"The New American" Magazine

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Carol Lynn Toop McCollough
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ABSTRACT

The New American Magazine was printed from January, 1758, until March, 1760, in Woodbridge, New Jersey, by James Parker and edited by Samuel Nevill of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. It was the first American periodical to be printed outside a major colonial city and was, for New Jersey, the first non-governmental imprint of significance.

Parker and Nevill had deliberately selected the magazine form as the appropriate means to achieve their goals. Parker was concerned with the successful establishment of his newest press; Nevill hoped to provide the colonials with literary material and a literary outlet and to use the magazine to elicit support for the French and Indian War. The New American Magazine appeared during a period when newspaper editors, fearful of imprisonment for libel, assumed neutrality on all controversial issues but magazine editors, through selection and editorial comment, frequently tried to influence public opinion. Nevill, with editorial experience in London, was aware of a magazine's potential role.

The New American Magazine served as a storehouse of colonial culture during the period of its publication. Its publishers attempted to satisfy the tastes and interests of the readers and solicited original American material. As the newspapers struggled to keep abreast of the war news, The New American Magazine filled the void left by their narrowing journalistic roles. It sought to amuse the readers through its essays and poetry and also to inform them and attempt to stimulate their interest in religious, scientific and social thought. The conflict between the desire to imitate the sophistication of London and a defensive pride in colonial cultural development is an underlying theme that can be sensed throughout the pages of the magazine.

As the French and Indian War drew to a close, the reasons for the magazine's existence seemed to wither and disappear. The publishers, burdened with increasing responsibilities and ill health, found their original motivations weakened. Parker was forced by partnership difficulties to turn his attention to his New York press and newspaper. Nevill, discouraged by the lack of interest of the pragmatic colonials to "better themselves" culturally, gained satisfaction from the success of the war effort. Subscribers and contributors turned to the newspapers as they once again supplemented meager news bulletins with essays and poems. The approaching end of the war robbed the magazine of its political interest. Exhausted by two-and-a-third years of effort, starved for support, The New American Magazine passed into history.
CHAPTER I: THE NEW AMERICAN MAGAZINE

Proposals for the publication of The New American Magazine first appeared in The New-York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-Boy of August 29, 1757.¹ No stir of interest seemed to greet America's eleventh entrant into a field of publication which, in the colonies, had been remarkably unsuccessful. The attention of readers was diverted instead to news of the war, for Britain had officially declared war against France on May 17, 1756.² In the colonies, skirmishes with the French and their Indian allies had taken place long before the declaration.³

The harbors were crowded with troop ships and privateers. Towns


2 The declaration of war reached America July 27, 1756. For content, see Pennsylvania Archives, comp. S. Hazard, 1st Series (Phila. 1853) II, 735-737.

3 Geo. Washington had defeated Fr. forces at Great Meadow May 28, 1754, and was defeated himself July 3, 1754. That July the Albany Plan of Union was adopted. On July 9, 1755, Gen Edw. Braddock, comm-in-chief in Am., was defeated and mortally wounded nr. Fort Duquesne. Fall, 1755, expeditions to Crown Point and Niagara were unsuccess. attempted and Fort Wm. Henry was constructed at the head of Lake George. Irving S. Kull, A Short Chronology of American History (Rutgers, 1952), pp. 46-47.
bristled with the profitable business of supplying and housing the soldiers. Yet, over the rushing back and forth, there hung a shadow of gloom for, to date, the victories had gone to the French and their Indian allies. News of the capture of Fort William Henry on August 9 and the destruction of Fort Oswego on August 14 had just reached the middle colonies. To the exasperation of men who realized the international aspects of the war, the colonial assemblies not directly threatened by the enemy hung back from voting taxes for troops, forts, and supplies, hoping that the responsibility would be shouldered by the home government or other colonies.

1. The New American Magazine

The New American Magazine was to be a reflection and a record of the period in which it was published. It was, indeed, a deliberate effort to improve its age. It was led toward this goal by its editor, Samuel Nevill, who assumed the pseudonym of "Sylvanus Americanus." The printing was to be done on the Woodbridge, New Jersey, press of James Parker.

The proposals stated that the magazine would be available on a subscription basis only. Six half sheets in octavo, the publication would be divided into two parts, a history of North America and a collection of essays. The proposals noted that the history would extend "from the Time of the First Discovery to the present . . . .

4Anthony Nicolosi, "Colonial Particularism and Political Rights: Jacob Spicer II On Aid to Virginia, 1754," New Jersey History, LXXXVIII, No. 2 (Sum., 1970), 69-88 presents an example of New Jersey's early unwillingness to assist threatened colonies.

5The pseudonym was an adoption of "Sylvanus Urban" used by Edward Cave, editor of London's popular Gentleman's Magazine.
compiled with that impartiality and regard to truth which becomes a faithful historian." It was promised that "Endeavors will be used to make it as complete a Family Chronicle and Historical Legacy, as can be left by the Inhabitants of America to their prosperity." The second section would consist of "Amusements and Essays, serious, entertaining, philosophical, mechanical, historical, political and poetical, with the most material News and Authentick Occurances, Foreign and Domestic, which shall happen during the month."

It was intended that the magazine should be "improving" as well as "entertaining":

A monthly Chronicle judiciously conducted in the Method proposed, will certainly be a great benefit to this new-settled country; for thereby not only every private Family (by their own Fire-side) may be acquainted with the most Material Occurances from time to time transacting in every other Part of the World, but our Youth by the help of this Instructor, and the diverting and pleasing Amusements therein contained, will be naturally allured to improve themselves in Knowledge and Polite Literature by which the gloomy Particles of Ignorance will be very much enlighten'd if not entirely dispers'd.

ii. The New American Magazine's Place in the History of Magazines

The appearance of the first issue in January, 1758, marked the publisher's first step toward dispersing gloomy particles of ignorance. Twenty-six issues followed the first, appearing at regular monthly

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6 [Nevill], "Proposals," NYG or, WPB, No. 762 (Aug. 29, 1757), p. 3.

7NYG or, WPB, No. 787 (Feb. 20, 1758), p. 2, announced "The New American Magazine, lately advertised in this paper to be printed at Woodbridge in New-Jersey; has been published for January, 1758; and will be continued a while, if a continued Encouragement; but none are to be sold but to subscribers."
intervals until publication ceased in March, 1760. The two and a quarter years of publication made The New American Magazine the second longest-running of the twenty magazines published in the colonies before the Revolution. It was also the first American magazine to be published outside the urban centers of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.

The colonial magazines had followed the first colonial newspaper, Boston's Public Occurrences of 1690, after an interim of fifty years. Philadelphia was able to boast of being the birthplace of American magazines when William Bradford's The American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British colonies appeared in 1741 and was followed, within three days, by Benjamin Franklin's The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, for all the British Plantations. The American Magazine lasted for three issues; The General Magazine ceased publication after six.

8 Nine of the twenty-seven numbers were announced in the NYG or, WPB (Feb. 20, 1758, Nov. 12, 1758, July 9, 1758, Aug. 13, 1758, Sept. 10, 1758, Oct. 15, 1758, Nov. 12, 1758, Dec. 17, 1759, Feb. 11, 1760, and March 10, 1760) indicating the magazine usually appeared during the second week of the month following its designation.

9 Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines (N.Y., 1930), I, 70, lists 17 magazines publ. prior to July 4, 1776. Lyon N. Richardson, A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1789 (New York, 1931), pp. 352-368, lists 20. Both show The New American Magazine hereafter cited as NAM as the eleventh published and the second-longest in run. The longest run was The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle's (Boston, 1743-46) 3 3/4 yrs. The shortest was The Boston Weekly Magazine's (Boston, Mar., 1743) 3 weeks. The average run was slightly over 10 months. See Appendix A.

10 Between 1741 and 1776, Philadelphia publ. 7 mags.; Boston, 6; New York, 4; New Jersey, 1; North Carolina, 1 (1764); Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1 (1764-70-72). See Appendix A.

11 Richardson, Early American Magazines, remains the standard reference for the history of early Am. magazines.
The development of periodicals in Great Britain had similarly lagged. The Gazette, 1665, had been followed by The Tatler, 1709, after fifty-four years, but The Tatler had met with greater success than the first American magazines. English newspapers stemmed from the hand-written sheets distributed in London during the throes of political revolution. Printed newsletters and political pamphlets mushroomed in the midst of political turmoil. Foresight, or fear, of the power of the press caused the "corantos," or current newsheets, to be restricted to foreign news from their appearance in the 1620's until 1643. With the establishment of a Licensing Office for the press, newspapers printed, very carefully, a certain amount of domestic news. Perhaps the first newspaper was a governmental mouthpiece, the long-lived London Gazette, established in 1665. In 1695, with the lapse of the Licensing Act, control through taxation, subsidization, and prosecution for seditious libel was substituted for suppression, and newspapers began to flourish.12

It is often difficult to separate the forebearers of early magazine forms from the newspapers, for each periodical's content was often neither explicitly news-bearing or literary.13 By 1709, London could boast of eighteen separate papers, producing a total of fifty issues a week.14 In that year the first of the eighteenth-century English magazine forms reached full expression with the publication of The Tatler,


followed in 1712 by The Spectator and then a host of imitators. 15

This first magazine form encompassed a single essay written in the
clever tones of London coffeehouse debates and satirizing foibles in
society, the church and the government. Essays in the style of Joseph
Addison and Richard Steele who authored The Tatler and The Spectator
were a frequent feature of colonial newspapers. 16 However, only three
pre-Revolutionary American magazines adopted this form. These three--
The Independent Reflector, The Occasional Reverberator and John English-
men--were the products of three young Whiggish lawyers and were printed
on James Parker's New York press. 17

The great majority of the colonial magazines were molded in the
style of the second magazine form which developed in Great Britain.
This form, a miscellany, or collection, of essays, was typified by the
Gentleman's Magazine, founded in 1731 in London by Edward Cave. 18 The

15 Walter Graham, English Literary Periodicals (N.Y., 1930), pp. 65-
118; Wood, Magazines in the U. S., pp. 4-7.

16 Elizabeth Cook, Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers,
1704-1750 (N.Y., 1912), demonstrated that Am. newspapers most fre-
quently printed the content of Eng. Lit. periodicals during periods
when current news was obtained with difficulty and Am. magazines were
not established.

17 The editors were William Livingston, John Morin Scott and
William Smith, Jr. Parker also printed New York's fourth magazine
The Instructor, a four-paged, weekly, literary journal which was not
successful, lasting only from Mar. 6 to May 8, 1755, but shared with
the NAM a concern for the conflict with Fr. Milton Klein, ed., The
Thomas, History of Printing in America, 2nd ed. (Worcester, Mass.,
1874), II, 125-126.

18 Carl L. Carlson, The First Magazine; A History of the Gentle-
man's Magazine (Providence, R.I., 1938), pp. 170-196; Albert H. Smyth,
The Philadelphia Magazine and their Contributors, 1741-1850 (Phila.,
1892), p. 23.
miscellany form had gained immediate popularity, for it encompassed
the spirit of its age—an age of early modern men interested in being
knowledgeable on a wide spectrum of topics touching on religion, poli-
tics, science, and literature. Cave was the first publisher to call
his miscellany a "magazine," and the term clearly showed his intention
of compiling a permanent "magazine" or storehouse of the best essays
previously printed in the multiplicity of London journals.

As the eighteenth-century newspaper and magazine developed, they
assumed differing characteristics and roles. It was the professional
ideal of a newspaper publisher to present the news with impartiality.
Editorials were unknown and when opinions appeared in the form of
letters to the editor, every effort was made to achieve representation
of all sides of an issue. The possibility of arrest for seditious
libel was an ever present threat to the newspaper editor, both in
Great Britain and in the colonies. Unwilling to risk censure and
hampered by the limitations of a four-page publication, the printer
delegated controversial issues to pamphlets, broadsides, or other
publications.

19 Five editions of the first number were sold immediately.
Graham, English Literary Periodicals, p. 171n; Richmond Bond, ed.,
discusses effects of Enlightenment on growth of periodicals.

20 Bond, Studies, p. 28.

21 Fred J. Hinkhouse, The Preliminaries of the American Revolu-

22 "No cause was more honored by rhetorical declamation and dis-
honored in practice than that of freedom of expression during the
revolutionary period, from the 1760's through the War for Independence."
Leonard W. Levy, "Did the Zenger Case Really Matter?" The William and
Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XVII, No. 1 (Jan., 1960), 50.
Magazines revealed their publishers' biases and attempted to influence opinion more freely than their contemporary newspapers. It was assumed that a magazine must not only amuse but also improve or instruct. Although professing impartiality, the editors, by deciding what constituted instruction and which essays would effect improvement, imposed their values and opinions on their readers. Often they encouraged little more than "sound morality," but the potential ability of magazines to issue a strong statement on public issues was recognized and employed.

Another aspect in which magazines differed from newspapers was in the sense of permanency surrounding their publication. Magazines were a deliberate effort to store and preserve the best cultural efforts of their time. More thought in the selection of content and more care in editing than the newspapers was the result.

The pre-Revoluntory American magazines modeled after the Gentleman's Magazine were very similar in form, content, and purpose. The New American Magazine was to stand out among the group only as a better-than-average edited journal with a longer-than-average run, unique only for its place of publication and its unexpressed, but strongly presented, goal of obtaining support for the French and Indian War.

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iii. The New American Magazine's Place in the Development of the New Jersey Press

The New American Magazine held a role of significance in the development of the printing press in New Jersey. Not only was it to be New Jersey's first magazine but also her first periodical and first significant publication of a non-governmental nature. The establishment of the colony's first permanent press at Woodbridge in 1754 marked the first attempt to render New Jersey independent of the presses of New York and Philadelphia.

The provinces of East and West Jersey had received an early curbing on their printing development in the instructions of Queen Anne to the first royal governor in 1702. "Forasmuch as great inconveniences may arise by the liberty of printing in our said province, you are to provide by all necessary orders that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained." The instructions for the governors of several provinces contained such restrictions on the press. With the early establishment of presses in New York and Philadelphia, there seemed little need to justify the licensing of a New Jersey press.


In the 1720's, harassed by counterfeiters, the colony's assembly insisted in certain instances that their bills of credit be printed under their supervision. Therefore, in 1723 William Bradford brought his press temporarily to Perth Amboy, and in 1728 Samuel Keimer moved his temporarily to Burlington. Both printers printed the colony's "money" and took the opportunity, while their presses were set up, to print the latest assembly sessions' acts and laws. These laws were New Jersey's first imprints.28

James Parker established the colony's first permanent press when he returned to Woodbridge in 1754. By 1757 his eight imprints included a reprinted sermon and a broadside announcing a lottery. During that year he and Samuel Nevill, a judge and legislator from the neighboring town of Perth Amboy, laid the plans for publishing The New American Magazine. Of the eighty-three works printed by Parker on his New Jersey press, the magazine was to rank as the most significant literary production and only periodical.29

After Parker's death on July 2, 1770, the position of governmental printer was awarded to Isaac Collins, a Quaker who set up his press in Burlington. Collins obtained the position after competition from Parker's son, Samuel Franklin Parker. In a newspaper advertisement the


29 Parker printed two other significant works in New Jersey: Samuel Nevill, The Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey, from the year 1753, ... to the year 1761 (Woodbridge, 1761) and Samuel Smith, The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey (Burlington, 1765). Humphrey, "New Jersey Imprints," 70-75.
younger Parker thanked those who had supported his unsuccessful bid, stating with bitter humor "it gives him a singular satisfaction to think, that by losing that Business, it has preserved his opponent from inevitable ruin." The Woodbridge press, no longer active, was sold by the younger Parker, or seized by Tories, prior to his death in 1779.

Isaac Collins began New Jersey's first newspaper in 1779 with a strong subsidy from the Revolutionary assembly. A second newspaper followed in 1779, printed in Chatham, subsidized by the American army under Washington quartered at nearby Morristown. New Jersey was not to have a second magazine until 1786 when The New Jersey Magazine and Monthly Advertiser was issued from New Brunswick for three months.

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30 Samuel F. Parker's ad appeared in the NYG or, WPB, No. 1449 (Oct. 8, 1770), p. 3; Parker presented his petition to the Assembly Sept. 28, 1770, and Collins on Sept. 29. The Assembly voted 10-8 for Collins. Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers," 27-28; Isaac Collins' career has been the subject of a recent study by Richard F. Hixson, Isaac Collins: A Quaker Printer in 18th Century America, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968.


32 Parker had planned to establish a newspaper in Burlington in 1765 until "News of the Killing Stamp, has struck a deadly Blow to all my Hopes on that Head." "James Parker to Benjamin Franklin, April 25, 1765," The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Leonard Labaree, (New Haven, 1959-date), XIX, III: The New Jersey Gazette was printed by Collins in Burlington from Dec. 5, 1777, until March 4, 1778, and then in Trenton from March 4, 1778, until July, 1783, and Dec. 9, 1783, to Nov. 27, 1786. The New Jersey Journal was begun by Shephard Kollok on Feb. 16, 1779, at Chatham and its successor, the Elizabeth Daily Journal, is still published in Elizabeth. Warren C. Stickel III, "State and Press in New Jersey during the American Revolution," New Jersey History, LXXXVI, No.s 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1958), 158-170, 236-249.

