

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE: 1770 - 1780

THE
GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE:
1770 - 1780
A STUDY IN THE
EXPRESSION OF EDITORIAL OPINION

By
WILLIAM ROBERT BRYANT, B.A.

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AUTHOR: William Robert Bryant, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Richard Morton

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ABSTRACT

The occasion for this study was a need for an analysis of the success of the Gentleman's Magazine in order to place its editorial policies and practices in proper perspective. The important work of C. L. Carlson and of James M. Kuist has focussed on the magazine's editorial history from 1731-1754 and from 1754-1800 respectively, but this particular study attempts to examine the editorial function in terms of the position of the Gentleman's as a successful periodical in the eighteenth century. The study, therefore, does not pretend to be a narrative; it is analytical rather than descriptive.

Editorial involvement in the magazine was pervasive and complex. The Introduction provides necessary background to the study. Chapter II examines editorial policy and factors affecting its formulation and successful development. Chapter III discusses the nature of the magazine as a form of periodical. Furthermore, that section examines editorial criteria, methods and general presentation of materials in order to determine their effect on the magazine itself. Chapter IV analyzes the magazine's appeal from the viewpoints of the editors and the correspondents in order to assess further

the success of the Gentleman's. That chapter develops the hypothesis that, in their attempts to be successful, the editors seriously compromised their claims to impartiality by involving themselves so completely within the magazine. Finally, Chapter V concludes that the establishment and continuation of the Gentleman's as a successful magazine with its basic ideas, form, criteria and personalities did not necessarily ensure the most effective presentation of literature.

The policies adopted by the founders of the Gentleman's generally remained stable throughout the century. To facilitate analysis of that stability the study draws specific examples from a period roughly analagous to the 1770's. However, examples throughout the magazine's history in the eighteenth century appear in order to demonstrate the unity and complexity of the whole development of the periodical. Furthermore, the stableness of the Gentleman's was the result of the efforts of individuals. Those personalities associated with the magazine were primarily interested in the continuation of its success and in its general welfare for a variety of reasons. An examination of the involvement of those people in the magazine is a study in the expression of editorial opinion which, in turn, demonstrates and accounts for the success of the Gentleman's in the eighteenth century.

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine the policies and practices editorially expressed in the Gentleman's Magazine. The study uses content from the whole of the history of the magazine in the eighteenth century but draws on material found in a period bounded generally by the 1770's for more specific and developed examples. If this small study of a major eighteenth-century periodical possesses any originality and distinctiveness, that result is due to the fact that in general scholars of the Gentleman's have not focussed specifically and solely on the nature of its success. Their efforts have necessarily been historical in order to establish basic and sequential fact. Although their studies have dealt with editorial aspects of the magazine, the purposes of their work have rather obscured the nature and effect of that success. The superlatives alone used to describe the Gentleman's are generally true and demonstrative of the influence of that magazine. Successful it was, and this thesis hopes to prove that its success was evident in, and attributable to, the astute formulation and careful, if not ingenious, application of editorial policy.

My initial purpose was to give a comprehensive and analytical account of the management of the Gentleman's

in the 1770's. But such a study necessarily involves much more than a decade can offer, and, therefore, it grew within certain confines into an examination of that periodical in the eighteenth century. By focussing specifically and almost entirely on policy and its application, the analysis hopes to delineate the rationale inherent in the magazine if only to develop points of comparison for future studies in eighteenth-century periodical literature. Much basic research on the magazine needs to be done, yet, by looking specifically at internal evidence within the magazine itself and by applying present knowledge of eighteenth-century publishing methods and environments (especially those related to the Gentleman's) to substantiate that evidence, the study provides further insights into such periodicals and their publication.

The sources used appear in the bibliography. The existence of an Inter-Library Loan system and of microfilm reprint facilities makes much important material available for the serious student. Space and time limitations have prevented an intensive examination of either the century or even the decade, but the analysis attempts to overcome those restrictions in various ways. A chronological presentation was undesirable, but the basic historical structure of the magazine appears in an appendix of selected dates. The study includes

various other appendices to provide similar comparisons with different times in the magazine's history. The illustrations, charts and glossary attempt to do the same plus to concentrate in one area much relevant material. Their use, furthermore, frees the study to examine more fully the basic themes of editorial policy. That method provides unity and coherence to some of the vast amount of differentiated material to be found in the Gentleman's Magazine.

