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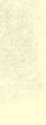
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## PAUL REVERE AND HIS ENGRAVING





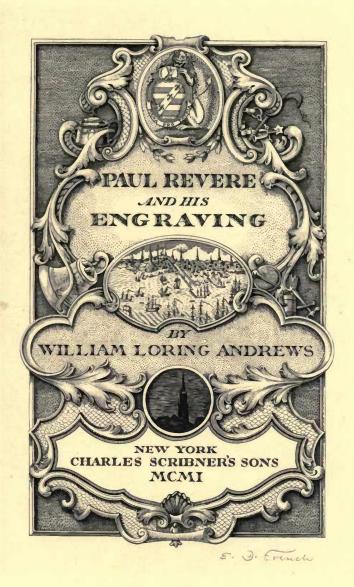


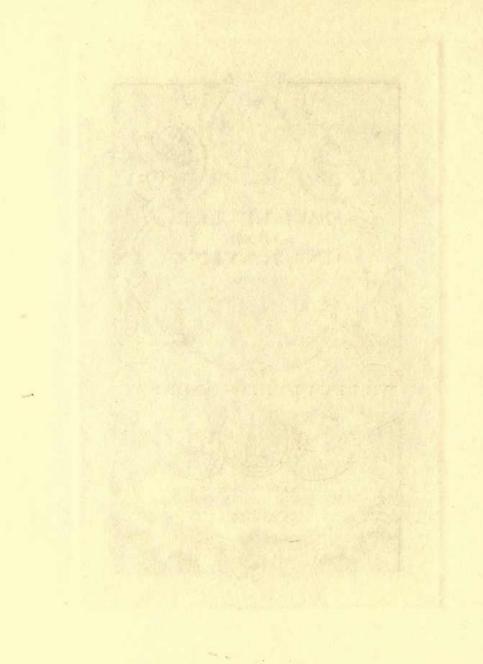
UnhappyBoston: fee thy Sons deplore,
Thy hillowd Walls befinear d with gaitless Gore.
While faithless P—n and his fava ge Bands.
With murdrous Rencour firetch fleet bloody Bands.
Like fire eBarbarians grimming our their Trey.
Approve the Camage and enjoy the D sy.

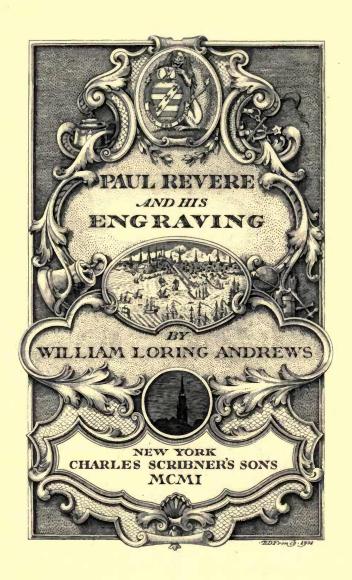
If fielding drops from Rage from Anguill Wring But know here from no to that we ful Goal If speechiefs Surrows: lab ring fire a Tougue When-plow run finish the Manifere of his Soud. Or if a weeping World can cought supposed.

The plaintive Gliofts of Victims firch as thefe:
The plaintive Gliofts of Victims firch as thefe:
The Plaintive Gliofts of Cylicius firch as thefe:
The Plaintive Gliofts of Cylicius firch as thefe:
The Plaintive Gliofts of Cylicius firch as thefe:
The Plaintive Gliofts from her Hand, a gliorius Hinhus which unbeaus the Dead. (Even Excersions) on this Plate inforthed. A gliorius Hinhus which unbeaus the Dead. (Shall reads a) upons who never cambe bridle

The unhappy Sufferens were Mef " SANT GRAX SANT MAVERICK, JAM" CALDWELL, CRISTUS ATTURES & PAT CARR
Stilled, Six, nowinded, ino of them (CHRIST! MONK & JOHN CLARK) Mortally







COPYRIGHT, 1901
BY WILLIAM LORING ANDREWS



Paul Revere & Son,
At their BELL and CANNON FOUNDERY, at the
North Part of BOSTON,

### PREFACE

O winnow the wheat from the chaff and establish the absolute truth, in all its details, of any historical statement is well nigh an impossible task. It is hardly too much to say that no event in history has ever been reported quite correctly, even at the time of its occurrence, and as years and centuries pass by, errors accumulate around and cling to the story as do barnacles to the bottom of a ship.

No sooner had I yielded—upon what I considered good authority—to the belief that the State Treasurer's note herein re-

### PAUL REVERE

produced was engraved by Revere, than I was confronted with one almost exactly the same in appearance signed by 7. M. Furnass, who is said to have been a nephew of Nathaniel Hurd. The only variation in it from the one not signed, and ascribed to Revere, is a slight difference in the ornamental work in the left-hand border. I am now, however, in possession of other of these notes, in which, while the printed matter remains the same, the engraved borders and head-lines differ widely; furthermore, I have been shown an impression of the unsigned note in which the engraving was almost entirely worn away. I have consequently come to the conclusion that the borders and head-band of the plate were necessarily re-engraved a number of times, as the copper would show signs of wear more quickly than the type metal. If Furnass engraved the unsigned and presumably the original plate, why should he not have signed it as he did the others? Therefore, albeit posi-

#### AND HIS ENGRAVING

tive proof is lacking that Revere engraved the unsigned note, the circumstantial evidence in the case is in his favor, and I am disposed to accord him the benefit of the doubt.

By one of those freaks of fortune of which the collector is occasionally the sport, the following amusing letter, relative to the subject of which these pages treat, fluttered into my hands immediately after the book had gone to press, as did also the copy of the Columbian Centinel containing Paul Revere & Son's Bell and Cannon Foundry advertisement, with a reduced reproduction of which this preface concludes.

W. L. A.

Cambridge 23d July 1832.

Dear Sir:

I write this to enquire whether you, or Mr. \* \* \*
or both, have put upon paper the particulars as far
as you know, or can know of Paul Revere; and if so, to
send them to me by way of foundation stones, joice, boards,
shingles and paint for the snug structure contemplated.
I wish to have distinctly written the original name of P.
R. as his father wrote it; for many of the old Hugonots,

#### PAUL REVERE

or their silly descendants, varied the spelling so as in some cases to render it doubtful whether they were of the same stock; in Newport, Bodoine was altered to Bow down, and Amie to Almy-as Jack Anvil, a journeyman blacksmith, when he became rich, was John Anvillé, Esq'. So Snelling may have been originally Smelling. I wish to have particulars of P. Revere as an ingenious and laborious mechanic or artizan. I know all that is needful to be known of him as an active partizan in "the good old cause." I want facts of his industry—ingenuity. Was he, or was he not a Masonic officer of rank?—as Grand master? But this is of less importance than his experiments and labors in cannon founding and above all in Bell founding. Have you any treatises on either of these arts? I want these things sent to me, or rather brought to me by one or both of you. In a word-bring your straw, and you shall have brick, and don't put it off beyond Thursday.

Yours with impatience,





Paul Revere & Soft,
dt die BELE auf CANNON Pounner; of th
Note Deep & DOSTON.

CAST BELLS, of all fixed; every kind
of B-is ORDNANCE, and every kind
Completion North, for SHIPS, &c. or bis florilly nation
Manufacture COPPER into Executive florilly
Bricks Natia, Rivers, Dovertairs, &c. from Male
daid Copper.

They always keep, by them, every kind of Capper Palaniag for Schip. They have now of hand, a cumber of Church and Ship Rells, of different fixes; a large quantity of Sheathing Copper don't fon hid 30 owned; Bots, Spikes, Nails, &c of all fixes, which they warrant equal to English manufalture.

Cash and the highest price gives for old Copper and Brafo march 20



		PAGE
I	The Boston Massacre, per-	
	petrated on March the 5th,	
	1770 Facing	title
	Printed in colors. Photogravure, after the original engraving	
	by Paul Revere. Size of the original engraving, including the inscription, $9\frac{7}{8}x8\frac{5}{8}$ inches.	
ΙΙ	TITLE-PAGE	
	Designed and engraved on copper by E. Davis French in the style classed by bookplate collectors as JACOBEAN.	vii
III	Portrait of PAUL REVERE-	
,	After the painting by Gilbert	
	Stuart	4
	Copied by permission, after the copper- plate by S. A. Schoff, published in the	
	Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association Proceedings of 1854.	

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IV	Silver Teapot, manufactured by	PAGE
	Revere	ΙI
	One half the size of the original.	
v	BURIED WITH HIM BY BAP-	
	TISM	15
	Engraved by Revere. Size of the original $6\frac{1}{2}x4\frac{3}{16}$ inches, including title.	
VI		18
	Border and headline said to have been engraved by Revere.	
	Size of the original 10\frac{1}{4}\text{X4}\frac{3}{4} inches.	
VII	Continental Paper Money	2 I
	Printed by Hall and Sellers. Same size as the original.	
7III	The Able Doctor; or, America	
	Swallowing the Bitter Draught	33
	Engraved by Revere for the Royal American Magazine.	
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IX	A VIEW OF THE TOWN OF BOS-	
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	ican Magazine, 1774.	
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X	Title-Page to "The New Eng- land Psalm Singer or Ameri-	PAGE
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ΧI	The Mitred Minuet	72
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XVI	Title-Page of Dr. Benjamin Church's Oration on the Boston Massacre 105 Boston, 1773.
XVII	The Boston Massacre 109 Frontispiece to the Boston Edition (1770) of the "Short Narrative." Size of the original 5\(\frac{3}{4}\text{x4\frac{1}{8}}\) inches, exclusive of the lettering.
KVIII	An Indian Gazette 144 From the illustration in the Royal American Magazine. Size of the original 7\frac{1}{4}x6\frac{3}{4} inches.

## THE HEAD-BANDS, TAIL-PIECES AND INITIAL LETTERS

The head-bands and tail-pieces were designed by Sidney L. Smith and engraved by him on copper. The initial letters to the chapters—in what is known as *Old Colonial engrossing band*—were also drawn by Mr. Smith.

band. . . . . . . . ix

Seal of the Massachusetts Charitable
Mechanic Association, of which Revere was one of the founders and first
President.

II	List of Illustrations: Tail-	PAGE
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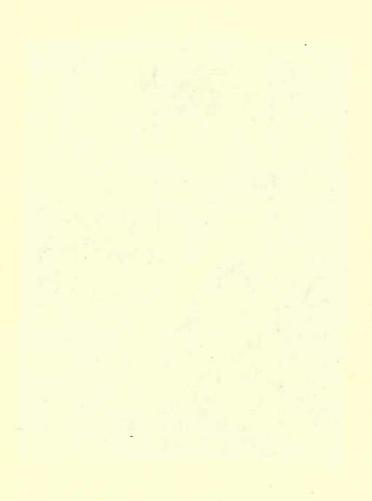
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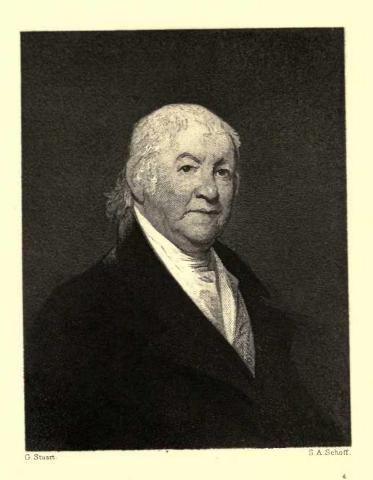
"With the exception of the head-band to Chapter I, which is a free copy of Revere's work on book-plates, an attempt has been made in the head- and tail-pieces to recall the side of contemporary French work that Revere took as a model for his ornamental engraving, either direct or through English imitations."

Sidney L. Smith.



## PAUL REVERE AND HIS ENGRAVING





Taul Revere

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## CHAPTER I

VERYONE familiar with the Annals of our Revolutionary War will concede that one of the most interesting and romantic characters of those dark days in our history that "tried men's souls" is that of the patriot, soldier, silversmith, copper-plate engraver, merchant, brass founder and sheet-copper-roller, dentist, picture frame designer and manufacturer, die sinker, Grand Master Mason and confidential agent of the State

<sup>\*</sup> After the peace Revere erected an air furnace in which he cast cannon and church bells, and a number of the latter are still pealing forth their melodious notes upon the New England

of Massachusetts Bay, the "Mercury of the Revolution," Colonel Paul Revere. He was decidedly a man of action, who in his time played many parts and in all his manifold undertakings achieved success. In the words of one of his biographers, "He prospered, accumulated by a long life of industry and economy a competency in the way of property, and educated a large family of children who venerated the memory of such a father."

The following fac-simile of an advertisement in the Boston AMERICAN HERALD of Monday, February 6, 1786, shows the diversified character of the mercantile busi-

Sabbath air. The business card of PAUL REVERE & Sons as casters of bells and brass cannon will be found reproduced in E. H. Goss's "Life of Revere," Vol. II, page 557.

