or worn in the foldings — the paper is regarded as mutilated. A more difficult point to determine is the following: Does a given issue contain one leaf, or two or more leaves? It sometimes happens that a library has the first leaf of a paper, but not the second leaf; and sometimes the second, but not the first leaf. In the latter case, the fact of mutilation is obvious. But where a library has the first leaf, the question whether that leaf constituted the entire paper, or whether the paper consisted of two or more leaves, is often puzzling. If every issue bore an imprint on the last page, there would be no uncertainty; but in many cases the last page bore no imprint. It follows that a paper may be mutilated, even if it is not so marked in the Check-List.

Mutilation has sometimes led to mistakes by librarians. Two instances may be given. The Boston Athenæum has a mutilated copy of the Boston Evening-Post of 5 January, 1741. Internal evidence and a comparison with a perfect copy prove that that was its correct date, though it has been marked in pencil as a copy of the issue of 29 December, 1740. The Harvard College Library has a mutilated copy of the Boston News-Letter of 25 February, 1739. The date "February 22" is distinct, but the year and the number are torn off. The year 1738 and the number 1770 have been added in pencil. Internal evidence proves that the true date was 22 February, 1739, and that hence its probable number was 1822.

The matter of supplements raises another difficult point. Many

the Boston Gazette began December 14, 1719. (Orations and Speeches, 1850, ii. 22.) In the Massachusetts Magazine for April, 1790, was printed an extract taken from an English paper in which the statement was made that the first issue of the Boston News-Letter was published on April 17, 1704 (ii. 254, 255).

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files of newspapers were formed years or even generations ago, and bound in with the newspapers themselves are copies of proclamations, declarations, poems, elegies, satirical skits, political pieces, and other documents of various kinds. Valuable and sometimes unique copies of documents have been preserved in this unexpected manner.¹ But such documents are not supplements. It may be laid down as a safe rule that every genuine supplement of a newspaper has a heading or an imprint by which its identity can be established. This heading is sometimes, but by no means always, followed by a number which generally (though not always) corresponds with the number of the main issue of the same date. In the original manuscript of this Check-List, now in the Boston Athenæum, some of the documents referred to above were mistakenly regarded as supplements. In many cases the error was discovered before printing and the *s* struck out; but it is possible that some errors of this kind still remain.

The statement that every genuine supplement had a heading or an imprint by which its identity can be established needs a slight qualification. The main issue of the Boston News-Letter of 22

¹ A few cases may be specified. In the Boston Athenæum file of the New-England Weekly Journal there is bound between the issues of 37 April and 4 May, 1730, "The Lords Protest On the Treaty of Peace, Union and Friendship, between Great-Britain, France and Spain; concluded at Seville on the 9th of November last [1729]." In the same library's file of the Boston News-Letter there are bound between the issues of 14 and 21 February, 1715, two documents which are printed in the Publications of this Society, x. 345-352. In the Essex Institute's file of the Boston Evening-Post there is bound between the issues of 9 and 16 January, 1769, a broadside dated "SALEM, THURSDAY, January 12, 1769," and headed "Important Advices!" It was doubtless printed by Samuel Hall at Salem. In the American Antiquarian Society's file of the Boston News-Letter for 1751 there is bound a broadside containing an obituary notice of Paul Dudley taken from the issue of 7 February, 1751. For descriptions of other similar documents, see 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 171-174, xv. 327-362. See also p. 500 note, below.

Occasionally a print as well as a document is found in. At the beginning of the Boston Athenæum file of the Boston Evening-Post for 1765 is a print which is doubtless a copy of the one advertised in the issue of 4 November, 1765, as "A Caricatura, being a Representation of the Tree of Liberty, and the Distresses of the Present Day. Sold by N. Hurd" (p. 3/2). A long description of this caricature will be found in the supplement to the Boston News-Letter of 7 November, 1765 (p. 1/3).

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September, 1763, contained two leaves. At the bottom of p. 4/3 of one copy¹ of this paper are printed the words: "(See the additional Paper.)" The "additional paper" had precisely the same heading and the same number as the main issue, but consisted of a single leaf only. The main issue of the Boston News-Letter of 7 November, 1765, contained two leaves. At the bottom of p. 2/3 was printed this notice: "See the additional Paper for the Articles of Intelligence." Again the "additional paper" had precisely the same heading and the same number as the main issue, but consisted of a single leaf only. Possibly other "additional papers" were issued, but these are the only two which have come under the notice of the Editor. They are of course to be regarded as supplements, and are so treated in the Check-List.²

Finally, in connection with supplements, owners of papers should be cautioned against labelling a given file as "complete." It cannot with certainty be stated that any file is complete. A single example will suffice. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has fifty-two issues of the Boston Gazette for the year 1772. Its file for that year, therefore, appears to be complete. But such is actually far from being the case; for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has not a single supplement for that year, while it is certain that no fewer than twenty supplements were issued, and how many more may never be known.³

A matter which has proved troublesome is irregularities in publication. A paper, instead of being issued on its regular day of

¹ Boston Athenæum copy. The Sew-Englancl Historic Genealogical Society's copy of the same issue lacks this notice.

² The most singular supplement that has come under the notice of the Editor is one listed in this volume as belonging to the Boston Gazette of 26 December, 1726. It is without date, without number, without imprint, and without title. But the heading "POSTSCRIPT" stamps it as being the supplement to some newspaper, and the Boston Gazette and the Boston News-Letter were the only two published in Boston at that time. It is a broadside, printed in two columns, and consists wholly of extracts taken "[From the Weekly *Jamaica Courant*, Nov. 9.]"

³ A file of the Gosron Chronicle in the Massachusetts State Library bears this endorsement: "This volume has been collated, and is complete from Dec. 26, 1769 to June 7, 1770." The file, however, lacks the title-page to Volume iii.

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publication, was often issued a day or two before,] or, more generally, a day or two after. A paper was occasionally published two days in succession.² These irregularities were particularly common with the Boston News-Letter. The actual date of publication is of course given in the Check-List, but the fact of irregularity is not stated in a footnote.³ It follows that all dates in the Check-List for papers of which there are no known copies are purely conjectural; for until a copy is discovered, it cannot be known with certainty whether such papers were issued on the regular day of publication or on some other day.⁴ It occasionally happened, also,

¹ This was unusual. In 1776 the New-England Chronicle was issued on Wednesday, March 6, instead of on Thursday, March 7. A supplement to the Boston News-Letter was issued on Wednesday, June 4, 1766. At the bottom of p. 2 was printed this notice: "The Gazette will be published To-morrow, as usual." Across the top of the first page of the Boston News-Letter of 22 February, 1755, was printed this notice:

WEDNESDAY, February 22. 1758.

HAVING received two London Papers, one of the 20th of December the other of the 10th of January, bro't by a Vessel arriv'd at Marblehead in a short Passage from Lisbon, and which contain many important Articles, at the pressing Desire of some Gentlemen,
THIS PAPER is Published the *Day before* the usual *Time*.

N. B. A Postscript will be published To-morrow, with some *other foreign as well as domestic Paragraphs, &c.*

² Several instances were given in the last note. Two others may be specified. The Boston Gazette was published on 24 and also on 25 July, 1727, and on 19 as well as on 20 October, 1741.

³ Attention may be called to a few examples. The New-England Courant was issued on Wednesday, 16 December, 1724, instead of on Monday, 14 December. The New-England Weekly Journal was issued on Tuesday, 14 April, and 11 August, 1730, though its regular day of publication at that time was Monday. The following issues of the Boston News-Letter appeared on Friday, instead of on Thursday: 18 October, 1723; 21 February, 1729; 29 January, 1748; 22 April, 1 July, 1757. The Massachusetts Spy was issued on Friday, 7 December, 1770, instead of the day before. The New-England Chronicle appeared on Friday, instead of on Thursday, on 24 November, 1775, and on 8 December, 1780. There were many similar instances.

⁴ An extraordinary irregularity that defies classification is the following. The supplement to the Boston News-Letter of 31 October, 1765, is dated "THURSDAY, October 31. 1765." Near the top of the second column on the first page are four paragraphs of news headed "BOSTON, Oct. 31." Immediately following these is the heading "Boston, November First;" and a little later is a paragraph,

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that no paper was published at all during a certain week. Thus, no issue of the New-England Courant was published between 7 and 21 May, 1726, though in the issue of 21 May no reason was given for the omission. Again, owing to the death of one publisher and the illness of the other, no issue of the New-England Chronicle was published between 8 and 22 February, 1776. It is probable that no issues of the Independent Advertiser were published between 2 October and 5 December, 1749. The outbreak of the Revolutionary War and the Evacuation of Boston each caused the omission of various issues. Such omissions, where known, are recorded in footnotes in the Check-List.

Another matter which has caused much trouble is misprints. These were of various kinds. First, the year may be misprinted. Thus, some copies of the Boston Post-Boy of 1 January, 1759, were misdated 1 January, 1758; some copies of the supplement to the Boston Gazette of 26 January, 1756, were misdated 26 January, 1755.¹ Secondly, the month may be misprinted. Thus, some copies of the Massachusetts Spy of 3 December, 1770, were misdated 3 September, 1775; some copies of the Boston Evening-Post of 6 June, 1757, were misdated 6 April, 1757. Thirdly — and this is by far the most common error of the sort — the day of the month may be misprinted. Thus, some copies of the New-England Weekly Journal of 2 September, 1728, were misdated 4 September, 1728; the Boston News-Letter of 9 October, 1740, was misdated 7 October,

beginning "This Morning two Effigies were discovered hanging on LIBERTY TREE," etc. In short, this supplement, dated October 31, was printed partly on that day and partly on the next day, and was published on November 1, the day the Stamp Act went into effect. Again, the Boston News-Letter of 25 February, 1768, consisted of two leaves, as did also the supplement of the same date. But the supplement, though dated Thursday, February 25, was not published until the next day, the reason for the delay being given in the following notice printed at the bottom of p. 2/2 :

** * * The Publication of this GAZETTE Extraordinary, after the usual Time, is not to intercept any Articles of Intelligence from the Publishers of other Papers; — but tips Notifications of Insolvent Debtors coming too late to set the Press for 1200 Sheets in one Day, the Publisher thereof tho' it best to Be at the Trouble and Expence of sending one out a Day after the other.*

¹ A curious misprint occurs in the imprint of the Boston News-Letter of 14 April, 1712, where the year is misprinted 1172.

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1740; the Massachusetts Historical Society has two copies of the supplement to the Boston Gazette of 3 June, 1756, one dated 3 June, the other misdated 4 June, 1756. Again, some copies of the Boston Gazette of 16 June, 1777, were misdated 9 June, 1777. This last error is particularly confusing, because the Boston Gazette was regularly issued on 9 as well as on 16 June, 1777. Fourthly, both the month and the day of the month may be misprinted. Thus, some copies of the Boston Gazette of 1 June, 1724, were misdated 31 May, 1724; the Boston Gazette of 31 July, 1753, was misdated 1 August, 1753; the supplement to the Massachusetts Spy of 1 July, 1773, was misdated 31 June, 1773. Fifthly, both the day of the week and the day of the month may be misprinted. Thus, some copies of the New-England Chronicle published on Friday, 21 November, 1777, were misdated Thursday, 20 November, 1777.¹ Even such impossible dates as February 29 in an odd-numbered year² and June 31 are found.³ In short, there was perhaps no possible miscombination of dates which the printers did not perpetrate. Further instances of such misprints need not be detailed here, for every misprint which has been observed is duly recorded in a footnote in the Check-List.⁴ In some cases, the fact that a paper had been wrongly dated was apparently not discovered by the publishers. In at least one case, the misprint was discovered, but too late for correction, though attention was called to it.⁵ But in many cases the error was discovered, and a second edition of the paper was issued.

A second edition of a paper was sometimes issued even when it

¹ That the issue was actually published on Friday, 21 November, 1777, is proved by internal evidence.

² New-England Weekly Journal, 28 February, 1737.

³ New-England Weekly Journal, 30 June, 1729.

⁴ When the wording in a footnote is "By mistake dated . . .," it means that every known issue is misdated. When the wording is "Some copies are by mistake dated . . .," it means that two editions were printed, one correctly dated, the other misdated. Every case of alleged irregularity has been inquired into.

⁵ The Boston News-Letter of 13 January, 1763, was misdated 11 January, 1763. At the bottom of p. 2 of that issue was printed this notice: "The Date in the Title of the News-Letter should be January 13th, instead of the 11th. The Error was not discovered till too late."

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was not made necessary by a misprint. Two editions, each very different from the other, of the Boston Chronicle of 21 and of 28 December, 1767, were issued.¹ The Lenox Library has two editions, with variations, of the Boston Chronicle of 7 March, 1768. The Boston Athenæum has two editions, with variations, of the Massachusetts Gazette of 7 April, 1760. Only a minute examination of different copies of the same issue will show whether all copies are of the same edition, and before disposing of what is thought to be a duplicate copy such an examination should be made.

II

COLLATION OF NUMBERS AND DATES

The numbering of papers was erratic in the extreme. Not only do we find such amazing sequences as 1968, 1459, 1960 (p. 96); as 2059, 2951 (p. 97); as 2966, 2077 (p. 98); as 1314, 3115 (p. 102); as 3361, 3361, 3361 (p. 104); as 433, 344 (p. 173); as 530, 530, 530 (p. 173); as 1025, 942 (p. 176); as 1104, 1015 (p. 176); as 1029, 1003 (p. 176); as 1344, 3442 (p. 178); as 1640, 6410 (p. 179); as 218, 183 (p. 181);² but other irregularities occur. The Boston Athenæum has two copies of the Boston News-Letter of 10 March, 1768, one numbered 3361, the other numbered 3362. The Lenox Library has two copies of the Boston Chronicle of 19 January, 1769, one numbered 58, the other numbered 59. The Boston News-Letter of 5 August, 1762, was numbered 3032; the supplement of the same date was numbered 2032. The Boston News-Letter of 27 October, 1763, was numbered 1314; the supplement of the same date was numbered 3124. Further instances need not be given here, as all that have been observed are recorded in footnotes in the Collation of Numbers and Dates.³

¹ See p. 481, below.

² The most remarkable error in numbering was the following. The Boston Gazette of 28 April, 1740, was numbered 1057. The issue of 9 June, 1740, was numbered 1062. The only known issue between those two dates is that of 26 May, numbered 10510. See p. 176, above.

³ Occasionally an error in numbering was discovered. The issues of the New-England Courant of 11 and 18 March, 1723, were each numbered 84. In

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Some former owners of papers have defaced the printed number by running a pen through it and have substituted what they regarded as the "correct" number. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that such alterations are improper, and that the only "correct" number is the number printed on the paper.¹ A printed number should never be defaced,² for it may be an important means of identifying a paper. The Collation of Numbers and Dates has proved of great value in the preparation of this volume. Two instances will suffice. The Library of Congress was reported to own a copy of the Boston Evening-Post dated 2 May, 1753. It was ascertained that it was numbered 925. As this was also the number of the issue of 21 May, 1753, it was inferred that the copy in the Library of Congress was mutilated and was in reality the issue of 21 May, 1753. Upon inquiry, this proved to be the case. Bound in the American Antiquarian Society's file of the Boston Gazette for the year 1773 is the issue of 5 January, 1778. Owing to bad paper and poor print, the year is undecipherable; but the number of the paper proves that it is the issue of 5 January, 1778. Thus, erratic as the numbering was, a number is at times of value."

Some writers cite a paper by its number only. For two reasons this practice should be avoided. First, owing to the frequent

the issue of 25 March was printed this notice (p. 2/2): "[*The Number of our last Paper should have been 85, and not 84, as was printed by mistake.*]"

¹ See in particular what is said about the numbering of the early issues of the Weekly Rehearsal, p. 463, below.

² In the Massachusetts Historical Society's copy of the Boston News-Letter of 18 October, 1731, the dates of both month and year are perfectly distinct. In the American Antiquarian Society's copy of the same issue, the figures have been defaced by having a pen run through them. The copy may have been misdated, but the defacement of the figures makes it impossible to say with certainty.

³ Important historical conclusions have sometimes been drawn from evidence furnished by dates and numbers. In the American Historical Review for April, 1906, Mr. Alexander S. Selley, Jr., sought to prove that a certain facsimile of an alleged newspaper was spurious, and stated that "the wrong date and wrong number are not the only evidences of spuriousness on the face of the facsimile of this paper" (xi. 548-553). An examination of the Check-List and of the Collation of Numbers and Dates in this volume will show that evidence based on wrong dates and wrong numbers must be received with extreme caution.

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errors made in numbering. Secondly, owing to the fact that deliberate changes were sometimes made. Thus, the Boston Gazette changed its numbering on 3 January, 1763, and again on 7 April, 1755, each time beginning afresh with number 1. If, therefore, a writer cites the Boston Gazette, numbered 12, he may refer to the issue of 7 March, 1720, or to the issue of 20 March, 1753, or to the issue of 23 June, 1755. Hence the Collation of Numbers and Dates, even if it serves no other useful purpose, will at least show the inexactness of citing a paper by its number only.

In this Collation, the numbers of certain issues of which copies are known are not given. The explanation is that in such cases the number has been cut off, or torn, or mutilated, so as to be undecipherable. Hence, if given, the number would be purely conjectural; and such conjectures are not admitted.

III

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Of the many accounts which have been written of the Boston newspapers of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to mention only a few. The earliest was "A Narrative of the Newspapers printed in New-England," by A. Z.¹, printed in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections* for 1798 and 1799, V. 208-216, VI. 64-77. This is filled with errors and is without value. The next account was written by Isaiah Thomas and published at Worcester in 1810 in his *History of Printing in America*.² This was a very creditable piece of work for its day, and has been the basis of all subsequent accounts until the present. Moreover, Thomas, who, born in 1749, was himself a printer as early as 1755, had an unrivalled knowledge of the printers and printing of his times; and in spite of inevitable incompleteness and of many inaccuracies, his statements about publishers and printers must always be received with respect and rejected with caution. As his account did not purport to come beyond the beginning of the Revolutionary War, two or three papers

¹ *The Rev. John Eliot.*

² *Thomas's* work was reprinted at Albany in 1874 by the American Antiquarian Society. All extracts quoted in this volume are from the 1810 edition.

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listed in this volume are not mentioned by him. The next account appeared in the first volume of Joseph T. Buckingham's *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* — sometimes, from the title on the back of the cover, called *Reminiscences* — published at Boston in 1850. The next was that of Frederic Hudson, in his *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1873*, published at New York in 1873. This was followed by Delano A. Goddard's "The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period," by the same writer's "The Pulpit, Press, and Literature of the Revolution," and by Charles A. Cummins's "The Press and Literature of the last Hundred Years," — all printed in the *Memorial History of Boston*, published at Boston in 1381, II. 387-436, III. 119-148, 617-682. The next account was S. N. D. North's "The Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States," published at Washington in 1881 in the Tenth Census of the United States. Finally, William Nelson's "History of American Newspapers: Massachusetts" was published at Paterson in 1895 in the *New Jersey Archives*, XII. cxxvii-cclxviii.

In all the accounts subsequent to that of Thomas, the bibliographical details are based on Thomas's, and in some instances are less complete and more inaccurate than those given by Thomas. But both Thomas and his successors give much information in regard to publishers, printers, writers, and politics, and many entertaining passages from the papers themselves. Hence, as the bibliographical details in previous accounts were unsatisfactory, and as other aspects of Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1780 had been already exhibited with much fulness, in projecting the present volume it was decided to confine these Bibliographical Notes strictly to bibliographical details.¹ These details have been drawn wholly from the newspapers themselves, except where, as

¹ For reasons stated in their proper place, a single exception to this plan has been made in the case of the early years of the *Boston Post-Boy*. See pp. 465-470, below. The only biographical details given in this volume are death dates; and these are given not because they are biographical, but because they are also bibliographical. In two instances — those of Thomas Lewis and of Henry Marshall of the *Boston Gazette* — death dates make it possible to state exactly when a change in publisher took place. See p. 447 note 2, below. It has also been thought proper to indicate in the Index the often complicated relationships between publishers and printers of the same name.

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occasionally happens, the newspapers fail to yield the desired information. In such cases, the fact is noted, and the probable facts are drawn from other sources.

Innumerable discrepancies occur between the facts as given in this volume and the alleged facts as stated in previous accounts; but, except occasionally, it has not been thought necessary to point out the differences.

Before starting a newspaper, it was apparently customary to issue a prospectus. So far as is known, only one of the prospectuses issued by the Boston publishers has been preserved.¹ The first issue of a paper generally, if not always, contained a notice stating what the aims and policy of the paper would be. Such notices are not copied in these Bibliographical Notes. The size of the paper and the number of leaves were so constantly varying that no attempt is made in these Bibliographical Notes to record the changes. It may be stated, however, that a paper usually consisted of one leaf, printed on both sides, or of two leaves, generally printed on all four pages but occasionally printed on three pages only; and that supplements usually consisted of one leaf — sometimes a broadside, sometimes printed on both pages — or of two leaves.

In each Bibliographical Note the details are arranged under the following four heads: (1) Titles; (2) Days of Publication; (3) Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication; (4) Devices.