The study attempts to overcome the problem of organization logically by examining at the outset the conception of the idea for the magazine and possible influences behind its formulation and application. From there the analysis moves to an examination of the idea as found in the form of the magazine itself. Finally, since readers and editors played an important role in that application the study examines the nature of the idea's appeal. Thematically the magazine idea is important to this thesis as it forms the basis for the periodical's success. Though that idea was a central theme in the magazine's history it was not, however, an inflexible or static formula. In turn, time and even success itself potentially and actually affected editorial thinking, and this analysis, therefore, discusses throughout editorial efforts to sustain the magazine's achievements by exploring the resources inherent in the idea.

This work generally allows the editors and readers to speak for themselves. But a study of the expression of editorial opinion requires selection and interpretation which, in themselves, attempt to influence a potential reader's appreciation of the magazine. Certainly the study in some ways uses methods generally and openly employed by the periodical's editors. Perhaps, like them, this researcher may claim to lay his case before an "impartial" public in the hope that his efforts might be "useful" and "entertaining" in providing "a nice Model", "a true Specimen", of the editorial policies and practices inherent in the Gentleman's Magazine.

Hamilton, Ontario
September 22, 1974

WB

THE USE OF ORIGINAL TEXTS

Quotations from original materials such as the Gentleman's Magazine appear in this thesis with minimal changes. Underlined words and phrases replace italicized parts in the originals. Where a whole passage occurred, for example, in italics, this study indicates the same thus [It.]. All capitals replace the original use of bold-faced type, and capitalized initials of words retain their place. The long "s" and other eighteenth-century typographical practices do not appear here. This analysis has silently corrected typographical and miscellaneous errors in the originals only if their retention would lead to confusion. Punctuation remains the same. The use of ellipsis accommodates minor changes in sentence structure deemed necessary only to facilitate meaning in certain quotations. Otherwise, the study attempts to emulate the originals as much as possible with no effort made to amend archaic spellings, style or grammar in order to preserve as much as possible the character and feeling of the originals. Nothing, however, can serve as a substitute for the primary materials themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work I dedicate to my parents. I also wish to remember here the late Dr. Roy McKeen Wiles, an eminent personage in the study of eighteenth-century periodicals, who was responsible, with Professor Paul Fritz, in stimulating so much of my initial interest in eighteenth-century studies. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor Richard Morton for his kind encouragement and patient understanding without which this work might not have seen completion.

The staff of McMaster University was most helpful in assisting me with my research. Those persons especially in Rare Books and Special Collections were very tolerant of my persistent presence. I also take this opportunity here of acknowledging the encouragement of friends. Though their names are too numerous to mention, each remains of special remembrance to me. In the true fashion of the Gentleman's, I must say that the favours of A.M., E.M., H.K., N.L., D.N., and, finally, W.S. were and still are most acceptable. I thank God for each and every one of those people I have met in my studies and I look forward to meeting many more like them.

wb

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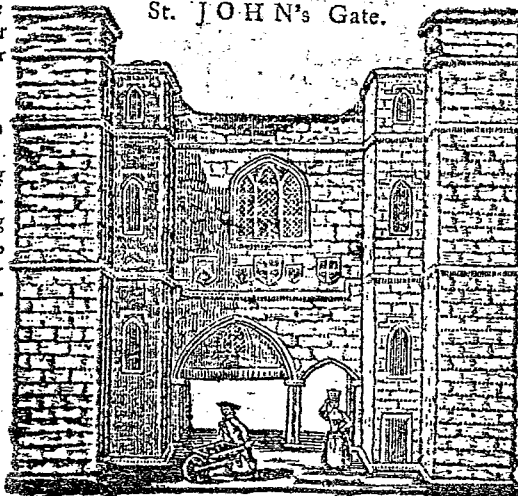
The Gentleman's Magazine:

London Gazette
Daily Advertiser
Public Advertiser
Public Ledger
Gazetteer

St James's Chron.
London Chron.
General Evening
Whitehall Even.
London Evening
Lloyd's Evening,
Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

Oxford
Cambridge
Reading
Northampton
Birmingham 2
Bath 2 papers
Coventry 2
Bristol 3.