One of Revere's church bells was recently offered for sale by the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston and quickly found a purchaser. It had, so the advertisement states, a history, for it used to summon the people of the Old North End to worship when it was the "court part" of the town. It was in the tower of the old First Church and bears this inscription: "The First Church, Cast in Boston in 1792 by Paul Revere." The price asked was \$500.

ness which Revere conducted, after the War of Independence, which had enlisted his energies and occupied his time for seven

PAUL REVERE,

WOULD respectfully inform his Customers and the Publick,

That he has REMOVED
from the South Part of the Town, opposite
Liberty-Pole, to Dock-Square, in the Store
adjoining Mr. JOSEPH BUSH, near the
Market.

Where he has for Sale,

A general Affortment of Hard-Ware GOODS

Confishing of

Pewter, Brafs, Copper,

Ironmongery, Plated, Jappaned, and Cutlery WARES; Files, Tools, &c. for Goldfmiths, Jewellers, Clock and Watch-Makers, Chapes and Tongnes, blue Melting-Pots from No. 1, to 20, Crucibles, very neat Scale Beams 32 Inches long with box Ends; Willard's Patent Jacks, Looking-Glasses, &c. &c.

The GOLDSMITH'S BUSINESS, is there carried on in all its Branches; all Kinds of Plate made in the newest Taste, and finished in the neatest Manuer.

Couftant Attendance given, and the fmalleft Favours gratefully acknowledged.

long weary years, was over, and peace had settled once more upon the land he served with such ability, remarkable versatility, and unselfish devotion.

In the BOSTON INDEPENDENT CHRON-ICLE and UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER \* of Thursday, January 1, 1784, we find two more of Paul Revere's business advertisements. In one he announces that he has imported in the ROSAMOND, Captain Love, and Hope, Captain Peirson [in addition to his former stock] "A very elegant affortment of Plated Ware," consisting of "Tea-Pots, plain and chased" and sundry other articles of domestic use. The list closes with a "Tea-Caddy with Lacks [?] and Candlesticks, Also an Assortment of London Pewter."

In his second card Revere offers for sale at a very low advance over the cost of importation, a great variety of such goods as usually form the stock in trade of a general

<sup>\*</sup> The rough cut which adorns the top of this four-page 12x18-inch newspaper is thought to have been engraved by Revere. It represents a soldier with a drawn sword held upright in his dexter hand. In the left a scroll inscribed with the word *Independence*. Above the figure on a ribbon is the motto, "Appeal to Heaven," all within an ornamental border.

store in a country town, and this advertisement likewise concludes with a notice that "The Gold- and Silver-Smith's Business is carried on in all its Branches." Revere evidently believed in the efficacy of a free and full advertisement of his wares and various occupations.

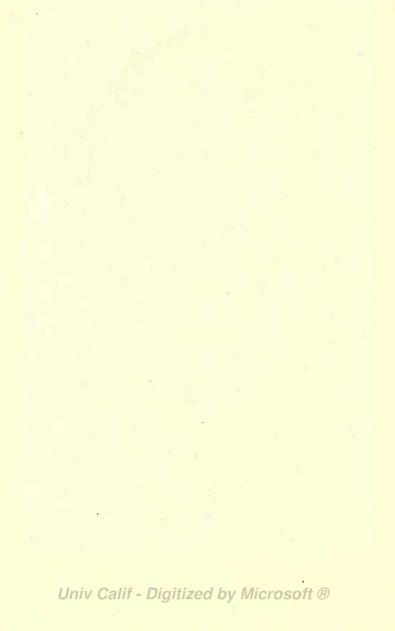
It will be observed that Revere here announces an importation of plated ware. If, as has been suggested, he was also an importer of silverware, a notice to that effect should also appear. Some other newspaper of the day which I have not had the good fortune to see, may however, contain such notification, so that its absence from the journals I have quoted, cannot be taken as conclusive evidence upon this point. At all events, we may rest assured that such imported silverware, if such there were, never received the silversmith's stamp of Paul Revere.

We learn from Allen's American Bio-

graphical Dictionary that Revere or Rivoire—as the name was written by his ancestors in France, and also for some time after they had emigrated to this country, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in Boston, where he died in May, 1818, at the age of 83. He was his father's eldest son and was brought up to the paternal trade of gold- and silver-smith. It is said that he engraved not only the graceful designs we find upon the silver plate which bears the coveted mark of P. Revere or simply Revere as it occasionally appears—but also the wreaths, garlands and medallions which ornament many of the cups, spoons, tankards, salvers, tureens, teapots and porringers manufactured by other Boston silversmiths of the period. Thus, by a natural process of evolution, he acquired, as many a self-taught engraver before and since his time has done, a knowledge—rudimentary, it is true—of the art of chalcography.



There too pot made by Jaul Revete.



One of Revere's first engravings is reputed to have been a portrait of his friend and spiritual guide, The Poev'd Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Lastor of the West Church in Boston. This portrait, it is asserted, was prefixed to one of the doctor's numerous printed sermons; but I have been unable to verify this statement by ocular proof. The New York Historical Society possesses a number of Dr. Mayhew's sermons in the original editions, but none of them contains this alleged portrait, and Mr. Sidney L. Smith of Boston, one of the last and best of our steel- and copper-plate engravers, whom I regard as an authority upon Paul Revere and his engraving, writes me that he can discover no trace of its whereabouts: so that I have grown sceptical in regard to its existence and a little weary in the chase for this elusive will-o'-the-wisp of an effigy of the eminent New England divine.

It is in the year 1765 that, aside from

this portrait of Dr. Mayhew, we first hear of Revere as an engraver. In this year he engraved the music score in a "Collection of Psalm Tunes" published by him and Josiah Flagg in Fish Street, at the North End of Boston. Then followed a succession of engravings which embraced a wide variety of subjects-"Harmonies for Singing Schools," embellished with quaint frontispieces, Caricatures, Allegorical pieces,\* Masonic, and other Certificates, Bill-heads, Seals, Book and Magazine illustrations, and Continental paper money. "When, in the struggle for independence, the province of Massachusetts resorted to a paper currency and accepted bankruptcy as a part of the price to be paid for civil liberty," † Revere not

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Buried with Him by Baptism." The copy of this rare allegorical engraving which is here reproduced, was sold in Dr. Charles E. Clark's sale, Boston, January, 1901, for \$31.00, and is now in the possession of Mr. Edwin B. Holden, of New York.

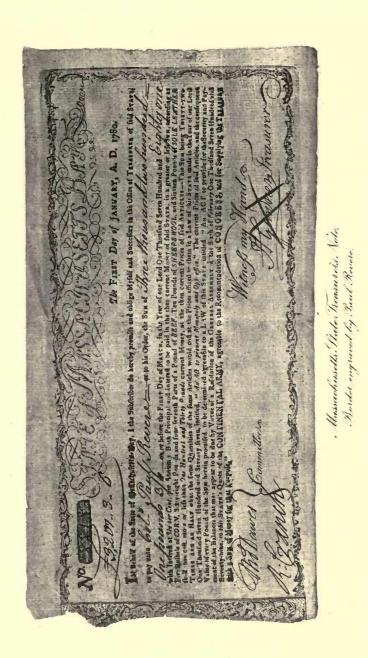
<sup>+</sup> Bryant's Popular History of the United States.



BURIED WITH HIM BYBAPTISM







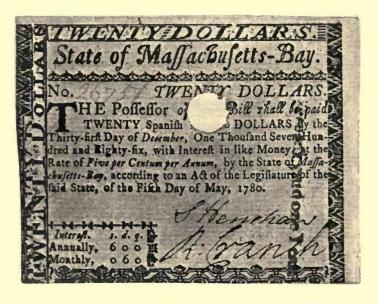
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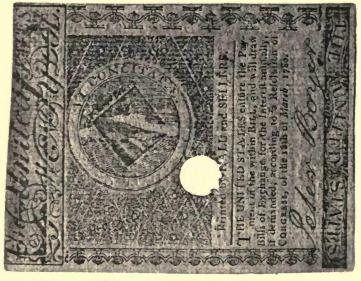
only engraved the plates, but made the press and printed the promissory notes of the State of Massachusetts Bay, as well as some of the earliest of the Bills of Credit authorized by the Continental Congress, and they are far more creditable examples of the arts of engraving and typography than are the 3% x 2¾ inch Continental notes "it was death to counterfeit" which David Hall (Dr. Franklin's old business associate) and William Sellers, his partner, supplied to the Assembly of Pennsylvania as well as Revere's native State at a later period. By the year 1780 Hall and Sellers appear to have become the Congressional printers, and were manufacturing a large proportion of the paper money of the several United Colonies. The border and headline of the Massachusetts State Treasurer's Note, here reproduced, is, however, said to have been engraved by Revere. is made payable to, and endorsed on the back by him. The body of the note is evi-

dently in letter-press. It is 10½ x 4¾ inches in size, and is printed on fairly well-made paper. For the sake of comparison we have also reproduced both the face and the reverse side of one of the Continental notes turned out by the celebrated Philadelphia typographers.

Revere's military experience began when "the continent was still young in the study and practice of arms," in the war of 1756, between England and France, during which he held a lieutenantcy in a Company of Artillery, in the expedition against Crown Point, and was stationed through the summer of that year at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. He returned to Boston, and was married in 1757,\* and no other of war's alarms appears to have disturbed the even tenor of his life until the conflict between Great Britain

<sup>\*</sup> His first wife, Sarah Orne, died May 3, 1773, and in October of the same year he married a Miss Rachel Walker, of Boston. E. H. Goss's "Life of Revere," Vol. I, pages 109 to 111.





Continental Paper Money. . Hanufactured by Hall and Sollers.

and her North American colonies fore-shadowed its approach. He was one of the party which planned the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, and a member of the band disguised as "Mohawks," whose praises have been sounded loud and long in song and story, which, at sunset, on the 29th of November, 1773, boarded the three East India Company's tea ships in the harbor, and in less than three hours on that memorable night, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of the "best Bohea," and emptied their contents into the waters of the Bay.

"The cargo came! and who could blame If Indians seized the tea, And, chest by chest, let down the same Into the laughing sea? For what avail the plough or sail Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

After the British evacuation, Revere became a lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of artillery raised for the defence of his

native State, and he was one of the "up-wards of thirty North-End citizens, chiefly mechanics," who, in the winter of 1775, formed themselves into a committee and patrolled the streets of the "distressed town of Boston" to watch the movements of the Tories and the British forces. This little band of patriots held their secret meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern, in Union Street, a famous hostelry in Revolutionary times, much frequented by those whose sympathies were on the side of the Colonies.

The story of the midnight ride of Paul Revere from Charlestown to the "rude bridge that arched the flood" at Concord town where

"—— once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world,"
has become, through Longfellow's lines,
as familiar to his countrymen as a household word. It had been arranged that
if the British troops sallied forth at

night by water, to seize and destroy the guns, munitions and stores at Concord, two lanterns would be shown as a signal in the North Church\* steeple. If they went out by land, only one lantern was to be displayed.

On Tuesday evening, April 18, 1775, Dr. Joseph Warren, the ardent patriot, —who was destined within two short months † to lay down his life for his country on the brow of Bunker Hill, "the first great martyr to the national cause," —discovered, in Boston, that the troops were to be moved at once, and marched to Lexington and Concord. He sent in great haste for Revere, and besought him to set off immediately for Lexington,

<sup>\*</sup> The spire upon which the *lanthorns* were hung is, according to Justin Winsor, a matter of dispute, "Revere's North Church being considered by some to have been the Church in North Square, Boston, pulled down by the British during the siege, and by others the present Christ Church, and it is upon the latter that the tourist to-day is shown an inscription identifying that building with the event."

<sup>+</sup> Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

where were "King" Hancock and Samuel Adams, to "acquaint them of the movements." This Revere did, first calling, as his own narrative \* relates, upon a friend and desiring him to set the prearranged signals. It is contended by some that the lanterns were displayed by sexton Robert Newman, but Revere in his Narrative is silent upon this point, and the honor of having performed the hazardous service of "hanging out the signals for the guidance of Major Paul Revere on the night of the 18th of April, A. D. 1775," is stoutly claimed for Revere's intimate friend Captain John Pulling, a merchant of Boston, a member of the Committee of Safety and a vestry-man of Christ Church. †

Crossing the Charles River, "a little to the eastward where the 'Somerset' lay," in

<sup>\*</sup> In 1798 Revere wrote a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, containing reminiscences relating principally to the events of his ride on the night of April 18, 1775. (Collections of the Society, First Series, Vol. V.) This narrative is also copied in part in Dunlap's Arts of Design, Vol. I, p. 150, and in full in the Worcester

a boat with muffled oars, manned by two friends, Revere was landed on the Charlestown side. Deacon John Larkin, a friend of the cause, supplied him with a "very good horse," the "night was very pleasant," and at eleven o'clock, "when the lanterns flashed forth their warning light," Revere started on the eventful ride which, in Longfellow's poetical rendering of it in the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," has given immortal fame to the name of Paul Revere. Long years ago Longfellow's ballad became one of the special favorites of the schoolboy orator. Every Master Hopeful who has reached the spouting age can recite off-hand the stirring martial lines of Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris" or Longfellow's "Ride of Paul Revere," but they may

Magazine and Historical Journal, 1825 and 1826, from which latter short-lived periodical (only 18 monthly parts were ever issued) the copy in the Appendix is taken.