I

TITLES

Titles were frequently changing, sometimes beyond recognition? In regard to the brief but descriptive title under which each paper is listed in this volume, there may well be in some cases a differ-

¹ The Boston Chronicle. See p. 488 note, below. There is also extant at least one copy of the prospectus of the *Essex Gazette*, issued 5 July, 1768. See p. 498, below.

² An instance of hopeless confusion in titles is found in the statement that "in a few years the Advertiser took the name, by combination or substitution, of the News-Letter, Post-Boy, and *Massachusetts Gazette*, with which it was in alliance more or less intimate" (Memorial History of Boston, ii. 406).

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ence of opinion as to exactly what the title should be. In spite of the fact that the Boston News-Letter changed its title no fewer than ten times, and that for a brief period its identity was obscured under the title of "The Massachusetts Gazette," it is certain that throughout its career from 1704 to 1776 it had a continuous existence; and, in this case, the propriety of the brief title "Boston News-Letter" will hardly be questioned. On the other hand, the New-England Chronicle retained that title for sixteen months only, while for many years it was entitled "The Independent Chronicle," and is doubtless best known under the latter title. It was necessary, however, if only for mechanical reasons, to choose some brief title for each paper for the Check-List and the Collation of Numbers and Dates. Confusing as the titles often were — especially between 1769 and 1775, when two papers each bore the words "Massachusetts Gazette" in its title — it is believed that by the aid of the Chronological List on pp. 3–5, of the Alphabetical List on pp. 6–8, of the List by Years on pp. 9–11, and of the Index, it will always be easy to find what is wanted.

Every change of title involving a word is recorded;¹ but where a change consisted merely in the omission of a hyphen² or of a comma,³ or the substitution of a semicolon for a comma,⁴ the change is not recorded.

The exact titles are so important that it seems extraordinary that they should never before have been given. The present list will enable librarians to have their files properly labelled?

¹ Thus, on 20 July, 1778, the exact title of the Independent Ledger was changed from "The Independent Ledger, and American Advertiser" to "The Independent Ledger, and the American Advertiser."

² On and after 26 August, 1735, the hyphen was omitted in the title of the New-England Weekly Journal.

³ On and after 1 January, 1745, the comma was omitted after "or" in the title of the Boston Gazette.

⁴ On 26 April, 1773, a semicolon was substituted for a comma after the word "Gazette" in the title of the Boston Post-Boy. See also p. 439 note 2, below.

⁵ In one library the Boston Post-Boy for 1761 is labelled "Massachusetts Gazette." Such a title was unknown in Boston until 1763, and not until 1769 was it adopted by the Boston Post-Boy. In one library a file of the Boston Post-Boy for 1770 is labelled "Massachusetts Gazette," without a subtitle; and in

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II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

As titles were constantly changing, so too were the days of publication. Thus, the Boston Gazette was first published on Monday, then on Tuesday, then on Wednesday, then on Tuesday, and finally on Monday again. The days of publication are now given with completeness and accuracy for the first time.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

Under this head are given — except where information cannot be procured — the names of publishers and printers, and the exact date of every change in publisher or printer. No sharp distinctions can be drawn between publisher and printer, and none are attempted here. By “places of publication” is meant the location of printing-offices. Imprints frequently gave the names of the booksellers who sold the papers,¹ the names of those who “took in” advertisements,² the price at which papers were sold, and other information. Such information has not been considered of sufficient value to be collected for this volume.

The practice of publishers and printers in regard to imprints was varied.³ In some cases the name of the publisher was printed

one library a file of the Boston News-Letter for 1769 is labelled “Massachusetts Gazette,” without a subtitle.

¹ Thus, the issues of the Boston News-Letter dated 24 April–15 May, 1704, were sold by Nicholas Boone.

² Thus, the imprint of the Weekly Rehearsal of 27 December, 1731, stated that “Advertisements are taken in by T. Hancock, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Ann-Street;” while the imprint of the issue of 2 April, 1783, stated that “Advertisements are taken in” by Thomas Fleet, the printer, and “are also taken in by Mr. N. Belknap, Bookseller, near Clark’s Wharf at the North End.”

³ Curiosities in imprints occur. The main issue of the Boston News-Letter of 9 June, 1774, was published by Margaret Draper and John Boyle, but the

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under the title on the first page, in others across the bottom of any page, in still others at the bottom of any column on any page. The imprint appeared sometimes across the bottom of any page, and sometimes at the bottom of any column on the second or the third or the last page; but most frequently either across the bottom of the last page, or at the bottom of the second or third column on the last page. In many cases, however, there was never an imprint on the last page; and even where an imprint was commonly employed, it was frequently omitted, and its presence or absence was apparently without rhyme or reason.

An imprint is often an important means of identifying a paper. A single instance may be given. In the Massachusetts Historical Society's file of the Boston News-Letter, between the issues of 2 and 9 February, 1775, is bound a copy of the "Supplement to the Massachusetts Gazette, &c. for February 6, 1775." At that time the exact title of the Boston News-Letter was "The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter;" and the exact title of the Boston Post-Boy was "The Massachusetts Gazette; and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser." Did this supplement belong to the Boston News-Letter or to the Boston Post-Boy? The date is not decisive, for February 6 may be a misprint for February 2 or February 9. The imprint, which bears the names of Mills and Hicks, proves that it belonged not to the Boston News-Letter, but to the Boston Post-Boy.¹

supplement of the same date bears the name of John Boyle only. The supplement to the Boston Post-Boy of 18 December, 1768, bears the imprint, "Printed and sold by Green and Russell, at their Printing House in Queen Street. Sold also by J. Draper, at his Printing Office in Newbury Street." Draper was the publisher of the Boston News-Letter. This is the only instance known to the Editor where an imprint bears the name of a rival publisher.

¹ Imprints have been the means of detecting other errors in binding. Thus, the Boston Public Library file of the Boston News-Letter for 1768 contains a copy of the issue of the Massachusetts Gazette of 17 October, 1768, which ought to be bound in the file of the Boston Post-Boy, as it was published not by Draper but by Green and Russell. Again, the Boston Athenæum file of the Massachusetts Gazette contains a second leaf which belongs not to the issue of the Massachusetts Gazette of 8 August, 1768 (which contained a single leaf only), but to the issue of the Boston Post-Boy of 1 August, 1768, and should be bound in the file of the Boston Post-Boy, where will be found the first leaf of the issue of 1 August, 1768.

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IV

DEVICES

Devices, while without any great importance, are yet of some interest, especially during the period from 1765 to 1780. They are given with completeness and with accuracy for the first time in this volume.¹

In addition to devices, mottoes were also sometimes employed. While these have a certain interest, they have not been considered of sufficient value to be collected for this volume. But a few examples may be given. At the time the Stamp Act went into effect, the New-York Gazette used (7 November, 1765-8 May, 1766) a motto which was adopted both by the Boston Post-Boy and by the Boston Evening-Post. This motto, which was printed at the top of the first page, under the title, first appeared in the Boston Post-Boy in the issue of 18 November, 1765, and was as follows:

The united Voice of all His Majesty's free and *loyal* Subjects in
A M E R I C A, — — — LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and NO
S T A M P S .

This motto appeared in the issues of the Boston Post-Boy of 18 November, 1765-14 April, 1766; and, in a slightly different typographical form, in the issues of the Boston Evening-Post of 18 November-2 December, 1765.

In its issues of 7 March, 1771-30 June, 1774, the Massachusetts Spy printed underneath its title this line :

A Weekly Political, and Commercial PAPER : — — Open to ALL Parties,
but *Influenced* by None.

In its issues of 22 November, 1771-6 April, 1775, the Massachusetts Spy also printed the following lines from Addison's Cato:

¹ A device was occasionally omitted. Thus, the Independent Ledger of 17 April, 1780, was of smaller size than usual and was without a device. Occasionally, too, a device suddenly changed. Thus, the supplement to the Boston Evening-Post of 7 May, 1764, bore for a device a crown and under it a heart, all enclosed within a border. The design of this device was very different from the design of the device usually employed in the Boston Evening-Post.

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DO THOU Great LIBERTY INSPIRE OUR Souls, — — And make *our* Lives in THY Possession happy, — — Or, *our* Deaths *glorious* in THY JUST Defence!

On 2 January, 1777, the Continental Journal adopted the following motto:

☞ THE ENTIRE PROSPERITY OF EVERY STATE
DEPENDS UPON THE DISCIPLINE OF ITS
ARMIES. — *The KING of PRUSSIA.*

Attention may be called to a few matters of a miscellaneous character.

A practice which some librarians have of binding in the same volume issues of different papers is apt to lead to errors which it is surprisingly difficult to detect. Miss Ayer's original list contained several errors due to this cause, though it is hoped that they have been corrected in this volume. It would certainly be better to bind together only issues of the same paper."

An error still more difficult to detect is caused by binding an issue in the proper volume, but under the wrong date. Miss Ayer's original list indicated that the American Antiquarian Society owned supplements to the Boston Gazette dated 18 April, 9 and 16 May, 1766. Upon inquiry it was found that all these supplements were dated 1768 and had been bound in the wrong place.

The question is often asked: What library has the largest collection of newspapers? A glance through the Check-List in this volume will furnish an answer.

A more important question is the following: How many papers

¹ In the Lenox Library, each leaf of every issue is hinged on guards of thin strong paper, and the issues are interleaved with blank leaves of stiff paper of somewhat larger size of leaf. When issues are missing the two leaves of thin strong paper used for guards are inserted full size, and when an issue is supplied these blank leaves are cut down to the inner margins and the issue is hinged to them. No more than one year is bound in a volume. At the beginning of each volume is inserted a typewritten list giving the number and date of each issue for the year included in the volume, those issues actually in the volume being indicated by a mark. This method is at once the best for the preservation of the papers, for their ready examination, and for the convenience of the inquirer; and its general adoption by librarians is to be desired.

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were published between 1704 and 1780, and how many of those published are now in existence? The absurd statement is sometimes made that the New York Historical Society owns the only complete file of the Boston News-Letter. As a matter of fact, if all known issues of the Boston News-Letter were placed in one library, the file would still be far from complete. Most of the papers listed in this volume are to be found in the American Antiquarian Society, or in the Boston Athenæum, or in the Boston Public Library, or in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. But for certain issues of the Boston News-Letter between 1705 and 1708, for certain issues of the Boston Gazette between 1724 and 1736, and for certain issues of the Boston Gazette between 1737 and 1739, the inquirer must seek the New York Historical Society, or the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, or the Lenox Library. The following table shows the approximate number of papers published and the approximate number of copies known and unknown. When a supplement was issued on the same day as the main paper, it is not counted; but when a supplement was issued on a different day from the main paper, it is counted as a separate paper.

Title	Number of issues	Copies known	Copies unknown
Boston News-Letter	3766	3356	410
Boston Gazette	3182	2631	551
Kern-England Courant	252	226	26
New-England Weekly Journal	762	736	27
Weekly Rehearsal	203	199	4
Boston Post-Boy	1970	1608	362
Boston Evening-Post	2070	2069	1
Independent Advertiser ¹	93	93	0
Boston Chronicle	213	213	0
Massachusetts Gazette	141	141	0
Massachusetts Spy	280	280	0
New-England Chronicle	293	293	0
Continental Journal	240	240	0
Independent Ledger	133	133	0
Evening Post	82	82	0
Total	<u>13680</u>	<u>12299</u>	<u>1381</u>

¹ See p. 477, below.

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IN THE autumn of 1689 there appeared a sheet with the heading "The Present State of the New-English Affairs. This is Published to prevent False Reports," and bearing the imprint "Boston, Printed and Sold by Samuel Green, 1689." Whether this sheet¹ was a broadside merely, or whether it was a broadside and also a newspaper, has long been a subject of controversy, and was discussed at length before this Society at its meeting in March, 1906.² However that point may be determined, it is certain that a genuine newspaper appeared in Boston on 25 September, 1690. This was entitled "Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick," and was printed by Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House. After its first issue,³ this paper was suppressed by the authorities; and, so far as is known, no attempt to publish a newspaper was again made until 1704. In that year John Campbell, then Postmaster of Boston and a former writer of

¹ The only known copy of the original is in the Massachusetts Archives, *xssv*. 83. It has been reprinted in the Massachusetts Magazine for October, 1769, i. 642-646; in the Collections of the Sew Hampshire Historical Society (1824, 1866), i. 252-255, viii. 258-260; in the Andros Tracts (1869), ii. 15-18; in facsimile by Mr. William G. Shillaber for the Club of Odd Volumes (1902); and in facsimile by Dr. Samuel A. Green in his Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Various Subjects (1803).

² Publications, x. 310-320.

³ The only known copy of the original is in the Public Record Office, London. It has been reprinted by Dr. S. A. Green in the Historical Magazine for August, 1857, i. 228-231; in the National Intelligencer of 3 September, 1857, p. 4/1; by Frederic Hudson in his Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1873 (1873), pp. 44-48; and again, this time in facsimile, by Dr. Green in his Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Old Boston and Neighborhood (1901).

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news-letters,¹ began on 24 April the publication of the first American newspaper to be established on a firm basis — the Boston News-Letter.²

The words “Published by Authority” appeared in the title of the following issues: 1704, April 24–1720, July 11; 1723, January 7–1725, September 2.

The practice in regard to Old Style and New Style was, in the early years of the paper, not uniform. The issues of 1 January–19 March, 1705, were double dated “1704,5;” those of 7 January–18 March, 1706, were also double dated “1705,6;” while those of 6 January–24 March, 1707, were dated 1706. New Style was adopted 7 January, 1717.

The issue of 31 December, 1722, contained the following notice (p. 2/2):

† *These* are to give Notice, *That* Mr. Campbell Designing not to *Publish* any more *News-Letters*, after this Monday the 31 st *Currant*, Bartholornew Green the Printer thereof for *these* 18 Years ~~Est~~ past, *hav-*

¹ Several of these news-letters, written in 1703, are printed in 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 485–501.

² The only known copies of the issue of 24 April, 1704, are in the Amerirnn Antiquarian Society, the Harvard College Library (a fragment only), the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the New York Historical Society. The copies in the American Antiquarian Society and in the New York Historical Society are identical, while the copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society differs from the former two and is probably the second or later edition. Dr. Green writes:

Both issues were struck off with the same font of type, as might be supposed, but the variations in the two editions show that there was a new setting up of the matter. It is not easy now to give the reason why this should have been so. It seems hardly probable that the first edition was so soon exhausted; and then, again, perhaps, the change in the advertising agency from Boone to Campbell, — who was now both editor and proprietor, — had something to do with the fact (Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Various Subjects, p. 16).

An examination of the present volume will show that the publication of two editions of the same issue, though of course not common, was by no means unknown.

The first issue of the Boston News-letter has been reproduced several times, notably by Dr. Green in the volume quoted above, where facsimiles of both editions are given. The issue of 15 September, 1703, has also been reprinted.

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ing had Experience of his Practice therein; intends ((Life permitted) to carry on the same, . . .

Similar notices were inserted in the issues of **24** December, 1722 (p. 2/2), and of **7** January, 1723 (p. 2/2).

On becoming the publisher of the Boston News-Letter, Bartholomew Green introduced a curious device or signature, the reason for which is not easily understood. Every issue published in the years 1723, 1724, 1725, and 1726 had printed at the upper left-hand corner of the first page the letter A, B, C, or D, respectively.¹

The issue of 29 December, 1726, was numbered 1196. The issue of 5 January, 1727, was numbered 1; and with that issue, the paper underwent its first change in title. The following advertisement appeared on p. 2/2 :

 *HEREAS the Method taken in the Boston-News-Letter, of carrying on a Threed of Occurrences of an Old Date, and a Summary of the most Remarkable News of Europe, has not been very acceptable to the Publick, nor satisfactory to it's Encouragers :*

This is therefore to give Notice, That instead thereof, the Publisher intencs to Print The Weekly News-Letter, wherein the Publick will be entertained with the latest and most remurkable News, both Foreign and Domestick, that comes to hand well attested. . . .

On 5 November, 1730, the title and the numbering were again changed. In that issue appeared this notice (p. 1/1):

The Publisher of this Boston News-Letter having in concert with the late Mr. Campbell begun to Print the same with Numb. 1. on April 24. 1704, and it being carried on with the History of the Publick Affairs to Numb. 1196, which was on Dec. 29. 1726; and then with Jan. 5. 1726,7, began with a new Number which amounted on the last Thursday to 200. It is now tho't adviseable to add the said Numb. 200, to the former 1196, which makes 1396, the whole of our Numbers from the said 24. of April 1704, and now go on with Numb. 1397, &c.

¹ A somewhat similar, but more elaborate practice was also employed for several years in the New-England Weekly Journal. See pp. 458, 459, below.

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The utter inability of the printers to number their issues correctly has already been commented upon.¹ As a matter of fact, the issue of 29 December, 1726, ought to have been numbered 1198, and hence the issue of 5 November, 1730, ought to have been numbered 1399. It follows that while some numbers previous to 29 December, 1726, are wrong, all numbers after 29 October, 1730, are wrong.

In the issue of 4 January, 1733, was printed this notice (p. 2/21 :

M*R.* Bartholomew Green, *who* has for some Years past been *the Publisher of this Boston Weekly News-Letter, being dead, this is to inform the Publick in general, and those who are the Customers for it in particular, that it will be yet carried on, and sent out every Week on Thursday Morning, at the usual Price, by John Draper, (Son-in-Law to the said Mr. Green²) who has been an Assistant with him in the said News-Letter: . . .*

On January 8, 1755, there passed the Provincial Legislature and on January 13, 1755, there was published —

An Act for granting to his Majesty several Duties upon Vellum, Parchment and Paper for two Years, towards defraying the Charges of this Government.

W*E* His Majesty's most loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Representatives in General Court assembled, from a Sense of the many Occasions which engage this Province in great Expences, for the Defence of the Frontiers, and for the necessary Support of the Government, pray that it may be enacted:

And be it accordingly knacted by the Governour, Council and House of Representatives, That from and after the thirtieth Day of April next, there shall be throughout this his Majesty's Province, raised, collected and paid unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, during the Term of two Years, and no longer, for the several and respective Things hereafter mentioned, which shall be printed engrossed or written, during the Term aforesaid, the several and respective Rates, Impositions, Duties, Charges and Sums of Money herein after expressed, in Manner and Form following, *that is to say, . . .*

¹ Introductory Note, p. 410, above.

² John Draper married Deborah Green, daughter of Bartholomew Green,

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For every Piece of Vellum, Parchment, Sheet or Piece of Paper, on which any News-Paper shall be printed, *one Half-penny*. . . .

And be it further enacted, That . . . there shall be chosen and appointed . . . one or more suitable Person or Persons to be a Commissioner or Commissioners of the Stamps for this Province, who shall . . . provide . . . one other Stamp or Mark, with which all Vellum, Parchment and Paper herein before charged with the Payment of *one-Half penny*, shall be marked or stamped.¹

In accordance with this Act, each issue dated 30 April, 1755 - 30 April, 1757, was printed on paper stamped by the Provincial Government. The figure of the stamp was round, about an inch and one-quarter in diameter, and the words "HALF PENNY . HALF PENNY" were inclosed between two circular lines, and formed the border; in the centre was a bird² with outstretched wings, "probably meant," according to Isaiah Thomas, "for an eagle on the wing." This device was stamped with red ink on the lower right-hand corner of the first page of the paper.³ This Provincial

¹ Temporary Acts and Laws (1755), pp. 146-148.

² The Boston Evening-Post of 5 May, 1755, contained these lines (p. 1/11 :

On the pretty Bird in tile Margin.

The little pretty Picture here,
o'th Side looks well enough ;
Though nothing to the Purpose 'tis,
't will serve to set it off.

Again.

Although this Emblem has but little in 't
You must e'en take it, or you 'I have no Print.

³ The American Antiquarian Society's file of the Boston Evening-Post is remarkable for its completeness, and also for the fact that many of the issues published between 30 April, 1755, and 30 April, 1757, are not stamped. The omission is explained by the following entry written in ink in the margin of the first page of the issue of 5 May, 1755 :

Many of these papers appear without the Stamps. In this Paper it should first appear — but it is customary for Printers to print a few for their own files without stamps. This file was kept by Mr. Fleet for his own use, which accounts for the want of the stamps.

This entry, in the opinion of Mr. Edmund M. Barton, is possibly but not probably in the handwriting of Isaiah Thomas.

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Stamp Act was severely animadverted upon in some of the papers. The Boston News-Letter of 24 April, 1755, contained this notice (p. 2/2):

BOSTON, April 24. 1755.

As the Stamp-Duty takes Place on Wednesday next, the 30th Current, the Publisher of this Paper desires such of his good Customers in Town or Country, who intend to take it on the Terms lately advertised, and have not yet given Notice thereof, to do it on or before the said Day, that he may know what Number to print off.

Unlike many of its contemporaries, the Boston News-Letter was published for nearly sixty years without a device. In its issue of 6 January, 1763, it assumed the Royal Arms. The choice of that particular device can be explained. Upon the death of John Draper on November 29, 1762, there appears to have been some uncertainty in regard to the carrying on of the Boston News-Letter. The issue of 2 December contained this notice (p. 3/1):

THE Publick are notified, That the Business of the late Publisher of this Paper is devolved upon the Subscriber, Son to the Deceased: Those who have been Customers will be continued in the same Manner as heretofore; and the utmost Endeavours will be taken to retain the Character this Paper has always had: By their humble Seruant,
Richard Draper.