St. JOHN's Gate.



York 2 papers
Dublin 3
Newcastle 3
Leeds 2
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Ipswich
Norwich
Exeter
Gloucester
Salisbury
Liverpool
Sherborn
Worcester
Stamford
Nottingham
Chester
Manchester
Canterbury
Chelmsford

For JANUARY, 1775.

CONTAINING

More in Quantity and greater Variety than any Book of the kind and Price.

Prices of Grain throughout England, &c. 2	Substance of the Address of the American Congress to the People of Quebec 25-26
Meteorological Diary of the Weather <i>ib.</i>	Miscellaneous Observations 27
Summary of Proceedings in the present Parliament—Manner of the Commons choosing their Speaker—The Speaker's Doubts on some Points of Ceremony 3	Review of Books—Brief Epitome of the Philosophical Transactions—Astronomical Observations at Chislehurst—Account of a Woman accidentally burnt to Death—Of a Storm of Lightning near Wakefield 28-29
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Observations on the Memoirs of Dr. Ridley 9	Poetry—A Persian Fable—Verses to a Lady who had lost her Canary Bird—Jeremiah ix. paraphrased 39
Critical Remarks on Dr. Lowth's Eng. Gram. 10	—A Word from Bangor to Canterbury—The Answer—Prologue and Epilogue to the Choleric Man—Verses on K. Charles I. 40
Mr. Gostling's Reply to W. & D. with some farther Illustrations respecting Antiquities in Canterbury 13	American Affairs 41
Story of the Flight of the Prince of Condé continued 14	Historical Chronicle—Overflowing of the River Douro—Murders—Robberies, &c. 43
Authentic Account of the Prosecution of the Count de Guines, Ambassador from France, charged with gaming in the Eng. Funds 16	Births—Marriages—Deaths, &c. 46
Genuine Copy of the Petition from the American Congress to the King 21-23	
Objections to Y. Z.'s Notion of Space 24	
Remarks on the Latinity of Pope's <i>Amor publicus posuit</i> <i>ib.</i>	
With a Whole-Sheet Chart of the Harbour of Boston, including a Plan of the Town, done from an actual Survey, never before made public.	
The Figures denote the Depth of the Channel in Fathoms, at low Water.	

By SYLVANUS URBAN, Gent.

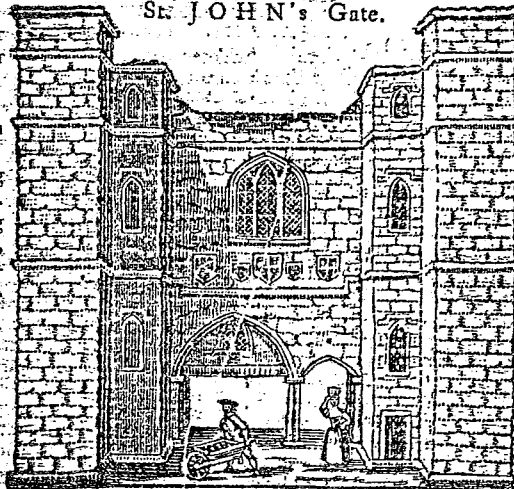
LONDON; Printed for D. HENRY, at ST. JOHN'S GATE.

2. January, 1775

The Gentleman's Magazine:

St. JOHN'S Gate.

London Gazette
Daily Advertiser
Public Advertiser
Public Ledger
Gazetteer
St James's Chron.
London Chron.
General Evening
Whitehall Even.
London Evening
Lloyd's Evening
Monday, Wednesday, Friday
Oxford
Cambridge
Reading
Northampton
Birmingham 2
Bath 2 papers
Coventry 2
Bristol 3



York 2 papers
Dublin 2
Newcastle 2
Leeds 2
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Ipswich
Norwich
Exeter
Gloucester
Salisbury
Liverpool
Sherborn
Worcester
Stamford
Nottingham
Chester
Manchester
Canterbury
Chelmsford

For JANUARY, 1770.