<sup>†</sup> See the account of "Paul Revere's signal:" "The True Story of the 'Signal Lanterns' in Christ Church, Boston," in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1876-77, pp. 164-169, by John Lee Watson, of Orange, N. J.

have grown faint in the memories of some of us elder folk and they will bear repetition. We can allow space here, however, only for the opening and closing lines of Longfellow's noble poem.

# The Landlord's Tale

# Paul Revere's Ride

Listen, my children, and you shall hear Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere, On the eighteenth of April in Sevency-five— hardly a man is now alive Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend, "If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the Porth Church tower as a signal light—
One, if by land, and two, if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Hiddleser village and farm,
For the country-folk to be up and to arm."

\* \* \* \* \* \*

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm To every Piddleser village and farm,—
A cry of defiance and not of fear.
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore!
For, borne on the night wind of the Past,
Through all our history to the last,
In the hour of darkness, and peril, and need,
The people shall waken, and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.





### CHAPTER II

[now the lower part of Washington Street] past the shop of Paul Revere, that intrepid patriot and skillfull mechanic." So is made to write that fictitious maiden, charming Dorothy Dudley, inscribing in her diary \* the sights and incidents of her first walk through the streets of Boston after the forced departure, in the preceding month, of the ten thousand British veterans—who had been "cooped up" in the town through the long New England winter by Washington's "ill-fed, ill-armed,

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;The Cambridge of 1776." Cambridge, Mass., 1876.

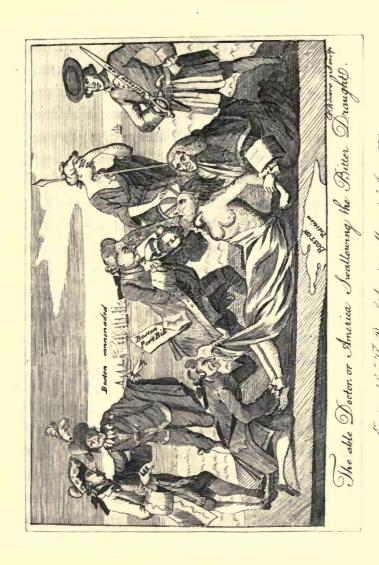
raw militiamen,"—and the simultaneous embarkation of the loyalists to take refuge in "Halifax, London, and elsewhere." Even if the wooden shutters had already been taken down from Revere's show window, it could hardly have made a very brave display of bijoutry and silverware on this occasion. Trade in the luxuries of life must have languished in the beleaguered town of Boston, and Revere had had other and sterner work to do, but we doubt not that his hand retained its cunning, although it may have fallen out of practice.

The silverware of Paul Revere is of excellent workmanship, and chaste in form, evidently modeled after English eighteenthcentury designs, and the great variety \* of pieces of plate manufactured by him

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Tankards, pitchers, tea-pots, spoons, snuff-boxes, spectacle-bows, sugar baskets, ewers, salvers, porringers, tureens, braziers, knee and shoe buckles, candlesticks, chafing dishes, spatulas, etc., etc." E. H. Goss's "Life of Col. Paul Revere," Vol. II, p. 529.

and now so eagerly sought for by collectors are good examples of the style at present so generally in favor, to which we have given the euphonious name Colonial. The simple classical forms adopted by our artisans at a period when art in this country was still in its infancy, strangely enough have never been improved upon by their successors, and by reverting to them in these latter days, our silversmiths as well as our cabinet-makers are displaying good sense as well as an improved taste; but in this mechanical age they stamp or saw out their patterns in unlimited quantities by machinery, and do not, as of yore, hammer or carve them laboriously, piece by piece, by hand; and therein lies a distinction and a difference.

There appears to have been, on both sides of the Atlantic, in Revolutionary days, and the stormy times that immediately preceded them, the usual propensity for



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caricature and allegory that marks every exciting period in the history of a civilized people. The "London Magazine," 1774-5, contains a number of these grotesque and generally coarse and clownish conceits, inspired by the political conditions existing in America, several of which were copied by Revere for "The Royal American Magazine," the last periodical established in Boston prior to the Revolution.

In 1765 Revere engraved an allegorical picture, emblematical of the greatly disturbed condition of affairs in America consequent upon the passage of the Stamp Act in January of that year, and the determination of the American people to resist its enforcement. In commemoration of the repeal of this obnoxious law, fraught with such momentous and far-reaching consequences to the British Empire, but which, says Green, in his "History of the English People," "passed through both houses of Parliament with less opposition than a turn-

pike bill,"\* Revere engraved, the following year, another plate, "A VIEW of the OBELISK erected under LIBERTY TREE, in BOSTON, on the Rejoicings for the Repeal of the Stamp-Act." (February 22, 1766.) Before the intention to place this obelisk under the Liberty Tree could be carried out, the structure was accidentally destroyed by fire.

The Boston Liberty Tree was a fine old elm, that stood, so Mr. Goss tells us, "on the corner of Washington and Essex Streets." Other liberty trees were set apart in various sections of the country, and we find an Ode to these altars of freedom around which the Liberty boys

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Issued under the Act of 1765. It was the resistance to this impost on the part of the American Colonies, that brought about their separation from the mother country. On a public occasion once in an after dinner speech on April 19, 1850, Mr. Edward Everett, holding up a specimen of the stamp said, 'Yes Sir, that bit of dingy blue paper, stamped with the two and sixpence sterling, created the United States of America, and cost Great Britain the brightest jewel in her crown.' "—Dr. Samuel A. Green, in his "Groton during the Revolution," p. 189.

rallied and held their convocations, in the "Pennsylvania Magazine" for July, 1775, written by Thomas Paine (author of the "Age of Reason"), who at the time was the editor of this now scarce and much coveted pre-revolutionary periodical. The Ode is signed "Atlanticus," and we have a taste of its highly epical flavor in this, the first, stanza:

# Liberty Tree

## A pew Song

Cune : " The Gods of the Greeks"

In a chariot of light, from the regions of the day, The Goddess of Liberty came.

Ten thousand celestials directed the way, And hither conducted the dame.

A fair budding branch from the gardens above, Where millions with millions agree,

She brought in her hand as a pledge of her love, And the plant she named Liberty Tree.

Revere's celebrated but repulsive caricature "The Rescinders" appeared in 1768, and in 1770 he published one of his most important engravings, "A View

of Boston," with a ribbon or scroll inscription running entirely across the top of the plate and bearing the legend, "A VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND AND BRITISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS, 1768," \* and the following lettering at the foot:

In the right-hand corner, within an ornamental border, this dedication:

"To the Earl of Hillsborough His Majest Secty of State for America, This View of the only well Plan'd Expedition formed for supporting ye dignity of Britain and chastising ye insolence of America is humbly Inscribed."

Below the engraving is the following key and inscription:

1 Beaver	5 Mermaid	A Long Wharf
2 Senegal	6 Romney	B HANCOCK'S Wharf
3 Martin	7 Launceton	C North Battery
4 Glasgow	8 Bonetta	

<sup>\*</sup> The Boston Evacuation Memorial, Boston, 1876, has at page 18 a heliotype reproduction of this print on a reduced scale.

"On fryday, Sept" 30th 1768, the Ships of War, armed Schooners, Transports, &c. Came up the Harbour and Anchored round the Town: their Cannon loaded, a Spring on their Cables, as for a regular Siege. At noon on Saturday October the Ist the fourteenth and twenty-ninth Regiments, a detachment from the 59th Regt and Train of Artillery, with two pieces of Cannon, landed on the Long Wharf: there Formed and Marched with insolent Parade, Drums beating, Fifes playing, and Colours flying, up King Street. Each Soldier having received 16 rounds of Powder and Ball. Engraved, Printed, & Sold by Paul Revere, Boston." \*

The foregoing inscription and the dedication to Lord Hillsborough express sentiments so diametrically opposed to each other that they must certainly have been penned by two different hands, and considering, as has been remarked by a pre-

<sup>\*</sup> A photo-lithographic "fac-simile," slightly colored, of this print was published, probably in 1868, by Alfred L. Sewell, Chicago, Ill. ("Done by the Western Bank Note and Engraving Company.") A copy is in the Bostonian Society.

vious writer, "the contradiction between these statements, it may be a question whether the impressions issued in 1768 bore the second inscription."

An advertisement of this print appeared in The Boston Gazette and County Journal, April 16, 1770 (see Goss, Vol. I, page 80), and the copy of it in the Bostonian Society is in its original frame of ebonized wood, the backing boards of which are fastened in with strips of this same oldtime newspaper, upon which appears the date of May 6, 1770. The coloring of this print is unusually well done (especially the tinting of the sky) by one Christian Remick-for an account of whom the reader is referred to the extract in the Appendix, from Vol. XLVII of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Unfortunately parts of this print are in a very dilapidated state.

Another copy of this print, also in poor condition, is in the Lenox Library (Em-

met Collection). It measures 15½ x9¾ inches, including the inscriptions. This copy is likewise colored by hand, as is so frequently the case with Revere's prints.

The ruinous state into which many of the engravings of pre-revolutionary times have fallen, is owing, in a considerable degree, to the practice which prevailed in those primitive days, of pasting them on a board and covering them with a thick coat of balsam or varnish. This appears to have been the customary method of stretching, and preparing a print to be framed. It has proved a very detrimental and destructive one.

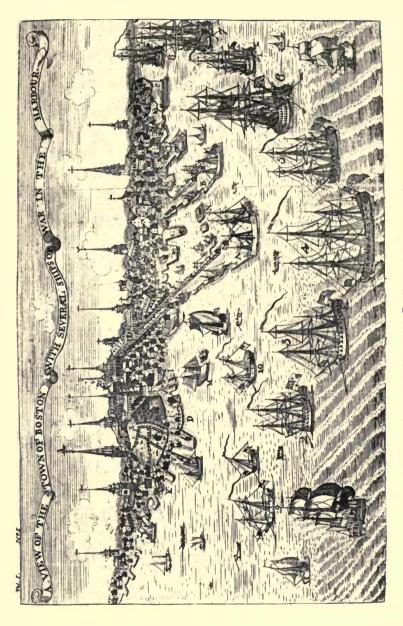
The copper-plate of Revere's View of Boston and Landing of the Troops, cut down about four inches on the left-hand side and an inch at the bottom, is now in "charge of the Secretary of Massachusetts, having been used for the issue of the continental currency." A few modern impressions from it, without the inscription,

are to be met with in the channels of trade.\* A small woodcut copy of it appears in Edes & Gill's North American Almanack, Boston, 1770, and is reproduced in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. VI, page 81.

A smaller copper-plate of this same View of the Town of Boston, extended further south, was engraved by Revere for the first number of, "The Royal American Magazine," Boston, 1774, the inscription being changed to read:

# "A VIEW OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON WITH SEVERAL SHIPS OF WAR IN THE HARBOUR."

<sup>\*</sup> The engraving upon the back of this plate is thus described: "Eight figures in the uniform of the colonial minute man. In his right hand, a sword; in his left, a scroll upon which is the word 'Independence.' Above the figure is the legend 'Issued in defence of American liberty' and below, the present motto of the State of Massachusetts, 'Ense petit, etc., etc.' In each case scratches have been made through the face of the figure and the words on the scroll, as if to prevent their further use. There is also a further inscription above the figure, and the date of issue below, which have been mutilated."



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These eighteenth-century Views of Boston, by Revere were not the first that had been engraved. They were preceded more than twenty years by the quaint and exceedingly scarce copper-plate which embellishes the title-page of "The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle" (Boston, 1744,) engraved by J. Turner,\* one of our early engravers, for a mention of whose name you will search in vain through the pages of Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design in the United States," although he was a contemporary of, and as capable an artist, if not so celebrated a character, as Paul Revere, of whom Dunlap gives a lengthy biographical notice.

One of the earlier representations of the

<sup>\*</sup> There is a copy of this engraving in the Massachusetts Historical Society and another in the collection of Mr. John P. Woodbury of Boston. A photogravure copy of Mr. Woodbury's print was used as a frontispiece in the Catalogue of the Exhibition of rare and choice books and prints held on its tenth anniversary, February 17-24, 1897, by the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston.

town of Boston, from the hand of a native artist is the *Plan* engraved by Thos. Johnston, Boston, N. E., and inscribed by *Will Burgis* to William Burnet, Esq., who was Governor of New York from 1720 to 1728, and was then transferred to the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Burnet died in Boston, September 7, 1729. The dedication to him, of this *Plan of Boston*, would appear, therefore, to settle definitely the date of its execution. The inscription upon it reads as follows:

"Plan of Boston. Size, 14½ x 10¾. Engraved by Thos. Johnston, Boston, N. E.