In the issue of 10 December was printed the following (p. 3/3):

Printing-Office, Newbury-Street.

THE Publishing of this Paper is continued by RICHARD DRAPER, Printer, Son to Mr. JOHN DRAPER, the late Publisher, deceased. Advertisements are taken in, and the Papers delivered out at the Printing-Office, or at the Shop in Cornhill, as heretofore.

The same notice appeared in the issues of 16 December (p. 2/2), of 23 December (p. 3/3), and of 31 December (p. 2/2). Meanwhile, however, Richard Draper had not been idle in another direction. On December 1, 1762, he presented to the Governor and Council the following petition:

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

Francis Bernard, Esq;

Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over
His Majesty's Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY
in SEW-ENGLAND, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

AND THE HONOURABLE

*His Majesty's Council.**The Petition,* Richard Draper, *Printer.*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT by the Decease of his Father, Mr. JOHN
DRAPER, Printer, the said Business is devolved
upon your Petitioner: That the Deceased was em-
ployed for about 30 Years as Printer to the Governor
and Council of the Province; and in which your Pe-
titioner has assisted from his Youth.

Wherefore, he humbly prays, That your Excellency
and Honours would appoint him to the same Business,
and allow the same to be recorded, as has been the
Custom; that he may be continued therein so long
as he shall discharge his Duty with Fidelity, Dispatch
and at a reasonable Price.

And as in Duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

BOSTON, December 1st 1763RICHARD DRAPER.¹

At a meeting of the Council held December 2, —

His Excellency having acquainted the Board that M^r: John Draper,
Printer to the Governor and Council was dead, proposed to them the
appointment of M^r: Richard Draper son of the deceased to the said
Business

Advised That M^r: Richard Draper be appointed Printer to the Governor
and Council accordingly.²

Having completed his arrangements in regard to the publication
of the Boston News-Letter? Draper, as evidence of his appointment

¹ Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 475. The petition is printed, except the
place, date, and the petitioner's name, which are in the hand of Richard Draper.

² Council Records, xv. 189.

³ Richard Draper remained the publisher of the paper, but associated with

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as printer to the Governor and Council, introduced the Royal Arms into the issue of 6 January, 1763, and in the same issue inserted the following notice (p. 1/1):

THE PUBLIC are hereby informed that this Paper is now carried on by the Subscriber, who will take all possible Methods to collect the most authentic Articles of Intelligence from Time to Time; and when there happens to be a Scarcity of News will insert Pieces of Speculation that may lie entertaining to the Reader. — Any Gentlemen who may be desirous of communicating their Thoughts, thro' the Channel of this Paper for the Benefit of Trade & Commerce, or on any other Subject, they may depend on their being gratefully received. — But all Party Disputes and personal Invectives will, as much as possible, be avoided.

RICHARD DRAPER.

On 7 April, 1763, the Boston News-Letter suddenly changed its title from "The Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle" to "The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter." This was the first time that the words "Massachusetts Gazette" had appeared in the title of the Boston News-Letter, and no reason for the assumption of those words has ever been given. Their adoption, however, is explained by the action of the Council. At the meeting of the Council held March 17, 1763, it was —

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee of Accounts that they do not for the future report in favour of an Allowance to any of the Printers of the Boston News Papers for inserting any Article therein, unless such Printer shall have had directions from proper Authority for so doing.¹

The matter was finally disposed of on March 31 by the following order,² which was printed on the first page of the Boston News-Letter of 7 April, 1763:

him as printer his cousin, Samuel Draper. The issues of 2 December, 1762 – 6 January, 1763, bore no imprint; the names of Richard and Samuel Draper as printers appeared in the issue of 13 January, 1763; and Richard Draper's name as publisher first appeared in the issue of 7 April, 1763. Later, Samuel Draper became publisher as well as printer. See p. 438, below.

¹ Council Records, xv. 23.

² Ibid. xv. 241.

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Province of ~~Massachusetts~~-Bay.

At the Council-Chamber in B O S T O N, March 31. 1763.

P R E S E N T His EXCELLENCY in Council.

AD V I S E D and *O R D E R E D*, That for the future all Orders which shall be made by His Excellency the Governor, with the Advice of the Council, and which it shall be thought fit to publish, be published in the Thursday's News-Paper, printed by *Richard Draper*, Printer to the Governor and Council: And that publick Kotice be given thereof for the Information of the Inhabitants of the Province, or any others whom it may concern. *Attest.*

A. OLIVER, Sec'y.

The issue of 2 May, 1765, contained this notice, printed across the bottom of the first page :

THE Publick is informed that this Day's Gazette is printed on Paper manufactured at MILTON; and me doubt not they mill judge it to be of as good Quality as any of the Kind that is imported. It is earnestly requested that Families mould be careful to save all LINEN RAGS, a full Supply of them would prevent large Sums of Money from going out of the Province.

The Stamp Act passed the British Parliament March 22, 1765, and took effect November 1 following. It was repealed March 18, 1766, to take effect May 1 following. Several false reports of its repeal were published in the Boston newspapers, but authentic intelligence did not reach Boston until May 16. The Boston News-Letter of 22 May, 1766, contained the following notice, printed across the top of the first page :

Friday last arrived here the Brigantine Harrison, Shubael Coffin, Master, belonging to John Hancoclr, Esy; a principal Merchant in this Town, in about 6 Weeks from London; who brought the important Account of the REPEAL of the AMERICAN STAMP-ACT.

Section XXVII of the Stamp Act contained the following requirement :

That no person whatsoever shall sell or expose for sale any such pamphlet, or any news paper, without the true respective name or names, and place or places of abode, of some known person or persons

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by or for whom the same was really and truly printed or published, shall be written or printed thereon; upon pain that every person offending therein shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds.¹

In apparent defiance of this order, the Drapers omitted in the issues dated 7 November, 1765–15 May, 1766, from the first page of the Boston News-Letter the names of the publishers and from the last page the imprint.² They also assigned to each issue a large zero, in place of the usual number in Arabic numerals.³ The issue of 31 October, 1765, was numbered 3239. That of 22 May, 1766, was numbered 3268, the twenty-eight issues between those dates numbered O being allowed for.

In May, 1768, a singular arrangement was entered into between Richard Draper, publisher of the Boston News-Letter, and John

¹ Statutes at Large (Cambridge, England, 1764), xxvi. 193, 194.

² The facts in regard to the Boston News-Letter were set forth at length by Dr. Green in his *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England* (1903), pp. 40, 41. Throughout that period the Fleets omitted their names and imprint from the Boston Evening-Post; Green and Russell omitted their names and imprint from some, but not all, of the issues of the Boston Post-Boy; while of the Boston Gazette — the only other paper published in Boston during the same period — most of the issues bore the names and imprint of Edes and Gill, but a few issues had no imprint. The presence or absence of an imprint, as pointed out in the Introductory Note (p. 417, above), was apparently largely a matter of chance; and hence caution must be used in drawing conclusions from its omission.

On 7 November, 1765, the title of the Boston News-Letter was changed from "The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter" to "The Massachusetts Gazette;" and on 22 May, 1766, it was changed back again to "The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter." Thomas stated that —

In the troublesome times occasioned by the Stamp act in 1765, some of the more opulent and cautious printers, when the act was to take place, put their papers in mourning, and, for a few weeks, omitted to publish them; others not so timid, but doubtful of the consequence of publishing newspapers without stamps, omitted the titles, or altered them, as an evasion:—for instance the Pennsylvania Gazette, and some other papers, were headed "Remarkable Occurrences, &c."—other printers, particularly those in Boston, continued their papers without any alteration in title or imprint.

The facts recited in the text and in this note show that Thomas's statement in regard to Boston papers was not quite accurate.

³ No other publishers changed the numbering of their papers.

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Green and Joseph Russell, publishers of the Boston Post-Boy. The Boston News-Letter was issued on Thursday, the Boston Post-Boy on Monday. The publication of each paper continued under its own name and on its regular day of issue, while the publishers of both papers published jointly a paper called the Massachusetts Gazette.¹ The portion of the Massachusetts Gazette which appeared on Thursday was printed by Draper and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same sheet with the Boston News-Letter of the same date; while the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette which appeared on Monday was printed by Green and Russell and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same sheet with the Boston Post-Boy of the same date.

On 22 May, 1766, the Boston News-Letter changed its title to "The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter." On 26 May, 1768, the title was again changed to "The Boston Weekly News-Letter." In that issue the following notice² was printed across the top of the first page:

THE Thursday's Paper (the first ever printed in America,) returns to its primitive Title,³ the Gazette being directed by AUTHORITY to be published in another Manner: The Customers will be served with Care and Fidelity; those who advertise herein may depend on having their Notifications well circulated. N.B. A Gazette will accompany the News-Letter every Thursday (tho' not always in a separate Paper.) . . .

This curious arrangement between the Boston News-Letter and the Boston Post-Boy lasted from 23 May, 1768, to 25 September,

¹ How to treat this Massachusetts Gazette, published jointly by Draper and Green and Russell, is the most difficult problem that arises in connection with the Boston newspapers of the eighteenth century. The problem is solved in this volume by regarding the Massachusetts Gazette as a separate paper. See pp. 470, 471, 484-493, below.

² This is the only notice regarding the peculiar arrangement between the Boston News-Letter and the Boston Post-Boy which has been noted in the Boston News-Letter or in the Boston Post-Boy or in the Massachusetts Gazette.

³ If by "its primitive Title" is meant its first title, the publisher made a mistake. The title adopted 26 May, 1768, was the third of the eleven titles under which the Boston News-Letter was known during its existence, and was originally adopted 5 November, 1730.

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1769. On 28 September, 1769, the Boston News-Letter changed its title to "The Massachusetts Gazette : and the Boston Weekly News-Letter;"¹ while on 2 October, 1769, the Boston Post-Boy changed its title to "The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser." This confusing similarity in titles continued until the last appearance of the Boston Post-Boy on 17 April, 1775.

Early in 1774 Richard Draper fell ill. In the issue of 5 May, 1774, appeared the following (p. 2/3):

The Publisher and Printer of this Paper being in a very low State of Health, prevents his making such Collection of Intelligence and Speculation, as his Customers must have expected to be given them, especially since the arrival of the last Vessels; he begs their Indulgence till he recovers Strength, or till the Paper falls into other Hands.

A Printer that understands collecting News, and carrying on a News Paper, by applying to the Printer hereof, may be concerned on very advantageous Terms.

This notice was followed by another in the issue of 12 May, 1774 (p. 3/2):

The Publisher of this Paper would acquaint his Customers, That he is about entering into a Co-Partnership with Mr. JOHN BOYLE, . . . and that for the future, *The Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston News-Letter*, will be published by DRAPER and BOYLE; . . .

R. DRAPER.

*Boston, April 12, 1774.*²

The issue of 9 June, 1774, contained this notice (p. 1/1):

To the PUBLIC.

WHEREAS the Co-Partnership between RICHARD DRAPER and JOAN BOYLE is dissolved by the Death of the former: This is to give Notice, that The Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston Weekly News-Letter, will now be carried on by MARGARET DRAPER and JONW BOYLE:

¹ This was the eleventh and last title. But it should be added that the issue of 13 October, 1775, was entitled "The Massachusetts Gazette : Published Occasionally."

² April is doubtless a misprint for May.

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Those who have hitherto been Customers to this Paper will be continued as usual; and the utmost Endeavors will be taken to maintain the Character it has had for upwards of Seventy Years past.

The following notice appeared in the issue of 11 August, 1774 (p. 2/3):

To the Public

THE Printing of this Paper having since Mr. DRAPER'S Death, been carried on by MARGARET DRAPER & JOHN BOYLE, agreeable to Contract, the public are hereby notified, that their Connection in that Business is now dissolved by mutual Consent.

Mrs. Draper being uncles the Necessity of procuring some reputable Means of Subsistence, proposes to continue publishing the Paper herself; and hopes by the assistance of her Friends to give full Satisfaction to it's former Customers, and the Public in-general: ■ . ■

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, five papers were published in Boston. The political crisis put an end to the existence of the Boston Evening-Post and of the Boston Post-Boy, drove the Boston Gazette to Watertown and the Massachusetts Spy to M^rorcester, and left the Boston News-Letter — which for many years had been the organ of the Tories — the sole paper to be printed in Boston during the Siege. No copy of the Boston News-Letter between 20 April and 19 May, 1775, is known to be in existence. The fact that the issue of 20 April was numbered 3734, while the issue of 19 May was numbered 3735, would be conclusive evidence that no paper was printed between those dates were it not for the further fact that the numbering of issues was so erratic as to be absolutely unreliable. There is proof, however, that the publication of the paper was interrupted after 20 April; for in the issue of Friday, 19 May, 1775, appeared the following notice (p. 1/1):

To the PUBLIC

AS a Number of Gentlemen are very desirous of having a Continuation of the Massachusetts-Gazette, the Proprietor therefore proposes to renew the Publication of [the] Paper on the following Conditions, viz.— That it contain two pages in Folio, and be published on

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THURSDAY'S as heretofore — And that as the Communication with the Country is at present impeded, the Number of Customers it's likely will be but few, the Price therefore to Subscribers cannot be less than Eight Shillings Lawful Money per Year, one Quarter Part to be paid at Entrance, and another Quarter Part at the End of three Months.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in at DRAPER'S Printing-Office in Newbury-Street; and as soon as 300 are subscribed the Paper to be published.

Boston, May 17. 1775.

Emboldened by the encouraging Assurances of a Number of respectable [Gentlemen who have without] Hesitation subscribed our Proposals, and being willing to oblige them as speedily as possible, we have ventured upon the Publication of the first Paper, hoping that a sufficient Number will be subscribed through the course of the Week to encourage us to continue it weekly from this Time. — The Difficulties attending the Publication of a News-Paper, at this unhappy Period, when almost all Communication with the Continent is cut off, and so every regular Source of Intelligence stopped, obliges us to beg a twofold Share of that Candor we have formerly experienced.¹ . . .

The issue of 17 August, 1775, contained the following notice (p. 2/21 :

AT the Request of a Number of Gentlemen we were prevailed upon to renew the Publication of this Paper: — Since which, we have endeavored as far as we were able to render it equal to their Expectations, by collecting what Intelligence could with certainty be procur'd within the circumscrib'd Rounds of our present Situation. . . . And as this Day's Paper compleats the First Quarter since it's Publication, we think ourselves bound to express our Obligations to those Gentlemen who have furnished us with News Papers or Articles of Intelligence; and relying still on the Candor of our Customers, and the future kind Assistances of our Friends, we propose to continue it another Quarter, provided the Original Proposals shall be comply'd with, without which it will be absolutely impossible. . . .

Every known issue from 11 August, 1774, to 7 September, 1775, had the word "Draper's" printed on the first page, though no issue bore an imprint on the last page. No copies of the paper

¹ The only known copy of this issue is somewhat mutilated, and the words within square brackets are conjectural.

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between 7 September and 13 October, 1775, are known to be in existence. All known issues from 13 October, 1775, to 22 February, 1776, bore on the last page the imprint of John Howe as printer; but the word "Draper's" is found in none of them, nor is the name of a publisher anywhere given.

The issue of 26 October, 1775, contained this notice (p. 2/3):

**** So important are the Solicitations of Friends, and so unbounded their Candor, that if Customers are punctual in paying their Arrears, this Paper will yet be continued weekly. The Publisher would be extremely obliged to Gentlemen, into whose Hands Papers or Articles of Intelligence may accidentally fall, if they would be so kind as to favor him with them: They would thereby not only oblige the Printer, but afford the greatest Satisfaction to the Public.*

In the issue of 30 November, 1775, appeared this notice (p. 3/3):

**+* This Day's Paper compleats the Second Quarter since its Publication; and as sending them to the Subscribers has for some time past been omitted, the Publisher would now inform them that upon their Subscriptions and leaving the Places where they reside, the Papers will in Future be regularly sent to them.*

The issue of 22 February, 1776, contained this notice (p. 2/2):

As this Day's Paper compleats the third Quarter, we must request our Customer's to be punctual in paying their Entrance for the ensuing one, or they cannot be obliged with this Paper, indifferent as it is. — Those who are in Arrears for past Quarters, it is hoped will remain no longer unmindful of the necessity of discharging them. — The Sum being but trifling many Gentlemen have thought nothing of it, but it is from a Collection of these Trifles the Paper may be supported.

Whether this final appeal was successful is uncertain, but no issue of the Boston News-Letter after 22 February, 1776, is known to be in existence.

Isaiah Thomas asserted that "after the war began, John Howe became her [Mrs. Draper's] partner, and remained in business with her until the British troops left Boston in 1776;" and that "M. Draper . . . was induced, a short time before the commencement of the war, to take him [John Howe] into partnership; but his

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name did not appear in the imprint of the Massachusetts Gazette till Boston was besieged by the continental army." A discrepancy between these two statements will be observed; and, though Thomas's opinion is entitled to much weight, yet his account of Boston newspapers, excellent as it was for its day, contains many inaccuracies and was not published until thirty-four years after the discontinuance of the Boston News-Letter. The extracts printed above give everything relating to the matter that has been found in the Boston News-Letter itself; and while the evidence contained in them is perhaps not decisive, it points to the conclusion that Mrs. Draper ceased to be the publisher of the paper between 7 September and 13 October, 1775, at which time John Howe became both its publisher and printer.¹

The dates in our Check-List after 20 April, 1775, for those issues of which no copies are extant, are of course purely conjectural; and the fact that the issue of 13 October, 1775, is headed "The Massachusetts Gazette: Published Occasionally" proves that lacunæ existed after as well as before 19 May, 1775.

The bibliographical details relating to the Boston News-Letter are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

¹ A passage which appeared in the New-England Chronicle of 28 September, 1775, is pertinent (p. 3/2):

[The following curious Paragraphs were taken from Mrs. Draper's last Boston Paper. The Impudence they contain is so gross, and the Falshood, so notorious, as to render any Remark or Contradiction unnecessary.]

B O S T O N, September 21.

Then follow several extracts which are of further interest as showing that an issue of the Boston News-Letter of which no copy is known was published on 21 September, 1775. It may be added that an issue of the Boston News-Letter of which no copy is known was also published on 8 February, 1776, for in the issue of 22 February there is an allusion (p. 1/1) to the issue of 8 February. Another fact of interest may be recorded here. Buckingham quotes from the issue of 16 November, 1775. When the Check-List in this volume was revised, no copy of that issue was known; but in May, 1906, a copy was given to the Boston Public Library.

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I

TITLES

- 1704, April 24 : The Boston News-Letter.
 1727, January 5 : The Weekly News-Letter.
 1730, November 5 : The Boston Weekly News-Letter.
 1757, September 1 : The Boston News-Letter.
 1762, March 25 : The Boston News-Letter. Ancl New-England Chronicle.
 1763, January 6 : The Boston News-Letter, and the New-England Chronicle.
 1763, April 7 : The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter.
 1765, November 7 : The Massachusetts Gazette.
 1766, May 22 : The Massachusetts Gazette. Ancl Boston News-Letter.
 1768, May 26 : The Boston Weekly News-Letter.
 1769, September 28 : The Massachusetts Gazette : and the Boston Weekly News-Letter.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

- Monday : 1704, April 24.
 Thursday : 1723, February 7.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRISTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

- 1704, April 24 : Published 'by John Campbell. Printed by Bartholornew Green.
 1707, November 10 : Printed by John Allen in Pudding Lane.
 1711, October 1 : Last issue printed by John Allen.
 1711, October 8 : Printed by Bartholomew Green in Newbury Street.
 1722, December 31 : Last issue published by John Campbell.'
 1723, January 7 : Published and printed by Bartholomew Green in Newbury Street.
 1732, December 28 : Last issue published and printed by Bartholomew Green.²

¹ John Campbell died 4 March, 1728 (Boston News-Letter, 7 March, 1728, p. 2/1).

² Bartholomew Green died 28 December, 1732 (Boston News-Letter, 4 January, 1733, p. 2/1).

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- 1733, January 4: Published and printed by John Draper in Newbury Street.
- 1762, November 25: Last issue published and printed by John Draper.¹
- 1762, December 2: Published and printed by Richard Draper in Newbury Street.
- 1763, January 13 – 1765, April 11: Published by Richard Draper. Printed by Richard Draper and Samuel Draper in Kewbury Street.
- 1765, April 19: Published and printed by Richard Draper and Samuel Draper in Newbury Street.
- 1767, March 19: Last issue published and printed by Richard Draper and Samuel Draper.²
- 1767, March 26: Published and printed by Richard Draper in Newbury Street.
- 1774, May 12: Last issue published and printed by Richard Draper.
- 1774, May 19: Published and printed by Richard Draper and John Boyle in Newbury Street.
- 1774, June 2: Last issue published and printed by Richard Draper and John Boyle.³
- 1774, June 9: Published and printed by Margaret Draper and John Boyle in Newbury Street.
- 1774, August 4: Last issue published and printed by Margaret Draper and John Boyle.⁴
- 1774, August 11: Published and printed by Margaret Draper in Newbury Street.
- 1775, September 7: Last known issue published and printed by Margaret Draper.⁵
- 1755, October 13: Printed by John Howe⁶ in Newbury Street.
- 1776, February 22: Last known issue printed by John Howe.⁷

¹ John Draper died 29 November, 1762 (Boston News-Letter, 2 December, 1762, p. 3/1).