CONTAINING,

More in Quantity and greater Variety than any Book of the Kind and Price.

Genuine copy of the Cornish petition	2	History and antiquity of Berkeley Castle	22
Proceedings in the upper chamber of a great assembly	3 4	Letters relative to the execution of Doyle and Vallée concluded	24
Political conduct of a late chancellor vindicated	5	Sun and Moon's light compared	25
Ministerial reasons for his dismission	6	List of horned cattle in the United Provinces, shewing the mortality by the present distemper	26
Unconstitutional oppression of the game laws	7	Premium offered by the States for a remedy	27
Observations on the unhappy fate of chancellors	8	Populous speech in a great assembly	28
A curious undescribed animal petrefaction	11	Dr Johnson's political explanations inadequate	28
Charge against a great secretary for negligence	9	REVIEW of BOOKS. — The Fair Trial reviewed	29
His majesty's most gracious speech	10	— The False Alarm, extracts from it	32
Reasons for rejecting the money bill in Ireland	11	Catalogue of new Publications, with remarks	32
Huetiana. Question discussed concerning learned men and preachers	12	POETRY. — Ode by the late Hon. Cha. Yorke	38
— Preachers declaimers	12	— Stanza's in the manner of Waller, by the same, never before printed	39
— Difficulty of interpreting the Holy Scrip.	13	Sonnet addressed to him by the late Mr Edwards	40
— Origin of thime	14 15	— Epigram on reading the New Bath Guide	40
— Want of character a common defect	16	HISTORICAL CHRONICLE. — Prospect of the House of Lords of Ireland	40
— Men of character enumerated	16	— The Lord Lieutenant's speech to both houses	40
Scheme for establishing one weight and one measure	17	— Resignations	40
Clamour for a new war considered	18	— Promotions	40
Queries to the defender of the D. of G—n	19	— New editions	40
Neal's History farther defended	20	— Anecdotes	40
		Literary Lists, as usual	40

Embellished with an elegant Copper-Plate, exhibiting a very curious undescribed Animal Petrefaction.

By S. T. L. V. A. N. U. S. U. R. B. A. N., Gent.

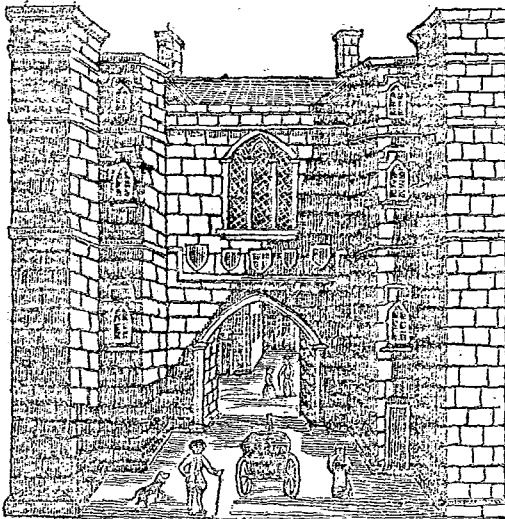
LONDON, Printed for D. HENRY, by J. LISTER, at St. John's Gate; and Sold by F. NEWBERRY, at the Corner of St. Paul's Church Yard.

3. January, 1770

The Gentleman's Magazine;

ST. JOHN'S GATE.

London Gazette
Daily Advertiser
Public Advertiser
Public Ledger
Gazetteer
St. James's Chron.
London Chron.
General Evening
Whitehall Even.
London Evening
Lloyd's Evening,
Monday, Wednesday,
Friday.
Oxford
Cambridge
Reading
Northampton
Birmingham 2
Bath 2 papers
Coventry 2
Bristol 3



York 2 papers
Dublin 3
Newcastle 3
Leeds 2
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Ipswich
Norwich
Exeter
Gloucester
Salisbury
Liverpool
Leicester
Worcester
Stamford
Nottingham 2
Chester
Manchester
Canterbury
Chelmsford

For OCTOBER, 1778,

CONTAINING

More in Quantity and greater Variety than any Book of the Kind and Price.