33 The magazine was edited and published in New Brunswick by Frederick Quequelle and James Prang. Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers," 35.
The twenty years which lapsed before New Jersey's first newspaper and the thirty years which passed until the second magazine underline the boldness of the venture upon which Parker and Nevill embarked in 1758.

iv. The Distribution of The New American Magazine

The January 1758 issue, totaling fifty-two pages, measuring five by seven and three-quarters inches, neatly edited and printed, marked the beginning of The New American Magazine. Although available only through subscription, no subscription list or accounts exist to enable us to judge the number or extent of its distribution. A comment by Parker and a contemporary magazine subscription list might indicate that initial printing runs approached five hundred copies. Writing to a fellow printer, William Bradford, in December, 1766, Parker stated that one could expect five or six hundred subscribers to a periodical and that number was sufficient to support publication. 34 Also amongst William Bradford's papers is the subscription list to the successful American Magazine which he printed in Philadelphia for William Smith between October, 1757, and October, 1758. This list registers eight hundred and fifty subscribers although it does not include the New England readers and is therefore incomplete. 35


Parker found that his first printings of the early issues of the magazine were inadequate, and he republished the first two numbers. They were advertised as "now available" in the March, 1758, issue. The title page on the first and second editions of these first two issues differ, for the engraving commissioned for the cover of the magazine was not completed until late March or early April, 1758. For the first printings Parker substituted a simpler engraving, probably borrowed from another work which he had printed.

The magazine began its publication with a shortage of copies and ended with an excess. In a 1768 advertisement Parker announced that large quantities of the magazine were available to those who wished to preserve them as "curiosities." Few must have taken advantage of his offer. Today, in United States libraries, only two hundred and eighty-six issues of the magazine, an average of seventeen copies of each number, can be found.

36 "A greater number for this Magazine, then was expected having taken off all the first Number since its publication; we would inform such as be yet desirous of subscribing, that, if any number shall appear by the first of next, the first half-sheet of the history will be reprinted in order to complete the books of such as are desirous of having them bound up, at the cost of 2d for each half-sheet; or, if a larger number of subscribers do desire the whole magazine shall be reprinted," NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), table of contents page.

37 "Of these Magazines, he has many left on Hand, and a few complete Sets, to dispose of; which he will sell to the first that offers at less than Half the Price they were published at . . . .--As it is probably such an Undertaking may not be resumed again soon; as five several attempts have been made in America and all failed; -- it is hoped the cheapness of these now offered, will induce the Curious to preserve some of them from oblivion, and prevent their soon going the way of all such Papers, that is, to be made waste paper of." NYG or, WBP, No. 1354 (Dec. 12, 1768), p. 3.

38 See Appendix C.
In considering the distribution of an eighteenth-century periodical, we must keep in mind that the subscriber freely shared his copy with his acquaintances, and the number of readers was probably at least four times the number of subscribers.\(^{39}\)

To facilitate subscribing, a number of gentlemen receiving subscription orders were listed in the proposals and on the covers of the issues for December, 1758, July, 1759, December, 1759, and January, 1760. All covers carried the major subscription offices in Woodbridge, Philadelphia and New York.

Of the twenty-four individuals listed in the subscription receivers list in the "Proposals" nineteen were located in New Jersey, and one each in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Providence, and New Haven. This indicates that the subscribers were heavily concentrated in the colony of New Jersey and that little effort was made to solicit subscribers from the southern colonies.\(^{40}\)

The physical distribution of the magazine was facilitated by the numerous positions Parker held in the colonial postal system. He was the local postmaster at Woodbridge and at New Haven, Connecticut. He also held the post of Comptroller of the Post Offices of North America, responsible for reviewing all the accounts of postmasters from Florida to Canada.\(^{41}\)


\(^{40}\) See Appendix B.

The advantages of a postmaster were numerous. They included the privilege of franking his own mail and of being in direct contact with the post riders. Woodbridge, despite some contemporary objections, served as the central post office for New Jersey on the direct mail route between New York and Philadelphia.

The main problem which the publishers of The New American Magazine were to encounter was not in the distribution of the magazine but in the collection of payments for it. The subscription price was 1s. Proclamation money per copy, 12s. per year, payable quarterly. New York newspapers, periodicals four pages in length, published weekly, presented

42. . . the Profit of it [the post office at Woodbridge] is very small, about 30 l. p. Annum as Commissions, and it is in fact the worst Situation for one in the Continent, as 7 eights of the letters are for [Perth] Amboy, to be sent thither, and perhaps twice going after the Pay, before got once: -- I have many times known it necessary to go to Amboy with 4 or 5 Shillings worth of Letters, perhaps spend Six Hours Time, and get a drink of 1/6, and come home for the profits of 1 s. However, I never thought much of it, whilst I have the other office, [that of Comptroller]", or whilst I had the privilege of franking, etc.," Parker to Franklin, Oct. 27, 1764, "Letters of James Parker to Benjamin Franklin," ed. W. C. Ford, Proceedings of MHS., 2nd Series, XVI (May, 1902), p. 194; The franking privilege was important as newspapers were charged 9 d. for the first 50 miles, the rate increasing proportionately, as of a 1758 policy established by Franklin. Wesley C. Rich, The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829, (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 37.

43 In a letter to Henry Potts on April 23, 1761, Benjamin Franklin defended the New Jersey postal system against criticisms by the colony's Gov. Thomas Boone and, in doing so, provided us with an outline of the distribution of the NAM: "Delaware River was to be cross'd at Trenton and the Raritan River at Brunswick, where they were both narrow, and the latter fordbare at Low Water; as the People at Elizabeth Town Point, undertook voluntarily to have a stout Boat always ready to carry the Post and his Company directly to New York, by which the three last mention'd Ferries were avoided [i.e., Perth Amboy to Staten Island, S. I., to Long Island, L. I. to N. Y.]." Burlington letters came by ferry from Bristol, Pa., and Amboy's from Woodbridge (4 mi.), "B. Franklin to Henry Potts, Apr. 23, 1761," Papers of Franklin, ed. Labarge, IX, 305.
a similar quantity of published material and sold in New York between 1757 and 1760 for 14s. a year.\footnote{In 1756 the N. Y. Assembly placed a 1/2d. per issue stamp tax on newspapers. Subscriptions prices were raised from 12 s. to 14 s. to cover this expense. When the tax lapsed in Jan., 1760, prices returned to 12 s. per yr. Beverley McAnear, "Documents: James Parker versus New York Province," \textit{New York History}, XXII, No. 3 (July, 1941), 321.} Other magazines published prior to the Revolution were priced similarly to \textit{The New American Magazine} and competitively with newspapers. Most publishers insisted on subscriptions rather than the sale of individual numbers in order to insure a sufficient income to financially justify publication.

The subscribers were amazingly lax about payment. The money could be paid to the individual who had originally taken the subscription order. Often these individuals were the local postmasters.\footnote{See Appendix B.} The collected money was easily transmitted to Parker by the post riders. Despite the availability of willing collectors, Parker estimated a quarter of one's subscribers could be expected to default on their debt.\footnote{McAnear, "Parker vs. New York Province," 327.}

Requests for payment in \textit{The New American Magazine} were worded progressively more strongly. In December, 1758, the contents page carried the following note:

\begin{quote}
The first year of \textit{The New American Magazine} being now finished, if the subscribers will be pleased to make their respective payments to the persons who took in subscriptions the Proprietors will acknowledge the Fav'ur . . . the Candid Reader cannot express his approbation of the performance in a more effectual Manner, than by punctually paying his part of the contributions, and thereby enabling the Proprietors to carry on this useful work with Industry and Alacrity, for without these necessary props, the Foundations cannot be supported.
\end{quote}
By the end of the second year of publication, the appeals for payment carried a note of desperation:

... the Proprietors desire the subscribers will be pleased to pay the subscription money now due to any of the Gentlemen mentioned in the Title page, without which they will not be able to proceed in so useful an undertaking. The heavy Expense of procuring Intelligence, paper, printing, etc., etc., will, we hope, excuse their reasonable request. 47

Publication ceased at the end of the first quarter of the third year with the explanation that the discontinuance was due to "a deficiency in the number of subscribers to defray the Expense of Printing." 48

The complaint might have been amended to read "the number of paying subscribers."

47 "Author to the Publick," NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), unnumbered wrapper page.

48 Editorial note, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), table of contents page.
CHAPTER II. INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN THE NEW AMERICAN MAGAZINE

In blaming the failure of The New American Magazine on a lack of subscribers, the magazine's publishers were citing a symptom, not the cause, of its failure. They, as printer and editor, had initiated the magazine and shaped its content according to their goals and past experience. Other individuals involved in the publication of the magazine, as subscribers or contributors, had their own motivations for supporting the magazine. When their needs changed, could not be met or were met elsewhere, the support for the magazine was withdrawn and publication ceased.

The magazine and its failure are reflections of the motivations and contributions of the printer, the editor, the subscribers, and the contributors. An understanding of these components will result in an understanding of the creation and demise of The New American Magazine. What each individual brought to the magazine and what each hoped to get from it were the blending of their past experiences and current events.

Full biographical studies of the magazine's leading figures, James Parker and Samuel Nevill, have not been published.¹ A reconstruction

of their backgrounds shows that each man had strong reasons to initiate the publication of *The New American Magazine* and, experiences and skills which enabled them to hope for its success.

### i. James Parker

In 1754, at the age of thirty-eight, James Parker had retreated from the stress which marked a successful New York career and had established a small press in his birthplace, the village of Woodbridge, New Jersey. Leaving his New York business and his newest venture in Con-
necticut in the hands of partners, he settled into life in the "country" with audible signs of relief.  

As the member of a family that had settled in the area in the seventeenth century and now included individuals of prestige and wealth, Parker enjoyed a social standing in New Jersey far higher than his position as a successful tradesman had commanded for him in New York.  

After the death of his father, the village's cooper, Parker, eleven years old, had been apprenticed to the New York printer, William Bradford.  

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3 Parker and Franklin often referred to New Jersey as "the country." For example, see Parker to Franklin, Sept. 22, 1765, from "Letters of James Parker to Benjamin Franklin," ed. Ford, 193; Andrew Burnaby in Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the years 1759 and 1760, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, 1960), p. 73, provides a sketch of the New Jersey country gentlemen: "The New Jersey men, as to character, are like most country gentlemen: good-natured, hospitable, and of more liberal turn than their neighbors the Pennsylvanians. They live altogether upon their estates, and are literally gentlemen farmers."

4 Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt (N.Y., 1955), p. 187 claims that printers had a unique place in colonial society as arbiters of taste, of international reknown, etc. Parker in 1759 described with envy the standing of European printers in comparison to his low position in New York, McAnear, "James Parker vs. New York Province," 323-325.

The Parker family in New Jersey was established by Elisha Parker, married in 1659 to Elizabeth Hinckley, sister of Gov. Thomas Hinckley of Mass. The couple moved from Barnstable, Mass., to Staten Island and then across the Sound to Woodbridge. They had two sons, Elisha and Samuel. Samuel, a cooper, married Janet Ford (a member of the family for whom Ford's Corner, N.J. was named) and had four sons, Samuel, John James the printer, and Elisha. The elder brother, Elisha, a cooper, married twice. A son John b. 1693, m. Janet Johnson, established the Perth Amboy branch of the family. His son James b. 1725, a contemporary and second cousin of the printer, became a member of the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey and of the Council. Although a loyalist, he held positions of respect after the war, including Mayor of Perth Amboy. His correspondence has been mistaken for James the printer's by some historians. His son James was a member of Congress, director of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company and a president of the New Jersey Historical Society.

5 William Bradford (1663-1752) was a printer in New Jersey from 1693 until 1744, publishing the New York Gazette from 1725 until 1744. Parker paid him high tribute in his obituary, _NYG_ or, _WPB_ No. 488 (May 25, 1752), p. 2 as "a man of Great Sobriety and Industry; - a real Friend to the Poor and Needy; and kind and affable to all . . ."
His apprenticeship, begun January 1, 1726/27, was to last for eight years. An advertisement in May, 1733, for the return of the runaway Parker has led many historians to conclude that he fled from Bradford to Philadelphia and Benjamin Franklin. 6 Autobiographical statements by Parker, however, indicate he completed or settled his apprenticeship successfully.

(Mr. Bradford) was a very sober diligent man. I served upwards of eight years with him and in 1726 carried about the first news-papers that were printed in the city. The Art was in such wretched disrepute there, that tho' he had apprentices or servants constantly he never had One in all his time but what he was obliged to take the lowest people: Not one of substance would ever put their sons to such an Art; and was to this perhaps owing that I became one: In all this time he never brought up but one besides my self, that could ever follow the Business, which was the late Mr. Zenger. 7

Parker then served as a journeyman under Benjamin Franklin and, with Franklin's financial support, returned to New York in 1741/42 and established New York's third newspaper the New York Weekly Post-Boy in January, 1742/43. 8 With the expiration of Bradford's paper on November 19, 1744, Parker incorporated his former master's newspaper title; Parker's publication then became the New-York Gazette, revived in the

his Temperance was exceedingly conspicuous . . ." indicating the good terms which had existed between them.


8 Benjamin Franklin and James Parker, "Articles of Agreement, Feb. 20, 1741(2)," The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Leonard Lebarré (New Haven, 1959-date), II, 2. Franklin provided press, type and materials to establish Parker in N. Y.; they divided current costs and profits 2/3 for Parker, 1/3 for Franklin for six years.
Weekly Post-Boy. Acquiring the post of New York's governmental printer December 1, 1743, his newspaper flourishing, Parker became the city's leading printer.

On July 30, 1951, with the purchase of the old Zenger press, Parker initiated a series of steps which were to lead to the establishment of the Woodbridge press. His original intent was to sell the press to a former journeyman, William Weyman, in London at the time seeking financial help. Another of his journeymen, Hugh Gaine, upset that Parker had not offered the press to him, left Parker and established a competitive press in the city. As Parker related, "I then thought him Weyman"

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9 The title underwent several changes. From 1747 until 1753 it was the New-York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post-Boy; from 1753 to 1759, The New York Gazette; or, the Weekly Post-Boy; Samuel Parker, 1759-1760, added his name to differentiate it from Weyman's paper; John Bibliography 59-60, substituted a semi-colon for the colon in the title; the I, 635-638, s restored by Parker in 1766. Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820 (Worcester, Mass., 1947), I, 635-638.

10 Thomas, History of Printing in Am., I, 188, calls Parker in 1754 "the principal printer at New York" and Ibid., 302, says Parker and Weyman "in the various branches of their profession had more business than any other printers in the city."

11 John Paul Zenger had printed in Maryland from 1720 until 1722 and in N. Y. from 1723 to 1746, publishing the New York Weekly Journal from 1733 to 1746 which was continued by his family until 1751. Parker purchased the press at the sale of the estate of John Zenger, stepson of John P., by auction on July 30, 1751. Brigham, Bibliography, I, 504. Osward, Printing in America, p. 192, is mistaken in saying the press was sent to New Haven.

12 Parker's partnership with Weyman described by him in a broadside "An Appeal to the Publick" published in New York on Feb. 23, 1759, the broadside is contained in McAnear's study "James Parker vs. Weyman."

13 Gaine established The New York Mercury on Aug. 3, 1752. A Scotch-Irishman from Belfast he had come to N.Y. in 1745 "without basket or burden" and had been hired by Parker for $1.25/wk and board. Paul L. Ford, ed., The Journals of Hugh Gaine (N.Y., 1902), I, 3-4. In July, 1751, Parker had set up Gaine's brother as storekeeper in Woodbridge in a shop which he had inherited there from his father. By Feb., 1752, Parker had "advice from Woodbridge of Gaine's Brother turning out a Sat"
up with Zenger's Press separate would be of no avail, but that as this
House at Woodbridge was now empty, and my health much impaired by fa-
tigue, if Weyman would take my Materials on the same conditions and
manner as Mr. Hall had taken Mr. Franklin's at Philadelphia, I would
take Zenger's Press and Types to Woodbridge, where I should have a
chance of some other work."

Weyman, returning from England, agreed to these plans and partner-
ship articles were drawn up and dated January 1, 1753. The announcement
appeared in the first issues of The New York Gazette or, Weekly Post-Boy
for 1753 that "this paper is to be carried on for the future by William
Weyman in conjunction with the former publisher." Weyman, however,
delayed the signing of the agreement for almost a year and Parker re-
tained control of the printing house. Late in 1753, Weyman signed and
Parker "resigned entirely to his management and as it was inconsistent
with Reason to have two Masters on the Spot, I left him to command."