² Samuel Draper died 21 March, 1767 (Boston News-Letter, 26 March, 1767, p. 3/2).

³ Richard Draper died 5 June, 1774 (Boston News-Letter, 9 June, 1774, p. 1/1).

⁴ John Boyle died 18 November, 1819 (Publications of this Society, vi. 332 note).

⁵ Margaret Draper died in London, where her will was proved 12 February, 1807 (Suffolk Probate Records, no. 17015).

⁶ See pp. 433, 436, above.

⁷ John Howe died 29 December, 1835 (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vi. 120).

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IV

DEVICES

1704, April 24–1762, December 30: No device.
1763, January 6–1765, October 31: Royal Arms.¹
1765, November 7–1766, May 15: No device.
1766, May 22–1768, May 19: Royal Arms.
1768, May 26–1769, September 21: No device.
1769, September 28–1776, February 22: Royal Arms.²

¹ In the issues of 6 January–31 March, 1763, the Royal Arms had the letters "G R" above them. In the issue of 7 April, 1763, and in all subsequent issues, these letters were omitted. The same design was used in the issues of 7 April, 1763–31 October, 1765; of 22 May, 1766–19 May, 1768; and of 28 September, 1769–22 February, 1776; while the same design was also employed in the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette published by Draper on Thursdays from 26 May, 1768, to 21 September, 1769. See p. 473, below.

Isaiah Thomas said that Richard Draper "added, 'The Massachusetts Gazette,' to the title of 'The Boston News-Letter,' and decorated it with the king's arms;" and remarked:

It had become fashionable, many years before the revolution, among publishers of newspapers, especially those whose title embraced the word Gazette, to ornament the titles with this ensign of royalty. But the printers in Boston had not followed this fashion.

However it may have been elsewhere, the evidence given in our text (pp. 426–429) shows that at least in the Boston newspapers the assumption of the Royal Arms was not a matter of whim or of individual taste on the part of publishers. The only Boston papers to assume the Royal Arms were the Boston News-Letter, the Boston Post-Boy, and the Massachusetts Gazette, the publishers of which were also the official publishers to the Government.

² Attention has already been called to the curious signatures used in the Boston News-Letter and in the New-England Weekly Journal (p. 423, above, pp. 458, 459, below). Another peculiarity of certain Boston newspapers, which might cause confusion, should also be pointed out. In the early years of several newspapers, the letters "N.E." or the words "New-England" were printed at the top of the first page, above the title; but such letters or words did not form part of the title.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOSTON GAZETTE

FOR FIFTY years—from 1704 to 1754—every Postmaster of Boston was also a publisher of a newspaper; and of the seven Postmasters during that period, five were connected with the Boston Gazette. Hence a list of the Postmasters will be convenient:

1704–1718: John Campbell.
 1718–1720: William Brooker.
 1720–1725: Philip Musgrave.
 1725–1726: Thomas Lewis.¹
 1726–1732: Henry Marshall.
 1732–1734: John Boydell.
 1734–1754: Ellis Huske.

On 27 June, 1718, Philip Musgrave was appointed by the authorities in London; but on 13 September, 1718, William Brooker received an appointment from Deputy Postmaster-General

¹ Exactly how long Thomas Lewis remained Postmaster has apparently never been ascertained. Philip Musgrave died 18 May, 1725, and the Boston News-Letter of 27 May, 1725, contained the following notice (p. 2/2):

These are to give Notice, That the Post-Office is Removed from Cornhill unto Mrs. Proctors in Queen-Street, Boston.

There are no known copies of the Boston Gazette between 17 May and 19 July, 1725. The imprints of the issues of 19 July–1 November, 1725, read: "Printed by S. Kneeland, for Thomas Lewis, Postmaster, at his Office in Queen-Street." The imprints of the issues of 8 November–13 December, 1725, read: "Printed by S. Kneeland, for Thomas Lewis, at the Post Office." The imprints of the issues of 20 December, 1725–21 February, 1726, read: "Printed by S. Kneeland, for Thomas Lewis, at Mrs. Proctor's in Queen-Street." The imprints of the issues of 28 February–18 April, 1726, read: "Printed for Thomas Lewis, by S. Kneeland, at the Printing-House in Queen-Street." The imprint of the issue of 25 April, 1736, reads: "Printed for Henry Marshall Post Master, & Thomas Lewis, and Sold at the Post Office."

BOSTON GAZETTE

John Hamilton.] Between Campbell and Brooker, and apparently also between Brooker and Musgrave, a quarrel arose into which it is not necessary to enter here: suffice it to say that a year after his appointment Brooker was in possession of the post-office, and that on 21 December, 1719, he published the first issue of the second Boston paper — the Boston Gazette. The issues of 19 December, 1719–19 September, 1720, were published by Brooker. On 26 September, 1720, Musgrave became the publisher. The issue of 3 October, 1720, contained this notice (p. 2/2):

ALL Persons Indebted for the Boston Gazette are required to make their Payments to Mr. Philip Musgrave, and to no other whatsoever, he being the only Proprietor thereof.

The words "Published by Authority" appeared in the title of the following issues: 1719, December 21 – 1725, August 30; 1725, September 2 – 1729, December 15; 1731, May 3² – 1736, May 3.³

The practice in regard to Old Style and New Style was, in the early years of the paper, not uniform. The known issues of 4 January – 22 March, 1720, were dated 1719; the issue of 2 January, 1721, was dated 1720, while those of 16 January – 20 March, 1721, were dated 1721; the issue of 13 January, 1724, was dated 1723, while that of 2 March, 1723, was dated 1724; the issues of 10 January – 21 March, 1726, were dated 1725. New Style was finally adopted on 2 January, 1727.

¹ The dates are those given by Brooker himself in the Boston Gazette of 11 January, 1720 (p. 1). In the Boston News-Letter of 8 September, 1718, the name of John Campbell as Postmaster occurred for the last time in the imprint. In the issue of 15 September, 1718, was printed this notice (p. 2/2):

ON Saturday last the 13th Currant the Post-Office in Boston was removed to the fifth Door to the Southward of the old Office, where all Persons are to receive out, and give in their Letters that come and go either by Post or Shipping.

² The issue of 12 April, 1731, did not contain the words in question; hence they were resumed either on 3 May, or in some issue between 12 April and 3 May of which no copy is known.

³ The issue of 31 May, 1736, did not contain the words in question; hence they were used for the last time either in the issue of 31 May, or in some issue between 3 and 31 May of which no copy is known.

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Though John Boydell ceased to be Postmaster in October, 1734,¹ he continued the publication of the Boston Gazette until his death on December 11, 1739. The issue of 17 December, 1739, contained this notice (p. 3/21):

☞ THIS is to Acquaint the Publick, *That this Paper will be carried on as usual, for the Benefit of the Family of the late Publisher Mr. John Boydell, Deceased.*

Mrs. Hannah Boydell died on October 15, 1741. At that time the Boston Gazette was printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green, who were also the publishers of the New-England Weekly Journal. Upon the death of Mrs. Boydell, Kneeland and Green became the publishers of the Boston Gazette, and they at once incorporated with it the New-England Weekly Journal. The last issue of the New-England Weekly Journal was published Tuesday, 13 October, 1741, numbered 981; the last issue of the Boston Gazette under that exact title was published Monday, 19 October, numbered 1025; and the first issue of the Boston Gazette under its new title of The Boston Gazette, or, New England Weekly Journal was published Tuesday, 20 October, 1741, numbered 942.²

The Boston Gazette of 19 October, 1741, contained this notice (p. 4/1):

Whereas upon the decease of Mrs. Hannah Boydell, the publishing of the Boston Gazette in the Name of that Family ceases; and the same

¹ See pp. 466, 467, below.

² Attention may be called to certain facts. The issues of the Boston Gazette dated 27 October and 3 November, 1741, were numbered 943 and 944, respectively. The issue of 10 November was numbered 1029. The New-England Weekly Journal had been printed on a much larger page than that on which the Boston Gazette was printed; the former contained one leaf, while the latter contained two leaves; and the former had three columns to a page, while the latter had but two. The New-England Weekly Journal had no device; the issue of the Boston Gazette dated 20 October had no device. The issue of 19 October had the same two devices which the Boston Gazette had borne for over six years. The issue of 27 October had two devices, one entirely new, the other newly cut of a different size. It seems probable that in giving the number 942 to the issue of 20 October, and in omitting the devices, the printers were somewhat confused between the New-England Weekly Journal and the Boston Gazette.

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being resigned over to Messieurs Kneeland & Green, Publishers of the Weekly Journal ; they propose to carry on the same, in the Form it has hitherto been printed in, and will be new Entitled, The BOSTON GAZETTE, or WEEKLY JOURNAL ; the Day of it's Publication will be notified the next Week.

In the issue of 20 October, 1741, was printed a similar notice (p. 4/2):

This may inform our Customers and others that upon the Death of Mrs. Boydell the Boston Gazette as published in the Name of that Family ceases, and the same resigned over to the Publishers of the Weekly Journal ; we therefore propose to publish this Paper in the Form and Method above. The Day of it's Publication will be notified next Week.

Accordingly, in the issue of 27 October, 1741, appeared the following (p. 3/2):

We propose to publish this Paper every Tuesday Morning, and those who are desirous of being furnish'd therewith, either in Town or Country, are desired to signify the same to the Publishers thereof.

The last issue of the Boston Gazette published by Rneeland and Green was that of 26 December, 1752, probably numbered 1709.¹ The partnership between Kneeland and Green was then dissolved, and on 3 January, 1753, the Boston Gazette under a new title was published by Kneeland alone, that issue being numbered 1. Across the top of the first page of that issue was printed this notice :

As the Types generally us'd in the printing the late Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal, are worn out, it has been tho't proper, on the Return of the Year, to alter the Form and Title of this Paper, as it now appears: 'Tis proposed to publish the same, as usual, every Tuesday; and hope Care will be taken to furnish it from Time to Time with the most remarkable Occurrences, both of a foreign and domestick Nature.

The last issue of the Boston Gnzette published by Kneeland mas that of 1 April, 1765, numbered 117.

¹ The only known copy of the issue of 26 December, 1762, is mutilated, but the issue of 19 December was numbered 1708.

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A change in proprietorship was apparently contemplated early in 1755. The issue of 11 February, 1755, contained this notice (p. 3/2), which was repeated in the issue of 18 February (p. 4/2):

"" *T*hose Persons who have Subscription Papers in their Hands, for carrying on the COUNTRY-JOURNAL, are desired to send in the same to the Undertakers, Edes and Gill, with all Expedition.

In the issue of 25 March, 1755, appeared the following (p. 3/2):

Whereas it was propos'd to publish the first No. of the COUNTRY-JOURNAL, the first Monday of March Inst. This may serve to inform the Public, That as a sufficient Number of Subscribers have not yet appear'd, we are obliged to defer it for a Week or so. . . . EDDES & GILL.

In the issue of 1 April, 1755, was printed this notice (p. 4/1):

*T*he Publisher of this Paper, propos'd to have continued the same to the 30th Instant, and no longer, and to have given his Customers Notice accordingly: But finding, that his continuing of it even to that Time, wou'd prejudice him in other Parts of his Business; he hereby informs them that he shall not publish it from this Day: And desires all those who are indebted for the same, or for Advertisements inserted therein, to make Payment.

On MONDAY NEXT will be published,

No. 1, of the *Boston-Gazette*, or COUNTRY JOURNAL.

The CONDITIONS are as follows.

The first issue of the Boston Gazette published by Benjamin Edes and John Gill was that of 7 April, 1755, numbered 1. The last issue published by them was that of 17 April, 1775, when the partnership between Edes and Gill was dissolved, and the paper was driven from Boston to Watertown. It was published at Watertown from 5 June, 1775, to 28 October, 1776, when it returned to Boston and was there published from 4 November, 1776, to 25 December, 1780.

It has been customary, in previous accounts of Boston newspapers, to regard the Boston Gazette from 1719 to 1780 as three distinct papers. Such a division is purely arbitrary, its propriety

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may well be questioned, and this view is in part at least due to a misapprehension of the facts. "This paper," wrote Thomas, speaking of *The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Journal*, "was discontinued in 1752, on account of the dissolution of the partnership, of its publishers." Again, alluding to *The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Advertiser*, Thomas said, "This Boston Gazette made its first appearance on Wednesday, January 3, 1753;" and asserted that *The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Journal* "had been discontinued several months." Finally, in reference to *The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, Thomas declared that "This was the third newspaper bearing the title of *The Boston Gazette*." Owing to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the publication of the Boston Gazette was suspended between April 17 and June 5, 1775. But with that exception, there was no break in the publication of the Boston Gazette from 1719 to 1780.

The issue of 21 December, 1719, was reprinted in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of 17 September, 1856, p. 2. The issue of 12 March, 1770, has also been reproduced, the reprint being made from type.¹

The bibliographical details relating to the Boston Gazette are arranged under the following four heads :

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

¹ Dr. Samuel A. Green writes :

The practice of reproducing odd numbers of early Boston newspapers in fac-simile without any token or explanation of the fact, may cause hereafter some confusion among librarians and others not familiar with the circumstances of the case (*Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Various Subjects*, p. 19).

Dr. Green then goes on to describe various issues which have thus been reproduced, though a few have escaped his attention, and he himself gives facsimile reproductions of the *Boston News-Letter* of 24 April, 1704, of the *New-England Courant* of 11 February, 1723, and of the *New-England Weekly Journal* of 8 April, 1728.

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I

TITLES

- 1719, December 21: The Boston Gazette,
1741, October 20: The Boston Gazette, or, New England Weekly
Journal.
1741, October 27: The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Journal.
1753, January 3: The Boston Gazette, or, Weekly Advertiser.
1755, April 7: The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal.
1756, April 12: The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal.
1779, April 12: The Boston Gazette, and the Country Journal.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

- Monday: 1719, December 21.
Tuesday: 1741, October 20.
Wednesday: 1753, January 3.
Tuesday: 1753, January 9.
Monday: 1755, April 7.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

- 1719, December 21: Published by William Brooker. Printed by James
Franklin.
1720, August 1: Last known issue printed by James Franklin.
1720, August 22: Printed by Samuel Kneeland.
1720, September 19: Last issue published by William Brooker.
1720, September 26: Published by Philip Musgrave. Printed by Samuel
Kneeland.
1725, May 17: Last issue published by Philip Musgrave.¹
1725, July 19: Published by Thomas Lewis. Printed by Samuel
Kneeland.

¹ Philip Musgrave died 18 May, 1725 (Boston News-Letter, 20 May, 1725,
p. 2/21. Presumably, therefore, Thomas Lewis became the publisher on
24 May, 1725.

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- 1726, April 18: Last issue published by Thomas Lewis. Printed by Samuel Kneeland.¹
- 1726, April 25: Published by Henry Marshall and Thomas Lewis. No printer's name.
- 1727, January 9: Last issue published by Henry Marshall and Thomas Lewis.² No printer's name.
- 1727, February 6–June 12: Published by Henry Marshall. No printer's name.
- 1727, June 19: Published by Henry Marshall. Printed by Bartholomew Green, Jr.³

¹ The imprint of the issue of 28 February, 1726, contained the words "at the Printing-House in Queen-Street." This is apparently the first definite statement as to the place of publication found in the Boston Gazette.

² Thomas Lewis and Samuel Hirst (a grandson of Judge Sewall) died on 14 January, 1727, through an accident the exact nature of which is not known. The Boston News-Letter of 19 January certainly, and the Boston Gazette of 16 January presumably, contained an account of the accident; but no copies of those issues are known. There is a gap in Judge Sewall's Diary at that period, but there are references to the event in his Letter-Book (ii. 221). Two sermons were preached on the occasion—one by the Rev. Thomas Prince, the other by the Rev. Joseph Sewall; and but for those sermons, both of which were published by Judge Sewall, the exact date of the accident would apparently be unknown. In his sermon, entitled "Morning Health No Security Against the Sudden Arrest of Death before Night. A Sermon Occasioned By the very sudden Death of Two young Gentlemen in Boston, on Saturday January 14th, 1726, 7. Dedicated to the Youth of the Town," Prince gives the names of the two victims in a note to the Dedication, and elsewhere speaks of "THE unexpected & surprizing Suddenness of their Destruction" (p. 3). In his sermon, entitled "The Duty of every Man To be Always Ready to Die. A Sermon Occasion'd By the very Sudden Deaths of Mr. Thomas Lewis, Aged 32. And Mr. Samuel Hirst, Aged 22. On Saturday Jan. 14. 1726, 7," Sewall speaks of "the very Sudden Deaths of the last Week" (p. 18).

³ The issues of 25 April, 1726 – 12 June, 1727, bore no printer's name in the imprint. In advertisements inserted in the issues of 9 May, 1726 (p. 2/2), of 7 November, 1726 (p. 2/2), of 2 January, 1727 (p. 2/2), and of 20 February, 1727 (p. 2/2), purchasers were requested to inquire of "the Printer in Queen Street," or at "the Printing-House in Queen Street," or of "the Printers in Queen-Street," or at "the Printing-house in Queen-Street." In an advertisement in the issue of 12 June, 1727 (p. 4/2), purchasers were requested to "Inquire of B. Green, jun. the Printer hereof." It is certain, therefore, that Green was the printer on 12 June, 1727; and the change in printers may have taken place on 25 April, 1726, or at some time between 20 February and 12 June,

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- 1732, October 2: Last issue published by Henry Marshall.¹
 1732, November 20: Published by John Boydell.² Printed by Bartholomew Green, Jr.
 1736, September 13: Last known issue printed by Bartholomew Green.³
 1736, October 11: Published by John Boydell. Printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green in Queen Street.
 1739, December 10: Last issue published by John Boydell.⁴
 1739, December 17–1741, October 12: Published for the heirs of John Boydell.⁵ Printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green in Queen Street.
 1741, October 19: Published and printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green in Queen Street.
 1752, December 26: Last issue published and printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green.⁶
 1753, January 3: Published and printed by Samuel Kneeland in Queen Street.⁷
 1755, April 1: Last issue published and printed by Samuel Kneeland.⁸

1727. The location of Green's printing-office was first given in the issue of 1 April, 1734, the imprint of which reads: "Printed by B. Green, at his Printing-House in *Newbury Street*."

¹ Henry Marshall died 4 October, 1732 (*New-England Weekly Journal*, 9 October, 1732, p. 2/2).

² There are no known issues between 2 October and 20 November, 1732, but presumably John Boydell became the publisher on 9 October.

³ On the death of his father on 29 December, 1732, Bartholomew Green, Jr., of course became Bartholomew Green. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was buried 29 October, 1751 (*Burial Register of St. Paul's Parish, Halifax*, p. 67).

⁴ John Boydell died 11 December, 1739 (*Boston Gazette*, 17 December, 1739, p. 2/1).

⁵ During this period no publisher's name appeared. Hannah Boydell died 15 October, 1741 (*Boston Gazette*, 19 October, 1741, p. 4/1; 20 October, 1741, p. 3/2).

⁶ Timothy Green died 3 October, 1763 (*Boston Post-Boy*, 10 October, 1763, p. 3/2; *Boston News-Letter*, 13 October, 1763, p. 2/1).

⁷ Throughout the year 1753, Kneeland's name did not appear in the imprint.

⁸ Samuel Kneeland died either 12 December, 1769 (*Boston Chronicle*, 18 December, 1769, ii. 405/2), or 14 December, 1769 (*Boston Gazette*, 18 December, 1769, p. 2/3; *Boston Evening-Post*, 18 December, 1769, p. 2/8; *Boston Post-Boy*, 18 December, 1769, p. 3/1; *Boston News-Letter*, 21 December, 1769, p. 1/2).

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- 1755, April 7 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill in King Street.
- 1755, April 28-July 21 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill near the East End of the Town House.
- 1755, July 28 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill in Queen Street.¹
- 1775, April 17 : Last issue published and printed by Benjamin Edes and John Gill in Queen Street, Boston.²
- 1775, June 5-1776, October 28 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes in Watertown.
- 1776, November 4-December 2 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes in Boston.
- 1776, December 9-1777, September 29 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes in Queen Street.
- 1777, October 6-1779, April 5 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes in Court Street.
- 1779, April 5 : Last issue published and printed by Benjamin Edes.
- 1779, April 12-1780, December 25 : Published and printed by Benjamin Edes, Benjamin Edes, Jr., and Peter Edes in State Street.³

IV

DEVICES

- 1719, December 21 : Two devices : (1) on left, Ship ; (2) on right, Postboy riding horse and blowing horn.
- 1732, November 20 : Two devices : (1) on left, Ship and Lighthouse ; (2) on right, Postboy riding horse and blowing horn.
- 1735, June 23-1741, October 19 : Two devices : (1) on left, Pine Tree ; (2) on right, Ship and Lighthouse.
- 1741, October 20 : No device.
- 1741, October 27-1752, December 26 : Two devices : (1) on left, Post-

¹ The issue of 28 July, 1755, contained this notice (p. 1/1) :

 *The Publishers of this Paper, hereby give Notice, That they have removed from their Office in King-street, to the Printing-Office in Queen-street, formerly improved by Messieurs Rogers & Rowle, next Door to the Prison.*

² Publication suspended between 17 April and 5 June, 1775.