Average Prices of Corn throughout Engl.	442	The Ancient Prophecies how applied by Hebrew Prophets, &c.	ib.
Meteorological Diary of the Weather	ib.	A Prediction of St. Paul's applicable to Britain	472
Debates in Parliament continued	443	Inscriptions on the Seals of Empires	ib.
Narrative of the Negotiation between Lords Bute and Chatham	445	On the Worshipping of the Primitive Christians to the East	ib.
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Vindication of Mr. Gibbon	ib.	—A Love Elegy	ib.
Miscellaneous Remarks	465	—Epitaph proposed for the late M. Voltaire	ib.
A Passage in Milton illustrated	466	—Epitaph, written by the Author of "the Life of Socrates," with a Translation	487
Dr. Lettform's Remarks on the Caterpillar described in our last	ib.	—Prologue to the Camp	ib.
Further Observations on it	469	—Translations from Horace, &c. &c.	ib.
Dissimilar Words traced from their original Radicals	ib.	Advices from America	489
The Origin of Lotteries in England	470	HISTORICAL CHRONICLE	492
A Question in Gauging	ib.	Lists of Births, Marriages, Deaths, &c.	494
Letter of Mr. Churchill, &c.	471		
Illustrated with an exact Description of the Encampment of a Battalion, and enlarged with EIGHT additional Pages of Letter-press.			

By SYLVANUS URBAN, Gent.

LONDON, Printed for D. HENRY, at ST. JOHN'S GATE.

4. October, 1778

Note on the Illustrations

The differences between the March, 1731, title-page and the title-pages in the seventies are rather obvious, but a comparison of the title-pages within the seventies reveals some subtle changes. Apart from the different woodcuts, one notes various bibliographical changes in the printing presentation, differences in the colophons, in the number, arrangement and spelling of the newspaper and periodical sources listed on either side of the woodcut. Those changes provide evidence of editorial concern for detail and order as well as of the change and growth in the British press. Furthermore an examination of the Table of Contents on the title-pages gives some indication of the presentation of materials within the magazine while revealing at the same time something of the nature of the comprehensiveness and variety within the Gentleman's. Incidentally, the title-page for the March, 1731, issue is an original according to the research of W. B. Todd, "A Bibliographical Account of The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1754", SB, XVIII (1965), 92, and the October, 1778, issue marked the beginning of the short, joint printership of the magazine by David Bond and John Nichols. See Friendship, p. 6.

Chart I

Sections in the Magazine

Number of pages per year	1770	1773	1775	1777	1779	1780
1. Total	624	659	639	638	646	628
2. Articles	380	360	339	368	380	349
%	61%	55%	53%	58%	59%	55%
3. Book-reviews	90	103	118	120	103	98
%	14%	16%	18%	19%	16%	16%
4. Poetry	38	29	27	30	43	40
%	6%	4%	4%	5%	7%	6%
5. News	75	107	101	74	74	81
%	12%	16%	16%	11%	11%	13%
6. Informational lists	30	49	43	34	36	49
%	5%	7%	7%	5%	6%	8%

Chart II

Kinds of Articles

Number of Articles	1770	1773	1775	1777	1779	1780
1. Total	288	239	200	280	306	289
2. a. Reprinted from other periodicals	0	0	0	3	13	1
b. %	0%	0%	0	1%	4%	1%
3. a. From correspondents	145	155	121	175	193	212
b. %	50%	65%	60%	63%	63%	73%
4. a. Supplied by staff	143	84	79	102	100	76
b. %	50%	35%	40%	36%	33%	26%
5. a. On scientific topics	70	63	25	62	42	41
b. %	24%	26%	12.5%	22%	14%	14%
6. a. On historical topics	46	61	50	64	59	72
b. %	17%	26%	25%	23%	19%	25%
7. a. On contemporary issues	125	79	91	110	110	100
b. %	44%	33%	45.5%	39%	36%	35%
8. a. On literary topics	44	33	31	37	75	62
b. %	15%	14%	15.5%	13%	24%	21%
9. a. Miscellaneous articles	0	3	3	7	20	14
b. %	0%	1%	1.5%	3%	7%	5%