To his Excellency William Burnet, Esq., This Plan of

Boston in pew England is humbly Dedicated by His Excellency's most obedient and humble servant Will Burgifs."

The above dedication is in an oval, surmounted by the arms and motto of (probably) Governor Burnet, and supported by

female figures seated on a pedestal, upon the base of which are the words: "Boston, N. Engd. Planted MDCXXX." Below this is a table or key to the buildings in the Plan which are designated by the letters of the alphabet.

This plan is remarkably well engraved for the period, and in fact will bear favorable comparison with any eighteenth-century copper-plate engraving that exists, of either English or American origin.

The copy of this map or plan (which may very possibly be unique), from which the above description is taken, is in the possession of Mr. R. T. H. Halsey of this city.\*

This same Thomas Johnston also engraved and printed a picture of "QUEBEC

<sup>\*</sup> Another early "Map of the Town of Boston in New England" is the one made by Capt. John Bonner, 1722. Engraved and Printed by Fra Dewing, Boston, N. E., 1722. Sold by Capt. John Bonner and Will Price against ye Town House where may be had all Sorts of Prints, Mapps, etc."

There is, I understand, a still more ancient map of Boston in existence than either of those here mentioned—dating back to the

THE CAPITAL OF NEW FRANCE A BISHOPRICK AND SEAT OF THE SOV-ERAIN COURT," for Steph. Whiting (no date or place). The only copy of this print (which was probably engraved in the early part of the eighteenth century), that I have seen, is in the collection of Mr. William F. Havemeyer of this city. It is an oblong quarto print, colored by hand, size 8% x 6% inches, including the inscriptions.

There was quite a little company of these early American engravers, who have been entirely overlooked by writers upon the rise and progress of the Arts of Design in this country of ours. The productions of these men are not masterpieces of drawing or engraving, but they were pioneers in their particular domain, and their

time of John Foster, the first Boston printer (1676-80). An account of this map is now, I am told, in preparation and will shortly be published.

A copy of Bonner's Map, made in 1835 by George G. Smith, Engraver, Boston, hangs on the walls of the Bostonian Society.

work, unskilful as it may be, is assuredly of greater consequence, historically and topographically considered, than are either the ambitious painted canvases, or the finished engravings of many of the artists who have succeeded them, and whose names are better known to fame, chiefly because it was their good fortune to live in an age which appreciated its men of talent and recorded their achievements. In the pioneer days of our forefathers a professional artist was looked upon as a rather useless member of the community, who received scant consideration from, and was not held in very high honor by his practical, hardworking, non-æsthetic friends and neighbors.

Original impressions of the Revere Views of Boston are not found hanging from every bush. They are few and far enough between; but the rarest of all Revere's engravings is undoubtedly the "Westerly View of the Colledges in Cambridge New England," after a drawing

by Josh. Chadwick. It differs from the view published by William Burgis, which antedates it by some forty years, although the general appearance presented by the group of college buildings is the same. According to Mr. E. H. Goss, the author of the most complete Life of Revere which has yet appeared, only one original impression of this engraving is known, the one belonging to the Essex Institute, of Salem, Mass.; but I am informed that Mr. Z. T. Hollingsworth, of Boston, is the owner of a copy in good condition. The plate was cut in two, and used for engraving the Massachusetts paper money, of the Revolution. The right-hand section of it is still in existence, the property of the State, and upon the back are the engravings of the twenty shillings, fourteen shillings, and six shillings of Massachusetts Bay Colony Scrip. Impressions from the half-plate are in limited circulation,\*

<sup>\*</sup> E. H. Goss's "Life of Colonel Paul Revere."

one of which, printed on Whatman writing paper, as is shown by the watermark, may be seen in the rooms of the Bostonian Society, as also an impression on similar paper, from the cut-down plate of the "Landing of the Troops."

For information as to the engraving upon the backs of the Revere copperplates now in the possession of the State of Massachusetts I am indebted to Mr. John Woodbury of Boston to whom the plates were recently shown by Secretary of State Olin.





#### CHAPTER III

HE Boston Massacre print, the most celebrated of all Revere's engravings, is cotemporaneous with the sanguinary event which it commemorates. The next of his engravings in chronological order to which a date of execution can with accuracy be affixed appears to be the two effigies in "The Entertaining History of King Philip's War, by Thomas Church. Reprinted from the Boston edition of 1761 by Solomon Southwick, Newport (R.I.), 1772." Then followed the illustrations in an edition of Captain Cook's Voyages. Printed by James Rivington. New York, 1774. Church's

book contains an imaginary portrait of Colonel Benjamin Church, the "noted Indian fighter who commanded the party by whom King Philip was killed," and an equally fanciful and still more grotesque representation of PHILIP, KING of Mount Hope, engraved by Revere, which is probably his own naïve conception of the tattooed face and figure of this celebrated savage warrior.

Captain Cook's Voyages is embellished with a map of the whole navigation protracted by B. Romans (another engraver not mentioned by Dunlap) and two plates poorly engraved by Revere,—copies of illustrations which appeared in previous editions of this popular work, so that we have here a book printed in New York before the Revolution, which contains engravings by Paul Revere—a combination which appeals with irresistible force to both the Boston and the New York bookand print-collector.

The following is a collation of the illustrations in the copies of this rare and curious book in the New York Historical Society and the collection of Mr. Edwin B. Holden, of this city:

## TITLE:

"A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770 and 1771, ... performed by Captain James Cook. By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. and late Director of the East India Company. In two volumes, with cutts and a Map of the whole navigation. New York. Printed by James Rivington, 1774."

### PLATES:

- I. "Dramatic Interlude and Dance given by the Indians of Ulieta, performed by two women & 6 Men with three Drums" (signed P. Revere, Scp.), "to front the title of Cook's Voyage, Vol. I."
- II. Map protracted by B. Romans, "displaying the Continents of North and

South America and the greater part of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."\*

"A New Zealand Warrior in his proper Dress, and completely armed"; "Two Natives of New Holland advancing to Combat"—these two engravings are on one plate—"To front the title of Cook's Voyage, Vol. II." This plate is not signed.

Captain Bernard Romans, who protracted the map in Cook's Voyage, is best known as the author of "A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida. Containing an account of the natural produce of all the Southern part of British America, in the three Kingdoms of Nature, particularly the animal and vegetable; likewise the artificial produce

<sup>\*</sup> There is still another eighteenth-century American edition of Cook's Voyages, entitled "Captain Cook's Three Voyages to the Pacific Ocean," etc. Printed at Boston by Manning & Loring for Thomas & Andrews and D. West, January, 1797. This edition contains a full-length portrait of Captain Cook and seven other engravings by S. Hill, the engraver of most of the prints in the "Massachusetts Magazine."

now raised or possible to be raised and manufactured there; with some commercial and political observations on that part of the world, and a chorographical account of the same. By Captain Bernard Romans, Vol. I. New York, Printed for the Author. MDCCLXXV." (The manuscript of the second volume of this work, which was never published, is said to be still in existence.) Volume I contains one folded sheet and ten engravings, including the frontispiece, the dedication to John Ellis, and three full-page maps. Mr. Menzies' copy, from whose catalogue the foregoing list of the illustrations is taken, brought \$175 in 1875. An uncut copy was sold by Mr. Charles E. Woodward to the late Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch, many years ago, for \$225, as I am informed by the vendor himself.

Bernard Romans was also the engraver of another most notable early American print, the "Late Battle at Charlestown,"

which was copied one-half the size of the original by R. Aitkin in his "Pennsylvania Magazine," September, 1775, and presented to his subscribers as "a very elegant engraving."

The only impression of Romans' original engraving of the "Late Battle at Charlestown," that I can trace, was one sold some years since by a New York bookseller for \$110, and I am inclined to believe that it is the same copy which is described in the following clipping from the catalogue of the exhibition held February 17–24, 1897, by the "Club of Odd Volumes" of Boston:

"BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL. An Exact View of the Late Battle at Charlestown, June 17, 1775. In which an advanced party of about 700 Provincials stood an Attack made by 11 regiments and a train of Artillery, and after an engagement of 2 hours retreated to their main body at Cambridge, leaving eleven hundred of the enemy killed and wounded upon the field. B. Romans, sc.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Folio, line engraving.

"A very rare contemporary engraving, showing Colonel Prescott on horseback, in command of the American Troops."

I have gleaned the following facts in regard to Captain Romans, from Duyckinck's "Cyclopedia of American Literature" and E. M. Ruttenber's "Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River;" (J. Munsell, Albany, N. Y., 1860):\*

Romans was a Hollander by birth, but early in life emigrated to England, where he adopted the profession of an engineer, and in this capacity was employed for a number of years prior to the Revolutionary War by the British Government in her Southern American Provinces, and also as a botanist in Florida, with a pension of about £50 sterling per annum.

A manuscript in Harvard College Library, written by John Gerard William de Brahm mentions Romans as a draughtsman and a resident of Florida from 1763

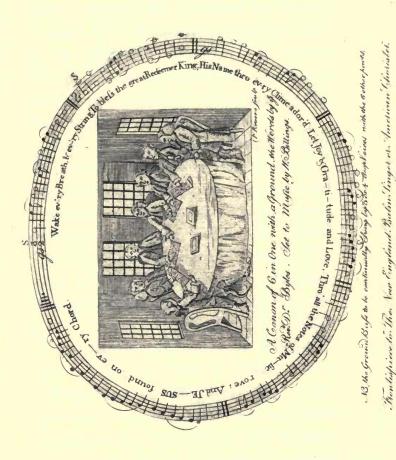
<sup>\*</sup> Munsell's Historical Series, No. V.

to 1771. From 1775 to 1780 he lived in the North, was engaged in the capacity of engineer for the construction of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, in the Highlands of the Hudson River, and served for a time as the "Captain of a company of Pennsylvania Artillery destined for the invasion of Canada as a part of the Northern Army." "In 1780, while on his passage from New Haven or New London to the South, he was captured by the British, who refused to exchange him as a prisoner of war, and he was carried to Montego Bay, Jamaica, where he was held in Captivity until the Close of the war." Another account states, (upon what authority, I know not), that Romans was sent to England and died at sea on his return home in 1784. The exact time and manner of his death remain a mystery.

The latter portion of this statement is taken from the Deposition of Romans' widow made for the purpose of obtaining a pension. She died in 1848, aged 89, and her miniature, painted by her husband, is said to be still preserved in the family and to be beautifully executed.

In the foregoing reference to Bernard Romans I have digressed somewhat widely from my proper theme, but I trust that the facts which have been cited in relation to an engraver who was a cotemporary of and a co-worker with Paul Revere, will be found of interest to the American collector and not entirely out of place in this connection. With this word of apology I will resume the thread of my broken narrative.

The only one of the quaint old "Harmonies" upon which Revere exercised his taste and skill, that I have had an opportunity to examine is "The New England Psalm Singer or American Chorister," composed by Mr. Billings, a native of Boston, in N. E. Boston, New England. Printed by Edes & Gill (1770). The



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reproduction, on page 61, of the frontispiece, engraved for this book by Revere, is made from the copy belonging to Mr. E. B. Holden. Whether the design, which is certainly superior to the execution of this plate, can be ascribed to Revere or not, is an open question.

This oblong octavo volume, bound in sheepskin, over oaken boards, which is so pleasantly suggestive of the singing master and instructor in psalmody, Ichabod Crane, and his pupil, the fair and buxom Katrina Van Tassel, immortalized in Irving's "Legend of Sleepy Hollow," was aforetime "Olney Winsor's Book. Bout June 18th, 1776." After the Preface and "An Essay on the Nature and Properties of Sound," there follows an "Ode on Music," from a Miscellany of the Rev. Dr. Byles. American anthology furnishes no better example of the metaphorical style of composition in which eighteenth-century writers in both this and our mother

country delighted to indulge, than that which this ode, with its bold and original figures of speech, supplies. Hearken!

Down steers the Bass with grave, Pajestic air, And up the Treble mounts with shrill career; With softer Sounds, in mild Melodious Maze, Marbling between the Tenor gently Plays; But if the aspiring Altus joins its Force, See! like the Lark, it Mings its tow'ring Course; Thro' barmony's sublimest Sphere it flies, And to Angelic Accents seems to rise; From the bold Beight it hails the echoing Bass Mhich swells to meet, and mir in close embrace. Tho' diff'rent Systems all the Parts divide, With Pusic's Chords the distant Potes are ty'd; And Sympathetick Strains enchanting winde Their restless Kace, till all the Parts are soin'd Then rolls the Kapture thro' the Air around In the full Pagic Pelody of Sound.