³ The imprint reads Benjamin Edes and Sons, the sons being Benjamin Edes, Jr., and Peter Edes. Benjamin Edes died 11 December, 1803 (Column-

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boy holding in his right hand a sign on which are the words
 "Gazette or Journal;" (2) on right, Ship and Lighthouse.'

1753, January 3–December 25: Man, Boy, and Girl.²

1754, January 1–1755, April 1: Indian, with bow in left hand and arrow
 in right hand.

1755, April 7–1756, March 29: Two devices: (1) on left, Indian; (2)
 on right, Britannia liberating a bird.³

1756, April 5–1769, December 25: Britannia liberating a bird.

1770, January 1–1780, December 25: Minerva seated, freeing a bird
 from a cage.⁴

bian Centinel, 14 December, 1803, p. 2/3; Benjamin Edes, Jr., died 14 May,
 1801 (Columbian Centinel, 16 May, 1801, p. 2/4); Peter Edes died 29 March,
 1840 (Boston Evening Transcript, 6 April, 1840, p. 2/4).

¹ This was a new cut of the Ship and Lighthouse, smaller than the previous
 one.

² This device is thus described by Isaiah Thomas:

For the want of a more appropriate device, a very singular cut was used in its title,
 which had been designed and engraved for the lxxvth fable of Croxall's *Esop*, repre-
 senting the boy viewing himself in the glass; his little sister, who was offended with
 his vanity, and their father who moralized on the subject of their difference.

³ The second device is the same as that used in the Independent Advertiser.
 See p. 479, below.

⁴ This device is thus described by Isaiah Thomas:

Before this event [the revolutionary war] took place, the device in the title under-
 went a change. The figure of Britannia was exchanged for that of Minerva, seated;
 before her was a pedestal on which was placed a cage; Minerva with her left hand sup-
 ported a spear, on which was placed the cap of Liberty, and with her right, opened the
 door of the cage, and liberated a bird which appeared in the act of flying towards a tree
 that stood at a distance from the city.

There has been some confusion, in previous accounts of the Boston Gazette,
 between the device of Britannia liberating a bird, adopted on 7 April, 1755 —
 a device which had previously been used in the Independent Advertiser — and
 the device of Minerva freeing a bird from a cage, adopted 1 January, 1770.
 The differences between the two devices can best be seen in Buckingham's
Specimens of Newspaper Literature (i. 156, 165), where also will be found re-
 productions of most of the devices used in the Boston papers.

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NEW-ENGLAND COURANT

A BOSTON newspaper of the eighteenth century was seldom mentioned by its contemporaries unless there was between them some subject of controversy. The third paper to be published in Boston — the *New-England Courant* — was the private enterprise of its publisher, James Franklin. It began its lively career with a reflection upon John Campbell, the publisher of the *Boston News-Letter*. To this fortunate circumstance we owe our certain knowledge of the date of publication of the first issue of the *New-England Courant*.¹ The *Boston News-Letter* of 14 August, 1721, contained a long reply from Campbell, which began as follows (p. 4/1):

☞ N. B. **O**N Monday last the 7th Currant, came forth a Third News-Paper in this Town, Entitulecl, The New-Englancl Courant, by Homo *non unius Negotii*; Or, Jack of all Trades; and it mould seem, Good at none: giving some very, very frothy fulsome Account of himself, but lest the continuance of that stile, should offend his readers, . . . The said Jack promises in pretence of Friendship to the other News-Publishers to amend, like soure Ale in Summer, Reflecting too too much, that my performances are now and then very, very Dull.

¹ The date almost invariably assigned is Monday, August 17, 1721. This error — in spite of the easily ascertained fact that that date is an impossible one, since August 17, 1721, did not fall on Monday — is so persistent that it seems worth while to show how it arose. In his account of the *Boston News-Letter*, Isaiah Thomas wrote that “On the 7th of August, 1721, a third newspaper in Boston was published, entitled *The New England Courant*;” and proceeded to give at length the passage quoted in our text from the *Boston News-Letter* of 14 August, 1721. But in his account of the *New-England Courant*, Thomas said that this “was first printed and published Monday, August 17, 1721.” Hence August 17 was a misprint.

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New Style was adopted 15 January, 1722.

Besides his bickerings with contemporaries, James Franklin soon got into serious difficulties with the authorities. In the *New-England Courant* of 11 June, 1722, it was insinuated that the latter were lukewarm in their efforts to capture a pirate vessel. The following is taken from the *Massachusetts House Journals* of 13 June, 1722 (p. 21) :

Samuel Sewall, Penn Townsend, and Addington Davenport, Esqrs; brought down the following Vote of *June 12 th 1722*. The Board having had Consideration of a Paragraph in a Paper call'd the *New-England Courant*, published Monday last, relating to the fitting out a Ship here, to proceed against the Pirates; and having Examined *James Franklin* Printer, he acknowledged himself the Publisher thereof: And finding the Paragraph to be grounded on a Letter pretended by him to be received from *Rhode-Island*. Resolved, That the said Paragraph is a high Affront to this Government.

Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and Concurred.

Sent up.

Resolved, That the Sheriff of the County of *Suffolk*, do forthwith commit to the Goal in *Boston*, the Body of *James Franklin* Printer, for the gross Affront offered to this Government, in his *Courant* of Monday last, there to remain during this Session.

Sent up for Concurrence.

Franklin's imprisonment continued until the General Court was prorogued on 7 July.¹ Two days before this, however, the Council determined on a more drastic measure, but the proposed legislation was defeated in the House. The following is taken from the *Massachusetts House Journals* of 6 July, 1722 (p. 60) :

The following Resolve of Council sent down, viz. In Council *July 5 th. 1722*.

Whereas in the Paper call'd the New-England Courant printed Weekly by James Franklin, many Passages have been published, boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government and on the Administration of it in this Province, the Ministry, Churches and College: and it very often contains Paragraphs that tend to fill the Readers minds with vanity, to the dishonour of God and disservice of Good Men.

¹ *Massachusetts House Journals*, 7 July, 1722, p. 64.

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Resolved, That no such Weekly Paper be hereafter Printed or Published without the same be first perused and allowed by the Secretary, as has been usual, And that the said *Franklin* give Security before the Justices of the Superiour Court in the Sum of *l.* 100 to be of the good Behaviour to the end of the next Fall Sessions of this Court.
Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and Non-Concurred.

The issue of the New-England Courant of 14 January, 1723, contained an essay on hypocrites and two other articles of a nature to invite condemnation. Not only did the paper appear as usual on 21 January, but in the issue of that date was printed the following (p. 2) :

We hear that the following Act is to be inserted in the *News-Letter* and *Gazette* Three Weeks successively.

At a Great and General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, held at *Boston* the fifteenth Day of *November, 1722*.

In COUNCIL, *Jan. 14, 1722*.

WHEREAS the Paper call'd, The New-England Courant, of this Day's Date, contains many Passages in which the holy Scriptures are perverted, and the Civil Government, Ministers, and People of this Province highly reflected on,

Ordered, That *William Tailer, Samuel Sewall, and Penn Townsend, Esqrs*; with such as the Honourable House of Representatives shall join, be a Committee to consider and Report what is proper for this Court to do thereon.

Sent clown for Concurrence.

J. Willard, Secr.

In the House of *Representatives*.

Jan. 14, 1722. Reacl & Concurr'd, And Mr. *Fulham, Mr. Remington, Mr. Stone,* and Mr. *Inolton* be joynd with them.

John Clark, Speaker.

The Committee appointed to Consider of the Paper 'called, The New-England Courant, published Monday the fourteenth Currant, are humbly of Opinion thnt the Tendency of the said Paper is to mock Religion, and bring it into Contempt, that the Holy Scriptures are therein profanely

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abused, that the Reverend and faithful Ministers of the Gospel are injuriously Reflected on, His Majesty's Government affronted, and the Peace and good Order of his Majesty's Subjects of this Province disturbed, by the said Courant; And for prevention of the like Offence for the future, the Committee humbly propose, That James Franklin the Printer and Publisher thereof, be strictly forbidden by this Court to Print or Publish the New-England Courant, or any Pamphlet or Paper of the like Nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of this Province; And the Justices of His Majesty's Sessions of the Peace for the County of Suffolk, at their next Adjournment, be directed to take sufficient Bonds of the said Franklin for [his good Behaviour¹] Twelve Months Time.

per Order of the Committee,

William Tailer.

In COUNCIL, Jan. 15. 1722.

Read and Accepted. Sent down for Concurrence.

J. Willard, Secr.

In the House of Representatives.

Jan. 16. 1722. Read and Concurr'd.

John Clark, Speaker.

Consented to,

W. Dummer.

A true Copy,

Examined per *J. Willard*, Secretary.

Franklin's arrest was ordered by the Council on 24 January, and the warrant for his arrest was issued 28 January.² The issue of the *Nem-England Courant* of 11 February, 1723, contained this notice (p. 1/1):

The late Publisher of this Paper, finding so many inconveniences would arise by his carrying the Manuscripts and publick News to be

¹ These words were inadvertently omitted. See the Massachusetts House Journals, 14, 16 January, 1723, pp. 79, 82.

² Council Records, vii. 452, 453; Suffolk Court Files, no. 16480. For this "last instance of an attempt to revive and enforce censorship" of the press in Massachusetts, see, besides the accounts mentioned in the Introductory Note (pp. 412, 413), Professor Clyde A. Duniway's *Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (Harvard Historical Studies), 1906, pp. 97-103.

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supervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intierely dropt the Undertaking. The present Publisher having receiv'd the following Piece, desires the Readers to accept of it as a Preface to what they may hereafter meet with in this Paper.

The "present publisher" was Benjamin Franklin, from whose Autobiography is taken the following account of his connection with the New-England Courant :

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offense to the Assembly. He was taken up, censur'd, and imprison'd for a month, by the Speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examin'd before the council ; but, tho' I did not give them any satisfaction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a young genius that had a turn for libelling and satyr. My brother's discharge was accompany'd with an order of the House (a very odd one), that "*James Franklin should no longer print the paper called the New England Courant.*"

There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother, seeing inconveinences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be return'd to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it mas; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months.¹

¹ Works (Bigelow's edition), i. 55, 56.

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As this account was written in 1771, it contains the inaccuracies that one would expect after a lapse of nearly half a century. Exactly when Benjamin Franklin left Boston is not known, but perhaps the following advertisement, inserted in the New-England Courant of 30 September, 1723 (p. 2/2), affords a clue :

†*† James Franklin, Printer in Queen-Street, wants a likely lad for an Apprentice.

Isaiah Thomas asserted that the publication of the New-England Courant "ceased in the beginning of the year 1727." In the issue of 7 May, 1726, was printed this notice (p. 2/2) :

†*† *This Paper* (No. 249) *begins a Quarter, and those who have not paid for the last, are desir'd to send in their Money, or pay it to the Bearer.*

For some reason which is not explained, no paper was issued on May 14, the issue of 21 May being dated, "From SATURDAY May 7. to SATURDAY May 21. 1726." The last known issue is that of 4 June, 1726. It contained no notice of discontinuance. It is not known who published and printed the paper after Benjamin Franklin left Boston.

The issue of 11 February, 1723, has frequently been reprinted, notably in Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Various Subjects* (1903), and, from an original in the British Museum, in the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company in the autumn of 1906.

The bibliographical details relating to the New-England Courant are arranged under the following four heads :

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

NEW-ENGLAND COURANT

I

TITLES

1721, August 7: The New-England Courant.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday: 1721, August 7.

Saturday: 1725, June 19.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1721, August 7–1723, February 4: Published and printed by James Franklin¹ in Queen Street.

1723, February 11–1724, July 20: Published and printed by Benjamin Franklin in Queen Street.

1724, July 27–1726, June 4: Published and printed by Benjamin Franklin in Union Street.

IV

DEVICES

None.

¹ James Franklin died 4 February, 1735 (Boston News-Letter, 13 February, 1735, p. 2/11).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NEW-ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL

ON 20 March, 1727, Samuel Kneeland published the first issue of the fourth Boston newspaper — the New-England Weekly Journal.

It has already been noted that for the years 1723–1726 a letter was printed at the upper left-hand corner of the first page of the Boston News-Letter, and that for several years a similar but more elaborate practice was followed in the New-England Weekly Journal.¹ Isaiah Thomas wrote:

In the head, preceding the title, a *signature* was inserted weekly, the signification of which I have not ascertained — it was a letter of the alphabet; first, A, with a figure after it, was used for several months, changing the figure weekly; then B took the place of A, and so on; but the same letter did not appear to be continued for any definite period. After two or three years, the signature consisted of a letter without a figure.

Thomas's account is inaccurate, for the scheme actually pursued is as follows:

- A 1727, March 20 – June 19.
- A 2 1727, June 26 – September 18.
- A 3 1727, September 25 – December 18.
- A 4 1727, December 25 – 1728, March 25.
- B 1728, April 1 – June 24.
- B 2 1728, July 1 – September 23.
- B 3 1728, September 30 – December 30.
- B 4 1729, January 6 – March 30.
- C 1729, April 7 – June 30.
- C 2 1729, July 7 – September 29.

¹ See p. 423, above.

NEW-ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL

- C 3 1729, October 6–December 29.
 C 4 1730, January 5–March 16.
 D 1730, March 23–1731, March 20.
 F 1732, March 27–1733, April 9.
 G 1733, April 16–December 31.
 H 1734, January 7–January 28.

It will be seen that from 20 March, 1727, to 16 March, 1730, the letter remained the same throughout a given year, while the figure changed quarterly; that from 23 March, 1730, to 28 January, 1734, a letter only was employed; that the letter E was omitted; and that the practice ceased after 28 January, 1734.

It has already been stated that it is not always possible to distinguish between publisher and printer.] From 20 March to 26 June, 1727, the New-England Weekly Journal was printed by Samuel Kneeland alone, after which it was printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green. The issue of 10 April, 1727, contained the following (p. 2/2):

--P.S.--Those Gentlemen or Ladies, who will do me the Honour to write to me, and by that means contribute to the Embellishment of my JOURNAL, are desired to direct their Letters, till I can think of my true Name, (unless they are disposed to be more than ordinary Witty and Satyrical) to *PROTEUS* ECHO, Esq; at Mr. *Samuel Kneeland's* in Queen Street. Post Paid.

In the following notice, which was inserted in the issue of 8 April, 1728 (p. 1/1), it will be observed that the editorial "we" is employed:

☞ There are Measures concerting for rendering this Paper yet more universally esteemed, and useful, in which 'tis hop'd the Publick will be gratify'd, and by which those Gentlemen who desire to be improv'd in History, Philosophy, Poetry, &c. will be greatly advantaged. We take the liberty at this time to insert the following Passage of History.

In the issue of 3 February, 1729, appeared this notice (p. 2/2):

¹ Introductory Note, p. 416, above.

NEW-ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL

The Printer of this Paper would have emitted herewith his Desire, that some Errors of the East Journal might be laid to his Charge; he not having then any Person by Him to correct the Press, as usual, and being since convinced they are his own; such as. . . with a few other slips which f the Reader pardons, he will oblige

The Printer.

Isaiah Thomas wrote :

For the first year of the partnership, there was a singularity of this kind. — The imprint to the Journal was, "Printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green," &c. yet Green alone, it seems, was responsible for the correctness of the paper, and appears to have been sole conductor of it. In such advertisements, published in the Journal, as required explanation, the public were requested to "enquire of the *Printer*."

Thomas then went on to give the notice quoted in part above, and remarked :

Immediately after this notice, the imprint, "S. Kneeland & T. Green" stands as usual. This may be explained by observing, that Kneeland committed the printing of the Journal to Green, and for four or five years, after their partnership commenced, himself kept a bookshop in King's street. The shop occupied the attention of Kneeland; and, although the Journal was printed in the name of Kneeland and Green, yet the former was considered as the proprietor, and the latter as the printer, and the profits were shared between them.

The issue of 20 March, 1727, had the word "NUMB." in the upper right-hand corner of the first page, but no figure following it. In numbering the issues dated 27 March, 1727-23 April, 1735, Roman numerals were used, while in numbering the issues dated 5 May, 1735-13 October, 1741, Arabic numerals were employed.

The issue of 8 April, 1728, has been reproduced, notably in Dr. Samuel A. Green's *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Various Subjects* (1903).

The bibliographical details relating to the New-England Weekly Journal are arranged under the following four heads :

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication,
- IV. Devices.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
NEW-ENGLAND WEEKLY JOURNAL

I

TITLES

1727, March 20: The New-England Weekly Journal.¹

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday: 1727, March 20.

Tuesday: 1735, August 12.²

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1727, March 20–June 26: Published and printed by Samuel Kneeland in Queen Street.

1727, July 3–1741, October 13: Published and printed by Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green in Queen Street.

IV

DEVICES

None.

¹ On and after 18 May, 1736, the hyphen was omitted in “New England.”

² The issue of 4 August, 1735, contained this notice (p. 2/3):

 *This Paper for the future will be Published every Tuesday Morning; . . .*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

WEEKLY REHEARSAL

ON 27 September, 1731, was published the first issue of the *ffth* Boston newspaper — the Weekly Rehearsal. This was “Printed by John Draper for the Author.” Though his name never appeared in the imprint, the “author” (or editor or publisher) was Jeremiah (or Jeremy) Gridley. The paper was printed by John Draper from 27 September, 1731, to 14 August, 1732; on and after 21 August, 1732, it was printed by Thomas Fleet at the Heart and Crown. The issue of 28 August, 1732, contained this notice (p. 2/2):

THe Publishers of this Paper having settled a Correspondence with Gentlemen of the principal Towns of *Pensilvania*, *New-York*, Connecticut, *Rhode-Island* and New-Hampshire, *Barbadoes* and *South-Carolina*, as well as in the most considerable Places within this Province, . . . hope, that the WEEKLY REHEARSAL will be furnished with such a variety of News and useful Speculation, as shall give an entire Satisfaction to all Readers; . . .

From this advertisement, Isaiah Thomas infers that Fleet “was interested in the publication.” However that may have been, on 2 April, 1733, Thomas Fleet became the sole proprietor, for the issue of that date contained this notice (p. 2/1):

THE Gentleman who *first set up* and has hitherto been interested in this Paper, having now *resign'd* all his *Right* and Interest therein into the Hands *of* the Subscriber, the *Subscriber* thinks himself obliged to give *publick* Notice thereof, and inform *all such* as have *taken* or may *hereafter* take it, that . . . he doubts not *but he* shall be *able* to make the REHEARSAL as Useful and *Entertaining* as any of the Papers now published. . . .

Thomas Fleet.

WEEKLY REHEARSAL

In the issue of 11 August, 1735, numbered 202, was printed this notice (p. 2/2):¹

 **T**he Publisher of this Paper hereby gives Notice, That he intends for the Future to print it every Monday EVENING, (having the Approbation and Advice of several Gentlemen in Town, who are his Customers) . . . and all the Readers in Town may depend upon having it left at their Houses some Time before Dark, (unless upon extraordinary Occasions) which may be a Diversion after the Business of the Day, now the Evenings are grown pretty long.

The following Monday, 18 August, 1735, instead of continuing the Weekly Rehearsal, Fleet brought out the first issue of the Boston Evening-Post, numbered 203. An account of that paper will be found in this volume under its title.²

The issues of the Weekly Rehearsal from 27 September, 1731, to 14 August, 1732, were not numbered. The issue of 21 August, 1732, was numbered 47. This was an error, as forty-seven issues had already been published, and hence that issue should have been numbered 48.8

The practice in regard to Old Style and New Style was somewhat erratic. The issues of 3 January–20 March, 1732, were dated 1732. The issues of 1, 8, and 15 January, 1733, were dated 1732; while the issues of 22 January–19 March, 1733, were dated 1733. The issues of 7, 14, and 21 January, 1734, were dated 1733; while the issues of 28 January–18 March, 1734, were dated 1734. New Style was adopted on 28 January, 1734.

The bibliographical details relating to the Weekly Rehearsal are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

¹ The date of the last issue of the Weekly Rehearsal is sometimes **wrongly** given as 14 August, 1735.

² See pp. 474–476, below.

³ A quondam owner of the file in the American Antiquarian Society attempted to write in numbers in ink, often obliterating the printed number. Needless to say, the result is hopeless confusion.

WEEKLY REHEARSAL

I

TITLES

1731, September 27: The Weekly Rehearsal.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1731, September 27: Published by Jeremiah Gridley. Printed by John Draper.

1732, August 14: Last issue printed by John Draper.

1732, August 21: Published by Jeremiah Gridley. Printed by Thomas Fleet at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.¹

1733, March 26: Last issue published by Jeremiah Gridley."

1733, April 2: Published and printed by Thomas Fleet at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.

IV

DEVICES

None.

¹ See p. 462, above.

² Jeremiah Gridley died 10 September, 1767 (Boston Gazette, 14 September, 1767, p. 3/1).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOSTON POST-BOP

THE SIXTH newspaper to be published in Boston was the Boston Post-Boy. During the first twenty years of its existence — from 1734 to 1754—information in regard to it is meagre. It is not known when the first issue was published; it is not known when the last issue was published; it is not known who printed the paper; and many erroneous statements have been current with respect to its publisher. Under these circumstances, it has been deemed desirable to depart, in this single instance, from the plan laid down in the Introductory Note of strictly confining these Bibliographical Notes to bibliographical details.