Note on the Charts

The source for the charts is J. M. Kuist, The Gentleman's Magazine, 1754-1800: A Study of its Development as a Vehicle for the Discussion of Literature. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (1965), pp. 361 ff. They show the breakdown of sections and subjects within the magazine. The portions shown here, chosen because of the period studied and of the addition of John Nichols to management in 1778, indicate that the amount of space devoted to sections remained fairly consistent while the number of articles by correspondents increased proportionally with the inclusion of more items on literary and historical topics, two changes influenced in part by Nichols. Statistics may be misleading, however, and Kuist does not mention in his discussion of the charts (pp. 348 ff.) any differentiation between the general correspondent and the disguised editorial writer, a fact that might alter the figures slightly. On that point compare the opinion of C. D. Yost, The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine: A Study in Eighteenth Century Literary Taste (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 24. In addition, the inclusion of statistical charts within this thesis gives further indications of some of the serious study in which scholars of the magazine have involved themselves.

List of Abbreviations

Apart from commonly understood contractions such as OED and PMLA, the study uses the following abbreviations frequently. (See the Bibliography for full titles where applicable.)

Ackers - D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, ed., A Ledger of Charles Ackers (London, 1968).

"Autobiography" - "Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban", in the Gentleman's Magazine, CCI (1856), 3-9, 131-140, 267-77, 531-41, 667-77; CCII (1857), 3-10, 149-57, 282-90, 379-87.

Boswell's Life - James Boswell, Life of Samuel Johnson.

Friendship - [D. Bond], Friendship Strikingly Exhibited in a New Light (London, 1781).

GI - "Preface", in the General Index to the Gentleman's Magazine, III (London, 1821), [iii]-lxxx.

GM - Gentleman's Magazine, occasionally expressed in the text as the Gentleman's.

Illustrations - Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. 8 Vols. (London, 1817-1858).

Johnson's "Life" - [S. Johnson], "An Account of the Life of the late Mr. Edward Cave", GM, XXIV (Feb. 1754), [55]-58.

LA - Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. 9 Vols. (London, 1812-1815).

LM - London Magazine.

Minor Lives - Edward L. Hart, ed., Minor Lives: A Collection of Biographies by John Nichols (Cambridge, 1971).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Gentleman's Magazine, founded in 1731 by Edward Cave, was by its extensive circulation, its longevity and its high reputation the most successful of the eighteenth-century periodicals. The editors forwarded particularly favourable claims for the magazine's importance in statements such as the following:

. . .an impartial and inquisitive reader can nowhere collect a clearer state of the learning, the policy, the manners, the temper and the principles of the times, than from the volumes of this particular work.¹

Without entering into invidious comparisons, it may not be improper to observe, that THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, the earliest publication of the kind, has ever maintained the first rank for literary merit.²

Readers, right from the beginning, also expressed favourable assessments of the project. For example, a letter in the magazine, dated October 14, 1731, reads:

The Gentleman's Magazine, is perhaps, one of the most useful Things of the Kind that has at any Time been set on Foot: but this Usefulness must in Justice and Gratitude be attributed to your unbyass'd Impartiality and Industry: It serves me, and to my knowledge several others, for what your title truly expresses it, that is, a Magazine or Repository of everything worth remarking, and for that Reason will be many Years hence an authentick Collection for Historians to refer to, when Disputes shall arise on the Manner and the Spirit

with which the present Controversies are carried on, the Force of the Arguments on both Sides being fully retained. . . .³

Persons also expressed their opinions on the value of the Gentleman's in other places than in the magazine itself. John Nichols, one of the editors of the periodical, quotes Edmund Burke as saying that the magazine was "one of the most chaste and valuable Miscellanies of the age".⁴ As the nineteenth century began, however, the magazine's reputation, though still high, had slipped somewhat in the opinion of certain people. A correspondent in the Universal Magazine commented in 1804 that

As a work of general amusement, it can advance few claims to general approbation.