Parker's initial problems with Weyman were to continue throughout
their partnership. The dissolution of their contract would initiate
another series of events that were partially responsible for the dis-
continuance of The New American Magazine.

In 1754, feeling his New York responsibilities had been delegated

and turned him out, losing £40 of his original £100 investment and Hugh

14 Parker, "An Appeal to the Publick," as cited in McAnear,
Parker vs. Weyman," 5-6; the 1748 Franklin/Hall contract provided that
Franklin supply press and type and divide the cost of paper and shop
supplies; Hall was to bear all other costs and the profits were to be
evenly divided. McAnear, Ibid., 5-6n.

15 NYG or, WPB, No. 518 (January 1, 1753), p. 1.
into capable hands, Parker moved to New Jersey and petitioned the governor, Jonathan Belcher, for the position of official government printer. Belcher, however, wrote to the current printer, William Bradford of Philadelphia, promising him the position as long as he wanted it. Parker lacked the security of a contract with the Colony until the fall of 1758 when a new governor and Bradford's slowness finally won him the post.

Frustrated in this attempt to guarantee a substantial amount of work for his new press, Parker allowed his attention to be diverted during his first years at Woodbridge by the assumption of several major responsibilities. As a favor to Benjamin Franklin, he undertook the establishment of a press at New Haven, Connecticut, and began that colony's first newspaper The Connecticut Gazette. Parker spent the end of 1754 and at least the second half of 1755 in Connecticut establishing the printing office and a partnership with John Holt, brother-in-law of Postmaster General William Hunter.

In September, 1854, Parker received a commission as postmaster at Woodbridge and, the following year, one as postmaster at New Haven. In 1757, upon William Franklin's departure to England with his father, Parker became Comptroller of the General Post Offices in British North

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18 Parker was appointed "Government Printer" by the Assembly on Sept. 26, 1758, and "King's Printer" for New Jersey on Sept. 9, 1762, holding this position until his death. Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers," 19.

Administering in Franklin and Hunter's absence but with their guidance, Parker increased the postal revenues from an annual deficit of £238 to an annual surplus averaging £407.

Franklin consistently displayed great trust in Parker's abilities and character. In his papers and correspondence he referred to him as "My good friend," "a very honest punctual Man," "sober, pious and conscientious." He charged Parker with the responsibility of auditing the accounts of his Philadelphia partnership with David Hall in his absences.

In the village of Woodbridge, Parker became a captain of the horse of the local militia. He was active in the Episcopal church and gained a respect from his community that was to result in his later appointment as a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County.

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20 B. Franklin and W. Hunter, "Commission to James Parker as Deputy Postmaster at Woodbridge, Sept. 13, 1754," ms. at N.J.H.S.; Franklin, "Commission to James Parker as Comptroller of Post Offices in British North America, Apr. 22, 1757," Papers of Franklin, ed. Labaree, VII, 191-198. As comptroller, Parker reviewed all quarterly accounts from local postmasters, receiving a 7½% commission on money collected. During Franklin and Hunter's absence from the colonies, he held their power of appointment and authority.


23 Parker, son of Presbyterians, probably became member of Episcopalian Church as apprentice under Bradford, a vestryman of Trinity Church in N.J., and to please N.J. government officials; his activities as captain of the horse related in description of ceremonies surrounding Gov. Boone's arrival in N.J. (The New York Mercury, July 14, 1760, as cited in N.J. Archives, ed. W. Nelson, 1st series (Paterson, N.J., 1898), XX, 450) and having an ox roasted and rolling out hogsheads of Cyder for his Company (NYG or., WPB, No. 880 Nov. 12, 1759, p. 3); he was appointed
Throughout the period, Parker maintained an interest in the activities of his New York press although he left the bookkeeping, to his later regret, entirely in the hands of Weyman. Parker consistently revealed a desire to keep free of involvement in political issues, fearing the loss of subscribers, the loss of his government contract, or a potential trial for seditious libel. It was with relief that he had disassociated himself from the spirited trio that had edited the essay journals, The Independent Reflector, The Occasional Reverberator, and John Englishman. When an article appearing in the New York newspaper was considered libel and Parker was arrested, he was always quick to apologize and reveal the name of the author. Only when his profits were threatened as with New York's stamp tax on newspapers did he seem to take a firm stand. One receives the impression of a pragmatic businessman. As his partnerships failed and his gout worsened, Parker's letters assume a querulous, self-pitying tone; yet, he remained until his death honest and fair in his dealings.

Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County, June 2, 1764, (Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers...", 20) and compiled and published a guide for Justices of the Peace, Conductor Generalis, in that year.

24 The preface to the compilation of The Independent Reflector complains that "thro' the irresolution or corruption of the printer and his various devices to embarrass the Reflector, that paper was not continued beyond the fourth number." as cited by Ford, ed., Journals of Hugh Gaine, I, 4; Parker's efforts to dissociate himself are described by Hilton Klein, ed., The Independent Reflector (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 335.

25 Parker clashed with the New York Assembly in 1747, 1752, 1756 and 1770. His political troubles are related by Victor H. Paltsits in the Literary Collector, VI, No. 4 (Nov., 1903).

Parker's printing skills were judged by Isaiah Thomas, the contemporary historian of America's early presses, to be greater than those of Bradford or Franklin. 27

By 1757 Parker seemed able to devote a greater amount of his time to the Woodbridge press. He had issued two publications in 1754, three in 1755 and seven in 1756. In the spring of 1757 he printed the first New Jersey imprints of a non-governmental nature, a broadside advertising a lottery and reprinted sermon. 28

Parker realized that he must find some work to keep his press busy in supplement to the uncertain and seasonal governmental business. In a 1759 petition he claimed that a printer in New York could not earn a living unless he printed a newspaper. 29 There were several reasons, however, why establishing a newspaper in New Jersey was not feasible. The success of a paper depended on the freshness of the news which it printed. Woodbridge and its neighbor Perth Amboy could not hope to gain intelligence before the major ports of New York and Philadelphia. Furthermore, a Woodbridge paper would be competing against Parker's own New-York Gazette; or, Weekly Post-Boy, one fourth of whose circulation was in New Jersey. 30

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27 Thomas, History of Printing in Am., I, 315.

28 Scheme of a lottery erected, and to be drawn on Biles Island, Intended to Convert into money, an improved tract of land of Peter Gordon's, Esq. in Middlesex County in New Jersey. . . New Jersey, June 28, 1757, and A Serious Call from the City to the County. To join with them in this Critical Juncture, in setting apart some time for solemn seeking of God, viz. from seven to eight in the morning of every Lord's Day and of every Wednesday. Recommended by the Synod of New York, the Rev. Mr. David Bostwick Moderator . . . Woodbridge in New Jersey: Re-printed by J. Parker in May, 1757.


30 Parker stated that one-fourth of his subscribers lived in N.J., one-fourth in Conn., NYG or, WPB, No. 716 (Oct. 4, 1756), p. 3.
A magazine which emphasized less ephemeral matters than news seemed to be the perfect periodical form. The literary content could attract and satisfy both the New York-oriented East Jerseyans and the Philadelphia-oriented West Jerseyans.

From May 12 until May 23, 1757, Benjamin Franklin and his family stayed with the Parkers. Letters by William Franklin describe pleasant days of trips to the Passaic Falls, Newark and the Schuyler copper mines and evening of dinners with the colony's governor. On his way to England as a colonial agent, Franklin must have taken an interest in his protege's newest enterprise and offered suggestions for its success. Franklin often sent Parker material and suggestions. Indeed, a letter to his wife just after this visit instructs her to send certain of his books to Parker. Franklin had just left Philadelphia which was abuzz with plans for the American Magazine to be begun by Franklin's competitor, Bradford, that October. The proposed magazine seemed to be attracting wide support. Was The New American Magazine first prompted by a suggestion of Franklin's? Such a question can only be left to speculation for little of the correspondence between Parker and Franklin during this period survives.

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31 Papers of Franklin, ed. Labaree, VII, 246n.

32 Letters of William Franklin to Elizabeth Graeme as cited by Simon Gratz in "Some Material for a biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Graeme," PMHB, XXXIX, No. 3 (July, 1915), 262-3. On May 16, 1757, young Franklin wrote of New Jersey that he had not "the least idea that views so agreeably enchating were to be met in America."


35 Labaree, ed., Papers of Franklin, VII, 197n.
The first proposals for The New American Magazine were written in August, 1757, and were probably the result of a summer of planning on the part of Parker and Nevill. To these planning sessions, Parker brought a wealth of contributions. His connections through his family, fellow tradesmen, the postal system and the customers of his printshop provided a network of contacts which covered the colonies and included some of their most active literary figures. Parker was able to boast of extensive publication experience, including four magazines, and recognized printing skill. Besides printing equipment, he had at his disposal the distribution, subscription and news-collecting services of the post riders.

ii. Samuel Nevill

Nevill's qualifications seemed to complement those of Parker. Nevill brought to the magazine editorial knowledge gained in his London career, American publication experience, a familiarity with English belles-lettres, and the temperament to avoid the political controversies which had caused Parker so much distress with his previous editors.

After twenty years' residence in the American colonies, Nevill had established himself as one of the Jersies' best known and most respected figures. He had settled in Perth Amboy in 1736 after crossing the ocean to claim a sizeable land inheritance from his sister Sarah. The eldest son of John and Mary Nevill of Stratford, England, Samuel Nevill had received what was termed a "liberal" education and had begun a successful career in journalism in London. Between November 30, 1730, and September 30, 1736, his name had appeared as the editor of The London Evening Post. 36

36 Most biographers have ascribed the editorship of the London Morn-
His sister Sarah had married one of New Jersey's largest landholders in a London ceremony of October 23, 1723. Her husband, Peter Sonmans, was, unfortunately, also one of New Jersey's greatest scoundrels.

Peter Sonmans had inherited five-and-a-quarter shares of the twenty-four into which East Jersey was divided from his father, Arent Sonmans, a Dutch Friend and an associate of William Penn. The elder Sonmans had fled to East Lothian, Scotland, in the 1680's to escape political persecution in his own country only to meet with a mysterious death at the hands of a highwayman in 1683.

Peter Sonmans settled in the colonies in 1686 and became so involved in the corruption surrounding the first royal governor, Lord


39Field, Provincial Courts, pp. 84-85; Rubincam, "The Strange Case of Peter Sonmans," p. 236; Whitehead, Contributions to Early History of Perth Amboy, p. 76n.
Cornbury, that, with Cornbury's recall, he was forced to flee the colony himself in 1714. The reform governor Robert Hunter Morris reported on Sonrnans to the Board of Trade on August 13, 1715: "He is indeed one of the most famous men in these parts and his life and conduct are too foul to be the subject of any letter which your Lordships are to read." 40

Soon after his marriage to young Sarah Nevill, Sonrnans returned to the colonies and picked up his old ways until his death on March 26, 1734. By a will drawn up in 1724 in London, Sarah inherited "all real estate in Europe, or in New Jersey in America." She married again but soon followed her second husband Christopher Gildermeister to the grave, dying on December 1, 1735, at age 36. 41

A younger brother John, who arrived in the colonies prior to January, 1734, began preliminary settlement of the estate. 42 Samuel joined John in 1736, but it was not until 1745 that they could successfully untangle the claims of Sonman's illegitimate son and his sisters' families. 43 Writing to the New Jersey lawyer James Alexander in 1747

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42 John Nevill was in New Jersey by Jan., 1735 when he received the original will of Peter Sonrnans from Lawrence Smyth on behalf of his sister. N.J. Archives, ed. Honeyman, 1st Series, XXX, 448.

Nevill revealed his feelings regarding his brother-in-law's character:
"I have made a peaceful end with the Jews, and heartily wish it had been done some years ago. Had my unhappy brother Sonmans labored for peace and good neighborhood as much as I do, I should not have these difficulties to struggle with." 44

Nevill's inheritance enabled him to devote himself to a career of public service. He became a member of the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey in 1739. 45 In 1743 he was elected as a member of the colony's General Assembly. 46 He was to be a member of the Assembly from the Thirteenth through the Seventeenth Assemblies (1743-1751) and in the Nineteenth and part of the Twentieth Assemblies (1754-1762). 47 He was elected Speaker of that house for twenty of the forty-five sittings in which he served. 48

Nevill's election as Speaker in 1744, upon his second meeting with


44 "Nevill to James Alexander" as cited by Rubincam, Ibid., 249-250.


46 N.J. Archives, ed. Whitehead, 1st Series, VI, 408.

47 Nevill represented Middlesex in the 13th Assembly (Oct., 1743–July, 1744); Perth Amboy in the 14th (Aug.–Dec., 1744), 15th (April–Oct., 1745), 16th (Feb., 1746/7–Dec., 1750/1). He was returned from Middlesex for the 19th (Oct., 1754–Dec., 1760) and 20th (Mar., 1761 until Sept. 25, 1762, when he retired for reasons of health; his seat was assumed by Reune Runyon). "Table of the Assemblies," Proceedings of N.J.H.S., 1st Series, V, No. 1 (Jan., 1850) 20-23, 28-33.

48 Nevill served as speaker in the 14th, 15th, 16th (7th and 8th sittings), 17th, 19th (19th–21st sittings) and 20th (1st–6th sittings). Ibid.
the Assembly, was an indication of the trust and respect awarded him by his fellow legislators. As the Speaker, he had to communicate frequently with the governor, the traditional opposition, and, as he lost his voting privileges except in cases of tie, he was usually chosen from the minority party. Nevill, although conservative in nature, can not be firmly pinned with any party labels. His career seemed to be marked by a concern to prevent encroachment on the privileges of any branch of the government. Between 1743 and 1745 he sided with the majority of the Assembly in opposing the attempts of Governor Lewis Morris to assume dictatorial powers. Two years later Nevill in a speech before the House chided the same majority so severely for their support of the land riots that his life and property were threatened. In 1759 he could be found once more staunchly defending the privileges of the lower house against a governor. His beliefs were outlined in a reply to Governor Francis Kemmerer, Path to Freedom, p. 39.

Fisher, N.J. as a Royal Province, p. 86.

The speech delivered April 26, 1746, appears in N.J. Archives, ed. Whitehead, 1st Series, VI, 323-348. Speeches before the Assembly were not usually recorded in this period but this survives because it was printed in the NYG or, WPB on May 19 and 26, 1746, and attached as an appendix to the Elizabeth-town Bill in Chancery (N.Y., 1747). In December, 1746, the Somerset County jail was broken into and threats against Nevill's life were heard at this time. In June, 1747, one of the most serious land riots occurred at Perth Amboy in releasing a prisoner who had participated in the Somerset break and threats were again made against Nevill. Nevill's charge to a Grand Jury in June, 1747, to find the rioters guilty of treason aggravated the tension, N.J. Archives, ed. Whitehead, 1st Series, VI, 417, 418, 456-462, 468-470 and N.J. Archives, ed. Whitehead, 1st Series (Newark, 1883), VII, 215. The land riots, including Nevill's role in them, are the subject of Gary Horowitz's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "New Jersey Land Riots, 1745-1755," Ohio State University, 1966.

In March, 1759, when Speaker Rt. Lawrence was indisposed, Gov. F. Bernard recommended election of a temporary speaker. The House voted Nevill permanent speaker and Bernard was finally forced to accept the election, declaring it did not establish precedent. Fisher, N.J. as a Royal Province, p. 164.
Bernard's parting speech of March 1760:

As we are truly sensible that the body politic may be dis-tempered as well as the natural body, and that it can only be kept in order by preserving to the Crown, and the people, the true and exact constitutional rights of each, we do assure your excellency, that we have not the least inclination to encroach on the known rights of any other branch of the legislature; and shall steadily and inviolably adhere to the preservation of the privileges of our house, and liberties of our constituents; and conscientiously transmit these invaluable blessings to our prosperity without dimunition.

The strong desire to be impartial and fair rapidly involved Nevill in the judicial branch of the government. By 1746 he was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County. In February, 1748, Governor Jonathan Belcher, arriving in the colony to succeed Lewis Morris, appointed Nevill as Second Judge of the colony's Supreme Court.

That appointment brought strong opposition from Robert Hunter Morris, appointed Chief Justice by his father, the former governor. Morris attempted to dissuade Nevill from accepting the appointment, telling him that

he was become a tool in the Hands of a Crafty Manager, whose intention I plainly saw were to Justifie the Assembly in not doing any thing against the Rioters, to lay the fault in the officers and Courts of Justice, and to furnish matters of com-

53 Speech of Samuel Nevill to Governor Bernard, March 25, 1760, "NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 112.