The writer of this ode I judge to be the poet-preacher, Mather Byles, D.D., minister, of Boston, who died in 1788, aged 82. He was noted for his wit in conversation, his poetical talents, and his Tory proclivities, which made him an

object of suspicion and watchfulness on the part of the patriots during the War of Independence.\*

For a more detailed account of the Music Scores and Frontispieces engraved by Revere for the Psalm-tune, Fugue, and Anthem books of Puritan New England the reader is referred to the "Life of Revere," by E. H. Goss, which I have heretofore quoted, and to the same authority for an account of the "North Battery" plate,† which formed the heading for a certificate of membership as an *Inlisted* Montross or gunner's mate in an artillery company, as well as for a description of the portrait of the Lord Protector Cromwell, which adorned the Bill of

<sup>\*</sup> See Allen's American Biographical Dictionary.

<sup>†</sup> A view of the South Battery or Sconce "erected 1666 at the base of Fort Hill where Rowe's wharf now stands by 'Maj. Gen. John Leverett afterwards Gov.' of Mass." forms the heading for another of these Montross Certificates. This print was, if I am correctly informed, fac-similed by Mr. John H. Daniels, recently deceased, (the oldest plate printer in Boston) in the belief that the plate had been engraved by Revere.

Cromwell's Head Inn, a famous tavern, says Mr. Goss, in School Street, Boston, which was standing until 1888. The copper-plate of the "North Battery," (with the portion which bore the inscription missing), is still in existence, and modern impressions from it are occasionally offered for sale. I am told that they have the same genesis as the restrikes from the Boston Massacre plate, a reference to which will be found further on in these pages.





#### CHAPTER IV

F all eighteenth-century illustrated American magazines, the most difficult to secure in sound condition and containing all the plates (although the publisher informs us that in its day it had a "handsome list of subscribers," and there must have been an edition of several hundred copies printed) is THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE published in Boston in 1774—75\* by Joseph Greenleaf and "the father and patron," as he has been justly styled,

<sup>\*</sup> Feby. 7, 1774, "This day the Royal American Magazine published for the first (time) (by I. Thomas)."—Diary of Mr. Thomas Newell published in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings for 1876-77.

of the art of printing in Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas. Thomas's "History of Printing in America," first published about a century ago, is still regarded as an authority, and the best work on the subject, so far as it goes, extant to-day.

The following collation of the illustrations in "The Royal American Magazine" was kindly furnished me some years ago by the Librarian of Yale University, which venerable institution of learning (now preparing for its Bi-Centennial celebration in October next), is the fortunate possessor of an uncut copy of this noted book in fine condition, which came to it in 1878 from the library of Mr. George Brinley at a cost of only \$30. It would probably bring ten times that amount today, at public auction. It lacks only one or two of the plates and pages 9-12 and 25-33 of the text in the first volume, and it has a number of the pale blue paper covers, in which it was originally issued,

bound in at the end—proof positive that the book came from the library of a true bibliophile.

Isaiah Thomas states in his "History of Printing" (Vol. II, pp. 260-1) that A PROSPECTUS of "The Royal American Magazine" appeared many months before the periodical; "but the disordered state of public affairs, and the difficulties which individuals experienced from them, prevented it from being sooner put to press; and after a few numbers had been published, the distress occasioned to the inhabitants of Boston by shutting up and blockading their port obliged its editor to suspend the publication."\*

<sup>\*</sup> The bill closing the port of Boston against all commerce as a punishment for the *riot* in connection with the tea ships was introduced into Parliament in the beginning of 1774.

On the 1st of June of this year three transports with troops on board arrived at Nantasket road to "enforce the cruel edict of the British Parliament." The condition of affairs in the town of Boston on the 15th of this month is graphically and succinctly described in the Diary of Mr. Thomas Newell, published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. XV. "Wind, S. E. Wednesday; fair; pleasant;

# COLLATION OF THE ENGRAVINGS IN THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE, 1774-75.

### VOLUME I

#### 1774

Jany. No. 1. A View of the Town of Boston with Several Ships of War in the Harbour.

Jany. " 2. The Thunder Storm. P. Revere.

Feb. " 3. Sir Wilbraham Wentworth.

Feb. " 4. The Night Scene. J. Callender.

Mar. " 5. Honourable John Hancock. P. Revere.

Mar. " 6. The Fortune Hunter. J. Callender.

Apr. " 7. Mr. Samuel Adams. P. Revere.

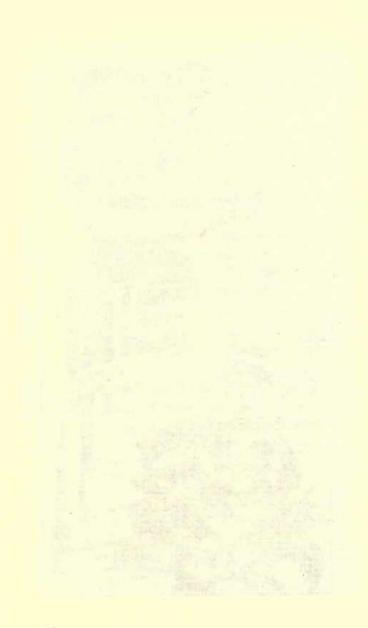
Apr. "8. The Hill-Tops: A new Hunting Song (with a Representation of the Death of the Stag). J. C.

May " 9. An Indian Gazette. \*

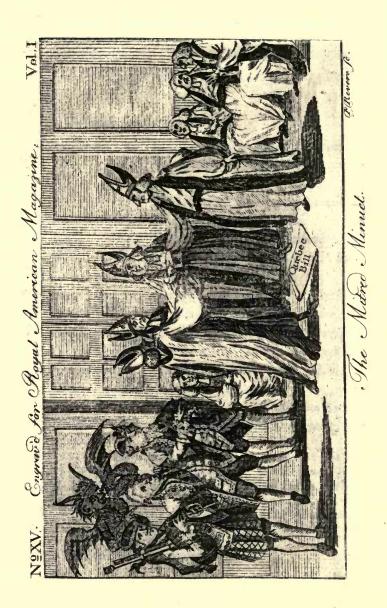
June " 10. The able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught. †

P. M. rain and thunder. A. M. 43d Regiment landed at the Long Wharf, and marched to the common, and there encamped. Most of the stores on the Long Wharf are now shut up. Thus are we surrounded with fleet and army; the harbor shut, all navigation cease, and not one topsail vessel to be seen but those of our enemies. Oh, let not posterity forget our sufferings."

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix. + See page 33.



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June No. 11. The Hooded Serpent.

July "12. Spanish Treatment at Carthagena.
P. Revere.

Aug. " 13. The Method of Refining Salt-Petre.

Sept. " 14. An Elegant Engraving of a Water Spout.

Oct. "15. The Mitred Minuet \* (on title-page). The Dancing Bishops.
P. Revere.

Nov. " 16. The Gerbua or Yerboa.

Nov. " 17. Mademoiselle Clairon.

Dec. "18. The Manner that Bees take their repose.

Dec. "19. A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and Colonel Bouquet in the year 1764.

This plate is a copy of the drawing made by Benjamin West, for the London edition (1766) of "An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year MDCCLXIV, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., Colonel of Foot, and now Brigadier-General in America." By Dr. William Smith.

This, and another historical engraving with the title "The Indians delivering up the English captives to

<sup>\*</sup> Copied from the caricature in the "London Magazine,"

Colonel Bouquet, near his camp at the Forks of Muskingum, in *North America*, in November, 1764," were engraved by Grignion and Canot, from what are said to be the earliest drawings of Benjamin West.

# VOLUME II

Jany. No. 1. A certain Cabinet Junto. P. Revere. Feby. " 2. History of Lauretta. P. Revere.

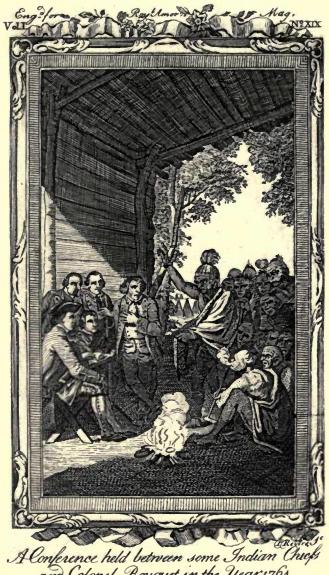
Mar. " 3. (America in Distress.)

N. B.—Parts in parenthesis taken from the title-pages. All the plates except the three signed by J. Callender were probably engraved by Paul Revere.

The following is an extract from the letter which accompanied the foregoing list:

"In an Address to the Subscribers dated December 31, 1774, and printed on the same sheet with the title-page of Vol. I occurs this paragraph:

"The Magazine for January 1775 will be ornamented with a curious political frontispiece, in which will be exhibited in a striking light the Enemies of American LIBERTY both civil and religious,



A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and Colonel Bouquet, in the Year 1764.

plotting their total destruction. AMERICA (described by a woman in a pensive posture) with this label: "Lord thou did'st drive out the heathen, etc." Encouraged by a voice from a cloud saying, "I have delivered and will deliver."

"At one end of the plate are the figures of the 'Cabinet Junto' at the other end that of 'America in distress.' It seems to me quite possible that the plate not being ready for the January number (on the title of which it is described simply as a 'neatly engraved frontispiece,') appeared actually in the March number. It is also possible, of course, that the same subject was treated twice, and if a second plate turns up my supposition goes for nothing."

A review of Revere's work as an engraver, would be incomplete without a reference to the book-plates which he produced—three of which are in what Mr. Charles Dexter Allen calls the "Chippen-

dale" style, and one—that of William Wetmore—in the "Ribbon and Wreath." Mr. Allen in his work on American bookplates, describes four "ex libris"—those of Gardiner Chandler, Epes Sargent, David Greene and William Wetmore—which are signed by Revere, and therefore known to be the work of his hand. Revere's own plate is unsigned, but it and also the "Jacobean" plate of Isaiah Thomas were probably engraved by Revere.

These book-plates are all of uncommon occurrence, and command, when offered for sale, prices ranging from \$50 upwards. Revere's own plate, I understand to be the rara-avis of them all. A fac-simile of the Epes Sargent plate has been engraved for Arthur Hewes Sargent by Sidney L. Smith of Boston.

As has already been stated, the most noted of the prints of Paul Revere is the one in which is depicted in a fashion rude, almost to the point of caricature, that



One of the four Book plates known to have been engreed by Land Revere.

war, the Boston Massacre. This plate was engraved and published immediately after the occurrence of the memorable tragedy of March 5, 1770, in King Street, now called State Street, Boston.

The size of this renowned engraving, inclusive of the inscriptions at the top and bottom, is 85% x 9% inches,—of the picture alone, 85% x 7% inches. All the impressions that I have seen—aside from the one embedded in Edes & Gills' broadside, to which reference will presently be made,—are colored by hand. The two primary colors, red and blue, predominate, but an occasional wash of brown or green shows that the artist's color-box was not destitute of other pigments. The uncouthness of the engraving is accentuated by the bizarre effects produced by the colorist. Furthermore, most of the copies in existence of this famous print, are more or less stained by exposure to humidity, or dis-

### PAUL REVERE

colored by the fumes of the kitchen fires of the New England farm houses, on the smoky walls of which they have hung, undisturbed and uncared for, these many years. Worms, too, have feasted on them, but the sad state of decrepitude into which they have fallen only causes us to regard them with keener solicitude, and we suffer no cleaner's or restorer's hand to apply to their worn and sullied surfaces nostrums and remedies which are frequently worse than the diseases they essay to cure. Stains in old paper that a bath of pure water will not eradicate had better, as a rule, be left alone.

I have remarked that it is the uncolored portions of these old prints that have been attacked by worms. The little creeping things do not appear to have relished the taste of paint and probably they found it an unhealthful article of diet.

The inscriptions upon the Boston Massacre plate are as follows. Inset in the

### AND HIS ENGRAVING

lower right-hand margin of the engraving the words:

Engrav'd, Printed & Sold by PAUL REVERE, BOSTON.

### AT TOP

"The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King Street, BOSTON, on March 5, 1770, by a party of the 29 REGT."

### AT FOOT

arranged in three compartments are the following verses:

"Unhappy Boston! fee thy Sons deplore,
Thy hallow'd Walks befmear'd with guiltless Gore:

While faithless P—n and his savage Bands, With murd'rous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;

Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey, Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

<sup>&</sup>quot;If scalding drops from Rage from Anguish Wrung,

If speechless Sorrows lab'ring for a Tongue, Or if a weeping World can ought appease The plaintive Ghosts of Victims such as these;

### PAUL REVERE

The Patriot's copious Tears for each are shed, A glorious Tribute which embalms the Dead.

"But know, FATE fummons to that awful Goal, Where JUSTICE strips the Murd'rer of his Soul:

Should venal C—ts, the scandal of the Land, Snatch the relentless Villain from her Hand, Keen Execrations on this Plate inscrib'd, Shall reach a JUDGE who never can be brib'd."

"The unhappy Sufferers were Messand Sama Gray, Sama Maverick, Jama Caldwell, Crispus Attucks & Pata Carr, Hilled. Six wounded; Two of them, (Christa Monk & John Clark) Mortally."