Ellis Huske, the first publisher of the Boston Post-Boy, was a prominent figure in the politics of New Hampshire during the first half of the eighteenth century. He was long a member of the Council of New Hampshire; he was for many years Naval Officer at Portsmouth; he was made a Justice of the Superior Court in 1739; and he was Chief Justice of the Province from 1749 until his resignation in 1754. Finally, he was for twenty years Post-master of Boston, succeeding in that office John Boydell, the publisher of the Boston Gazette. Ellis Huske has frequently been confused with his son, Ellis Wuske, Jr.,¹ who was in no way con-

“” Ellis Huske (his son) was post-master at Boston, and the publisher of the Boston *Weekly Post Boy*” (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1850, iv. 335 note). In the first edition (1870) of his *Wentworth Genealogy*, John Wentworth said: “There was an Ellis Huske, who was Post-master at Boston, and who established 'The Boston Weekly Post Boy,' in 1734, . . . His relationship to the above [Chief Justice Ellis Huske] is not known” (i. 180 note). In the second edition (1878) of the same work, Wentworth wrote: “Ellis Nuske, jr., who established the Boston Weekly Post Boy, in 1734, and continued it about twenty years. He was postmaster at Boston” (i. 287 note). This statement was repeated by the editors of Part I of the *Belcher Papers* (8 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 3 note), but the error was corrected in Part X (ibid. vii. 114 note).

BOSTON POST-BOP

nected with the Boston Post-Roy, and with another son, John Huske,¹ who was for several years a Member of Parliament.

From 1704 to 1754, the Postmasters of Boston seemed to think, as Isaiah Thomas expressed it, "that a newspaper was an appendage to their office." Exactly when Ellis Huske became Postmaster has never hitherto been shown, but the date can be determined with certainty. That John Boydell, who became Postmaster in October, 1732, soon desired to relinquish the office is proved by the following paragraph which appeared in the Boston News-Letter of 27 June, 1734 (p. 2/1):

From New York, We have Advice, That they were credibly informed, that Mr. *Ellis Huske* will be appointed Post-Master of *Boston*, Mr. *John Boydell* having desired to resign that Place, and Col. *Spotswood* (in whose disposal it is) having promised it to the said Mr. *Huske*, when it became vacant.

But though willing to abandon his office, Boydell was determined to retain his newspaper, for in the same issue of the Boston News-Letter we read (p. 2/1):

We are well inform'd that Mr. *Boydell* (Life permitted) will continue to publish the News Paper call'd the *Boston Gazette*, for his Customers both in Town and Country, after he is succeeded as Post-Master of Boston.

In a letter written to Huske on August 12, 1734, Governor Jonathan Belcher said that he had received "a deputation for your executing the office of Deputy Postmaster of Boston."² In a letter to Richard Waldron, dated August 23, Belcher wrote:

¹ Ellis Huske "is the person, it is said, who recommended to the British government the Stamp Act of 1765" (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 336 note). This statement was repeated in 1873 by Hudson, who pictures Ellis Huske's astonishment over "the excitement and indignation that his measure created in the colonies" (Journalism in the United States, p. 96). Ellis Huske died in 1755, and the person intended was his son, John Huske, who, on account of his alleged share in the passage of the Stamp Act, was hanged in effigy in Boston on November 1, 1765 (Boston Gazette, 4 November, 1765, p. 1/1). There is, however, no proof that John Huske favored the Stamp Act, while it is certain that he was an earnest advocate of its repeal

² 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 463.

BOSTON POST-BOY

I thank your advice about H—sk, but give myself no concern about what buzzes he may have in his ears. . . . His commission from Coll^d Spotswood is in *totidem verbis* with M^r Boydell's (the name of the person only encepted), nor can the Postmaster General give a fuller commission; and it's in his breast to frank what letters & packets he pleases without asking the leave of any of his deputies, . . . If Husk comes hither, and the Naval Office[at Portsmouth] mill sute you, you are welcome to it.¹

Writing to Alexander Spotswood on September 30, Belcher stated that he would have answered his letter before, —

but have been waiting for M^r Husk's conclusion, which he is now come to, having brôt his wife to town and taken a house, and sayes he shall fin here and attend the office himself, according to your cleputation, which gives no power of further deputation.²

In the Weekly Rehearsal of 7 October, 1734, was printed this notice (p. 2/2):

ADVERTISEMENTS.

This may inform all Gentlemen and others. That the Post-Office is now kept by Ellis Husk, Esq; at the House of Mr. Benjamin Eliot, Bookseller, just below the Town-House, in Boston.

An examination of the Boston News-Letter, the New-England Weekly Journal, and the Weekly Rehearsal from October 1, 1734, to April 21, 1735, has failed to disclose any further allusion to Huske, or any reference at all to the Boston Post-Boy. As Huske displaced Boydell, who was the publisher of the Boston Gazette, it is not unlikely that the Boston Gazette may have contained some information about the Boston Post-Boy; but unfortunately, of the issues of the Boston Gazette published during the above period only two — those of 21 October and 25 November, 1734 — are known to be in existence. Nor is there known to be in existence any copy

¹ 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 114. The marriage on October 25, 1720, of Captain Ellis Huske and Mrs. Mary Plaisted is recorded in the Salem Book of Marriages, iv. 29.

² 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 471.

BOSTON POST-BOP

of the Boston Post-Boy previous to the issue of 21 April, 1735, numbered 23.¹ If this number is to be accepted as a guide, the first issue of the Boston Post-Roy must have been published on 18 November, 1734. On the other hand, it has again and again been shown in this volume that the numbering of papers was too erratic to be a criterion,² and Thomas declared that Huske "began in October, 1734, the publication" of the Boston Post-Boy, though no proof of this statement is offered.

Equally uncertain is the date of the last issue of the Boston Post-Boy published by Huske. The last known issue was that of 23 December, 1754, numbered 1030. It contained no notice of discontinuance, and Thomas asserted that the Boston Post-Boy, "I believe, . . . was continued until within a few weeks of the time when the provincial stamp act took place, in 1755 [April 30]." The Boston Evening-Post, the Boston Gazette, and the Boston News-Letter—the only other papers published in Boston from December, 1754, to May, 1755—have been searched in vain for allusions to Huske. In a message to the New Hampshire Legislature dated January 8, 1755, Governor Beaning Wentworth said that "upon the resignation of the late Chief Justice, . . . I prevailed on the Hon^{ble} Theodore Atkinson, Esq. to accept of a Commission for Chief Justice."³ It may be argued that this indicates the death of Huske, but such a conclusion would not be justifiable, as the language is ambiguous. It seems extraordinary that the death of so prominent a man should not have been recorded in town records⁴ or in the Boston newspapers,⁵ and that apparently the only notice of his death must be sought for in an English magazine. In the London Magazine for June, 1755, will be found this notice:

Hon. Ellis Huske, Esq; on April 24, at Boston in New England, brother to lieut. general Huske (xxiv. 301/1).

But while Thomas's surmise that the Boston Post-Boy was continued well into the year 1755 may be correct, there is other

¹ Hence all dates in the Check-List previous to 21 April, 1735, are conjectural.

² See in particular what has been said about the numbering of the Weekly Rehearsal on p. 463, above. ³ New Hampshire Provincial Papers, vi. 339.

⁴ There is apparently no record of his death in Boston, in Portsmouth, or in Concord, New Hampshire.

⁵ There were no newspapers in New Hampshire at that time.

BOSTON POST-BOY

evidence which seems to indicate that the issue of 23 December, 1754, was probably the last published by Husbe. In the Boston Evening-Post of 30 December, 1754, was printed the following (p. 2/1):

Notice is hereby given, that the Post-Office is now kept at Mr. *John Franklin's* in Cornhill. December 30th. 1754.¹

This was immediately followed by another notice :

ALL Persons indebted to the Snscriber, either for *Post-Boy* Papers, or Postage of Letters, are desired to pay off their respective Balances as soon as possible.

SAMUEL HOLBROOK.²

Samuel Holbrook was Huske's deputy.³ As there is no indication in this notice of a continuation of the Boston Post-Boy, and as Huske's sole reason, apparently, for publishing a newspaper was the fact that he was Postmaster of Boston, it is, in the absence of proof to the contrary, a fair assumption that with the loss of his office the paper came to an end.⁴ At all events, it is certain that

¹ This notice was again printed in the Boston Evening-Post of 6 January, 1755 (p. 2/2), and also in the Boston News-Letter of 2 and 9 January, 1755 (pp. 2/2, 2/2). John Franklin was a brother of Benjamin Franklin.

² This notice was again printed in the Boston Evening-Post of 6 January, 1755 (p. 2/2), and also in the Boston News-Letter of 3, 9, and 16 January, 1755 (pp. 2/2, 2/2, 2/2). It was again printed in the Boston News-Letter of 27 February, 1755 (p. 2/2), but with the words "are once more desired" substituted for the words "are desired."

³ See C. W. Ernst's "Postal service in Boston, from 1639 to 1893," in *Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County, Massachusetts* (1894), ii. 443-504.

⁴ In the Boston Evening-Post of 30 December, 1754, and of 6 January, 1763, there was printed immediately after the notice signed by Holbrook the following :

Delinquent Renders,

AS the Season is now come on, when Victuals, Firing, and many other Things that will be wanted to make the Publisher's Life comfortable, and to enable him to carry on this Paper, as well for your Entertainment as his Advantage, he therefore hopes and desires you to take his Case into most serious Consideration.

As this notice appeared in the Boston Evening-Post only, and not in the Boston News-Letter, it may safely be regarded as relating not to the Boston Post-Boy but solely to the Boston Evening-Post.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOSTON POST-BOP

after the death of Huske no Boston paper was published by a postmaster, and the practice of half a century came to an end.

From 1734 to 1754 no printer's name appeared in the imprint of the Boston Post-Boy, nor is it known with certainty who the printers were. Thomas, however, stated that John Bushell, "as I have been informed, printed The Boston Weekly Post Boy, during a short period, for Ellis Huske, postmaster."¹

The words "Published by Authority" appeared in the title of the issues of 21 April, 1735-19 April, 1736.²

The issue of 5 January, 1736, was dated 1735, while the issues of 12 January-15 March, 1736, were dated 1736. There are no known copies of the issues published in January-March, 1735. New Style was apparently adopted 12 January, 1736.

The publication of the Boston Post-Bog was suspended between 23 December, 1754, and 22 August, 1757. On the latter date the paper was revived, though under a somewhat different title, by John Green and Joseph Russell, who continued to publish it until April, 1773. The title was changed several times, but the numbering was continuous after 22 August, 1757.

In May, 1768, a singular arrangement was entered into between John Green and Joseph Russell, publishers of the Boston Post-Boy, and Richard Draper, publisher of the Boston News-Letter. The Boston Post-Bog was published on Monday, the Boston News-Letter on Thursday. The publication of each paper continued under its own name and on its regular day of issue, while the publishers of both papers published jointly a paper called the Massachusetts Gazette. The portion of the Massachusetts Gazette which appeared on Monday was printed by Green and Russell and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same sheet with the Boston Post-Boy of the same date; while the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette which appeared on Thursday was printed by Draper and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same

¹ John Bushell removed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he published the Halifax Gazette, the first issue of which appeared on 23 March, 1752. He died in January, 1761, and was buried January 22 (Burial Register of St. Paul's Parish, Halifax, p. 51).

² There are so few known copies of the early issues of the paper that the statement in the text is necessarily imperfect.

BOSTON POST-BOY

sheet with the Boston News-Letter of the same date. This curious arrangement between the Boston Post-Boy and the Boston News-Letter lasted from 23 May, 1768, to 25 September, 1769. On 28 September, 1769, the Boston News-Letter changed its title to "The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter;" while on 2 October, 1769, the Boston Post-Roy changed its title to "The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser." This confusing similarity in titles continued until the last appearance of the Boston Post-Boy on 17 April, 1775.¹

The issue of 26 April, 1773, contained this notice (p. 2/2):

 THE Public are hereby informecl, that the Printing and Publishing of this PAPER will, in future, be carried on by NATHANIEL MILLS and JOHN HICKS. — The late PRINTERS of it return their respectful Thanks for the Favours they hare received; and hope the Customers to the Paper mill continue to encourage it by advertising, &c. Those who choose to discontinue it will signify the same; and such as are willing further to encourage it, are desired to apply to MILLS and HICKS, at their Printing-Office in School-street, next to the new Sign of OLIVER CROMWELL.

The last known issue was that of 17 April, 1775. It contained no notice of discontinuance.

The bibliographical details relating to the Boston Post-Boy are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1735, April 21: The Boston Weekly Post-Roy.

1750, June 4: The Boston Post-Boy.

¹ See pp. 430-432, above, and pp. 484-492, below.

BOSTON POST-BOY

1754, December 23 - 1757, August 22: Publication suspended between these dates.

1757, August 22: The Boston Weekly Advertiser.

1759, January 1: Green & Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser.

1763, May 30: The Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser.

1769, October 2: The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser.¹

II**DAYS OF PUBLICATION**

Monday.

III**PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION**

1735, April 21 - 1754, December 23: Published by Ellis Huske. No printer's name.

1754, December 23: Last known issue published by Ellis Huske.²

1757, August 22: Published and printed by John Green and Joseph Russell in Queen Street.

1773, April 19: Last issue published and printed by John Green and Joseph Russell.³

1773, April 26: Published and printed by Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks next door to Cromwell's Head Tavern in School Street.

IV**DEVICES**

1735, April 21 - 1750, June 4: Two devices: (1) on left, Ship; (2) on right, Postboy on horseback blowing a horn, riding to the right.

1750, June 11 - 1754, December 23: Two new devices: (1) on left, Ship, with Fort to right of it; (2) on left, Postboy, riding to the left.

¹ On 26 April, 1773, the comma after the word "Gazette" was displaced by a semicolon.

² Ellis Huske died 24 April, 1755. See p. 468, above.

³ John Green, who was a son of Bartholomew Green, Jr., died 21 November, 1787 (*Massachusetts Centinel*, 24 November, 1787, viii, 79/2). Joseph Russell died 29 November, 1795 (*Columbian Centinel*, 2 December, 1795, p. 3/1).

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- 1757, August 22 - 1758, August 14 : Postboy, riding to the left.
1758, August 21 - 1767, July 13 : Two devices: (1) on left, Ship and Fort; (2) on right, Postboy, riding to the left.
1767, July 20 - 1768, May 16 : Same devices, but newly cut.
1768, May 23 - 1769, September 25 : No device.
1769, October 2 - 1773, April 19: Royal Arms.
1773, April 26 - 1775, April 19 : New cut of Royal Arms, larger than the former.

¹ This was the same device which had been used in the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette published by Green and Russell on Mondays. See p. 439 note, above.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOSTON EVENING-POST

IT HAS already been noted¹ that Thomas Fleet inserted in the last issue of the *Weekly Rehearsal*, dated 11 August, 1735, numbered 202, an advertisement stating that thereafter the *Weekly Rehearsal* would be published on Monday evening; and that on the next Monday, 18 August, instead of continuing the *Weekly Rehearsal*, Fleet brought out the first issue of the *Boston Evening-Post*,² numbered 303.3 The advertisement, quoted on a previous page,⁴ printed in the *Weekly Rehearsal* of 11 August was also printed in the *Boston Evening-Post* of 18 August, but with this addition (p. 2/2):

N.B. *At the Desire of several Gentlemen, it has been tho't advisable to change the Title, as well as the Time of Publishing, and will for the Future come out under the Title of,*

The *Boston Evening-Post*:

. . .

The second issue of the *Boston Evening-Post*, that of 25 August, 1735, was numbered 2.

The last issue of the *Boston Evening-Post* was that of 24 April, 1775, which contained this notice (p. 2/3):

¹ See p. 468, above.

² Each paper thus far considered has been called the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, or sixth newspaper to be published in Boston; for in regard to those six papers there can be no doubt. But after 1734 such a characterization becomes impossible. The *Weekly Rehearsal* and the *Boston Evening-Post* may be regarded either as two distinct papers or merely as the same paper with a change in title. Cf. pp. 414, 415, 444, 445, above.

³ The numbers of the last issue of the *Weekly Rehearsal* and of the first issue of the *Boston Evening-Post* are sometimes wrongly given.

⁴ See p. 463, above.

BOSTON EVENING-POST

The Printers of the Boston Evening-Post hereby inform the Town that they shall desist publishing their Papers after this Day, till Matters are in a more settled State.

The bibliographical details relating to the Boston Evening-Post are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1735, August 18: The Boston Evening-Post.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1735, August 18: Published and printed by Thomas Fleet at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.

1758, July 17: Last issue published by Thomas Fleet.¹

1758, July 24: Published and printed by Thomas Fleet and John Fleet at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.²

¹ Thomas Fleet died 21 July, 1758 (Boston Evening-Post, 24 July, 1758, p. 2/21).

² The issue of 24 July bears the imprint, "Printed by T. Fleet;" but as Thomas Fleet, Senior, had died three days before, it is obvious that that issue could not have been published by him. His successors were his sons, Thomas and John Fleet, whose imprint first appears in the issue of 31 July, 1758. Thomas Fleet, Jr., died 15 March, 1797 (Massachusetts Mercury, 17 March, 1787, p. 3/1). John Fleet died 18 March, 1806 (Columbian Centinel, 19 March, 1806, p. 2/41).

IV

DEVICES

735, August 18–1759, March 12: No device.

759, March 19: In oval a Heart over a Crown; resting on the oval is a bird with a letter in its mouth, and underneath a scroll with the words, “THO^s & JOHN FLEET.” The whole inclosed within a border.

1760, February 18: Same device, but without the border.

1765, November 4: Same device, except that there are no names in the scroll.

1774, December 12: Heart and Crown, but of an entirely new design.¹

¹ The Boston Evening-Post of 19 December, 1748 (p. 4/2), contained an advertisement of Thomas Fleet and a cut of his sign, the Heart and Crown. This design is different from either of the devices printed in the title of the paper itself from 19 March, 1759, to 24 April, 1775.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INDEPENDENT ADVERTISER

ON 4 January, 1748, Gamaliel Rogers and Daniel Powle published the first issue of the Independent Advertiser. Isaiah Thomas asserted that "this paper was published weekly on Tuesday, but the day of the week was not mentioned in the title." The latter part of this statement is correct, but the day of publication was Monday, not Tuesday.¹ The issue of 2 October, 1749, is numbered 92; that of 5 December, 1749, is numbered 93; and there are no known copies of issues between those two dates. These facts would indicate that no issues were published between those dates, were it not for the further fact that the numbering of papers was so erratic as to be worthless. Still, though the issue of 2 October contains no notice of discontinuance, it is probable that the publication of the paper was suspended until 5 December. Thomas wrote:

The continuance of this paper was short. Rogers and Fowle dissolved their copartnership in April, 1750; and, their Independent Advertiser ceased with their connexion, after being published two years.

The following notices, printed in the issue of 5 December, 1749, indicate that that was the final issue and that the publication of the paper had previously been suspended:

There is hardly any Character, that deserves less Envy, and more Candour, than that of a Political Writer; especially if he writes from Principle, and is perseveringly honest.

Mankind are grown so corrupt, as to esteem all Pretences to enlighten or amend them, suspicious; and so proud, they had rather suffer the most threatening Disorders than by receiving a Cure, implicitly lay under the Reputation of having them: Upon this Account, no one can promise to himself Applause, whenever he really deserves it. **And** however

¹ The only issue published on a Tuesday was that of 5 December, 1749.

INDEPENDENT ADVERTISER

agreeable the Character of a fine Writer may be; yet so difficult is it to be obtained, so liable to be lost by any Intermission or Alteration in those Methods by which it was first acquired; in short, so precarious and fugitive as to afford no solid Motive to Spirit a Man to encounter the Difficulties which lay in the Way of it.

These Considerations render the Writers of this Paper entirely contented with the Determination of the Printers, who have for some Reasons declined the farther Publication of it; which Event determines us to give some Account of our selves and our Views to our Readers, with whom we have had so much Intercourse, as to make some Ceremony at parting decent and necessary. — This would have been done before, but the Intention of the Printers were not certainly known, and there was some Probability they would re-assume it. . . . (p. 1/1).

The Printers of this Paper hereby inform their Customers, That they fully design'd to have carried it on longer, at least to the End of this Year, had they not met with the Misfortune of having two of their Hands taken off from Business, so that had no other Discouragements happen'd, they could not supply the Subscribers as usual (p. 2/1).

The bibliographical details relating to the Independent Advertiser are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1748, January 4: The Independent Advertiser.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
INDEPENDENT ADVERTISER

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1748, January 4: Published and printed by Gamaliel Rogers and Daniel Fowle in Queen Street.¹

IV

DEVICES

1748, January 4: A cut of arabesque design.

1748, January 11: Britannia liberating a bird confined by a cord to the Arms of France.²

¹ Gamaliel Rogers is stated by Thomas to have died in 1775. Daniel Fowle died 8 June, 1787 (*Sew-Hampshire Gazette*, 16 June, 1787, p. 3/3).

² This device is thus described by Isaiah Thomas :

The device in the centre of its title, was a large cut of Britannia liberating a bird confined by a cord to the arms of France. Britannia is represented sitting; the arms of France lying on the ground before her; the bird is on the wing, but being impeded by the cord, one end of which is fastened to the arms of France, and the other to the bird. Britannia is in the act of cutting the cord with a pair of shears, that the bird may escape.