54 "The justices [of New Jersey] hold quarterly sessions for petty larcenies, and trifing causes: and the supreme judge, with two assistant justices, holds, once a year, a general assize throughout the province, of oyer and terminer, and common pleas. He holds also annually four supreme courts alternately at Amboy and Burlington, of King's bench, common-pleas and exchequer. The offices of chancellor and vice-admiral, are executed by the governor; and the dernier resort is to his Majesty in council." Burnaby, Travels, pp. 72-73. The description is confirmed by Samuel Smith, History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey (Burlington, 1765), pp. 500-501.
plaint against me. That I could not believe he would knowingly have engaged to act a part in such schemes, but now he was told of it; I should esteem his acceptance of that office, a declaring himself my Enemy and should govern myself accordingly.\textsuperscript{55}

Although the hot-headed Morris feared that Nevill's appointment would further alienate the land rioters from the courts, his opposition was also influenced by his hope to discredit Belcher and obtain the gubernatorial appointment for himself and a possible resentment of Nevill's role in the Assembly which had treated his father so harshly.\textsuperscript{56}

For the next sixteen years, however, Nevill was not only to carry his responsibilities as Second Judge but also to assume many of the duties belonging to Morris, who was usually out of the colony.\textsuperscript{57} In 1760 Nevill was forced to judge on the validity of Morris's appointment "during good behavior" versus a later appointment by the king "during his pleasure." Nevill risked the censure of the home government and overlooked the opportunity to spite Morris by defending the validity of his appointment.\textsuperscript{58}


\textsuperscript{56}Morris's fear that "it would give a handle to the rioters to clamour" is presented in "R. H. Morris and James Alexander to John Ferdinand Paris, April 24, 1749," N.J. Archives, ed. Whitehead, 1st Series, VII, 251-259; his hope to replace Belcher is clarified in "James Alexander to John F. Paris, May 30, 1749," Ibid, 259-260; the possibility of resentment for Nevill's role in an assembly that even refused for Morris his salary post-humously is cited by Field, Provincial Courts, p. 156.

\textsuperscript{57}Morris was in England 1749-March, 1754; served as Gov. of Pa., 1754-1756; was in N.J. 1756-Oct. 1757 sitting once in Nov. 1756 and in March, May and Aug. of 1757; returned to England 1757-1759; returned to contest Jones' appointment, on bench every sitting but 2 in 1760. "Gov. Francis Bernard to the Lords of Trade, March 22, 1760," N.J. Archives, ed. F. Ricord and W. Nelson, 1st Series (Newark, 1885) IX, 213-214. After January, 1752, Nevill petitioned for and received extra recompense from the Assembly for performing Morris's duties.

\textsuperscript{58}"Copy of the Minutes of the Supreme Court in the Claims of Mr.
In 1751, Nevill published a compilation of the laws of New Jersey from 1702, when it had become a royal government, to date.\(^59\) With the completion of this valuable work and fifty-four years of his life, he expressed his first desire to retire. An advertisement running in the New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy from November 6, 1751, until February 12, 1753, announced:

To be sold by Samuel Nevill of the City of Perth Amboy who who is determined to leave off the Farming Business and to leave retired: The Plantation whereon he now liveth in Perth Amboy and partly in the township of Woodbridge; containing upwards of 230 acres, upon which is a good Dwelling-House, a complete Dairy-House, with a Spring running thro' the same, Wash-House, Bake-House, and other convenient Out-Houses, a very good Barn and Stable and convenient yards for cattle. The land is esteemed as good arable and Pasture Land as any in the Township of Woodbridge, a great part of it hath never been tilled, and the rest little or nothing the worse for Use; there are several improved spots of Meadow, well ditch'd and in good Fence, off of which may be got 40 loads of Hay a year, The whole being very well watered by a great many living springs; and is bounded for near half a mile by the River Raritan, and all along the Front of the Plantation are Beds of very good oysters.\(^60\)


\(^59\) The ad for The Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey, from the time of the surrender of the Government in the second reign of Queen Anne, to this present time, being the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King George, the second, "this day published," appeared in the NYG or, WPB, No. 516 (Dec. 18, 1752), p. 3.

\(^60\) Nevill's ad ran in the NYG or, WPB, from No. 310 (Nov. 6, 1751), until No. 524, (Feb. 12, 1753). The ad always ran a postscript as follows: "The said Plantation being situated near the Mouth of the River Raritan, is most commodius for a Merchant, and is capable of the greatest Improvement, there being most convenient places for building wharfs and Storehouses, the Channel of the River running within 8 or 10 Rods
Six years after the announcement of his plans to retire, he agreed with James Parker to publish The New American Magazine. To assume such a responsibility, Nevill must have believed very strongly in the worth and need of such a publication.

His determination to publish the magazine is further demonstrated by the continuation of his editorship as his other responsibilities seemed to multiply. He was elected Speaker of the Assembly in March, 1759, embroiling himself in a controversy with Governor Bernard over his election and Assembly privileges. Morris's return in 1760 and Nathaniel Jones' arrival to assume his new post as Chief Justice, forced Nevill to rule on the validity of appointments during good

of the Upland; so that Vessels of 4 or 5 Hundred Tons may come up to the said wharfs and unload; and the River forming there a little Bay or Harbour, which is Land-locked, a Vessel may ride there safe in the greatest storms. And as the Publick need not be informed, that a chief of the Produce of the Province of New Jersey, comes down said River, and consequently must pass by this Plantation, in its way to a Market so if any Merchant should be disposed to settle in this Province, he cannot fix on a more promising, commodious, beautiful situation. The Title will be made indisputable, and to the Purchaser's Satisfac".

Records of other land sales by Nevill exist, a deed (D 365) at the N.J.H.S. records the conveyance of 117 acres of pine land in Perth Amboy on the south side of the Raritan River from Nevill and his brother John, of Barnegate, to Philip Kearny of Perth Amboy on Oct. 23, 1750. The NYG or, WPB of July 30, 1753, announced that Nevill would sell a house and lot near the parsonage house in Perth Amboy at public vendue on Aug. 18, 1753.

Nevill's wife Anne died 8/22/1755 at age 63. They had no children and Nevill was buried beside her in St. Peter's Episcopal Church's yard in Perth Amboy upon his death at age 67 Oct. 27, 1764. Nevill remarried to Mary Walker of Piscataway. W. N. Jones, The History of St. Peter's (Perth Amboy, 1924), p. 420. "A stranger to his blood and family, out of respect to the memory of a man whom he conceived worthy of a place among the eminent men of other days recently [c. 1844] caused the spot where his remains were deposited to be rescued from the neglect and decay to which time had assigned them." Barber and Howe, Historical Collections, p. 44.

Fisher, Provincial Courts, p. 163.
behavior in a difficult court decision in March, 1760. During the period of publication he served as the mayor of Perth Amboy, one of the two capitals of New Jersey and a port bustling with wartime trade, troops, and prisoners. Finally, Nevill began compilation of a second volume of the laws of New Jersey, intended to bring the first volume to date. Subscriptions for this were solicited in 1758 and the publication was originally scheduled for January, 1759, although it was postponed until 1761.

Nevill had strong reasons to support the magazine's continuation under such pressures. Some of his reasons are given in the "Proposals" for the magazine published in the newspapers in September, 1757. A strong concern for the state of the cultural development of the colonies is evident. The magazine was intended "to be of great Benefit to this new-settled country" and would help disperse "the gloomy particles of ignorance." In these proposals, Nevill made his first attempt to provide an outlet for colonial literary talent. Original contributions were promised a preference "out of a peculiar Emulation to satisfy the Public, that even this New World is not destitute of Learning and Learned Men." When the magazine ceased publication it was with concern

63 See above, footnote 58.
64 A typical example of Perth Amboy's wartime problems was the murder of a French prisoner at Matchiponx in the south ward of the city, The New-York Mercury, Sept. 1, 1760, reprinted in N.J. Archives, ed. Nelson, 1st Series, XX, 477.
66 Nevill], "Proposals," NAM, No. 12, (Dec., 1758), unnumbered wrapper page.
of "the Reluctance which seems to prevail in these parts toward acquiring that Education and Knowledge which is absolutely expedient to form the truly serviceable man." 67

A reading of the magazine and an examination of Nevill's editorial practices reveals a second motivation. Nevill, having reached maturity in England, held a firm affection for the Mother Country and grasped the international significance of the struggle in America between the French and the British. His senses of fairness and responsibility were appalled at the apathy of the colonial assemblies toward raising funds to support the British troops. 68 He cringed under the unanswered accusations read throughout the colonies in 1757 in translations of a French memorial containing the enemy's "view of facts." 69 In the same legalistic style

67 Editorial note, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), table of contents page.

68 Influenced by the Quakers of West Jersey and stalling to gain permission to issue bills of credit, New Jersey refused to draft troops and solicited enlistments with bounties that placed an additional drain on the treasury. On Aug. 20, 1756, with the fall of Oswego, Col. Peter Schuyler of N.J. and half of his regiment were captured, N.J. Archives ed. F. Ricord, 1st Series, (Newark, 1892), XVII, 63. Jerseymen were accused of harboring deserting sailors, Ibid., 104. In Aug. 1757, the state militia had to be called up to assist in the sieges of Fort Wm. Henry and Fort Edwards because the assembly had not provided for the enlistment of regular troops. On Aug. 12, 1757, the N.J. regiment at Fort Edwards became prisoners of war, under articles not to serve for 18 months, Ibid., 116.

69 "This Day is published, price 5 s., a memorial, containing a summary view of Facts, with their Authorities. In answer to the Observations sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe. Translated from the French. [This is the Book in which General Bradford's Expedition is spoken of]." NYG or, WPB, No. 763 (Sept. 5, 1757), p. 3. The Memorial containing A Summary Account of Facts written for the French government by the Duc de Chiseul (Paris, 1756) was translated and published jointly by Parker and Hugh Gaine in N.Y. in 1757, preceded by a Phila. ed., The Journal of Hugh Gaine, P. L. Ford, ed. (N.Y., 1902) I, 24-26.
with which he had set out to answer the claims of the land rioters in New Jersey, Nevill proceeded to defend Britain's claims. The motto of the magazine was to be "Magna est veritas, et prevalebit" -- "Great is Truth and it will prevail."

Nevill's residence in London during the early, impressive success of the Gentleman's Magazine enabled him to visualize the potential influence a popular publication could have. He joined his editorial experience and desire to elicit support for the French and Indian War to Parker's technical skills, equipment and his need for work for his press. The result was The New American Magazine.

iii. The Subscribers

Two other groups of individuals were to have an influence upon The New American Magazine. These were its readers and its contributors.

Subscribers to magazines in the eighteenth century thought of themselves as patrons of culture. Their support was solicited through extensive prepublisher proposals and their "encouragement of the undertaking" was effusively thanked by the publisher.70 As the magazine carried little or no advertising, the income from subscriptions was intended to cover the cost of publication and any profits. As the proprietors of The New American Magazine phrased it "without these necessary props the Foundations cannot be supported."71

On the subscription lists of early magazines appear the names of the colonies' most distinguished citizens. Inscribed on the covers of

70Editorial note, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), table of contents page.

71Editorial note, NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), table of contents page.
existing copies of The New American Magazine are the names of David Hall, William Dunlap, Israel and John Pemberton, the Reverend William Smith, William Logan, and William Byrd.\footnote{See Appendix C.}

Although no general subscription list has survived for The New American Magazine, we can draw some conclusions from the location of the subscription offices. Of the nineteen New Jersey offices listed in the "Proposals," five were in Middlesex County, four in Monmouth, two each in Essex, Somerset, and Burlington Counties, one each in Gloucester, Salem, Mercer, and Cumberland. There were no subscription-takers in Morris, Hunterdon, or Cape May. Thirteen of these nineteen offices were concentrated in the heavily populated, New York-oriented East Jersey counties.\footnote{See Appendix B.}

The second list of December, 1758, marked an expansion of the New Jersey offices to include Cape May and Morris counties but Burlington County was dropped. The July, 1759, list marked further expansion of the New Jersey offices bringing the total in-colony offices to twenty-nine and including all counties but Bergen.

The out-of-colony subscription-receiving offices were regularly distributed with one each in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, New Haven, Connecticut, Providence, Rhode Island, and Boston. Each of the subscription agents in these cities were printers; two of them were Parker's partners.\footnote{See Appendix B.}
The subscription receivers all had vocations which would have made them personal or professional acquaintances of the printer or the editor. Of the original nineteen Jerseyans, half had some connection as sheriffs, justices of the peace, or judges with the judicial branch of the government. Seven of them, or thirty-eight per cent, were merchants, many of whose stores served as local distribution centers for the mail. There was one lawyer, one tradesman, one doctor, and an innkeeper. Eleven of the nineteen were later to solicit subscriptions for Nevill's second volume of the laws of New Jersey.

The subscribers to The New American Magazine seemed to have been concentrated within the colony of New Jersey. This was New Jersey's first periodical, and the large number of individuals receiving subscriptions made it readily available. Although there were no subscription takers in smaller towns outside of New Jersey, interested subscribers could write directly to Parker or their regular book supplier. No one was appointed to receive subscriptions south of Philadelphia, but there are letters or contributions in the magazine from residents of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

iv. The Contributors

While the magazine's subscribers were self-conscious in their support of cultural expression, the authors of its contents were often unwitting, or very modest, contributors.

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75 See Appendix B.

In the manner common to an eighteenth-century magazine editor, Nevill clipped essays and poems from a backlog of magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, and books. Visualizing his periodical as a storehouse of the best from a multitude of printed materials, the editor felt it was his duty merely to locate appropriate material and reprint it. No need to acknowledge or ask permission of the original source was felt. Citations when printed were vague, "by Mr. Pope" or "from a late London magazine." English magazines specifically mentioned as sources by Nevill were the Gentleman's Magazine, the London Magazine, The Monitor, The Idler, The Tatler, The Spectator, The Connoisseur, Common Sense, The World, The Universal Spectator, and The Adventurer. Newspapers which fell prey to his scissors

77 NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), p. 39 (3 references); No. 5 (May, 1758), p. 120.

78 NAM, No. 16 (April, 1759), p. 437.

79 NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), pp. 73-75; No. 20 (Aug., 1759), pp. 586-87; No. 23 (Nov., 1759), pp. 685-687.


81 NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 36-37.

82 NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 1-3; No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 25-27.

83 NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), pp. 75-76.

84 NAM, No. 11 (Nov., 1758), pp. 272-274.


86 NAM, No. 6 (June, 1758), p. 141.

87 NAM, No. 9 (Sept., 1758), pp. 230-231.
included The Whitehall Evening Post, The Dutch Post-Rider, The

Nevill selected material from some of the eighteenth century's
most famous pens and earlier, classical authors. Through The New
American Magazine colonials were exposed to nine selections from
Voltaire; essays by John Gay, Alexander Pope, and Edward Young,
and poems by Pope, Young, Gay, William Shakespeare, Henry

88. NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), pp. 169-170.
89. NAM, No. 10 (Oct., 1758), pp. 253-257.
90. NAM, No. 14 (Feb., 1759) p. 373 No. 15 (March, 1759), p. 398;
No. 16 (April, 1759), p. 437; No. 20 (Aug., 1759), pp. 607-613; No. 22
91. NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759), pp. 324-325.
92. NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), p. 60; No. 6 (June, 1758), pp. 138-
139; No. 11 (Nov., 1758), pp. 277-280 (2 references), 283-284; No. 17
(May, 1759), pp. 462-463, 470; No. 20 (Aug., 1759), pp. 563-564; No. 23
(Nov., 1759), pp. 683-685.
93. NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 31-32.
94. NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 28-29.
95. NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), pp. 747-748.
"The Wife of Bath," NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 37-38; "Epitaph on Two
97. "The Happy Man," NAM, No. 19 (July, 1759), pp. 546-547; "Ode
98. "The Jackall, Leopard, and Other Beasts," NAM, No. 3 (March,
1758), pp. 61-62.
No. 17 (May, 1759), pp. 470-471.


104"Ode" ["The Bard"], NAM, No. 15 (March, 1759), pp. 404-406 had been submitted in manuscript form as possibly unpubl. but had been publ. in London, Aug. 1757.

105"I Pass with Melancholy State," NAM, No. 16 (April, 1759), p. 437.


108NAM, Nos. 2 and 3 (Feb.-March, 1758), pp. 27-28, 54-56.

109NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), pp. 735-736.

110NAM, No. 181 (June, 1759), pp. 471-481.

111NAM, No. 14 (Feb., 1759), pp. 359-362.


113NAM, No. 14 (Feb., 1759), pp. 366-368.

114NAM, No. 15 (March, 1759), pp. 400-403.

115NAM, No. 17 (May, 1759), pp. 460-462.

116NAM, No. 22 (Oct., 1759), pp. 641-646.
English editors had learned during the 1740's that original essays, such as the spoofs on Parliament by Samuel Johnson which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, often became leading attractions. Nevill might have observed also the healthy subscription list which rewarded the large amount of original material which William Smith included in the contemporary Philadelphia journal, the American Magazine. For these reasons and to encourage colonial cultural growth, Nevill made several attempts to solicit original material. With the exception of poets, these solicitations seemed to fall on deaf ears. Indeed, the major talent which Nevill uncovered might have been himself. His most significant contribution was the continuing book feature, The History of the Continent of North America, but his editorial efforts are visible throughout the magazine and are especially evident in the compilation and commentary of "The Historical Chronicle" section.