In the collections of the New York Historical Society there is a broadside (19x15½ inches in size), black and sombre-looking in its deep mourning borders and rules, which bears the following heading:

"An Account of a late Military Mas-

### AND HIS ENGRAVING

sacre at Boston, or the consequences of Quartering Troops in a populous, well-regulated Town, taken from the Boston Gazette of [Monday] March 12th, 1770."

This broadside, which contains a full and circumstantial account of the affair of March 5, 1770, has two full columns of text and three columns of eight inches in length, thus leaving room at the top of the sheet between the two outside columns for an engraving of the "Massacre" by Paul Revere. In the last column are four rude engravings of coffins which are initialed, above a skull and crossbones S. G. S. M. J. C. and C. J. A. respectively. At the end of the last column is a short paragraph dated March 19th, in which is also an engraving of a coffin inscribed with the letters P. C. above a skull and crossbones. This paragraph announces the death of Patrick Carr which occurred the preceding Wednesday.

After a careful examination and a com-

### PAUL REVERE

parison of this engraving with an undoubted Revere "Boston Massacre" I am unable to decide for or against its authenticity, but to all appearances this sheet contains an impression from Revere's original copper-plate. If this be so, it must be one of the 200 impressions for printing which the charge of five pounds sterling to Edes & Gill is made in Revere's Day-book, as shown in Mr. Goss's facsimile of the page containing the entry; and here we have also the five coffings, for which, by the same token, Revere charged the afore-mentioned firm the sum of six shillings. Two of the statements here set forth impress us as somewhat remarkable. First, the modesty of Revere's charges and secondly the celerity of his performances, for if the date ascribed to the entry in his Day-book is correct, he required only four days in which to engrave and print his plate of the Boston Massacre, the first impressions from which, it is also natural

### AND HIS ENGRAVING

to conclude, must have been those supplied to Messrs. Edes & Gill to illustrate this broadside.

The copper-plate of the Boston Massacre, minus the inscriptions, and with the engraving upon the back of three pieces of Massachusetts Bay Colony Money of the denominations of ten, twelve and eighteen shillings, is now in possession of the State of Massachusetts, presented to the Commonwealth, I am informed, by the Revere family at the time of the Centennial Celebration of the Battles of Lexington and Concord. At about this time, some one interested in the matter, obtained temporary possession of the plate, and had a number of impressions taken from it. When this fact was discovered by the authorities they recalled the plate, which, we are assured, has ever since been kept under lock and key, in the vaults of the State Treasurer, and furthermore, it is announced that the plate has been mutilated by a scratch

### PAUL REVERE

across its face, so that no more impressions from it can possibly be taken.

There are other versions of the story of the manner in which these restrikes were obtained by the dealers in prints, but the rumors all agree that the number of impressions which at this time were taken from the original plates of both the "Massacre" and the "North Battery" numbered only ten or twelve, and that there cannot be, of that particular edition, more than that limited number of copies in circulation, but this is not the entire conclusion of the matter. To judge from the paper, which is old Whatman laid, with a water mark of a fleur-de-lis surmounted by a crown and the letters &. K. upon which the copies of the "Massacre" plate and the "Ships of War landing Troops," in the Bostonian Society, are printed, they would appear to have been taken before the beginning of the year 1800, while Revere was still living. The plate of the

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"Landing of Troops" is cut down, as we find it in the restrikes of the Centennial period, and the "Massacre" plate has been unskillfully retouched, apparently by another hand than that of Revere. The probable solution of this enigma is, however, that the printer of these copies obtained some sheets of old account book paper and that these engravings were printed at a much later period than they appear to be, but whether at an earlier or later date than those struck off at the time of the Centennial I am unable to say. Here at all events is another pitfall for the feet of the unwary collector.

To judge from the manner in which Revere's copper-plates were so frequently sawn asunder and made to serve a double purpose, that ductile metal must have been as scarce in Massachusetts during the Revolutionary War as we are told that it was in New South Wales fifty years later, when in the whole Colony it was found impos-

sible to procure a single plate of copper fit for engraving upon, and the artist was, in consequence, forced to content himself with the common sheet of copper which is employed for the coppering of ships, but that was before the days of the wonderful Calumet and Hecla Mine, now the pride of the Town of Boston.





### CHAPTER V

Street massacre was the removal of the British troops from the town of Boston to Castle Island in the Harbor. Among the "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution" gathered together and published by Frank Moore (New York, 1856) is the following string of verses entitled "A New Song 1770." In a note prefixed to these wretched doggerel rhymes, it is stated that they appeared in a broadside a short time after the massacre of the fifth of March, 1770, as a "new song" "much in vogue among the friends to arbitrary power and the

soldiery at Castle Island (where it was composed), since the troops have evacuated the town of Boston."

### Castle Island Song

You simple Bostonians, I'd have you beware, Of your Liberty Tree, I would have you take care, For if that we chance to return to the town, Your houses and stores will come tumbling down, Derry down, down, hey derry down.

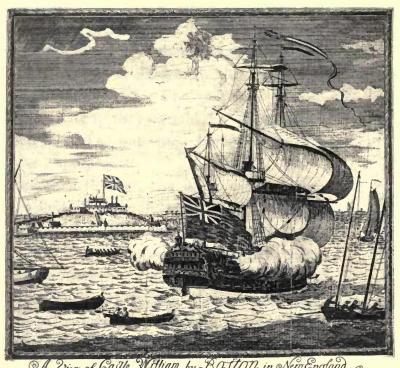
If you will not agree to old England's laws, I fear that King Hancock will soon get the yaws: But he need not fear, for I swear we will, For the want of a doctor give him a hard pill.

A brave reinforcement we soon hope to get; Then we will make you poor pumpkins to sweat: Our drums they'll rattle, and then you will run To the devil himself from the sight of a gun.

Our fleet and our army, they soon will arrive, Then to a bleak island, you shall not us drive. In every house, you shall have three or four And if that will not please you, you shall have half a score

Derry down, down, hey derry down.

Affixed to this choice example of barrack-room braggadocio is the following



A View of Castle William by BOTON in New England So This Castle was built by Got onell Romer of D 170 sty Order of the General Apont bley

note giving an account of the Massacre of the fifth of March and the funeral of the victims:

"Two regiments of British troops under command of Colonels Dalrymple and Carr, arrived at Boston in the month of September, 1768. The people of Boston desired that they should be stationed at the CASTLE, but 'they landed with all the appearance of hostility!' They marched through the town with all the ensigns of triumph, evidently designed to subject the inhabitants to the severe discipline of a garrison, and continued their enormities by abusing the people. On the second day of March 1770, a quarrel arose between two soldiers of the 29th Regiment and the workmen at a rope walk not far distant from the barracks. The soldiers being repulsed soon made another attack, having increased their number to ten or twelve, but these were also successfully resisted. In consequence

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of these quarrels the soldiery declared they would be avenged. The following account of their proceedings is taken from The Boston Chronicle of March 8, 1770. 'Last Monday about 9 o'clock at night a most unfortunate affair happened in King Street. The sentinel posted at the Custom House being surrounded by a number of people, called to the mainguard, upon which Captain Preston, with a party, went to his assistance, soon after which some of the party fired, by which the following persons were killed. uel Gray, rope maker, a mulatto man, named Attucks, and Mr. James Caldwell. Early the next morning Captain Preston was committed to jail, and the same day eight soldiers. A meeting of the inhabitants was called at Faneuil Hall that forenoon, and the lieutenant-governor and council met at the council chamber, where the Colonels, Dalrymple and Carr were desired to attend, when it was con-

### AND HIS ENGRAVING

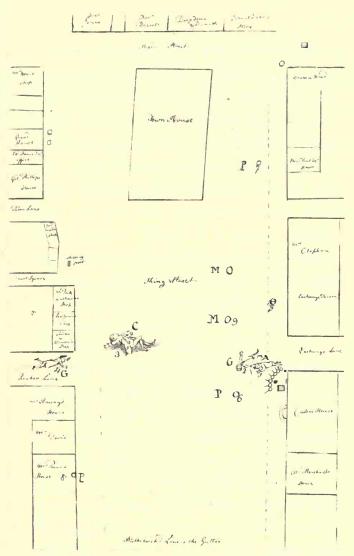
cluded upon, that both regiments should go down to the barracks at Castle William as soon as they were ready to receive them.

"'The funeral of the victims of the massacre was attended the 8th of March. On this occasion the shops of the town were closed, and all the bells were ordered to be tolled, as were those of the neighboring towns. The procession began to move between 4 and 5 o'clock P.M., the bodies of the two strangers, Caldwell and Attucks, being borne from Faneuil Hall, and those of the other victims from the residence of their families, the hearses meeting in King Street, near the scene of the tragedy, and passing through the main street, to the burial-ground, where the bodies were all deposited in one vault. Patrick Carr, who was wounded in the affair, died on the 14th, and was buried on the 17th, in the same vault with his murdered associates."

The manuscript plan of King Street and vicinity, the scene of the Boston massacre, made by Revere—which was used at the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers, "for the murder of Crispus Attucks and others March 5, 1770," held the following October and November, in the old State House \*—is now deposited in the Boston Public Library, mounted on the south wall of the Room for Younger Readers. It forms a part of the remarkably rich Chamberlain collection of autographs, historical documents, portraits and engravings relating to early American history.

Castle William by Boston in New England (afterwards named Fort Independence), on Castle Island, to which the British soldiers were removed, was built by Collonell Romer A. D. 1724 BY Order of the General Assembly, as we are informed by the inscription on

<sup>\*</sup> Old State House Memorial, Boston, 1882.



PAUL OF THE THEAL OF THE SCHOOL THE SCHOOL WAS SALUED AT THE THIAL OF CAPT PRISTON AND SOLDIERS.

a copper-plate engraving which was probably executed shortly after the fort was built. This print, which is here reproduced, measures 12 x 12½ inches. The only copy of it that I have ever seen or heard mentioned, is the one which has been in my own possession more than thirty years. There is a much smaller engraving of Castle William in the "Massachusetts Magazine," 1789, an exact copy of which, or an impression from the same plate, also appears in the "New York Magazine" for October, 1796.

When the British left Castle William they broke off the trunnions of the cannon, an act of petty spite similar to and as ineffectual as the one in which tradition says that King George's troops indulged prior to their evacuation of our own city of New York, when they greased the flag-pole on the Battery and cut the halyards. Before the British fleet had passed out the Narrows, the damage had

been repaired, and the flag of the newborn Republic was floating triumphantly in the breeze. The trunnions of the cannon at Castle William were restored with almost equal facility and promptness through the ingenuity of Paul Revere.





### CHAPTER VI

of the 5th of March, 1770, was commemorated by the people of Boston until the close of the Revolutionary War. The printed "ORATIONS" delivered on these occasions by some of the most distinguished sons of the State of Massachusetts are naturally objects of interest to the collector of books and prints relating to our Revolutionary history. It has now become a difficult matter to gather together a complete set of these orations in the original editions. The collection of Mr. John A. Rice of Chicago, sold in 1870, lacked only three numbers—the

years 1778, 1779, and 1780—of a complete set. The Boston Massacre Orations were published collectively by Peter Edes, State Street, Boston, in [1785]. A second edition was issued in 1807 by Wm. T. Clap of the same city.

The successive speakers on these commemorative occasions, were Thomas Young, James Lovell, Benjamin Church, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Peter Thacher, Benjamin Hichborn, Jonathan W. Austin, William Tudor, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Dawes, George R. Minot, and Thomas Welsh—thirteen in all.

The first copy made of Revere's engraving of the "Boston Massacre" is the one which forms the frontispiece to the Official "Short NARRATIVE of the horrid Massacre in BOSTON PERPETRATED in the evening of the Fifth Day of March 1770, by soldiers of the XXIX Regiment. (Octavo). Printed by Order of the Town

AN

# ORATION,

DELIVERED

MARCH FIFTH, 1773.

AT THE

REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS
OF THE

TOWN OF BOSTON;

TO

COMMEMORATE the BLOODY TRAGEDY

OF THE

H OF MARCH, 1770.

BY

## DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH.

Impius hæc culta novalia sniles habebit ?

Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
perduxit miseros? En queis consevimus agros?

Virgus. Ecl. 1.

O SOCII

O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque sinem :
——revocate auimos, massiumque sinorem
mittite, forsan et hac olim meminisse juvabit.

Virgili, Æne. 1.

BOSTON:

Printed and Sold at the New Printing Office, in: Hanover-Street near Concert-Hall. M,Dcc,LXXIII.

of BOSTON, and sold by EDES & GILL in Queen-Street and T. & J. Fleet in Cornhill, 1770."

This engraving has no inscription at the top and measures only  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{6}$  inches, including the inscription below the engraving, which reads thus:

"The massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston on March 5, 1770, in which Messrs. Sam!. Gray, Sam!. Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks, Patrick Carr were Killed, six others Wounded, two of them Mortally."