In 1799 the Rev. John Eliot suggested a different interpretation :

. . . the *Independent Advertiser* . . . was supported by the whigs, who gave a device indicative of their principles, a bird let loose by the hand of Britannia, or the goddess of liberty. It was thus designed; but may as well represent America in the character of a female, active in doing good, profuse of her favours, and pregnant with blessings for future times (*1 Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi. 69).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOSTON CHRONICLE

ON 21 December, 1767, John Mein and John Fleeming¹ brought out the first issue of the Boston Chronicle. From 21 December, 1767, to 2 January, 1769, the paper was published on Monday; and from 9 January, 1769, to 25 June, 1770, on Monday and Thursday. It was the first Boston newspaper to appear twice a week.²

John Mein was a lively controversialist, and the Boston Chronicle, becoming an organ of the Tories, soon found itself without support.³ The last issue was that of 25 June, 1770, in which was printed the following notice (iii. 201/1):

¹ It is believed that this printer's name — in previous accounts of Boston newspapers spelled Fleming — is given correctly in this volume for the first time.

² During a portion of the years 1730 and 1731, the Boston News-Letter was published twice a week; but those were sporadic issues.

³ The inability to distinguish sharply between publisher and printer has already been commented upon. Isaiah Thomas wrote:

John Mein was a bookseller, and John Fleming a printer. The Chronicle was published by Mein. . . . Before the close of the second year of publication, its publisher, Mein, was engaged in a political warfare with those who were in opposition to the measures of the British administration. In the Chronicle he abused numbers of the most respectable whigs in Boston; and he was charged with insulting the populace. To avoid the effects of popular resentment, it became necessary for him to leave the country. Fleming continued the Chronicle during the absence of Mein, in the name of the firm.

From a passage in the Boston News-Letter of 21 September, 1769 (p. 2/1) it seems certain that Mein was at that time still in Boston. In the Boston Evening-Post of 6 November, 1769, was printed the following (p. 3/1):

*M*R. John Mein, our intrepid *asserter* of truth and *falshood*, has kept himself out of the way (for reasons best known to himself) since Saturday last: . . .

In the Boston Evening-Post of 20 November, 1769, it was stated: "We hear, that John Mein went for England last week in the Hope schooner" (p. 3/2). In the Boston Gazette of 20 November, 1769, appeared the following (p. 3/1):

BOSTON CHRONICLE

** * * The Printers of the Boston Chronicle return thanks to the Gentlemen who have so long favoured them with their Subscriptions, and now inform them that, as the Chronicle, in the present state of affairs, cannot be carried on, either for their entertainment or the emolument of the Printers, it will be discontinued for some time. . . .*

The Boston Chronicle was peculiar in having been paged consecutively and in having been bound in volumes — to which fact no doubt is due the large number of excellent files. Volume I contained the issues from 21 December, 1767, to 26 December, 1768; Volume II, the issues from 2 January to 28 December, 1769; and Volume III, the issues from 1 January to 25 June, 1770. Volume I also contained an Index filling nearly six pages, of five columns each. On the last page of the Index was printed this notice :

** * * The few Articles in this INDEX, to which no Figures are annexed, are the first and second Numbers. — The Reason for not inserting the Page was, that in re-printing these Numbers, we were obliged to arrange the Articles differently from the first Edition, to make Room for the Farmer's Letters. — We have therefore left Spaces for the Reader to insert the Page according to his Copy.*

The “first and second Numbers” were the the issues of 21 and 28¹ December, 1767. Of the former issue, two editions exist;¹ and of the latter issue, there are also two editions. ♣ ♣ collation of the three volumes follows.

Since our last sailed the Hope Schooner in his Majesty's Service, . . . for England ; She is to stop at Halifax, . . .

We hear that J. Mein, late Publisher of the Boston Chronicle, is gone home in the above Schooner, in order to [here the item abruptly ends].

In the Boston Gazette of 18 December, 1769, a correspondent said: “Mein we know has eloped, and it is said has been seen at Halifax” (p. 2/3).

¹ One edition of the issue of 21 December, 1767, consists of pp. 1-8, without a supplement, the first of John Dickinson's famous Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies being printed on pp. 1, 3. Another edition contains: (1) the main paper, filling pp. 1-8; (2) one unnumbered leaf, on which is printed the first of the Farmer's Letters; (3) a supplement filling pp. 9-12, the second of the Farmer's Letters being printed on pp. 9-11.

² One edition of the issue of 28 December, 1767, contains pp. 9-16, the

BOSTON CHRONICLE

The Boston Chronicle. | For the Year M,DCC,LXVIII. |
With many | Supplements | and | Extraordinary Papers.
| Volume I.

Boston: | Printed by Mein and Fleeming, at their Printing-
office in Newbury-street.

Collation: Title, 1 p.; Contents of The Boston Chronicle For
the Year M,DCC,LXVIII., 1 p.; The Boston Chronicle,
pp. 1-492; Index, pp. (6).

Pages 120, 184, 345, 400, 412-424, 440, are in some copies misnumbered 110, 148, 340, 398, 512-524, 340, respectively. There are no pages numbered 153-156.¹ Between pp. 338 and 229 is one unnumbered leaf, a broadside, presumably a supplement to the issue of 30 May, 1768. Page 421 should have been numbered 425, and the error is continued throughout the volume.

The Boston Chronicle. | For the Year M,DCC,LXIX. |
With | Supplements. | Volume II.

Boston: | Printed by Mein and Fleeming, at their Printing-
office in Newbury-street.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; The Boston Chronicle, pp. 1-420.

Pages 170, 233, 234, 236, 303, 329-332, 359, are in some copies misnumbered 70, 234, 235, 237, 297 (or 299), 327-330, 356, respectively. There are two pages, each numbered 333 and 334. What should be p. 385 is misnumbered 333, and the error is continued to the end of the volume.

The Boston Chronicle. | For the Year, M,DCC,LXX. |
Volume III.

Boston: | Printed by Mein and Fleeming, at their Printing-
office in Newbury-street.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; The Boston Chronicle, pp. 1-204.

Pages 16, 100, 110, 119, 178, are in some copies misnumbered 18, 98, 10, 115, 78, respectively.

second of the Farmer's Letters being printed on pp. 9-11. Another edition contains pp. 13-20.

¹ Two explanations of the absence of pages 153-156 are possible: it may have been a printer's error; or a supplement which has not been preserved may have been published between 11 and 18 April, 1768.

BOSTON CHRONICLE

Every issue in Volumes **II** and **III** has a double numbering. Thus, on the left of the title in the issue of **2** January, 1769, is the following: "Vol. II. No. 1," in two lines; while to the right of the title is "No. 55."¹

The bibliographical details relating to the Boston Chronicle are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1767, December 21: The Boston Chronicle.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday: 1767, December 21.

Monday and Thursday: 1769, January 9.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1767, December 21: Printed by John Mein and John Fleeming almost opposite the White Horse Tavern in Nembury Street.

IV

DEVICES

None.

¹ At the end of Mein and Fleeming's Register for New-England and Nova-Scotia for 1768 are two unnumbered leaves, the first of which contains a prospectus beginning as follows:

Boston, October 22d, 1767. / Proposals / For printing a New Weekly Paper, called / The Boston Chronicle. / Conditions.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

IT HAS already been stated¹ that in September, 1768, a singular arrangement was entered into between Richard Draper, publisher of the Boston Kews-Letter, and John Green and Joseph Russell, publishers of the Boston Post-Boy. The Boston Kews-Letter was issued on Thursday, the Boston Post-Boy on Monday. The publication of each paper continued under its own name and on its regular day of issue, while the publishers of both papers published jointly a paper called the Massachusetts Gazette. The portion of the Massachusetts Gazette which appeared on Thursday was printed by Draper and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same sheet with the Boston News-Letter of the same date; while the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette issued on Monday was printed by Green and Russell and was sometimes, but not always, printed on the same sheet with the Boston Post-Boy of the same date.

It is remarkable that a careful examination of the Boston News-Letter, of the Boston Post-Boy, and of the Massachusetts Gazette itself, reveals but a single allusion to the arrangement entered into between Draper and Green and Russell. That allusion occurs in a notice printed in the Boston News-Letter of 26 May, 1768 (p. 1). Though this notice has already been given in the present volume,² it is for convenience repeated here :

THE Thursday's Paper (the first ever printed in America,) returns to its primitive Title, the Gazette being directed by AUTHORITY to be published in another Manner: The Customers will be served with Care and Fidelity ; those who advertise herein may depend on having their Notifications well circulated. N.B. A Gazette will

¹ See pp. 430-432, 470, 471, above.

² See p. 431, above.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

accompany the News-Letter every Thursday (tho' not always in a separate Paper.) . . .

This is a clear intimation that in some way the Government was concerned in the new arrangement, but exactly how has never been indicated. Both the Massachusetts Archives and the Massachusetts House Journals are apparently silent on the subject; but in the Council Records have been found two passages which, while they by no means fully explain the situation, at least shed some light on it.

In the supplement to the Boston Gazette of 29 February, 1768 (p. 2/2), was printed a letter which reads in part as follows :

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

Please to insert the following.

MAY it please your ———, *We have for a long Time known your Enmity to this Province. No Age has perhaps furnished a more glaring Instance of obstinate Perseverance in the Path of Malice, than is now exhibited in your ———. . . . But I refrain, lest a full Representation of the Hardships suffered by this too long insulted People, should lead them to an unwarrantable Revenge. We can never treat good and patriotic Rulers with too great Reverence — But if is certain that Men, totally abandoned to Wickedness, can never merit our Regard, be their Stations ever so high.*

“If such Men are by God appointed,

“The Devil may be the Lord's annointed.”

A TRUE PATRIOT.

Governor Bernard fitted the cap to his own head, and at the meeting of the Council held the next day, March 1, —

His Excellency laid before the Board the Boston Gazette, published yesterday, containing the most insolent attack upon the character of His Excellency, the Governor, with the most unjustifiable insinuations concerning his public conduct, and an implicit call upon the People to revenge: and having asked the advice of the Council thereto:

The Board tooli the matter into consideration, and having expressed their utmost detestation of the libellous and seditious publication aforesaid: — Unanimously advised that His Excellency lay the same before the Two Houses in such manner as he shall think proper.¹

¹ Council Records, xvi, 293.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

This advice was at once acted upon by the Governor, who immediately sent a message to both Houses. On March 3 the Council presented an address to the Governor in which the following passage occurs :

The Board therefore cannot but look upon the said libel with the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation: and they are firmly persuaded the Province in general view it in the same light: The Threats therefore implied in the Libel cannot be the Threats of the Province, but of the Libeller.¹

In the House the message was considered on March 1 and 2, and on March 3 an answer was drawn up in which it was said :

We are very sorry that any Publication in the News Papers, or any other Cause, should give your Excellency an Apprehension of Danger to the Being or Dignity of His Majesty's Government here. But this House, after Examination into the Nature and Importance of the Paper referred to, cannot see Reason to admit such Conclusion as your Excellency has formed. No particular Person, public or private is named in it: And as it doth not appear to the House, that any thing contained in it can affect "the Majesty of the King, the Dignity of the Government, the Honor of the General Court, or the true Interest of the Province," they think it may be fully justified in their Determination to take no further Notice of it.²

In these proceedings there was no allusion to the Massachusetts Gazette, and whether they have any bearing on the newspaper now under consideration is by no means clear. However that may be, it is certain that at a meeting of the Council held March 3 it was —

¹ Boston News-Letter, 4 March, 1768 (p. 1/1). Neither the message of the Governor nor the address of the Council is recorded in the Council Records, but both are printed in the Boston News-Letter of 4 March, 1768 (p. 1), and in the Boston Post-Roy of 7 March, 1768 (pp. 1, 2).

² See Council Records, xvi. 293; Massachusetts House Journals under dates of 1, 2, 3 March, 1768, pp. 206, 207, 210, 211; Boston News-Letter of 4 March, 1768, Boston Post-Boy of 7 March, 1768, where the proceedings are printed in full; C. A. Duniway, Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, pp. 126-128.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

Advised that Mess^{rs} Draper, and Green & Russell be appointed Printers of the Massachusetts Gazette. they engaging to publish the same two days in every week.¹

The matter was not again referred to until April 11, on which day —

The Council having advised on the Third of March last that M^r Richard Draper, and Mess^{rs} Green and Russell be appointed printers of the Massachusetts Gazette, they engaging to publish the same two days in every week. This matter was taken up anew at a General Council duly summoned and continued by adjournment to this day. And the said Richard Draper, and Green and Russell were by the Advice and Consent of the Council appointed Printers of the Massachusetts Gazette accordingly, they to publish the same two days in every week.²

A period of six weeks elapsed, when the first issue of the Massachusetts Gazette appeared on Monday, 23 May, 1768, numbered 277, printed by Green and Russell. The second issue appeared on Thursday, 26 May, numbered 278, printed by Draper. Thereafter every portion published on Monday received an odd number, and every portion published on Thursday an even number. The numbers were intended to alternate; but, with their accustomed inability to number correctly, the printers soon became hopelessly confused.³

Why 277 was selected as the number of the first issue of the Massachusetts Gazette requires explanation. Between 1704 and 1776, the Boston News-Letter was known under eleven titles, in all except one of which the words "Boston News-Letter" occurred. From 24 April, 1704, to 31 March, 1763, the words "Massachusetts Gazette" never appeared in the title of the Boston News-Letter. Between 31 March, 1763, and 26 May, 1768, the exact titles of the Boston News-Letter were its follows :

1763, April 7 - 1765, October 31: The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter.

¹ Council Records, xvi. 294.

² Ibid. xvi. 303.

³ See Collation of Numbers and Dates, p. 357, above.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

1765, November 7 - 1766, May 15: The Massachusetts Gazette.

1766, May 22 - 1768, May 19: The Massachusetts Gazette. And Boston News-Letter.

It is thus seen that the words "Massachusetts Gazette" were employed in the title of the Boston News-Letter for the first time on 7 April, 1763. It has already been shown that the reason why these words were adopted was because the Council ordered on 31 March, 1763, that all official notices should be printed in the Boston News-Letter.¹ Isaiah Thomas, referring to the first issue of the Massachusetts Gazette published on 23 May, 1768, wrote :

Two hundred and seventy-six weeks previously to this new mode of publication, Draper had added, ("Massachusetts Gazette," to the title of the News-Letter. Green and Russell began publishing in the mode described, on Monday, and Draper on Thursday of the week. Green and Russell therefore numbered that part of their sheet which was to bear the title of Massachusetts Gazette, 277. Draper on the Thursday following numbered his 278, and as long as this mode of publishing the Gazette by authority continued, the number for one press was reckoned from that of the other.

There can be no doubt that Thomas was correct in theory, though he himself made a mistake — as did the printers — in assuming that 276 weeks had elapsed between 7 April, 1763, and 20 May, 1768. By actual count the number was 268. Hence the first issue of the Massachusetts Gazette, dated 23 May, 1768, should have been numbered 269, instead of 277.²

Some further inaccuracies of Thomas's need correction. He wrote :

The News-Letter was published on Thursdays, and the Post-Boy on Mondays. Each paper was divided into two equal parts. Half of each

¹ See pp. 426-428, above.

² It is probable that the printers arrived at the number 277 by subtracting 3094, the number of the issue of the Boston News-Letter dated 7 April, 1763, from 3372, the number of the issue dated 19 May, 1768; but if so, the result was again a blunder, for the subtraction gives 278 and not 276. But even if the printers had subtracted correctly the result would still have been inaccurate, for the numbering of the Boston News-Letter in the years 1763-1768 was erratic.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

paper was entitled, "The Massachusetts Gazette, Published by Authority;" and the other half bore their former respective titles. For instance, the old title of Boston News-Letter was reassumed, and, under this title, news and advertisements filled one half of a *whole* sheet; the other half of this sheet was entitled, "The Massachusetts Gazette, Published by Authority;" the contents of this half, like the other, were news, advertisements, and, occasionally, the proceedings of government and public bodies. The same method was taken by Green and Russell. One half of the sheet bore the title of Post-Boy and Advertiser, and the other half that of "The Massachusetts Gazette, Published by Authority." . . . It was in fact publishing a half sheet Gazette "By Authority" twice in a week, once by Draper and once by Green and Russell.¹

Frequent differences occurred in the method of issue. As already stated, the Boston News-Letter and the Massachusetts Gazette were sometimes printed on the same sheet,² while the Boston Post-Boy and the Massachusetts Gazette were also sometimes printed on the same sheet.³ In such cases, of course, each paper consisted of a single leaf or half sheet, as stated by Thomas. But sometimes the Boston News-Letter contained two leaves, with or without a supplement;⁴ sometimes the Boston

¹ More space has been given to the Massachusetts Gazette than perhaps is warranted either by its importance or by the length of time during which it was published. The excuse lies in the fact that Thomas — upon whose account all subsequent accounts have been based — was for him singularly inaccurate in his description of what he called "this 'Adams and Eve paper,' joined together 'by authority.'"

² This was the case with the issues of 9, 16 March, 1769, etc.

³ This was the case with the issues of 23 May, 13, 27 June, 1768, etc.

⁴ The following (and perhaps other) issues of the Boston News-Letter contained two leaves each: 1768, May 26, June 2, 9, July 28, August 4, 18; 1760, June 1. For the issues which contained a supplement as well, see the Check-List, pp. 79, 80, above. Such notices as the following were often printed:

1768, June 2: See the GAZETTE for other Articles and new Advertisements (p. 2/3).

1768, June 9: See Gazette (p. 3).

1768, June 23: Articles of Intelligence respecting Major Rogers, &c. and Advertisements are in the POSTSCRIPT (p. 2/1).

1768, July 21:  Corrigenda in the philological Piece in the Gazette of this Day (p. 1/2).

1768, July 28: The latest Articles See Gazette (p. 3/3).

1768, August 4: For other Articles See Gazette (p. 3/3).

1768, August 18: The latest Articles are in the Gazette (p. 3/3).

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

Post-Boy contained two leaves, with or without a supplement;¹ and the Massachusetts Gazette itself, though usually consisting of a single leaf, sometimes contained two leaves,² and in at least

1768, October 13: *This Postscript is wholly taken from three of the Monday's Papers of October 10* (supplement, p. 1/1).

1768, November 3: *See the Gazette Extra* (p. 1/3).

1769, May 25: See SUPPLEMENT (p. 2/3).

1769, June 1: See GAZETTE (p. 3/3).

1769, June 22: The other foreign and domestic Articles are in the Supplement (p. 2/3).

The supplement to the issue of 25 August, 1765, was a broadside, and contained this notice (p. 1/1):

ALTHO the Particulars of the Celebration [of the repeal of the Stamp Act] of the 14th of August, were kept back from Last Thursday's Paper, yet it is humbly requested that LIBERTY may be given to re print them from Monday's Papers, for the Perusal of the Customers of this Paper who do not see the others.

¹ The following (and perhaps other) issues of the Boston Post-Boy contained two leaves each: 1768, August 1, September 19. For the issues which contained a supplement, see the Check-List, pp. 263, 264, above. The supplement of 24 April, 1760, contains two leaves. Such notices as the following were sometimes printed:

1768, August 1: For more News, &c. See the Gazette (p. 3/3).

1768, October 10: [See the Supplement.] (p. 1/3).

² The following (and perhaps other) issues of the Massachusetts Gazette contained two leaves each: 1768, May 26, July 7, 21; 1769, January 19.

The following notices appeared in the portions of the Massachusetts Gazette printed on Monday by Green and Russell:

1769, April 24: [See SUPPLEMENT.] (p. 1/1).

1769, June 5: [See Supplement.] (p. 2/2).

As no supplement to the Massachusetts Gazette was, so far as is known, issued on the above dates, the references are doubtless to the supplements of the Boston Post-Boy of those dates.

The following notices appeared in the portions of the Massachusetts Gazette printed on Thursday by Draper:

1768, July 7: See News-Letter (p. 3/3).

1768, September 15: *Other Foreign and Domestic Articles, and new Advertisements are in the POSTSCRIPT* (p. 1/3).

1769, January 12: [The other London Articles are in the Supplement.] (p. 1/3).

1769, January 19: For other Articles of Intelligence see News-Letter (p. 3/3)

1769, February 9: *Two Political Pieces from the English Prints are in The SUPPLEMENT* (p. 1/2).

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

one instance — the issue of 3 November, 1768 — it also had a supplement.¹

The issue of the Massachusetts Gazette published by Draper on Thursley, 2 February, 1769, contained this notice (p. 1/3) :

THE Malvolence of the "best writers" here towards the publisher of this Paper, is often discovered in their Publications, the Journal of Occurrences² not excepted; — Without troubling our Readers with the Grounds of their Resentment the Publisher hereof thinks it necessary at this Time, to inform them, that what was inserted in the last,³ said to be the Debates in Parliament on the first Day of their Meeting, was not taken from any extract wrote here, but from the Letter wrote by a Gentleman in London from whom it came, which original Letter was in the Hands of the Printer, and composed therefrom, without any Addition or Omission respecting America; nor was the Publisher requested to make any Alterations convenient or inconvenient, by the Gentleman who favoured him with the said original Letter.