Only one of the three essay series appearing in the magazine was original in content. This was "The Occasional Writer" submitted by "Publicola," a merchant of Philadelphia who had travelled widely and wished to share his observations on life. There were several indi-

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117 Richardson, Early American Magazines, p. 11.
118 Ibid., pp. 104-123.
119 Nevill's "careful editing" is acknowledged by Nelson, "Some New Jersey Printers . . .," 21, and Richardson, Early American Magazines, p. 125. Richardson, p. 127, believed that the "History" prolonged general readers' interest in the magazine.
120 The series was numbered 1 to 21, Nos. 7 and 15 were not published. It appeared in the following issues of NAM: No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 10-11; No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 52-54; No. 5 (May, 1758) pp. 113-114; No. 6 (June, 1758), pp. 137-138; No. 8 (Aug., 1758), pp. 197-198; No. 9 (Sept., 1758), pp. 229-230; No. 10 (Oct., 1758), pp. 251-252; No. 11 (Nov., 1758), pp. 274-277; No. 12 (Dec., 1758), pp.
vidual essays and letters contributed. Readers reported on comets and hailstorms.121 "Philo-Patria" voiced concern over the loss of New Jersey's trade to the ports of New York and Philadelphia122 and "B. C. Caesaria" hoped to encourage industry and achieve a balance of trade through the use of homespun fabric.123 Sometimes a contribution by one author sparked sequels, denials and so forth for several issues.124


122 "Benefits arising from Trade," NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 50-52.
123 "A Penny saved is a Penny got," NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), pp. 157-160.
124 For example, the sad history of Lucinda followed such a course in NAM, No. 3-9 (March-Sept., 1758), pp. 58-59, 116, 167-168, 200, 223-224.

Colonial literary expression seemed most comfortable taking the form of poetry. The American poets sent in their work under pseudonyms. Some, such as Nathaniel Evans, James Lyons, Joseph Shippen, and Anne Boudinot can be identified because they achieved a small amount of later recognition. Others, such as "Martius Scribberus of Lebanon, Hunterdon County," or "R---- in Berks Co., Pa." have kept their identities a secret.

and son's suicide note," No. 24 (Dec., 1759), pp. 736-737; and, "A Short Account of the rise and state of the College, in the Province of New-Jersey, in America," No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 103-105.

125 Nathaniel Evans, "A Panegyric Ode, on the Late General Wolfe, on the Taking of Quebec," NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 105-106.

126 Nelson identified James Lyon as author of "Louisbourg Taken: An Ode," NAM, No. 21 (Sept., 1759), pp. 621-622 because the note introducing it is signed Al --- s (i.e., Alumnus) and the poem is signed "Nassovian." Lyon was a graduate of Nassau Hall [Princeton]. N.J. Archives, ed. Nelson, 1st Series, XX, 383n.


Another Lyons work might be "From an English oration that was intended to have been pronounced at the late commencement of New-Jersey College," NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), p. 753.


Although anonymous, the American poets were anxious to have their works published, as "victims of the scribbling fever" and to prove that talent existed in the colonies. The New American Magazine appeared at a time when the newspapers were too full of war news to give them the encouragement of publication.

The New American Magazine was founded to satisfy a variety of needs. James Parker wished to employ his Woodbridge press; Samuel Nevill hoped to stimulate the cultural growth of the colonies, and also, the growth of patriotic support of the war; the subscribers prided themselves on being patrons of culture; and the contributors turned to the magazine as an outlet for their literary efforts. When these needs had been met or could be answered more satisfactorily by other means, the support for The New American Magazine would cease.

(Dec., 1759), pp. 752-753.
CHAPTER III: THE CONTENTS OF THE NEW AMERICAN MAGAZINE

The proposals for The New American Magazine presented a rough outline of its intended content. The first half of the periodical was to be devoted to a history of North America from its earliest exploration and settlement. Paged separately from the body of the magazine, it was planned that the history could later be bound by subscribers as a separate volume. The second half of the periodical was to be a collection of "amusements and essays" dealing with a rainbow of topics ranging from politics to poetry, agricultural advice to current events.\(^1\)

In practice the distribution of the magazine's fifty-two pages was much more rigidly determined than this early description indicated. During its first year of publication, the magazine generally included sixteen pages of the "History of North America," eight pages of another book serial, "The Traveller" by Thomas Gage, twelve pages of the essay section "Monthly Miscellany," four pages of "Poetical Essays," seven pages of current events in the "Historical Chronicle," and one page of "Meteorological Observations in Philadelphia during the Past Month." During the second year, the publishers reduced the length of the "History" and brought "The Traveller" to a close. By June, 1759, the "History" averaged eight pages, "The Traveller" had terminated, and the "Monthly Miscellany" had doubled to twenty-four pages per issue. The

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\(^1\) [Nevill], "Proposals for Printing by subscription a New American Magazine," NYG or, WPB, No. 762 (Aug. 29, 1757), p. 3.
standard sections were completed by four unnumbered pages forming a
title page backed by a table of contents and two pages on which "Naval
Engagements" or special announcements were printed.

Realizing the importance of first impressions, Nevill and Parker
tried to make the title page attractive and meaningful. They commis-
sioned an engraving which was not ready for use until their third is-
sue. The engraving depicted three figures clustered on the American
shore -- an Indian, a merchant, and a farmer. From the direction of
Europe a ship, a mermaid and the figure of Mercury approached preceded
by a figure signifying enlightenment who beamed upon the waiting
Americans. The general impression is of the transmission of knowledge,
culture and news from the Old World to the New.

The title page informed the reader of the date of the issue, its
number, an abbreviated listing of the contents, the frequency of publi-
cation, the price, the identification of the editor as "Sylvanus
Americanus" and the printer as James Parker in Woodbridge, and a list-
of locations where subscriptions could be ordered. The motto "Magna
est veritas, et prevalit" set the tone for the contents.

The "Table of Contents" backed the title page and scrupulously
listed each item within the magazine, often leaving enough space at
the bottom of the page for editorial comment.

Forming part of the unnumbered "wrapper sheets" were two pages
usually employed to print the "Naval Engagements," a listing of ships
captured by the British Navy or privateers and descriptions of naval
battles. On two occasions, Nevill used these sheets to print full
length editorials backed by advertisements. 2

2A note in NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), table of contents page intro-
"The History of the Northern Continent of America"

The New American Magazine opened each month with a continuation of "The History of the Northern Continent of America" as compiled by Nevill. In the early proposals, Nevill had promised that "Endeavors will be used to make it as complete a Family Chronicle and Historical Legacy as can be left by the Inhabitants of North America to their prosperity." The work was to be "compiled with that Impartiality and Regard to Truth which becomes a Faithful Historian, and carefully extracted from authors of the best Credit both ancient and Modern." Nevill viewed his role as the gatherer of facts from a number of published sources with the points of historical controversy "judiciously concluded."

Part of Nevill's inspiration to begin his "History" might have been in response to his early competitor William Smith's refusal to attempt such a project. Smith included a history in his American Magazine, but, in his first issue, that of October, 1757, he told of the limitations placed on the work:

The remainder of our fifth half-sheet will contain a history of the present war in North America and of everything relating to, or connected with it. This history we shall begin as far back as the year 1749 and no further. For we conceive impossi-

duced the "Naval Engagements" as a feature "which the last two pages (being only part of the wrapper) is designed from time to time to be composed of." The feature did not appear in No. 2 (Feb., 1758), No. 3 (March, 1758) or No. 13 (Jan., 1759). In No. 12 (Dec., 1758) it was replaced by an editorial "Author to the Publick" backed by proposals for Nevill's second volume of New Jersey laws; in No. 24 (Dec., 1759) and No. 25 (Jan., 1760) it consisted of one page backed by an editorial "For continuing by subscription for the year 1760"; in No. 27 (March, 1760) four pages of "N. E." appeared to complete an additional half-sheet necessitated by printing the title pages for "The History of North America."

3 [Nevill], "Proposals," NYG or, WPB, No. 762 (Aug. 29, 1757), p. 3.
ble in the compass of a magazine to give a general history of the colonies from their first settlement that would be of much use to a reader, without waiting a considerable number of years for the conclusion of it. 4

Nevill, disagreeing with this reasoning and seeing the "History" as a study much needed in the colonies, set out to achieve the "impossible."

Dismayed by colonial apathy and French accusations and claims, Nevill hoped the "History" would provide a firm defense of the English stance. Beginning the "History" with an "Introduction," he revealed his thoughts and purpose:

The Great Contest, whether England or France shall obtain the Sovereignty of North America; seems now to be drawing to a crisis. This important Event hath chiefly fixed the Seat of War and all the fatal Calamities attending the same, upon this Continent. Peace and Plenty which have for many years blessed the Industry of the new-settled Inhabitants are preparing to depart; and War, with all its direful attendants, Famine, Slaughter, Death, and Desolation, is, by gradual steps, endeavoring to fix its Residence in this once happy Climate.

Pity it is that Ambition, Avarice, Thirst of Power and universal Dominion should possess the minds of Christian Princes, in whose Breasts the Love of Peace, Friendship, Moderation, Honor, Justice and Benevolence.

As France is said to be the first aggressor and Disturber of the Public Peace, by making Encroachments on the British Dominions upon the Continent of North America; and (if true) may be justly charged as the Promoters of the present War, and consequently the authors of all the Destruction, savage Cruelties and Massacres, which already have been and still may be committed upon the British Subjects settled there; then heavy charge ought to be carefully and candidly enquired into, and impartially stated to the World; that Justice may take place, be she for or against us; This the Author apprehendeth cannot be more effectually accomplished, than by compiling, A Complete History of the Northern Continent of America, and of the several Settlements made there by different Nations, from the Time of its first Discovery to the present. Which being carefully and faithfully extracted from Authors of the Most Credit, and

with the strictest Regard to Truth, that an unprejudiced Writer can possibly attain to, the unbiass'd Part of Mankind may form a Judgment of the Pretenses, Claims and Rights of the Contending Powers, to this part of the new-found World, whether by Prior Discovery, Pre-Occupancy, Pre-Possession, Conquest, First Settlements, Grants or Purchases from the Natives, Treaties or Concessions. 5

Nevill then set on his way to trace the proclamations, treaties, discoveries and settlements of the major European powers, beginning his narrative with the voyages of Christopher Columbus and carrying it through the Rebellion of 1676 in Virginia. The twenty-seven monthly installments included twenty-six chapters but decreased in length from sixteen to eight pages per issue as publication progressed. 6 The section reached a total of two hundred and eighty-four pages, approximately one-fifth of the total volume of the published issues.

Although the magazine's abrupt termination did not permit Nevill to summarize his conclusions, the development of three lines of attack upon the French claims can be seen. True to his judicial background, his first attack was based on a legalistic study of the treaties and discoveries which formed the basis for land claims. Citing sources from the Bible to Locke, Nevill quickly dismissed the North American Indians' right to the land on the grounds that without a concept of

5 [Nevill], "Introduction to the History of Northern Continent of America," NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 1-10.

6 The decrease might have reflected Nevill's inability to "extract" quickly enough to keep up with publication or the complaints of "too many grave Essays" ("The Author to the Publick," NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), unnumbered wrapper page) and narratives "dull and burdensome to the mind" ("Proprietors of the NAM to the Publick," NAM, No. 19 (July, 1759), p. 519). Lyon Richardson, History of Early American Magazines (N.Y., 1931), p. 127 contends that the "History" was a popular feature of the magazine.
private property in their society, the land had remained unappropriated. In answer to French claims, prior English proclamations and claims were carefully emphasized.

The second and third lines of attack were based on prior settlement by the British and the immorality of the French corruption of the natives.

... we may be fully acquainted with the sufferings and hardships, the Fatigues and Cares, and the Blood and Treasure expended by our Forefathers on laying colonies attaining to that flourishing state and Perfection, which our profess'd Enemies, the French, cannot behold without Jealousy and Envy; and, in Despite of the Tenth Commandment, without coveting their Neighbor's Property. The unwarranted and wicked Breach of which Commandment, hath kindled the Flames of war now raging in the Bowels of our Country; which our perfidious Enemies carry on, not after the usual generous Method of making War, but, as Incendiaries, Murderers, Robbers, and Despoilers, by instigating, counselling, aiding and abetting Heathen Savages and ignoble Brutes, to burn, murder, rob and destroy their fellow Christians, to the Dishonor of Christiandom and the Christian Religion, which they openly pretend to profess.

Nevill revealed a confusion common to the colonials during this period. Only one explanation would explain the conflict between the noble savage as described in Beverley's account of the Virginian Indians and the current horrors of frontier scalping in which the Indian appeared to be "the most barbarous and least polished people upon Earth... scarce a degree above Brutes in the Knowledge and Use of Human Life." Nevill laid the blame for this contradiction on the

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7 [Nevill], "Introduction to the 'History',' NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 2-4, 9-10.
8 [Nevill], "History of the Northern Continent of America," Chapter VIII, pp. 44-45, NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758).
9 [Nevill], "Introduction to the 'History',' NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), p. 9; Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, edited by L. B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), originally published in
corruption of civilization, especially French civilization. He paraphrases Beverley in his closing to the "History" in which he deprecates the introduction of "Drunkenness and Luxury to the Indians which has multiplied their wants and influenced their desire of a Thousand Things They never dreamt of before."

In an editorial note on the table of contents page of the first issue, Nevill ran "A List of the Authors upon whose Credit the History of the Northern Continent of America is principally founded." The sources listed were:


London, 1705, revised 1722.


11. The full citations of these sources, in the order listed by Nevill, are as follows:


Purchas, Samuel. Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes: containyng a history of the world in sea voyages and lande Travells by Englishmen and others. London, 1625.

The sources which Nevill relied on most heavily were Hakluyt, Stith

Lescarbat, Marc. Nova Francia: Or, the Description of that part of New France which is one Continent with Virginia. Described in the three late Voyages and Plantations Made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Grave and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, ... translated by F. Bronideas. London, 1609. (Vols. 4 and 6 of 8 vols. orig. publ. Paris, 1609).


[History of the Discovery of the British Colonies in America]


and Beverley. Complete texts were lifted from their works with a freedom that would shock modern historians. Chapters or paragraphs were copied in full but reshuffled in their order to suit Nevill's scheme. Sometimes a paragraph or a phrase was inexplicably dropped from the text. Although Nevill seemed content with Beverley's "plain-style," he exercised his liberty as an eighteenth-century editor to update the language of his older sources. Recognizing the credibility lent by using contemporary accounts, Nevill often quoted the memoirs of explorers or the edicts of rulers which were available previously published, as in Hakluyt's volumes.

12 From Nevill's acknowledgments and textual comparisons, the sources of the chapters of the "History" can be roughly assigned as follows: Chap. I, Campbell; II, Hakluyt; III, ?; IV-V, Hakluyt; VI-VII, ?; VIII, Hakluyt; IX-X, ?; XI, Hakluyt (Harriot); XII, Hakluyt and Salmon; XIII-XV, ?; XVI, Hakluyt (Poutrincourt and Champion); XVII-XVIII, Hakluyt (Landenviere); XIX, ?; XX, Harris; XXI, ?; XXII-XXIII, Stith; XXIV-XXVI, Beverley.

13 Benjamin Mecom gave expression to eighteenth-century editorial standards in "The Design" of his New-England Magazine, No. 1 (Aug., 1758), p. 8: "That wit and fine writing doth not consist so much in advancing Things that are new as in giving Things that are known an applicable or agreeable turn."

14 For example, Nevill borrowed Beverley's chapters, History of Virginia, Book III, in the following order: Chap. 8, paragraphs 29 (part), 30, 29 (part), 31, 32 (part), 33, 34, 35, and 38; Chap.s 9: 6 (1/2); 11; 12' 13' 1'; 2; 4; 10; 5; 7; 6 (1/2); and, Conclusion.

15 For example, using Hakluyt's account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage, Everyman's Library edition (London, 1962), VI, 1-38, Nevill transformed Hakluyt's "The Generall and his company were brought on land by English Merchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden" into "the Admiral and his company were conducted on shore by the English merchants who shewed them their accustomed walks to a place called the Garden," "History," p. 30, NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758).
ii. "The Traveller"

"The History of the Northern Continent of America" was followed by a second serially-published book which underlined the message of Catholic corruption and misuse of the Indians. Nevill's choice was entitled "The Traveller, Part I, Containing a Journal of Three Thousand Three Hundred Miles, through the Main Land of South America." By Thomas Gage, first published in 1648 as *The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land or, A New Survey of the West Indies*, the account was one of Puritan England's most vicious literary attacks upon the Catholic Church of Spain. The book had gone through six English editions, those of 1655, 1677, 1699, 1702 and 1711, before Nevill revived it in 1758 for *The New American Magazine* and its first American publication.  