Nevertheless, he continued:

it may advance claims to something better, - that of being a repository of numerous interesting and important facts; a storehouse, from whence, the antiquarian in particular may derive many useful commodities; and though there be seldom any frivolous school-boy essays, amusing tales, pretty fragments, and similar nonsense, yet it often admits disquisitions of general utility, and discussions of useful questions.⁵

But, by the late nineteenth century, A. W. Hutton could criticize that

the great bulk of the literary contributions to it are only precious in the sense of being precious nonsense.

Furthermore,

So far as literature, in the strict sense, is concerned, the Gentleman's Magazine is a wilderness of deservedly forgotten rubbish.⁶

The question, therefore, arises: What exactly was the nature and significance of that periodical's success in the eighteenth century?

The purpose of this study is to examine and to assess the editorial policies and practices of the Gentleman's Magazine in order to particularize reasons for its success. In general, the magazine's editorial policies and practices involved a process of communicating information and opinion to and from readers by means of the medium of the magazine. As such the very nature of their undertaking, reliant as it was on public support, obligated the editors to act responsibly towards the magazine's readers so that the latter's respect might establish and maintain for that miscellany a primary position among eighteenth-century periodicals especially in the midst of almost immediate, increasingly more aggressive competition.

Once the editors had secured that pre-eminence for the Gentleman's, they found themselves freer to manipulate with more confidence both the direction of the magazine and the opinion of readers. Significantly, their efforts did result in a successful venture. Seen by the editors in terms

of a high circulation and general readership approval, such success was indeed basically attributable to the formulation and implementation of editorial policy, the result, in turn, of the astute assessment by management of a particular public need and a growing specialized demand, two factors that were often quite flexible and variable. The editors were quick to make adjustments to circumstances and situations if necessary, but generally they determined to maintain their original, basic policies rather than allow, in their estimation, fickle taste and party pressure to influence their decisions adversely.

The basic tenets of the magazine's editorial policy did not significantly change over the years as a result of the conservatism of editorial thinking. Certain factions, however, did attempt to exert pressure. Rivals of one name or another established themselves to capitalize on the magazine's success, but the majority were not strong enough either to supplant or even to challenge seriously the eminence of that periodical. Concerns, such as government, attempted intimidation by threatening and commencing prosecution proceedings for libel, but they were equally unsuccessful in changing significantly the magazine's directions especially as a growing periodical press began to be aware of and to demonstrate their own collective importance and influence.

Finally, the general public attempted to sway the magazine through individual appeals, and they had more success as the Gentleman's depended on readers for contributions and sales. In fact, the editors willingly allowed and specifically catered to certain tastes but only if by so doing such action could further the success of the magazine.

The growth of a reading public and of a periodical press to satisfy it led to a certain degree of specialization in the Gentleman's, a concentration prompted by the interests of both editors and readers. While the determination of an exact assessment is impossible, the magazine's continued success not only gave the editors and their associates a great deal of personal satisfaction but also influenced in various degrees the opinions of readers. Significantly, though, the goal of success did have some adverse effects on editors, readers and the magazine itself. The resulting anomalies, contradictions and tensions provide fascinating material for the study of just one eighteenth-century periodical.

In 1782, the following comment appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine:

The inestimable Value of a Periodical Work
formed and continued for more than Half a Cen-
tury, on the Plan of the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE,

if executed with tolerable Accuracy, must be obvious to every Man, conversant with the World, at first Sight.⁷

Much later, John Nichols wrote:

Not to enter too deeply into the arcana of a Miscellaneous Publication, the very nature of which depends on a sort of Masonic secrecy, it may not be improper to introduce a few anecdotes, and to unfold some particulars, over which concealment is no longer needful.⁸

Secrets! The latter statement demonstrates the fact that neither the "nature" nor the "value" of the Gentleman's Magazine is so "obvious" on a first examination, a point that has challenged and prompted scholars to much research.