It is evident from this that Draper regarded himself as the sole publisher and printer of the portion of the Massachusetts Gazette issued by him on Thursday.

1769, March 2: *The other Articles from the Liverpool Papers are in the SUPPLEMENT. HARTFORD Post not come in at XII. o'clock* (p. 1/1).

1769, April 20: *For other Articles, &c. See the SUPPLEMENT* (p. 1/3).

As no supplement to the Massachusetts Gazette was, so far as is known, issued on the above dates, the references are doubtless to the supplements to the Boston News-Letter of those dates.

¹ Mechanical reasons alone made it necessary in this volume to treat the Massachusetts Gazette as a separate paper. The practice of librarians differs. In some files, the portions of the Massachusetts Gazette printed on Monday are bound with the Boston Post-Boy, while the portions printed on Thursday are bound with the Boston News-Letter. The Boston Athenæum has a file of the Massachusetts Gazette bound by itself, — and perhaps this is the best plan.

² The "Journal of Occurrences" was not a newspaper of the day, but was a series of articles which under various titles — "Journal of Transactions," "Journal of the Times," "Journal of Occurrences," — appeared at intervals in the New-York Journal from 13 October, 1768, to 14 September, 1769. These articles were frequently alluded to in the Boston papers and were reprinted at intervals in the Boston Evening-Post from 12 December, 1768, to 18 December, 1769. One of the articles was quoted in 1851 by Lossing in his Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution (i. 450 note) in such a way as to give the impression that "the Boston Journal of the Times" was a newspaper.

³ The Massachusetts Gazette of 36 January, 1769, p. 1.

MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

This perplexing and incomprehensible arrangement, whatever its exact nature may have been, between Draper and Green and Russell came to an end with the final issue of the Massachusetts Gazette on Monday, 25 September, 1769. On 28 September, 1769, the Boston News-Letter assumed the title of "The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter;" while on 2 October, 1769, the Boston Post-Boy took the title of "The Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser." This confusing similarity in titles — a similarity which has wrought havoc in citations — continued until the existence of the Boston Post-Boy came to an end on 17 April, 1775.

The words "Published by Authority" appeared in the title of every issue of the Massachusetts Gazette.

The bibliographical details relating to the Massachusetts Gazette are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1768, May 23: The Massachusetts Gazette.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday and Thursday.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION.

1768, May 23 - 1769, September 25: Mondays: Published and printed by John Green and Joseph Russell in Queen Street.

1768, May 26 - 1769, September 21: Thursdays: Published and printed by Richard Draper in Newbury Street.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE

IV

DEVICES

1768, May 23 – 1769, September 25: Mondays: Royal Arms, but of a different design from the Royal Arms used on Thursdays.¹

1768, May 26 – 1769, September 21: Thursdays: Royal Arms, but of a different design from the Royal Arms employed on Mondays.²

¹ This design was used in the Boston Post-Boy on 2 October, 1769.

² This design was used in the Boston New-Letter on 28 September, 1769, and had previously been used in the Boston News-Letter in 1763–1765 and in 1766–1768. See p. 439, above.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MASSACHUSETTS SPY

ON 17 July, 1770, Zechariah Fowle and Isaiah Thomas published the first issue of the *Massachusetts Spy*, numbered 1. The design of the publishers, as stated by Thomas, was "to obtain subscriptions from mechanics, and other classes of people who had not much time to spare from business;" the paper was to be published three times a week; and the first issue was sent gratis to the inhabitants in all parts of the town." The regular publication of the paper began with the issue of 7 August, numbered 2, and continued until 27 October, 1770, when the partnership between Fowle and Thomas was dissolved. From 1 November, 1770, to 1 February, 1771 (numbered 65), the paper was published twice a week by Thomas alone. Its publication was suspended between 1 February and 7 March, 1771. With the issue of 7 March, 1771, numbered 1, the *Massachusetts Spy* became a weekly. The issue of 17 July, 1770, has been reproduced.

The last issue of the paper published in Boston was that of 6 April, 1775, numbered 218. The political crisis caused its removal after that date to Worcester, where it was next issued on 3 May, 1775.

The bibliographical details relating to the *Massachusetts Spy* are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

- 1770, July 17: The *Massachusetts Spy*.
1772, October 8: The *Massachusetts Spy* Or, Thomas's Boston Journal.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MASSACEUSETTS SPY

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Tuesday: 1770, July 17.
Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday: 1770, August 7.
Monday and Thursday: 1770, November 1.
Thursday: 1771, March 7.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1770, July 17: Published and printed by Zechariah Fowle and Isaiah Thomas near the market in Union Street.¹
1770, October 27: Last issue published and printed by Zechariah Fowle² and Isaiah Thomas.³
1770, October 30: Published and printed by Isaiah Thomas near the market in Union Street.
1771, November 7: Published and printed by Isaiah Thomas at the south corner of Marshall's Lane, leading from the Mill Bridge into Union Street.
1773, September 30: Published and printed by Isaiah Thomas at the bottom of Royal Exchange Lane, near the market, Dock Square.
1774, August 25: Published and printed by Isaiah Thomas at the south corner of Marshall's Lane, leading from the Mill Bridge into Union Street.⁴

¹ The issue of 17 July had no imprint.

² Zechariah Fowle died in December, 1783 (*Independent Ledger*, 29 December, 1783, p. 3/2).

³ The issue of 11 October, 1770, has the imprint of Fowle and Thomas. The issues of 13-27 October have no imprint. The issue of 30 October has the imprint of Thomas. Hence it is impossible to say exactly when Fowle's connection with the paper ceased. Thomas's own statement is:

The publication of the *Spy* commenced with No. 2, August 7, 1770, and was printed in this form for three months, by Z. Fowle and I. Thomas; the partnership was then dissolved; and the *Spy* was continued by Thomas.

⁴ Isaiah Thomas died 4 April, 1831.

MASSACHUSETTS SPY

IV
DEVICES

1770, July 17–1771, February 1: No device.

1771, March 7–1775, April 6: Two devices: (1) on left, the Goddess of Liberty, her left hand holding a staff on which was a cap of liberty, her right arm resting on a pedestal on which was a scroll with the word "SPY;" (2) on right, two Infants selecting flowers from a basket, beneath them a scroll bearing the words "THEY CULL THE CHOICEST."¹

1774, July 7–1775, April 6: Three devices: (1) same as above; (2) same as above; (3) beneath the title, a Snake and a Dragon.²

¹ This device is thus described by Thomas:

"Massachusetts Spy," was in large German text, engraved on type metal between two cuts; the device of the cut on the left was, the goddess of Liberty sitting near a pedestal, on which was placed a scroll, a part of which, with the word SPY on it, lay over on one side of the pedestal, on which the right arm of liberty rested. The device on the right was, two infants making selections from a basket filled with flowers, and bearing this motto—"THEY CULL THE CHOICEST."

² This device is thus described by Thomas:

On the 7th of July, 1774, . . . a new political device appeared in the title of this paper—a snake and a dragon. The dragon represented Great Britain, and the snake the colonies. The snake was divided into nine parts, the head was one part, and under it N.E. as representing New England; the second part N.Y. for New York; the third N.J. for New Jersey; the fourth P. for Pennsylvania; the fifth M. for Maryland; the sixth V. for Virginia; the seventh N.C. for North Carolina; the eighth S.C. for South Carolina; and the ninth part or tail, for Georgia. The head and tail of the snake were supplied with stings, for defence against the dragon, which appeared furious, and as bent on attacking the snake. Over the several parts of the snake, was this motto, in large capitals, "JOIN OR DIE!" This device, which was extended under the whole width of the title of the Spy, appeared in every succeeding paper whilst it was printed in Boston.

Though this particular device had never, so far as the Editor is aware, been used before, yet it was not wholly original with Thomas. The idea apparently first occurred in a paragraph which appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of 9 May, 1754 (p. 2/1). Speaking of the raids of the French and of "the present disunited State of the British Colonies," the writer made an appeal for concerted action on the part of the American Colonies, and enforced his plea by a pictorial design of a snake divided into eight parts—the head representing New England and the tail South Carolina. Beneath the snake were the words "JOIN or DIE." The article in the Pennsylvania Gazette, with its accompanying design, was copied into several newspapers of the period. The snake design was again used in what has sometimes been called a newspaper, but what was really a political skit, and is now a bibliographical curiosity. This was The Constitutional Courant, dated 21 September, 1765. Here the snake ap-

MASSACEUSETTS SPY

peared at the top of the first page. A similar design, divided into nine parts (as described by Thomas), with slight variations, was used as a device by John Holt in his New-York Journal of 23 June — 8 December, 1774, and by William and Thomas Bradford in their Pennsylvania Journal of 27 July, 1774 — 18 October, 1775. Another snake device, of a quite different design, was used by Holt in the New-York Journal of 15 December, 1774, and continued into the next year. In the design used in the Massachusetts Spy, the dragon was apparently original with Thomas. An account of The Constitutional Courant and of the-snake devices was given at the meeting of this Society held in March, 1907.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE

ON 5 July, 1768, Samuel Hall of Salem issued a broadside containing '(Proposals For Printing A weekly Public Paper, To be entitled, The Essex Gazette,"¹ and on Tuesday, 2 August, the first issue of The Essex Gazette was published "a few Doors above the Town-House" at Salem. In January, 1772, Samuel Hall took into partnership his younger brother Ebenezer Hall, and they published the paper at Salem from 7 January, 1772, to 4 May, 1775, the last numbered 353. The paper was then removed to Cambridge, when its title was changed to The New-England Chronicle: or, The Essex Gazette.²

The issue of 12 May, 1775, numbered 354, contained this notice (p. 3/3):

Printing-Office, Cambridge, May 12, 1775.

AT the Desire of many respectable Gentlemen, Members of the Honourable Provincial Congress, and others, we have removed our Printing-Office from Salem to this Place; where we shall exert our best Endeavours in continuing to conduct the Business in general, and this Paper in particular, in such a Manner as will best promote the public Good, especially at this important Crisis - - - when the *Property*, the Lives, and (what is infinitely more valuable) the LIBERTY, of the good People of this Country, are in danger of being torn from them by the cruel Hauds of arbitrary Power. . . .

S. & E. HALL.

No issue of the paper was published on 15 February, 1776. The reason for this omission was thus stated in the issue of 22 February (p. 2/1):

¹ A copy of these proposals is in the Essex Institute. Cf. p. 483 note, above.

² Strictly speaking, the New-England Chronicle did not become a Boston paper until 25 April, 1776; but it has seemed advisable to include in this volume the issues published at Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE

CAMBRIDGE, February 22.

On Wednesday evening, last week, departed this life, after a short illness, MR. EBENEZER HALL, in the 27th year of his age, for many years one of the Printers of this Paper, . . .

SAMUEL HALL, original and surviving Publisher of this Paper, intends continuing the Publication of it as usual. His being seized with a violent sickness just after his brother's illness commenced, will it is hoped induce his kind customers to excuse the disappointment of a paper last week, and the printing but half a sheet this.

The paper was published at Cambridge from 12 May, 1775, to 4 April, 1776. In the issue of 4 April was printed this notice (p. 3/3):

. . . The Printer hereof also informs his Customers and others, that next Tuesday or Wednesday, he shall remove his Office into a building in School-street, next below Mr. Bracket's Tavern, in Boston; where he proposes to continue the publication of his paper, and to serve his customers in that, and other branches of Printing, as well as he is able.

The PRINTER.

N.B. The publication will be omitted next week, on account of removing the Office.

As a matter of fact, two issues—those of 11 and 18 April—were omitted.

In the issue of 6 June, 1776, appeared the following notices (p. 3/2):

THE Subscriber most gratefully returns his Thanks to all who have favoured him with their custom, and thereby enabled him to continue the Publication of his Paper till this time. They are now informed, that, after this week, the NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE will be published by Messrs. EDWARD EVELETH POWARS and NATHANIEL WILLIS, to whom it is resigned by the Subscriber. . . .

S. HALL.

MR. HALL having resigned the Publication of the NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE to the Subscribers, we now inform the Public in general, and the Customers for said Paper in particular, that we shall continue the same at the Printing Office lately occupied by Messieurs *Green and Russell*, in Queen Street; . . .

EDWARD E. POWARS,
NATHANIEL WILLIS.

NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE

The Essex Institute and the Massachusetts Historical Society have bouncl in their files of the New-England Chronicle, between the issues of 9 and 16 January, 1777, a document dated 12 January, 1777, which by some has apparently been regarded as a supplement. It is not, however, a supplement, but merely a broadside printed by the publishers of the New-England Chronicle.¹

The bibliographical details relating to the New-England Chronicle are arrnnged under the following four heads :

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1775, May 12 : The New-England Chrouicle : or, the Essex Gazette.
 1776, April 25 : The New-England Chronicle.
 1776, September 19 : The Independent Chronicle.
 1776, November 7 : The Independent Chronicle. And the Universal Advertiser.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Friday: 1775, May 12.
 Thursday : 1775, May 18.

¹ The heading of this broadside is worth giving, for it is curious from the fact of its having been issued on a Sunday — perhaps the first instance of the sort :

BOSTON, SUNDAY, January 12, 1777.

The Letters, whereof the following are Extracts, being wrote by several Field Officers in the American Army, arrived in Town last Evening, and are made Public for the Perusal of the several Gentlemen who subscribed to defray the Expences of obtaining Intelligence from the Army.

The matter is printed in three columns, and at the bottom of the third column is the imprint, "Printed by POWARS and WILLIS." The Massachusetts Historical Society has a duplicate of this broadside, bound in its file of the Continental Journal between the issues of 6 and 13 January, 1777.

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NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

- 1775, May 12 - 1776, February 8: Published and printed by Samuel Hall and Ebenezer Hall in Stoughton Hall, Harvard College, Cambridge.
1776, February 22 - April 4: Published and printed by Samuel Hall in Stoughton Hall, Harvard College, Cambridge?
1776, April 25 - June 6: Published and printed by Samuel Hall² next to the Oliver Cromwell Tavern in School Street, Boston.
1776, June 13: Published and printed by Edward Eveleth Powars and Nathaniel Willis opposite the New Court House in Queen Street.
1779, February 25: East issue published and printed by Edward Eveleth Powars and Nathaniel Willis.
1779, March 4 - 1780, December 28: Published and printed by Nathaniel Willis opposite the Court House.³

IV

DEVICES

- 1775, May 12 - 1776, April 4: A Bird, above the bird a Fish, the whole supported by two Indians, each holding a tomahawk or battle-axe.⁴
1776, April 25 - 1776, October 31: No device.

¹ Ebenezer Hall died 14 February, 1776. See p. 499, above. The issue of 22 February has no imprint.

² Samuel Wall died 30 October, 1807 (Columbian Centinel, 31 October, 1807, p. 2/3).

³ Nathaniel Willis died 1 April, 1831 (C. D. Warner's Nathaniel Parker Willis, 1885, p. 6).

⁴ This was the device adopted by the Essex Gazette on 2 August, 1768. Buckingham said, "I find no explanation of the device." Isaiah Thomas wrote:

In the centre of the title was a cut, of which the design was taken from the official seal of the county. The principal figure — a bird with its wings extended, and holding a sprig in its bill; perhaps intended to represent Noah's dove; and this device was far from being ill adapted to the state of our forefathers, who having been inhabitants of Europe, an old world, were become residents in America, to them a new one; above the bird is a fish, which seems to have been intended as a crest, emblematical of the cod-fishery, formerly the principal dependence of the county of Essex, of which Salem is a shire town. The whole is supported by two aborigines, each holding a tomahawk, or battle axe.

NEW-ENGLAND CHRONICLE

1776, November 7–1780, December 28: Man holding in his right hand an uplifted sword, and in his left hand a scroll bearing the word “INDEPENDENCE.” Above the man is a scroll with the words “APPEAL TO HEAVEN.”¹ The whole is enclosed within an ornamental border.

¹ This device was a modification of the Seal adopted by Massachusetts in August, 1775, when it was voted that, “Instead of an Indian holding a Tomahawk and Cap of Liberty, there be an English American, holding a Sword in the Right Hand, and Magna Charta in the Left Hand, with the Words ‘*Magna Charta*,’ imprinted thereon.” See Massachusetts House Documents, 1885, No. 345.

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CONTINENTAL JOURNAL

WHEN THE Boston Gazette was driven from Boston to Watertown at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War,¹ the partnership between Benjamin Edes and John Gill was dissolved. On 30 May, 1776, John Gill published the first issue of the Continental Journal.

The bibliographical details relating to the Continental Journal are arranged under the following four heads :

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1776, May 30: The Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Thursday.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1776, May 30: Published and printed by John Gill in Queen Street.

1777, September 4: Published and printed by John Gill in Court Street.²

IV

DEVICES

None.

¹ See p. 444, above.

² John Gill died 26 August, 1785 (Massachusetts Centinel, 27 August, 1785, p. 3/2).

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INDEPENDENT LEDGER

ON 15 June, 1778, Edward Draper¹ and John West Folsom published the first issue of the Independent Ledger.

The bibliographical details relating to the Independent Ledger are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1778, June 15: The Independent Ledger, and American Advertiser.
1778, July 20: The Independent Ledger, and the American Advertiser.

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Monday.

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1778, June 15, Published and printed by Edward Draper and John West Folsom at the corner of Winter Street.²

Draper and Folsom published the Independent Ledger from 15 June, 1778, to 24 November, 1783, after which the paper was published by Folsom alone. The firm name only is given, and the identification of Draper in the text is not absolutely certain. Yet there can be little doubt that he was Edward Draper, a brother of the Samuel Draper who died 21 March, 1767. Writing of Samuel Draper, Isaiah Thomas said that "Edward, with a partner, published, for some time during the late war, a newspaper in Boston."

Edward Draper died 16 November, 1831 (Boston Evening Transcript, 18 November, 1831, p. 2/4). John West Folsom died 7 February, 1825 (Boston Daily Advertiser, 8 February, 1825, p. 2/5).

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INDEPENDENT LEDGER

IV

DEVICES

1778, June 15 – July 13: None.

1778, July 20: Heart illuminated by a candle within, and a chain on the outside clasped by thirteen extended hands; beneath, the motto “ALL HANDS WITH ONE ENFLAMED AND ENLIGHTENED HEART.”¹

¹ The date of the adoption of this device is sometimes wrongly given. In the issue of 27 July, 1778, and in subsequent issues, the word “enflamed” became “inflamed;” in the issue of 5 October, 1778, and in subsequent issues, the word “and” was omitted.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EVENING POST

OW SATURDAY, 17 October, 1778, appeared the first issue of the Evening Post,¹ published by White and Adams. The issue of 26 February, 1780, contained this notice (p. 1/1):

. . . A late Resolve of CONGRESS, by which it appears that in future, two mails a week are to arrive in town from the southward, renders it expedient to alter the day of our publication. We therefore inform the public, that our *next* paper will appear on THURSDAY the 9th of *March*, from and after which time it will be regularly published on that day of the week, by

The public's obliged and
very humble servants,
The PRINTERS.

There was no intimation of a change in title, as well as in day of publication. The last issue was that of 11 May, 1780, in which was printed the following notice (p. 1/11):

Printing Office, School-Street, May 11, 1780

THE publishers of this paper, entering on business while their country was involved in the present war, were unable to procure a press and set of types otherwise than on hire. Those which they obtained, and now make use of, were delivered to them without any written agreement, or even verbal promise of the term for which they were to have them: But they are constrained to say, that they had such intimations, if not *assurances*, as to make them conclude, that any ungenerous arts, or alluring promises of a Supplanter, would be ineffectual to deprive them of the means of getting a living without proper notice of such an event.

¹ This paper is apparently not mentioned in previous accounts of Boston newspapers, and is now described for the first time.

EVENING POST

It is with regret and chagrin we are now obliged to inform our customers, that this office was demanded of us last Week, in a sudden and peremptory a manner, as not to allow us the least time for making provision for carrying on our business in future;— indeed it was with difficulty that we obtained leave to print this day's paper.

We are greatly obliged to our customers for their favours. Those of them who are in advance, may depend upon having their money returned as soon as possible. And those who are in arrear are requested speedily to discharge their respective accounts.

WHITE and ADAMS.

The firm name only is used, and it is impossible to identify the publishers with certainty. It may reasonably be assumed, however, that the senior partner was James White; while possibly the junior partner was Thomas Adams, later of the firm of Adams and Nourse, State printers.

The bibliographical details relating to the Evening Post are arranged under the following four heads:

- I. Titles.
- II. Days of Publication.
- III. Publishers, Printers, and Places of Publication.
- IV. Devices.

I

TITLES

1775, October 17: The Evening Post; and the General Advertiser.
1780, March 9: The Morning Chronicle; and the General Advertiser?

II

DAYS OF PUBLICATION

Saturday : 1778, October 17.
Thursday : 1780, March 9.

¹ This title varies in form, reading, in some issues: The Morning Chronicle & General Advertiser.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EVENING POST

III

PUBLISHERS, PRINTERS, AND PLACES OF PUBLICATION

1778, October, 17: Published and printed by White and Adams in School Street, next door to the Cromwell's Head Tavern.

IV

DEVICES

1778, October, 17: Woman seated, holding in her right hand a palm branch and in her left hand a staff on which is a liberty cap; a ship sailing on left, and sun in upper left hand corner.

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