Thomas Gage, the author, had been born about 1603 into an English family which had remained stubbornly loyal to the Catholic Church. Educated in a Jesuit academy for English boys in Flanders, France, Gage joined a Spanish Dominican order and was sent as a missionary friar to serve in Mexico and Guatemala. Between 1625 and 1637, he took the opportunity to travel widely in Central America. In 1640, Gage re-

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18 Ibid., pp. xxiv, xxvi, xxviii.

19 Sent originally to the Philippines, Gage ran off in Mexico, went to Chipas, then Guatemala City, and then the southeast of the Peten District in Guatemala and adjacent British Honduras. From there, he went to the northwest of Guatemala, the missions of Mexico and Penola in Guatemala, to Amatitlan, and then Petapa. Running away again in
turned to England and, within eighteen months, recanted his former faith. The remaining fourteen years of his life were devoted toward convincing the Puritans of his conversion. His testimony against three of his former associates helped to send them to the gallows.

Gage's book was rich in anti-Catholicisms to prove his loathing of Popism. As his was the first account of Spanish America written by an Englishman, it was widely read and accepted, especially by Cromwell and his advisers. Gage's conclusion was that the Spanish colonies, weakened by corruption, inhabited by Indians and mulattoes eager to end their exploitation, and without military support, would be easy prey for conquest. In the resulting expedition of 1654, Gage accompanied General Venables as chaplain and remained in Jamaica, dying there in 1656.

Gage's emphasis on the corruption and weakness of a Catholic power suited Nevill's needs perfectly. It was an easy step for readers to assign similar faults to the French.

"The Traveller," paged separately as the "History" had been, reached a total of one hundred and thirty-six pages and ended in the July, 1759, issue:

Jan., 1637, he went overland to Panama, thence to Portobello, then to Spain, to England, to Rome, and back to England.

\(^{20}\)Thompson, ed., Thomas Gage's Travels, p. xxxv.

\(^{21}\)Ibid., xxxvi-xl.

\(^{22}\)Ibid., xl-xlil.

\(^{23}\)The attack on Hispanola was a failure but the British did capture Jamaica.
"Having attended our Traveller through the most amazing and surprising incidents of his life and through the greatest part of South America, in which he hath entertained the reader with many strange events, and (we dare) affirm plain truths, we have brought him at last to his native country and have there left him."24

In an editorial in the same issue, Nevill stated that "Some of our readers have complained that these long narratives are too dull and burdensome to the mind; The objection may be reasonable and therefore, we shall carefully avoid giving distaste that way in the future Miscellanies..."25 Such objections might explain why another book serial did not follow "The Traveller" and why the "History" was shortened.

iii. The "Monthly Miscellany"

The actual magazine began with the sections following the serialized books. Nevill numbered the magazine pages continuously through the first two years reaching a total of seven hundred and sixty-four pages. Beginning the numbering anew in 1760 he reached a total of one hundred and twenty pages in the three issues published in that year.26

The first department of the magazine itself was "The Monthly


25Ibid.

26The 884 pages are 63% of the NAM's total content of 1408 pages, which includes the unnumbered "wrapper" pages and the book serials. The total content may be broken down as follows: Title pages, 27 pages, 2% of content; table of contents pages, 27, 2%; "Naval Engagements," 46, 3%; "History of the Northern Continent of America," 288, 20%; "The Traveller," 136, 10%; "Monthly Miscellany," 485, 34%; "Poetical Essays," 107, 8%; "Historical Chronicle," 254, 18%; and, "Meteorological Observations," 25, 2%.
Miscellany," a collection of essays that increased in number and changed in character as Nevill altered the magazine to suit public taste. Nevill permitted himself to lapse into self-evaluation in an editorial in December, 1758:

The first year of this Magazine being ended, the Author thinks himself obliged to look back on his work and to consider how far he hath answered the Readers expectations, or his own engagements: And he finds great reason to think he has failed in both. ... One complaint from some of his readers is that there are too many grave Essays, and that the polite wit and humor necessary to amuse as well as instruct; This the Author frankly confesses may be true, and though morality be his principal favourite, yet any sprightly humourous piece, which may engage the attentions of his Readers, and not inconsistent with decency and modesty, shall always meet with an acceptable place in his Miscellany. ...

Nevill then proceeded to almost double the length of the essay section increasing the essays from the sixty-nine printed in 1758 to 122 in 1759 and continuing the growth in 1760 with thirty-three essays in the three issues published January through March of that year. The length of the section doubled from 136 pages in 1758 to 270 in 1759. The size of the department in relation to the magazine's total content increased from twenty-two per cent to forty-three per cent to forty-nine per cent in the three years of publication.

Nevill not only changed the number of essays but also their subject matter. Dividing the subject area into four major groups, scientific-medical-agricultural, narrative-descriptive, philosophical-religious and political, we find that proportion of narrative-descriptive and political essays increased sharply. In 1758, the content was roughly

27"The Author to the Publick," NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), unnumbered wrapper sheet.

28The number of essays increased 177% in 1759 and another 8% in 1760.
nineteen per cent scientific, twenty-four per cent narrative, forty-four per cent philosophical, and thirteen per cent political. In 1759 the content changed to seven per cent scientific, thirty-eight per cent narrative, twenty-five per cent philosophical and thirty per cent political. In the three issues for 1760, the distribution leveled to twenty-seven per cent scientific, twenty-two per cent narrative, twenty-seven per cent philosophical and twenty-four per cent political.\(^{29}\)

Striving to attract new subscribers and please old ones, Nevill had changed the essay section to publish more of what his readers seemed to appreciate to the greatest extent, political and narrative essays.\(^{30}\)

As the overwhelming political interest was the war, the increase in political essay enabled Nevill to weave his message for war support as a fine, but continuous, thread running throughout the "Monthly Miscellany." His theme was sometimes bluntly stated as in a letter from "Agricola" in the first issue. "Agricola" sent in an essay hoping that "by the pungent coercive arguments there enforced, the present indolent dispositions of the colonies may be so animated and enlivened as to

\(^{29}\) The following table shows the number of essays in each subject area:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sci.-Med.-</th>
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<th>Relig.-</th>
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<td>Agric.</td>
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<td>1760</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>224</td>
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</table>

\(^{30}\) Robert Spector, English Literary Periodicals and the Climate of Opinion during the 7 Years' War (The Hague, 1966), p. 14 contends that in England during this period journals failed to survive, at least in part, when they did not appeal to the public's hunger for political and military news.
unite their hearts, their councils and their arms, in the common de-

fense." The essay underlined the call to support the war:

However numerous the losses we have sustained by our
indolence and inaction may be, if you will even act
as your interests demand, everything may still be
happily conducted. . . . If you could even now re-
solve to form your conduct upon these maxims, (from
which you have never yet regarded) if every man ac-
cording to his abilities would render himself useful
to the community, and without disguising or concealing
those abilities, would act with vigor and alacrity;
if every single colony will no longer expect (whilst
they themselves do little or nothing) that their neigh-
bors will do everything for them, then shall you pre-
serve (if such be the will of Heaven) what you now
possess, recover what you have lost by your inactivity,
and chastise these French intruders. But if we sit in-
dolently at home, hearing our orators mutually re-
proaching and accusing each other never can that suc-
cess we greatly want attend us.

Nevill strove to emphasize the danger of inaction on the part of the
colonial assemblies with a series of essays entitled "The Impartial
Politician." Selected from published sources, the series included
such topics as "The nature and excellancy of the British constitution,
with the danger of its destruction."

Nevill was merciless in his efforts to build up a mistrust of the
French. Essays such as "Reflections on the French and English,"

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31 "Letter from Agricola," NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), p. 3.
32 "Address to the several British Colonies upon the North Conti-
nent of America," NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 4-6.
33 The series appeared in the NAM as follows: No. 13--19 (Jan.-
529-531; and No. 21--27 (Sept., 1759-March, 1760), pp. 614-615, 655-656,
678-681, 742-744; II, 18-20, 54-55, 89-91.
34 "Impartial Politician No. 1," NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759), pp. 319-
321.
35 NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 97-99.
"A Plan to Reunite the Catholic Princes,"36 or the "Character of the French Nation by a late traveller"37 attacked the nature of their government, the hypocrisy of their conduct and even the lack of honest beauty among their women.

The conflict between a desire to convert the Indians to the English cause and horror at their savagery sparked debates between a "Country Farmer" and his friends "Ponderous," "Pertinex," and "Mistrust."38 Curiosity about Indian culture showed in such essays as "An Indian Piece"39 and "The Speech of an Indian Sachem."40

Articles which were not overtly political in character were used by Nevill to influence public opinion on the war issue. For example, "An Account of the amazing riches and curiosities of the chapel or holy house of Loretto in Italy" was presented with the editorial comment that it "shews us in clear light the superstitions and the bigotry of the Church of Rome."41 Historical narratives were chosen from such subject areas as "Davila's Account of the Massacre of the Protestants of Paris in the Reign of King Charles IX,"42 or "The Assassination of

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36 NAM, No. 10 (Oct., 1758), pp. 253-257.
37 NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), p. 742.
39 NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 49-50.
40 NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), pp. 725-727.
Henry IV of France from the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully. Description of foreign places might include European cities which were the site of a battle such as "A Description of Vienna, Prague, and Dresden" or an account of one of the West Indian islands which both sides hoped to gain, "A Description of the Island of Guadaloupe, one of the Caribee islands belonging to the French."

Nevill never openly stated his intention to use the magazine to elicit public support for the war effort. He did restate the purpose presented in the "Proposals" of providing a source of cultural knowledge to the colonies and an outlet for and demonstration of colonial talent. Another purpose was presented in a December, 1758, editorial in which Nevill begged leave to assure the readers that his Magazine shall be a Conservatory for those pieces of literature, wit and useful knowledge, which deserve the general notice of mankind, and which by being published in loose papers, would otherwise perish, or by being included in large and expensive volumes, are not easily obtainable by the common reader, or by being printed on political occasions, are out of the way of the generality of the common people.

By incorporating this accepted goal of eighteenth-century magazines and

43 NAM, No. 18 (June, 1759), pp. 504-508.
44 NAM, No. 15 (March, 1759), pp. 392-393.
46 Nevill, "Proposals," NYG or, WPB, No. 762 (Aug. 29, 1757), p. 3; "The Proprietors of the NAM to the Publick," NAM, No. 17 (July, 1759), p. 519 reinstated this intention: "Ours is entirely dedicated to the service of the ingenuous and polite, the grave and serious, who seek after knowledge and improvement. Our chief purpose is, by pleasing and urgent subjects, to illuminate the understanding and to promote learning and virtue."
47 "The Author to the Publick," NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), unnumbered wrapper sheet.
making The New American Magazine a "Conservatory" of articles which would attract colonial readers, Nevill created a storehouse of American culture between 1758 and 1760. As he struggled to fill the magazine with essays reflecting the tastes and wishes of his readers, its contents became an index of their cultural interests and trends of change in their thinking on religion, politics, science, and society. 48

To induce his readers to turn to essays which were "improving," Nevill found that he must also make them entertaining. Increasing the narrative essays, he capitalized on the colonials' fascination with strange places, people, and events. 49 During a period when reading solely for amusement seemed unacceptable, the readers avidly devoured accounts of sensational murder trials or the tragic deaths of young lovers which, based on fact, were accepted as morally instructive. 50

48 "The Candid Reader will readily take into consideration what difficulties attend a work of this kind in its first commencement; and how necessary it is, that the Author should be allowed . . . to make himself acquainted with the taste (or rather the tastes) of his readers . . . ." Ibid.

49 "By reading we become acquainted with the secrets of nature, and the actions of former ages and distant countries; the surprising curiosities of the wide and extensive world appear before us as if it were in miniature; our minds are greatly enlarged and improved; our faculties are no longer imprison'd and fetter'd by blind ignorance, or our understandings clouded by erroneous conceptions of things; but our youth become weaned and estranged from that stupefication and dullness natural to an illiterate education." "The Proprietors of the NAM to the Publick," NAM, No. 19 (July, 1759), p. 519.

50 Louis B. Wright in The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763 (N.Y., 1957), p. 141 states that "The prevailing attitude toward literature was so distinctly purposeful that many of our ancestors made themselves believe they could gain instruction even when reading romances." Articles of high sensationalism, based on actual incidences in the NAM included: "Letter by Mr. Gay about two lovers struck dead by lightning," No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 31-32 followed by a poem by Pope on the event, No. 3 (March, 1758), p. 61; "The story of
Their "goomy particles of ignorance" were dispersed by essays describing the silver mines of Potosí, the porcelain manufacture in Dresden or China, the lepers of Guadaloupe, the elephants of Cochin China, the salt mines of Wilisba, Poland, or the burning mountain at Aetna.

There was a definite interest in things peculiar to America, the rattlesnake, Indians, or the new college in New Jersey. Letters to the editor were inspired by local suicides, the trade of colonial


51 "From the Spanish of Don Ulloa," NAM, No.s 2-3 (Feb.-March, 1758), pp. 32, 56.

52 NAM, No.s 16-17 (April-May, 1759), pp. 433-434, 455-457.


54 "By F. Borri who lived there several years," NAM, No.s 13-14 (Jan.-Feb., 1759), pp. 325-326, 354-357.

55 NAM, No. 22 (Oct., 1759), pp. 639-641

56 NAM, No. 19 (July, 1759), pp. 523-526.


58 "An Indian Piece," NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 48-50

59 NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 103-105.

60 NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), pp. 736-737 which was followed by an "Essay on suicide, or self-murder," Ibid., pp. 737-739
ports, or a concern over a loss of industry amongst colonial youth.

Science and medicine were popular topics. Nevill seemed pleased to report the results of American empirical reasoning or observations. A Dorchester County, Maryland, doctor reported on epidemic diseases in his area and E. K. and D. C. of Philadelphia continued their debate on electricity from the pages of the discontinued American Magazine.

The scientific, medical, and agricultural articles selected by Nevill from English sources described the practical application of new discoveries and seldom discussed theoretical development. Medical advice covered a variety of topics ranging from an attack on salt meat in "The Most Effectual Means of Preserving the health of seamen in the Royal

61 "Philo-Patria," "Benefits arising from Trade," NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 50-52; his thoughts were echoed by Andre Burnaby, Travels, p. 73, in his observations during a July, 1759, visit to New Jersey: "The country in its present state can scarcely be called flourishing; for although it is extremely well-cultivated, thickly seated, and the garden of North America, yet, having no foreign trade it is kept under . . . . the inhabitants sell their produce to the merchants of Philadelphia and New York . . . ."

62 "B. C. Caesaria," "A penny saved is a penny got," NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), pp. 157-160 hoped to encourage the production of homespun, proposing that "half a dozen chairs (or something else of the household kind) to be given to each young woman, that on the marriage day, can make it appear, she can dress herself completely with her own spinning, her stays and head linen excepted, and can fit out a bed with compleat furniture likewise . . . . It may not be amiss to have an inscription upon the chairs, something to the purpose, 'Given to the publick to N. M. as a reward for her industry'."


Navy to "An infallible cure for gout and rheumatism." The New American Magazine gave exceptional attention to agricultural articles. Nevill began an essay series "The Country Farmer" calling for readers' contributions which never appeared. Believing that "select pieces relating to the improvement of Agriculture, may be of peculiar service to the new-settled country, where a great part of our land lieth naked, wide and wild," he began to print "A Course of Experiments and Improvements in Agriculture Made by a Person who Lately Occupied Many Hundred Acres of Land of All Sorts." The treatise was published in sections in the last three issues marking the first time that an agricultural study was given such treatment in an American periodical.

The readers' interests sometimes seemed to be subject to a tug-of-war between a moth-like attraction to the glitter of European sophistication and a stubborn pride in their simpler provincial ways. A glimpse of glamour such as "An Account of the marriage ceremonies of

65 Dr Lind, NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), p. 60.
Mr. Peter Cornelius Hoeffelar with Mrs. Gertrude Margareta Mofaie, youngest daughter of his excellancy the General of Batavia, was balanced by warnings against the temptations of dram-drinking, gaming, or pernicious habits such as impertinence, "an indecent and fashionable passion" especially practiced by young gentlemen recently arrived from London.

iv. "Poetical Essays"

The conflict between pride and shame in the colonies' homespun products is most clearly revealed in the magazine's second department "Poetical Essays." Running a consistent length of four pages, the "Poetical Essays" were actually considered an extension of the "Monthly Miscellany." Its essays were merely expressed in verse rather than prose. The colonials who submitted poetry, however, were self-conscious of their attempt to be literary and, feeling they were baring their souls to the public, they sent their work in anonymously, accompanied by letters that were an appealing combination of pride and abject humbleness.

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68. NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 91-93.


71. "From the Spectator, No. 132, a check to Impertinence," NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 25-27.