It is not improbable that this engraving is the handiwork of Paul Revere, but it cannot be identified as such.

This "Short Narrative" of Edes & Gill was reprinted the same year by W. BINGLEY in Newgate Street, London, and it has for a frontispiece a copy of the Massacre 8½ x9 inches in size, exclusive of the top and bottom inscriptions. It

is therefore about the same width, but over an inch taller than Revere's original engraving, the additional height being simply an addition to the blank paper in the sky of the picture, so that the print itself is virtually of the same dimensions as the original and was doubtless intended to be a fac-simile of it.

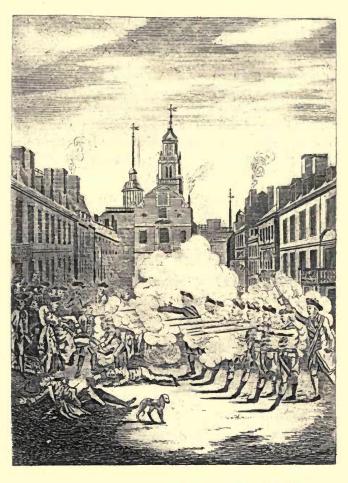
On this engraving the inscriptions which appear on the original plate are re-arranged and slightly amplified as follows:

### AT TOP

"THE FRUITS OF ARBITRARY POWER; or the BLOODY MASSACRE," and so on as in the original, followed by the names of the killed and wounded.

### AT FOOT

The verses are the same as in the engraving by Revere himself, with the two following biblical quotations added, one of which is surmounted by a skull and crossbones within a wreath, the other by a Lib-



The Massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770, in which Mess. Sam! Gray, Sam! Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks
Patrick Carr were Killed, six others Wounded two of them Mortally.

From the Boston Edition of the Thort . Variative

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#### PAUL REVERE AND HIS ENGRAVING

erty cap in clouds, from which issue forks of lightning and two broken swords.

"How long shall they utter and speak hard things? and all the Workers of Iniquity boast themselves? They break in pieces thy People O Lord and affict thine Heritage." Ps. xciv, 4, 5.

"They flay the Widow and the Stranger and murder the Fatherless. Yet they fay, The LORD shall not see: neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." Ps. xciv, 6, 7.

Printed for and fold by W. BINGLEY in Newgate Street. Price 6d.

I have seen copies of this print that bore only the two devices above described, without the scriptural quotations. It is difficult to follow all the changes and modifications to which not only Revere's "Boston Massacre," but many other early engravings, English and American, relating to the history of our country, have been subjected in the passage of time.

Edes & Gill's "Short Narrative" was also reprinted for E. and C. Dilly and J. Almon, London, 1770 (8vo, pp. 166). The engraving of the "Massacre" in this

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edition is an exact reproduction of the print, and of the inscription, as it appears in the Edes & Gill Boston edition.

The Massachusetts Calendar or an Almanac for The Year of our Lord 1772. By Philomathes. Published by Isaiah Thomas, Boston, \* contains a woodcut copy of the "Massacre" 45% x 37% inches in size with the heading "The Boston Massacre perpetrated on March the 5th, 1770," and the following verses at the foot:

While Britons view this scene with conscious dread

And pay the last sad tribute to the dead;
What though the shafts of justice faintly gleam,
And ermin'd miscreants ridicule the scene;
Pe'er let one breast the generous sigh disclaim
Or cease to bow at Freedom's hallow'd fane;
Still with the thought let Fame's loud clarion
swell

And Face to distant times the Hurder tell.

This is evidently the same woodcut

<sup>\*</sup> There is a copy of this Almanac in the Lenox Library bought at the Brinley Sale.

## AND HIS ENGRAVING

which was used by Isaiah Thomas in a large broadside published by him in 1771, where it appears in the upper left-hand corner. A copy of this rude engraving, somewhat enlarged, will be found on the lining paper of the cover of this book.

I have in my possession another copy of this noted engraving by Colonel Paul Revere. It is of the same size as the one which supplies the frontispiece to Edes & Gill's "Short Narrative," and it bears the same inscription, but differently capitalized, the capital letters in the words Killed, Wounded, Mortally, in the Edes & Gill print being reduced to small capitals. This print is, however, without the little dog,—standing composedly in the foreground of the picture apparently quite indifferent to his unusual surroundings,which appears in Revere's original engraving, and in all the other copies that have fallen under my observation. This engraving, probably, formed the frontis-

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piece to a *third* London reprint of the "Narrative," for Justin Winsor states in his "Narrative and Critical History," that it was reprinted in London in *three* editions in the same year.

Still another copy of the "Boston Massacre" came into my hands a few years ago, which is of the same size as the original, and colored in imitation of it, apparently, by hand. It has the same lettering at the top, but none at the foot except the words in the margin of the print "Engraved, Printed, and Sold by Paul Revere." It closely resembles the original, but has a decidedly modern appearance, and the engraving shows a few cross-hatchings where none exist in Revere's engraving. It is, doubtless, a re-engraved copy.

A print in the Lenox Library (Emmet Collection), resembles the one above described, except that it is uncolored, and it has the same inscription beneath that we find in Revere's original engraving with

#### AND HIS ENGRAVING

the addition of the words "copyright secured." There did exist another line, which has been carefully erased, but appears to have borne the date of 1832. I have arrived at the conclusion that this print and the one described in the preceding paragraph are identical, and that in both cases there has been an attempt to deceive and foist them off as original impressions of the engraving by Paul Revere. I am also inclined to believe that both these prints are from the same plate as the uncolored copy of the "Massacre" in the possession of Mr. Charles A. Munn, of this city, and the colored one in the Bostonian Society, both of which have upon them the following lettering:

Copy Right Secured

Boston (Fac-Simile) Republished at 15 Water Street
1832

Another reprint of the "Massacre," I learn by hearsay, was published in Newburyport, Mass., about the year 1830,

# PAUL REVERE

and still another in Salem, Mass., about 1838. In the Newburyport plate, I understand the name Revere is taken out. and that of Millikin inserted and there are slight variations from the original in the lettering of the inscriptions - the substitution of y° for the, etc. There appear therefore to have been three early nineteenth-century re-engravings of this famous print. The Boston fac-simile, which is the only one that I have seen, is a remarkably faithful copy of the original. So well executed is it, that, when colored by hand, as is frequently the case, it is only the sound and clean condition that copies of it generally present, that at first sight arouses a suspicion of their genuineness. Copies of these early "fac-similes" do not of course compare in value with the original impressions from Revere's own copper-plate, still, strange as it may appear, some of them seem to be of equal, if not greater rarity. A long summer day's

#### AND HIS ENGRAVING

careful search in Boston and Salem, Mass., recently made by Mr. John P. Woodbury and the writer, failed to bring to light any of these copies save the one published at 15 Water Street, Boston, another impression of which was found in the rooms of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 18 Bullfinch Street, Boston.

Of modern reprints of the "Massacre" there have been a number, the first, I understand, to be the one in John Doggett, Jr's., reprint of the "Short Narrative," with notes and illustrations, New York, 1849. The next copy that I find is the one which fronts the title-page in the "History of the Boston Massacre," by Frederic Kidder, printed by Joel Munsell, Albany, 1870. This is a photolithographic copy of the print 53/4 x 4 inches in size. It is without the dog. This photo-lithographic print supplies the frontispiece to the copy of Mr. Kidder's book in the Lenox Library, but singularly

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the copy of the same book in the New York Historical Society does not contain it, but has instead "A New and Accurate Plan of the Town of Boston in New England." The Memorial of the Re-dedication of the Old State House, Boston, July 11, 1882, also contains, at page 82 a process plate reproduction of "The State Street Massacre." Doubtless a number of other similar cheaply made copies are extant, but when we find ourselves among the photo this, and photo that, reproductions of early American engravings it is time to call a halt.

How many impressions of the "Massacre" plate besides the two hundred copies furnished to Messrs. Edes & Gill, were originally printed and sold by Revere, we have no means of knowing, but, taking into account the general and profound interest in the tragic occurrence which the picture portrays—albeit in its own crude and ungainly fashion—it is reasonable to

#### AND HIS ENGRAVING

presume that at least as many copies of it as were supplied to this prominent firm of Boston book-sellers and publishers, were issued by Revere as prints for framing purposes. Of these not many more than a baker's dozen appear, so far, to have escaped the vicissitudes to which books and prints are heir. Those that I am able at this present writing to trace are deposited in the following named Public Libraries, Societies and private collections:

One in the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House, where, with other relics of Colonial times in china, arms, equipments, old silver, and Franklin's printing press, it overlooks the very spot, now marked by a circle in the block pavement, where the massacre occurred.\*

This copy of the "Massacre" has an

<sup>\*</sup> In 1896 the Bostonian Society erected a bronze tablet on the corner of the Merchants' National Bank Building at Exchange and State Streets, bearing this inscription:

<sup>&</sup>quot;OPPOSITE THIS SPOT / WAS SHED THE FIRST BLOOD / OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION / MARCH 5TH, 1770."

#### PAUL REVERE

interesting history. It was a gift from Eliza Susan Quincy of Boston—September 29, 1882—the year that the Bostonian Society was founded, and bears the following inscriptions on the back of the frame:

"Given in 1825 to Josiah Quincy, (1772-1864) by his aunt, Mrs. Storer, sister of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who defended Capt. Preston."

"The crown on the water mark of this paper is reversed. Was this accidental or an intended slight by Paul Revere, the engraver and printer?" "This print was given to Josiah Quincy, 1825, by his aunt Mrs. Hannah Storer, soon after the publication of her brother Josiah Quincy, Jr.'s Life by his son."

Josiah Quincy, Jr., 1770, was applied to by Captain Preston to take part of his counsel immediately before John Adams was sent for.

Signed Eliza Susan Quincy, 5 Park St., Boston, Mch. 5, 1870.

Other copies of the "Massacre," of the

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existence of which I am creditably informed are as follows:

Two copies in possession of Zachary T. Hollingsworth, Boston.

Two copies in possession of the Estate of Frederick W. French, Boston.\*

One copy in possession of G. R. Barrett of Boston. Two copies in possession of the Essex Institute, Salem.

" " " Massachusetts Historical Society.

#### \* BOSTON MASSACRE, BY PAUL REVERE

128 Boston Massacre. The Bloody Massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston, on March 5th, 1770, by a party of the 29th Regt. Engrav'd, Printed & Sold by Paul Revere, Boston. In contemporary frame.

AN ORIGINAL COLORED engraving by Paul Revere.

With the following identification on the back:

"This representation of the King (now State) Street Massacre, is an original and was engraved and printed by Paul Revere.

"It came into my possession from my father, Thomas Jones Lee, who died in 1836, and previously belonged to his father, Rev. Joseph Lee, of Royalston, Mass., who died in 1819.—Thos. J. Lee, June, 1872."

The above is the description in the sale catalogue of one of the copies formerly owned by Mr. French. This impression sold at the sale of his library in April, 1901, for \$800—a remarkable advance over the previous private sale of a copy for \$300. The remaining copy formerly owned by Mr. French is still, I am told, in the possession of the family.

#### PAUL REVERE

One copy in possession of Henry C. Eno, N. Y.

- " " Edwin B. Holden, N. Y.
- " " E. Dwight Church, N. Y.
- " " R. T. H. Halsey, N. Y.
- " " Wm. L. Andrews, N. Y.

and a copy which was sold some two or three years ago, in Philadelphia for, as it was reported, the sum of \$350. There may be, and probably are, other copies in existence, that have as yet evaded the wide-spread search of the lynx-eyed printhunter; so that the engraving of the "Boston Massacre" by Paul Revere cannot be deemed a very rare print; but if we take into consideration the historic interest of the subject, and the national reputation of the engraver as one of the heroic and romantic figures of his time, it may, I think, with justice be regarded as one of the most important and valuable prints, from an American collector's point of view, that has been left us as an heritage from the past.

#### AND HIS ENGRAVING

It is apparent that—with the possible exception of the portraits of The Honorable John Hancock, Esqr., and Mr. Samuel Adams—the illustrations contributed by Revere to "The Royal American Magazine," and to Captain Cook's Voyages, are no more nor less than copies of earlier prints. The question as to which, if any, of Revere's other engravings-including the Boston Massacre—are from his own designs or are copied after drawings by Christian Remick, Henry Pelham or some nameless and forgotten draughtsman of that age, is a knotty point which I leave to a future writer on the subject to puzzle over and determine at his leisure.

In conclusion I desire gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to the bookand print-collectors not a few, who have so kindly placed the treasures of their cabinets at my disposal and rendered me other welcome and valuable assistance, and last but not least, I have to thank the type

### PAUL REVERE AND HIS ENGRAVING

and plate printers, the designers and the engravers who have collaborated with me in the making of this book with the "care and honest pains" which only those can exercise who are truly enamoured of their art. I trust that the reader who scans these pages may experience at least a moiety of the pleasure which has come to the writer of them through the feeling of good fellowship engendered among, and the hearty interest manifested by, all who have had a part in the production of this modest, and I am conscious imperfect essay upon Paul Revere and his Engraving.