72. Examples are Nathaniel Evans, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 105: "I cast it at your feet either to stamp with oblivion or preserve with your collection" or, Martius Scribblerus, "Letter of Sept. 3, 1759," NAM, No. 22 (Oct. 1759), p. 664: "... the author is conscious of being liable to many faults, which he could not remedy; but hopes his youth and inexperience will make atonement for them he assures you he has but lately paid his Court to the muses."
Of the 188 poems published, fifty-eight, or thirty-one per cent, can be positively identified as American in origin. Thirty-eight, or twenty per cent, of the poems are credited by Nevill with their author or European source. The remaining ninety-two poems, or forty-nine per cent, are not identified but the greater number were undoubtedly clipped from English magazines and newspapers.

Despite the accepted role of magazines as reprinters of previously published material, at least one contributor criticized *The New American Magazine* for not introducing "new materials, the proper produce of the Climate." The young poet, an anonymous but frequent contributor from New Brunswick, New Jersey, revealed the signs of a developing nationalism with his sense of things peculiarly American and his pride in them. His letter echoes the spirit of the magazine's early proposals "to satisfy the Publick, that even this New World is not destitute of Learning and Learned Men."

In carrying on your useful design I have been sorry to see you laid upon the necessity of borrowing so much from former writers, more especially, as I am convinced there are many at no great distance who are very capable of entertaining the publick in your magazine, cou'd they be persuaded to lend their assistance. It is well known that North America is now at last, deservedly, become the object of Great Britain's attention and curiosity, on which account everything in print from hence, will probably be greedily read there, in order to form an estimate of the taste and manners of the inhabitants of this new world. This consideration, I should think would prove a powerful motive, with all those who have due regard for the honour and credit of the country, to exert themselves in furnishing you more plentifully with new materials, the proper produce of the Climate — This, in my humble opinion would not fail to convince our mother country, that the intellectual soil here, like the natural is extremely rich fertile, capable of the finest productions under due culture

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and encouragement... 74

Nineteen, or one third, of the original colonial poems published dealt with the French and Indian War. Heroes such as Peter Schuyler, 75 Viscount George Augustus Howe, 76 or General Wolfe 77 were saluted in verse upon their return from captivity or their tragic deaths. Military victories were also a common cause of poetical outbursts such as "Hymn of thanksgiving for the success of our arms and those of our ally and the reduction of Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne and the demolishing of Fort Frontenac in the present year, 1758." 78

A sense of the stress of war, of the colonials' patriotic involvement, and their relief when early defeats gave way to victories are revealed in such works as "Verses occasioned by the depredations on our frontier" 79 and "The Gloom of Ligonier, A Song (by an officer of

74 Ibid.

75 [Anne Bondinot], "To the Hon. Peter Schuyler, lately presented to him at Prince-Town, by a Young Lady." NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), p. 16.

76 "Philo-patria," "O Valient Howe," NAM, No. 9 (Sept., 1758), p. 235; "In Memory of the honorable and brave Lord Howe who was unfortunately slain at the head of a small party, near Ticonderoga," NAM, No. 9 (Sept., 1758), p. 235.


79 NAM, No. 3 (March, 1758), pp. 63-64.
Pennsylvania Regiment stationed at Ligonier in Winter, 1759).  

The colonial war poems were supplemented by eleven poems of probable English origin dealing with battles in Europe or figures such as Frederick, the King of Prussia. The French and Indian War, then, was the subject of sixteen per cent of the poems published.

A few other distinctly American topics were the subject of colonial verse. These included such variety as an eulogy to a colonial governor, a discussion of the Indian Treaty at Easton, Pennsyl-

80 [Joseph Shippen], NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 106. Other war poems by Americans in the NAM were: "A Song, on occasion of the present War," No. 5 (May, 1758), p. 120; "By a lady upon Gen. Amherst leading his troops from Boston after the conquest of Louisbourg to join our army that had been repulsed at Ticonderoga," No. 13 (Jan., 1759), pp. 333-334; "Amherst as he passed thru Long Island," Ibid., p. 334; "The Patriot's Prayer," No. 21 (Sept., 1759), pp. 665-667; "Scribblerus," "Loyal Prayer or, an Ode," Ibid., pp. 667-668; "Scribblerus," "An Ode," No. 23 (Nov., 1759), pp. 680-692.

81 "On Monmouth and Pallas cutting out the Swedish ship from under the Fort of Conquest," NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 106-107; "Spoken extempore on Admiral Boscoven's taking three and destroying two ships of the Toulon Squadron," Ibid., 108.


83 "Funeral Elegy, inscribed to his late Excellency J. Belcher, Esq., by a particular friend," NAM, No. 1 (Jan., 1758), pp. 15-16.
Vanonia, an oration intended for a commencement at the New Jersey College, the possibility of female Freemasons, or a simple description of the Schuylkill River.

The colonials presented their poetry with such remarks as "I cast it at your feet, either to stamp with oblivion or preserve with your collection." Nevill faithfully preserved such contributions and the "Poetical Essays" section is now an important demonstration of the changing tastes in verse at that period. In a brief study of the contents of The New American Magazine, Lyon Richardson noted the shift in themes from classics, paraphrases of Latin, and fanciful eulogies and eclogues to the beginning of the Romantic style with its emphasis on nature and man. He found the early use of blank verse and Miltonic octosyllabics by such contributors as "Fil. Nass. Al----s" of East Jersey and "Martius Scribblerus" of Hunterdon County. For students of a more general view of American culture, the section demonstrates


85"From an English oration that was intended to have been pronounced at the late Commencement of the New-Jersey College," NAM, No. 24 (Dec., 1759), p. 753.


87"Schuylkill Side," NAM, No. 6, (June, 1758), p. 143.

88 Nathaniel Evans, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 105.

89 Richardson, Early American Magazines, pp. 131-134.
that the time lag between English poets and their humble American imitators, both in their choice of subject and style, was not long and the American poets were not attempting to express themselves in ludicrously out-moded forms. The pages of The New American Magazine introduced the colonials to Pope, Gay, Whitehead, Prior, Young, and Gray.

v. The "Historical Chronicle"

Nevill described the magazine's last department in a July, 1758, editorial note:

As part of our Magazine consists of an Historical Chronicle which is intended to comprise a true, authentick, and impartial history of the present times. So when any extraordinary occurrences happen (although they may have already appeared in the publick prints) yet we think it is necessary and expedient to reprint the same, in order to perfect, and, illustrate our said History, and to render it useful and entertaining to futurity. And when any events worthy recording shall from time to time exist . . . we shall make room for them by printing only one half sheet of The History of North American and two-half sheets of the Historical Chronicle. And this, we hope, will be agreeable to our readers and no disadvantage in our plan, since the connexion of the North-American History will be still the same.90

The fluctuation of "extraordinary occurrences" caused the "Historical Chronicle" to vary from six to twenty-three pages. The usual presentation, however, was seven sheets of the chronicle with the eighth page of the half sheet, and last page of the magazine, being the "Meteorological Observances in Philadelphia During the Past Month." The "Historical Chronicle" totaled two hundred and fifty-four pages, comprising eighteen per cent of the content of the total magazine. Its proportional size remained fairly consistent throughout publica-

90 NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), p. 173
The contents of the "Historical Chronicle" was divided into "Foreign Affairs" and "American Affairs." "Foreign Affairs" included news of the war on the European continent and on Britain's internal affairs such as changes in the ministry or meetings of Parliament. The news was gleaned from London newspapers or the secondary reports published in New York and Philadelphia newspapers. A lack of sources led the publishers to state at one time during the first year that "we had better be silent than to amuse our readers with uncertain rumors and false relations." By the year's end they were able to report that they had supplied themselves with "several curious Pamphlets, Magazines, and the most authentic News-papers from Great Britain, and settled a correspondence there." "American Affairs" were reported under the place of publication of the newspaper from which they were copied. War news was often reported under Boston or New York by-lines. Other cities whose newspapers Nevill scanned included Philadelphia, New Haven, Charleston, Williamsburg, New Providence and those in the islands of Antigua, St. Thomas, and Barbados. The news from the Jerseys was very complete, often being original, formerly unpublished material.

For the first two issues, the first half of the "Historical Chroni-

91 In 1758, the "Historical Chronicle" was 125 of 624 pages, or 20%.

92 NAM, No. 9 (Sept., 1758), p. 237.

93 Editorial note, NAM, No. 12, Nos. 14-19 (Dec., 1758; Feb.-July, 1759), table of contents page.
icle" consisted of "The Chronological Diary of 1757," an effort to bring the readers to date on the events of the past year and the early developments of the war.  

The progress of the war was, of course, the overwhelming concern of both the "Foreign Affairs" and the "American Affairs" sections. British and Prussian victories were described at length, their defeats were minimized or blamed on incompetent military leaders. French reports and battle statistics were belittled.  

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94 NAM, No.s 1-2 (Jan.-Feb., 1758), pp. 17-20

95 A typical report, NAM, No. 5 (May, 1758), p. 121 begins "By our latest accounts from Germany, the allied Army of Prussian, Hessian and Hanoverians, proceed with all the success imaginable, the French retreating before them on every side, whom they pursue with such diligence and intrepid bravery, that in less time than three weeks, they have taken 9000 prisoners."

96 For example, NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759), p. 344: "To preserve the decency due to crowned heads, we must not presume to suppose his Majesty hath willfully propagated untruths, but rather, that he hath mistaken the English for the French; and that the three or four thousand who fell in battle were his own troops."

97 For example, NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), p. 184: "It doth not become us to censure the actions of our superiors, especially as they doubtless have their reasons for what they do, which we at this distance can't be thought to know: However, men who feel the weight of their miscarriages, and who are already loaded with grievous taxes, to support those operations against the enemy, will like worms as we are, writhe and turn."

98 An example in NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), p. 311.
efforts to remain impartial were sometimes unsuccessful and his enthusiasm for the war, Pitt's ministry, the Prussian king, and French disgrace are obvious.

Nevill attempted to spur the colonial assemblies to action by reporting favorably on those assemblies which did act. He reprinted the pleas of the British Ministry, the commanders-in-chief, and the colonies most directly threatened. Indian attacks and battle details were reported with the fullest descriptions possible. It was with pride, and perhaps a sense of achievement, that Nevill reported the movement of a thousand Jerseyans under Colonel John Johnson from Perth Amboy to Albany on May 22, 1758.

99 On Pitt: "That Mr. Pitt, by his candour, his fidelity, and steadfast attachment to the interest of his country, is become the darling of all ranks of people from the highest to the lowest," NAM, No. 14 (Feb., 1759), p. 379.

100 On the King of Prussia: "May success attend all his projects, the great defender and supporter of the Protestant religion; at whose intrepid yet prudent behaviour in carrying on the war, all Europe stands amazed, and justly pronounce him the favourite of Heaven." NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), p. 174.

101 And unfavorably on those which were not cooperating: "It is with the greatest concern we are oblige to mention, that the unhappy disputes and differences between the governor of Pennsylvania and the assembly still subsist. . . . It must betray a weakness, to contend for perogative or privilege, at a time when such contention is the most potent weapon we can put into the hands of an enterprizing watchful enemy, forever to deprive us of both perogative and privilege." NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), p. 98.

102 For example, Pitt's letter of Dec. 30, 1757, in NAM, No. 6 3-4 (March-April, 1758), pp. 43, 80-83.

103 Examples in NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), pp. 79, 84.

104 Coverage of Indian raids in Sussex Co., N.J., Penna., and Va. was extensive. See for example, NAM, No. 6 2-7 (Feb-July, 1758), pp. 47, 99, 124-126, 154-155.
The regiment was complete and consisted of as jolly likely young fellows as were ever seen in these parts; they made a very handsome appearance, being genteely clothed from head to foot, and both officers and soldiers went off with the highest spirits, cheerfulness and resolution, and we doubt not they will behave with such courage and bravery as will do honour to their country.\textsuperscript{105}

The attack upon the French national character was carried from the magazine's other departments into the "Historical Chronicle."

Reporting on misadministration in France's home government, Nevill seized the opportunity to comment:

With such a perfidious people it can never be our interest; nor can it be prudent in us, to listen to any terms of peace, till we have reduced them, and taken from them the power of violating it . . . . It would give infinite pleasure to every Briton to see his Prussian Majesty at the head of a hundred thousand men, in the heart of France.\textsuperscript{106}

The immorality of the French use of the Indians was presented again as a justification for the war:

Heathenish Christians! Instead of teaching the savages humanity, mercy and compassion, to learn of them the practices of cruelty, barbarity, and murder, against the law of nature and nations, to the great scandal and reproach of Christianity itself, and to the hatred and contempt of all civilized nations.\textsuperscript{107}

The Englishmen's treatment of the Indians was a matter of pride for many colonials, especially New Jerseyans. In 1758 Governor Frances Bernard took an active role in the treaty negotiations at Easton, Pennsylvania, and in establishing an Indian reservation at

\textsuperscript{105}NAM, No. 5 (May, 1758), p. 125.

\textsuperscript{106}NAM, No. 7 (July, 1758), p. 173.

\textsuperscript{107}NAM, No. 12 (Dec., 1758), p. 316.
Brotherton, New Jersey. Criticisms by the Indians at the Easton meeting were relayed by Nevill:

We hope our own countrymen, the English (who have heretofore been singularly remarkable in the annals of the time, for credulity, plain dealing, honesty, truth and sincerity) will not be ingloriously guilty of such a breach of faith, though the Indians, in the course of these conferences strenuously charge some of our own people as aggressors, and the first violators of the late peace, friendship and alliance subsisting between them.

Nevill's reporting of local occurrences involving Indians supplements the factual accounts of treaties and reservations with a striking and invaluable glimpse of racial problems in New Jersey in the 1750's. Accounts of Indian raids are balanced by settlers scalping suspected Indians or the conviction of a white man for killing a friendly

108 By the Easton treaty, the N.J. Indians, the Lenapes, surrendered their remaining land claims south of the Raritan River. The N.J. Assembly purchased a tract of 3,000 acres near the present Indian Mills, Burlington Co., and established a reservation of 100 Lenapes superintended by the Brainard brothers. References to the Easton Treaty appeared in the NAM in No. 10 (Oct., 1758), p. 269; No. 11 (Nov., 1758), pp. 285-292; No. 14 (Feb., 1759), p. 516; and, No. 18 (June, 1759), p. 516.


110 Another racial problem received one reference: "On the use and abuse of Negro Slaves," NAM, No. 25 (Jan., 1760), II, 25-27 questioned the right to keep enslaved Negroes converted to Christianity.

111 For example, the scalp and tomahawk of "Capt. Armstrong," a leader of the Delawares, was brought to Perth Amboy by Justice Decker of Sussex Co., June 30, 1758, NAM, No. 6 (June, 1758), p. 155; Gov. Belcher had proposed to the N.J. Assembly on Mar. 9, 1756, "that for more effectively Intimidating, Driving the Enemy from our Frontier it would be the Wisest, Cheapest method to pass an Act for giving a Premium on Indian scalps and Captives, as the Massachusetts (Government) have done." N.J. Archives, ed. F. Ricord, 1st Series, (Trenton, 1892), XVII, 8.
squaw and her children in order to obtain their scalps for bounty. 112

These lapses into brutality and the struggle to obtain justice for the Indian through the Englishmen's judicial and legislative systems throws light on a period of history which, tucked between colonization and Revolution, has often seemed colorless and dormant.

The details of events in New Jersey, seldom reported by the newspapers, makes the "Historical Chronicle" an important source in studying the colonials during their last colonial war. The trials of deserters 113 or the suicide of young soldiers over gaming losses 114 demonstrated that the war reached deeper than the frontiers or the pocketbooks of those with war contracts. Other details -- fires, 115 murder, 116 and horse-thievery -- build a composite picture of a Middle-Atlantic colony during this period.

112 A similar incident reported in the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 1436 (July 1, 1756), as cited in N.J. Archives, ed. W. Nelson, 1st Series, (Paterson, N.J., 1898), XX, 43.


114 For example: Cpl. of 22nd. regiment committed suicide in New Brunswick after gaming losses, NAM, No. 2 (Feb., 1758), pp. 47-48 reported with Neville's comment that "Drunkenness and gaming are of the principal springs that give motion to all disorders committed by the soldiers. And I would have all retailers of spirituous liquors ... be justly esteemed accessories before the fact." Ibid., p. 48.

115 Some of the fires reported were: The home of Richard Stockton in Princeton and the courthouse at Cohansy Bridge, NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759), p. 34; in N.Y. and Boston, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 113-115, 117; Breese's barn near New Brunswick, NAM, No. 18 (June, 1759), p. 557; in Providence, R. I., NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759), p. 348; in Lancaster, Pa., Ibid., p. 349; and as far away as Barbados, NAM, No. 4 (April, 1758), p. 103.

CHAPTER IV: THE DEMISE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MAGAZINE

In its March, 1760, issue, The New American Magazine abruptly announced its end. The last three words in the magazine were "To Be Continued" but the bitter editorial on the table of contents page assured readers that the publishers, after two and a quarter years of "unwearied application and GREAT Expense" were discontinuing their useful undertaking."¹ The stated reason was a "Deficiency in the Number of Subscribers." Not only the subscribers, however, but the contributors, printer, and editor had also withdrawn their support and without them, the magazine could not survive.²

The French and Indian War was drawing to a close.³ Instead of the atmosphere of defeat in which it began, The New American Magazine left its readers with a sense of certain success.⁴ By September, all


²Editorial note, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), table of contents page.

³In 1759, the colonials had seen the capture of Fort Niagara, (July 25), Fort Ticonderoga (July 26), Crown Point (Aug. 4) and Quebec (Sept. 13-18).

⁴The sense of the end of the war pervaded Gov. F. Bernard's speech before the N.J. Assembly, March 13, 1760, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 70: "Victories and acquisitions have followed one another so close, that we have not been able to keep pace with them in our Thanksgivings . . . . The time is now come, which a few years ago was the object of our wishes more than our hopes. The exorbitant and heretofore formidable Power of France is humbled to the dust; her Trade lost, her Credit
of New France would be in British hands.  

The state of war had helped to support The New American Magazine. It had provided a topic of interest common to every colony and had opened up inter-colonial communications. It had filled the newspapers with news and had driven the colonial poets, inspired by the defeats and triumphs of war, to seek another outlet for their work.

Now the war was ending. The editor, Samuel Nevill, no longer needed to campaign for patriotic support. Fewer ships were coming and going in the American ports and the newspapers were left with fewer bulletins from the front or from Europe. Essays and poems began to appear with more frequency in their pages, and the subscribers and contributors were offered an alternate means of literary outlet. For the subscriber, the newspaper could meet both his political and cultural needs. For the contributor, newspaper publication meant greater exposure and local recognition.

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5 New France passed into British hands with the surrender of Montreal to Gen. Jeffrey Amherst. The war officially ended Feb. 10, 1763, with the Treaty of Paris.

6 Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies (N.Y., 1957), p. 246: A newspaper was less expensive per issue, more readily available and more widely circulated to a greater number of readers than a magazine. The lack of news for the colonial newspapers in the lull after the Canadian victory is demonstrated by the content of the front page of the NYG Or, WPB, No. 943 (Jan. 29, 1761), which included essays on mad dogs, the vice of detraction and the nature of the French Mind, a description of Nassau Hall and an extract of a letter from the King of Prussia to Voltaire.
The magazine collapsed as much from exhaustion, however, as starvation. The printer and the editor, always busy men, suddenly found its publication an extreme hardship.

James Parker in the spring of 1760 was to have the responsibility of his New York press unexpectedly replaced upon his shoulders. He had left the business in 1754 in the hands of his partner William Weyman. Weyman did not give Parker his share of the business's profits and when Parker found himself becoming accountable for Weyman's debts, "some high words" passed and the partnership terminated at the beginning of 1759. By February 1, 1759, Weyman had returned Parker's press to him but had carried away the New-York Gazette's title, its subscription list, the partnership account books, and the post of public printer for New York. Weyman did not settle his debts with Parker until 1763.

Parker, unwilling to return to New York in his "poor state of Health," turned the business over to his nephew Samuel. Samuel

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7 Beverly McAnear, "James Parker versus William Weyman," Proceedings of N.J.H.S., LIX, No. 1 (Jan., 1941), 7, 7n. This article contains the text of a broadside written and published by Parker (N.Y., 1759) entitled "An Appeal to the Publick."

Notice of the end of the partnership appeared in the NYG or, WPB, No. 838 (Jan. 22, 1759), p. 3.


9 "My design in this Appeal to the Publick is as the setting up a beam to give warning to others, to beware of such Rocks as I have split upon, at the same Time Humbly to recommend my Nephew to the publick favour..." Parker as cited by McAnear, "Parker vs. Weyman," 12-13; Parker announced the assumption of his press by Samuel Parker explaining that his own health was "so much impaired as to be obliged for some years past to leave the City of New-York," NYG or, WPB, No. 840 (Feb. 12, 1759), p. 1.
suffered stiff competition from Weyman and "took to drinking immoderate-
ly." Parker, realizing his nephew would "soon run to Wreck and Ruin"
invited his New Haven partner John Holt early in 1760 to come to New
York. Holt agreed but did not leave Connecticut until July. Meanwhile,
Parker's nephew had fled the colony and from early spring until
July, 1760, Parker carried the burden of the New York and Woodbridge
presses.

The weight of these responsibilities must have caused Parker to
re-evaluate the role of The New American Magazine. Never profitable
or popular, it no longer seemed necessary now that his press was es-
established and he held the contracts with the New Jersey government
firmly in hand. His health weakened by gout and his responsibilities
to his presses, the post office and his community ever-increasing,

10 "J. Parker to Benjamin Franklin, June 11, 1766," "Letters from
James Parker to Benjamin Franklin," ed. W. C. Ford, Proceedings of MHS,
2nd Series, XVI (May, 1902), 214.

11 "In order he □ Holt □ says to get his accounts in readiness he
delayed coming from February until July." "Parker to Franklin," Ibid.

12 Isaiah Thomas, History of Printing in America, 2nd ed. (Worce-
ster, Mass., 1874), I, 305 says Samuel Parker died in Wilmington, North
Carolina before the Revolution; Ads stating "Inquire of James Parker
in New-York" began appearing in the NYG or, WPB as early as No. 891
(Jan. 28, 1760), p. 3.

The story of Parker's partnership with Holt as revealed in a broad-
side by Parker, "An Humble Address to the PUBLICK" (N.Y., May 30, 1766),
is studied by Beverly McNeal in "James Parker vs. John Holt," Pro-
cedings of N.J.H.S., LIX, Nos. 2-3, (Apr.-July, 1941), 77-95, 198-212.
The partnership continued until July, 1762, and Holt then leased the
press and printed on his own until 1766. Holt failing to settle long-
standing accounts, Parker re-assumed the press in 1766.

13 Parker was appointed "Governmental Printer" by the N.J. Assembly,
Parker was undoubtedly willing to cease publication of The New American Magazine.  

This task of continuing the magazine without Parker's substantial help would have been great. Parker's skill as a printer was considerable, and probably little proofreading had been required of Nevill. Parker had also been invaluable in gathering material for the magazine, coordinating the subscriptions, and taking care of the magazine's distribution and publicity.

It is unknown how much time Nevill devoted to his editorship. In the debate in 1740 between Benjamin Franklin and John Webbe, the editor who had left Franklin's services to begin the colonies' first magazine for William Bradford, it was revealed that Franklin had claimed a magazine editor's duties would require three or four days a week while Webbe insisted that it was a full-time job. Even half of this time require-

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14 Parker's letters to Franklin contain many references to his gout: "I sensibly feel the Decays of Nature and Strokes of Disease," (June 14, 1765); "I have Gout in my right hand," (Nov. 6, 1765; "I can walk about; but so emaciated and torn by Gout, that all Springs of Nature fail," (Feb. 20, 1770). "Letters from Parker to Franklin," ed. Ford, 198, 202, 223.

15 Contemporary observations of Parker's careful printing are numerous. For example, James Alexander wrote to Cadwallader Colden, Jan. 30, 1745/46 that "he (Parker) had begun the Elizabeth Town bill & done one sheet, whereof the proof when sent me was so correct that I found only one Comma (which was put at the end instead of the beginning of a word) to alter." Golden Papers, III, Collections of the New-York Historical Society, LII (N.Y., 1920), 194. Responsibilities of the eighteenth-century printer and editor are discussed by Richmond Bond, ed. in Studies in the Early English Periodical (Chapel Hill, 1957), pp. 25, 35-36.

ment would have been a heavy demand on Nevill in addition to his responsibilities as Judge, Speaker of the Assembly, Mayor of Perth Amboy, and compiler of the New Jersey's laws. Nevill's strength was further weakened by attacks of palsy which in two-and-a-half years forced him finally to retire from all of his activities. 17

Both Nevill's and Parker's reasons for publishing the magazine had met with either discouragement or satisfaction. Parker had established his press. Nevill could look ahead to the British victory and back at his colony's patriotic response with a sense of gratification. The response to his attempt to raise America's cultural had been discouraging. Despite his sincere efforts he had been criticized as having "small traffic with the nymphs of Helicon." 18 It is understandable that, in his closing editorial, he lashed out against the "reluctance which seems to prevail in these parts towards acquiring that Education and Knowledge which is absolutely expedient to form the truly serviceable Man." 19 Their motivations removed or weakened and their energies

17 "William Franklin to the Lords of Trade, Feb. 28, 1764" as cited in N.J. Archives, ed. F. Ricord and W. Nelson, 1st Series (Newark, 1885), IX, 427n: "Mr. Nevill, the other Judge of that Court, has long been rendered incapable of business by a Stroke of Palsy, so that Mr. Read had been obliged to perform his duty for him, in going the Circuits, etc." Read began to assume Nevill's duties in May, 1762. N.J. Archives, ed. F. Ricord, 1st Series (Trenton, 1892), XVII, 358.

18 [Nathaniel Evans], NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), II, 105.

19 Editorial note, NAM, No. 27 (March, 1760), table of contents page; Nevill had expressed similar fears earlier: "For the failure of our scheme will create in us some uneasiness upon two considerations; First, that we should prove unsuccessful to our endeavours to please the Publick; and secondly, that whilst our fellow subjects in Great Britain are encouraging numberless projections of the same kind, by way of example, the flourishing colonies of North-America should be though so neglectful of the propogation of learning and useful knowledge amongst them, as not to support one." "Proprietors of the NAM
drained by other responsibilities and poor health, Parker and Nevill agreed to close a chapter in America's early publication history.

It is difficult to judge the impact of The New American Magazine upon its own period or the development of the American magazine. Only two contemporary comments have been found. In March, 1763 Benjamin Franklin sent Richard Jackson in London pages of The New American Magazine as an example of colonial thought on westward settlement in 1759.

I enclose you part of a New Jersey Magazine for 1758, by which you may see something of the Common Opinion of a western Settlement at that time when the French were suppos'd to retain Canada; but now that Power is reduc'd, we may suppose People are much more willing to go into those countries. And in fact there appears every where an unaccountable Penchant in all our People to migrate westward.20

The second contemporary comment by Peter Kemble, a New Jersey resident during The New American Magazine's publication, acknowledged Nevill's skill in compiling "The History of North America."

Kemble tells me the best account he has seen of this continent is in The New American Magazine for the years 1758-59. It also contains the travels of Mr. Thomas Gage through the greater part of South America, finished about the year 1740. You may perhaps find them among some of our curious geniuses, President Stiles can tell you about it.21

The failure of The New American Magazine did not cause magazine

to the Publick," NAM, No. 19 (July, 1759), p. 519.

20 "B. Franklin to R. Jackson, March 8, 22, 1763," The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Leonard Labaree (New Haven, 1959-date), X, 214-215; Found among the Jackson Papers (APS) are pp. 343-350, NAM, No. 13 (Jan., 1759 [Misprinted to read Jan., 1758]). Page 349 contains proposal to apply for royal charter to settle Ohio.

21 "Abraham Baldwin to Joel Barlow, March, 1780," as cited by Charles Burr Todd in Life and Letters of Joel Barlow (N.Y., 1886), p. 27.
publishers to re-evaluate the content of miscellany. Eight additional periodicals which had magazine characteristics appeared in the colonies before the Revolution. Two were religious journals, two were modifications of newspapers, one was a political essay journal, and three were miscellanies. Of the latter group, The American Magazine, or General Repository, edited in Philadelphia in 1769 by Lewis Nicola, The New England Magazine edited by Benjamin Mecom in Boston in 1758 and 1759, and, The Royal American Magazine, edited by Isaiah Thomas in Boston in 1774 and 1775, continued to espouse the same editorial goal of the collection of previously published essays to form a cultural warehouse. Not until the last two decades of the century did editors such as Matthew Carey and Noah Webster modify the American miscellany to include original materials and literary criticism.


The religious journals were Ein Geistliches Magazien published and edited by Christopher Saur (Germantown, Pa., 1764, 1770-72) and The Royal Spiritual Magazine, printed by Joseph Cruikshank for John M. Gibbons (Phila., Jan.-Dec., 1771). The newspaper-magazines were The North-Carolina Magazine, edited and published by James Davis (New Bern, June, 1764-1765?) and The Penny Post edited and published by Benjamin Mecum (Phila., Jan., 1769). The political essay journal was The Censor, published by Ezekial Russell (Boston, 1771-1772). Richardson, Early American Magazines, pp. 141, 366-367.

The New American Magazine did serve its contemporaries. It preserved the literary efforts and tastes of the American colonies during a period when no other periodical was willing or able to fulfill such a function. Nevill's pleas for war support were a theme that was of common interest to all the colonies. His efforts and those of the newspapers to point out the dangers of defeat resulted in an increased military effort by the colonial assemblies.24

As for the development of the press in New Jersey, The New American Magazine enabled Parker's print shop to prosper and lent it prestige. After Parker's death and the close of the Woodbridge press, the colony and later the state exerted itself, sometimes through subsidies, to keep a printing house within its boundaries.25

24 Guy Fregault, Canada: the War of the Conquest, trans. by Margaret Cameron (Toronto, 1969), pp. 203-204 also gives due credit to Pitt's promise to repay the colonial government for the cost of arms and provisions and, in part, for recruiting expenses and payrolls.

25 The role of subsidies in the development of the New Jersey press at the end of the century is discussed by Warren E. Stickle III, in "State and Press in New Jersey During the American Revolution," New Jersey History, LXXXVI, No. s 3-4 (Fall-Winter, 1968), 158-170, 236-249. Parker died on July 2, 1771, his fortune substantially decreased by his unfortunate partnerships. An abstract of his will is in Collections of the N.Y.H.S., XXXI (N.Y., 1899), 316-318. From 1766 until shortly before his death he had lived in New York, rebuilding the strength of his newspaper, serving as Comptroller of the post office system above the Carolinas, and as a landwaifer in the Royal Custom's service. The unpopularity he gained as a government official and his ill health forced his return to New Jersey in 1770. Upon his death on July 2, 1770, in Burlington, his body was escorted by a large number of mourners five miles out of Burlington and met at Perth Amboy by another group who carried it to Woodbridge where he was buried with his parents in the First Presbyterian Churchyard. His obituaries from the New York Journal or General Advertiser, No. 1435 (July 5, 1770) and the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 2188 (July 12, 1770) are reprinted in N.J. Archives, ed. W. Nelson, 1st Series (Paterson, N.J., 1905), XXVII, 195-196. He left behind his wife Mary Ballareau Parker, a Frenchwoman;
The magazine is of great value to readers in the present age. It offers a rare insight into the concerns, thoughts, and interests of Americans during a period in which they were reaching their full colonial maturity. Within the pages of *The New American Magazine* may be seen a growing cultural independence that preceded political independence.

When, however, the political interest of the magazine faded with the approach of peace, the hopes of a few "to see polite literature flourish in this part of the world" could not persuade the many to support a literary journal. Without support and exhausted, Samuel Nevill and James Parker concluded that American culture in 1760 formed too thin a soil to support life and allowed *The New American Magazine* to die.

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## APPENDIX A

### AMERICAN MAGAZINES PUBLISHED PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIBRARY</th>
<th>ISSUES IN POSSESSION</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Antiquarian Society</td>
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<td>Signature in No. 6 of Abraham Maryott</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barlow Library, Woodbridge, N.J.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Volume formerly owned by Stewart A. Schroeder of Woodbridge, N.J.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boston Public Library</td>
<td></td>
<td>Copies lack &quot;The History&quot; and &quot;The Traveller.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>William L. Clements Library</td>
<td></td>
<td>Have only pp. 5-26 of N. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia University, Butler Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Connecticut Historical Society</td>
<td></td>
<td>Did not reply to survey. The Union List of Serials (1965) indicates a complete run.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historical Society of Pennsylvania</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Library Company of Philadelphia</td>
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<td>Duplicates among James Ogden Hous. Signatures include John Smith, 1-12, 11-12, 1-22.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Historical Society</td>
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<td>Actual copies not checked due to building renovations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The New Jersey Historical Society</td>
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<td>The New York Historical Society</td>
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<td>Princeton University, Firestone Library</td>
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Pp. 381-2 of No. 14 and pp. 481-510 of No. 18 missing.

Many issues lack "The History" and copy of the "Historical Register." Signatures include: J. T. Parrott, 9; and Simeon Eglis, 6.

"Joshua Harvey, his book requested by his uncle James Harvey d. 1 March 5, 1794."

Signatures include: A. Biddle, 12; W. Biddle, 23-4; Mrs. Kinsman, S. Peter DuBois, 20; D. J.谋 13-15, 20-26 are inc. Signatures include: Rev. W. Smith, 16-21; David Seely, 12.

Most issues lack title page, many damaged. Signature of William Byrd on No. 2.

All issues in loose condition.
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APPENDIX B

INDIVIDUALS TAKING IN SUBSCRIPTIONS
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VITA

Carol Lynn Toop McCollough