# LETTER FROM COL. PAUL REVERE

FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
COLLECTIONS

Boston, January 1, 1798.

I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret that every time we met every person swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions, but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren, Church, and one or two more.

About November, when things began to grow serious, a gentleman who had connections with the Tory party, but was a Whig at heart,

acquainted me that our meetings were discovered, and mentioned the identical words that were spoken among us the night before. did not then distrust Dr. Church, but supposed it must be someone among us. We removed to another place, which we thought was more secure; but here we found that all our transactions were communicated to Governor Gage. (This came to me through the then Secretary Flucker; he told it to the gentleman mentioned above.) It was then a common opinion that there was a traitor in the Provincial Congress, and that Gage was possessed of all their secrets. (Church was a member of that Congress for Boston.) In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers by patrolling the streets all night. The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. (They had been previously hauled up and repaired.) We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty.

From these movements we expected that something serious was to be transacted. On

Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About ten o'clock Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington-a Mr. William Dawes. The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanterns in the north church steeple; and if by land, one, as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River or get over Boston Neck. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went home, took my boots and surtout, went to the north part of the town, where I had kept a boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River, a little

to the eastward, where the Somerset man-of-war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side. When I got into town I met Colonel Conant and several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse; I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq., who was one of the Committee of Safety, came to me and told me that he came down the road from Lexington after sundown that evening; that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about II o'clock, and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown neck, and got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback, under a tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me, and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick, and galloped towards Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond, near where the

new tavern is now built. I got clear of him, and went through Medford, over the bridge, and up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awaked the Captain of the minute men; and after that, I alarmed almost every house, till I got to Lexington. I found Messrs, Hancock and Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's; I told them my errand, and inquired for Mr. Dawes; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, and supposed that he must have been stopped, as he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an hour, Mr. Dawes came; we refreshed ourselves, and set off for Concord to secure the stores, etc., there. We were overtaken by a young Dr. Prescott, whom we found to be a high son of liberty. I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens met, and that it was probable we might be stopped before we got to Concord; for I supposed that after night they divided themselves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such passages as were most likely to stop any intelligence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned that we had better alarm all the inhabitants till we got to Concord; the young doctor much approved of it, and said he would stop

with either of us, for the people between that and Concord knew him, and would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way; Mr. Dawes and the Doctor stopped to alarm the people of a house; I was about one hundred rods ahead when I saw two men, in nearly the same situation as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up; in an instant I was surrounded by four-they had placed themselves in a straight road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road, and two of them were under a tree in the pasture. The Doctor being foremost, he came up; and we tried to get past them, but they being armed with pistols and swords, they forced us into the pasture; the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall, and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance, and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers on horseback, and ordered me to dismount; one of them, who appeared to have command, examined me where I came from and what my name was. I told him. He asked me if I was an express. I answered in the affirmative. He

demanded what time I left Boston. I told him, and added that their troops had catched aground in passing the river, and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up. He immediately rode towards those who stopped us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them whom I afterwards found to be a Major Mitchell, of the 5th Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me he was going to ask me some questions, and if I did not give him true answers, he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then ordered me to mount my horse, after searching me for arms. He then ordered them to advance, and to lead me in front. When we got to the road, they turned down towards Lexington. When we got about one mile, the Major rode up to the officer that was leading me, and told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he took me, the Major ordered him, if I attempted to run, or anybody insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, where the militia fired a volley of guns, which ap-

peared to alarm them very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other road. After some consultation, the Major rode up to the Sergeant and asked if his horse was tired. He answered him he was—(he was a Sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse)—then, said he, take that man's horse. I dismounted, and the Sergeant mounted my horse, when they all rode towards Lexington meeting-house. I went across the burying ground and some pastures, and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I told them of my treatment, and they concluded to go from that house towards Woburn. I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's, to find what was going on. When we got there, an elderly man came in; he said he had just come from the tavern, that a man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell and myself went towards the tavern, when we met a man on a full gallop, who told us the troops were coming up the

road. We afterwards met another who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to go to the tavern with him to get a trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up chamber; and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. In our way, we passed through the militia. There were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting-house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt; when I saw, and beard, a gun fired, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musquetry, when we made off with the trunk.

As I have mentioned Dr. Church, perhaps it might not be disagreeable to mention some matters of my own knowledge, respecting him. He appeared to be a high son of liberty. He frequented all the places where they met, was encouraged by all the leaders of the sons of liberty, and it appeared he was respected by them, though I knew that Dr. Warren had not the greatest affection for him. He was esteemed

a very capable writer, especially in verse; and as the Whig party needed every strength, they feared, as well as courted him. Though it was known that some of the liberty songs which he composed were parodized by him in favor of the British, yet none dare charge him with it. I was a constant and critical observer of him, and I must say that I never thought him a man of principle; and I doubted much in my own mind whether he was a real Whig. I knew that he kept company with a Captain Price, a halfpay British officer, and that he frequently dined with him and Robinson, one of the Commissioners. I know that one of his intimate acquaintance asked him why he was so often with Robinson and Price. His answer was that he kept company with them on purpose to find out their plans. The day after the battle of Lexington I met him in Cambridge, when he showed me some blood on his stocking which he said spirted on him from a man who was killed near him as he was urging the militia on. I well remember that I argued with myself, if a man will risk his life in a cause he must be a friend to that cause; and I never suspected him after till he was charged with being a traitor.

The same day I met Dr. Warren. He was president of the committee of safety. He engaged me as a messenger to do the out-of-doors business for that committee, which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them. The Friday evening after, about sunset, I was sitting with some, or near all that committee, in their room, which was at Mr. Hasting's house in Cambridge. Dr. Church all at once started up-" Dr. Warren," said he, "I am determined to go into Boston to-morrow"-(it set them all a-staring)-Dr. Warren replied, "Are you serious, Dr. Church? They will hang you if they catch you in Boston." He replied, "I am serious and am determined to go at all adventures." After a considerable conversation Dr. Warren said, "If you are determined let us make some business for you." They agreed that he should go to get medicine for their and our wounded officers. He went the next morning, and, I think, he came back on Sunday evening. After he had told the committee how things were I took him aside and inquired particularly how they treated him. He said, that as soon as he got to their lines, on Boston neck, they made him a prisoner and carried him

to General Gage, where he was examined, and then he was sent to Gould's barracks, and was not suffered to go home but once. After he was taken up for holding a correspondence-with the British, I came across Deacon Caleb Davis -we entered into conversation about him-he told me that the morning Church went into Boston he (Davis) received a billet for General Gage—(he then did not know that Church was in town)—when he got to the general's house he was told the general could not be spoken with, that he was in private with a gentleman; that he waited near half an hour when General Gage and Dr. Church came out of a room discoursing together like persons who had been long acquainted. He appeared to be quite surprised at seeing Deacon Davis there; that he (Church) went where he pleased while in Boston, only a Major Caine, one of Gage's aids, went with him. I was told by another person, whom I could depend upon, that he saw Church go into General Gage's house at the above time; that he got out of the chaise and went up the steps more like a man that was acquainted than a prisoner.

Sometime after, perhaps a year or two, I fell

in company with a gentleman who studied with Church; in discoursing about him I related what I have mentioned above; he said he did not doubt that he was in the interest of the British, and that it was he who informed General Gage that he knew for certain that a short time before the battle of Lexington (for he then lived with him and took care of his business and books) he had no money by him, and was much drove for money; that all at once he had several hundred new British guineas, and that he thought at the time where they came from.

Thus, sir, I have endeavored to give you a short detail of some matters of which, perhaps, no person but myself have documents or knowledge. I have mentioned some names which you are acquainted with; I wish you would ask them if they can remember the circumstance I allude to.

I am, sir, with every sentiment of esteem, your humble servant,

PAUL REVERE.

# **ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN REMICK\***

BY LIEUT. OLIVER PHILBRICK REMICK
U. S. REVENUE MARINE SERVICE

HRISTIAN REMICK. Born April 8, 1726. He seems to have been a sailor, and master mariner also; and probably learned the art of navigating from his uncle, Abraham Remick. He married Sarah, daughter of Nathaniel Myrick, and they probably lived in Boston most of their lives, although they also lived in Eastham and Harwich, Mass.

He seems to have been engaged in painting and drawing in water colors [a curious and interesting water color of Boston Common painted by him is now being engraved by Mr. Sidney L. Smith], also making geographical plans of harbors, sea coasts, etc. His advertisement in the Boston Gazette and County Post Boy and

<sup>\*</sup> The New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Vol. XLVII, October, 1893.

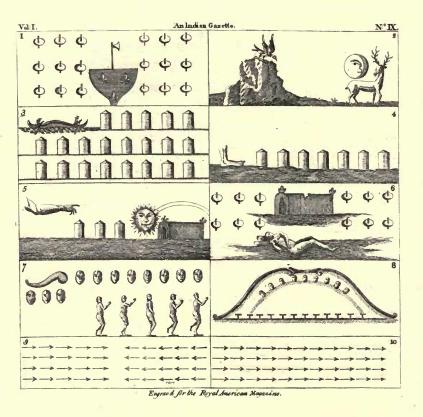
fournal of October 16, 1769, and subsequent issues is as follows:

"Christian Remick, lately from Spain, Begs Leave to inform the Public, That he performs all sorts of Drawing and Water Colours, such as Sea Pieces, Prospective Views, Geographical Plans of Harbours, Sea Coasts, etc. Also Colours Pictures to the Life and Draws Coats of Arms at the most reasonable Rates. Specimens of his Performances, particularly an accurate View of the Blockade of Boston, with the landing the British Troops on the first of October, 1768, may be seen at the Golden Ball and Bunch of Grapes Taverns, or at Mr. Thomas Bradford's, North End, Boston."

Christian Remick painted several copies of this view of the landing of British troops in Boston in 1768. The New England Historic Genealogical Society and the Essex Institute each owns a copy, and one belongs to W. H. Whitmore of Boston, being that formerly owned by Miss Otis. These are respectively dedicated to Gibbons Sharp, Jonathan Peal and John Hancock. These pictures are each 54 inches by 9. A reduced engraving therefrom is in Stark's "Antique Views of Boston."

A picture of Boston from the water, showing this landing of troops, was engraved by Paul Revere. A copy of it colored by Christian Remick, hangs in the old State House in Boston; it belongs to ex-Mayor Green. Remick probably did not make much money at this business; and so we find him in September, 1777, sent on shore with other prisoners at Townsend and Sheepscot River, Maine, from H. M. S. "Rainbow." He had undoubtedly been captured from some privateer or Massachusetts State vessel.

He was Pilot and Lieutenant of the brigantine "Tyrannicide" of the Massachusetts State Navy in 1778; and was Prize Master and Lieutenant with Captain John Manley on the Continental frigate "La Hague." He served throughout the war, and was alive in July, 1783, when he was probably living in Eastham, Mass.



# FROM THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE FOR MAY, 1774

THE Explanation of the INDIAN GAZETTE, giving an Account of one of their Expeditions.

The following divisions explain those on the plate, as referred to by the numbers.

I

EACH of these figures represent the number ten. They all signify that 18 times 10, or 180 American Indians, took up the hatchet, or declared war, in favour of the French, which is represented by the hatchet placed over the arms of France.

1

They went by water—fignified by the canoe. The number of huts, such as they raise to pass the night in, shows they were 21 days on their passage.

-

They departed from Montreal—represented by the bird just taking wing, from the top of a mountain. The moon and the buck show the time to have been in the first quarter of the BUCK-MOON, answering to JULY.

4

Then they came on shore and travelled seven days by land—represented by the FOOT, and the seven huts.

5

When they arrived near the habitations of their enemies, at fun-rife—fhewn by the fun being to the eastward of them, beginning as they think, its daily course; there they lay in wait three days—represented by the HAND pointing and the 3 huts.

7

They killed with the club II of their enemies and took five prisoners. The former represented by the club, and the II heads, the latter, by the figures on the little pedestals.

9

The heads of the arrows, pointing opposite ways, represent the battle.

6

After which they surprized their enemies, in number 12 times 10 or 120. The man asleep shows how they surprised them, and the hole in the top of the building, is supposed to signify, that they broke into some of the habitations in that manner.

8

They lost 9 of their own men in the action—represented by the 9 heads within the bow, which is the emblem of honour among the AMERICANS: but had none taken prisoners—a circumstance they lay great weight on, shewn by all the pedestals being empty.

10

The heads of the arrows all pointing the same way, signify the flight of the enemy.

This print is engraved from an authentic copy, drawn by a *French* engineer from the *American* original.\*

<sup>\*</sup> The Gazette and the Explanation as above printed will be found copied verbatim by Isaiah Thomas in his "History of Printing," Vol. II, pp. 190, but he does not inform us from whence it was taken.

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