Periodical literature is an important source of information for the scholar examining eighteenth-century life and culture in general and the policies and practices of editors in particular, but some equally important considerations qualify its use as a source for such information. L. M. Salmon, studying the value of newspapers as sources, notes:

Periodical literature must. . . be considered by the historian with reference to those general parts whose authoritativeness may be guaranteed and to such other parts as those in which errors are most likely to abound. It must also be considered with reference to those parts that consciously and by design give an account of the events of the day, and the other part that unconsciously and unintentionally records the spirit of the age.

She continues:

Two processes are involved for the historian. The first is the narration of events that have happened, a narration based on the material available after the rejection of what proves to be unauthoritative. The second process involves the interpretation of the life and interests of a community, of a nation, of an age, as these are unconsciously revealed through the columns and pages of periodical literature.

The most important source for this particular study is specifically the Gentleman's Magazine, a major periodical in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ While secondary materials such as letters, anecdotes and memoirs are significant in the study, the magazine, on careful examination, offers the most important evidence of editorial method and thought. The Gentleman's was of importance to the editors attempting to communicate with their public, and it is, therefore, mainly responsible for whatever general influence either might have had upon the other.¹¹ Finally, as a source, the magazine is the visible and outward symbol of the success of the founder's undertaking, in effect, the idea in concrete form. As such, the magazine is the touchstone for whatever material one might wish to use in order to analyze the nature and effects of its success.

Bibliographical factors, however, qualify somewhat the use of the Gentleman's Magazine as a primary source. Commenting on C. L. Carlson's work, D. F. Bond says that

"one misses any detailed bibliographical study of the magazine".¹² Such a study would ensure firstly that the material examined is what eighteenth-century readers actually read at the time of an issue's original publication. Secondly, aside from determining the existence of variations including counterfeited and pirated editions, a thorough bibliographical study might determine the extent of demand for the magazine. The date the demand was met would indicate the importance of the periodical at a particular time. Furthermore, a call for back issues would demonstrate the respect the public had for the work as a reference source, work of literature or whatever.

Is such a study necessary? Yes, for extensive evidence exists to show that the magazine did go through various editions. The "Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" notes that

the early numbers were so frequently reprinted, that it is difficult to find their original editions; for many sets are made up with the later reprints.¹³

J. Leed¹⁴ and W. B. Todd¹⁵ have recently applied themselves separately to the problem, focussing particularly on the earlier period of the magazine. But errors are likely to persist until scholars present a more complete bibliographical analysis of the magazine, and until such work appears

one must by necessity assume that materials examined are suitable and representative for use in studying the Gentleman's Magazine.¹⁶

On that assumption, the magazine as a source provides information on editorial policies and practices as well as on reader response to those ideas and methods. Firstly, from an examination of specific references within the work itself and its general presentation, one gains insights into the magazine's publication. J. M. Kuist, a recent historian of the Gentleman's, has noted, however, that "editorial management. . .is more evident to the scholar".¹⁷ Certainly it is difficult to determine the precise nature of the functions and responsibilities of the personalities associated with the magazine even if one considered all the evidence available both in primary and in secondary sources. What this study shows on that issue is that management was a corporate and collective affair involving a hierarchy that generally was understood by those persons concerned. Since livelihoods depended on the magazine's success, whoever performed whatever function was obliged to act responsibly to maintain that success. The result was a well-regulated magazine, a fact noticeable in every issue.

Secondly, apart from providing information on the

interaction of personalities associated with the magazine, an examination of the Gentleman's as a source also reveals facts on editorial policies. A policy statement is a guideline expressed in intentionally general terms to outline basic editorial aims and methods. Generally every collected volume from the founding contained near the front a preface which took the form of a prose statement, a poem or a recapitulation of contents and which served to express conscious editorial thought. The form, tone and style of prefaces might change slightly over the years, but their general purpose remained stable - to state editorial intentions, to solicit and acknowledge reader response, to answer criticism and to boast of success.¹⁸

Thirdly, a study using the Gentleman's as a source reveals the pervasiveness of editorial comment throughout the magazine. Prefaces provided an area for the expression of general editorial opinion. The establishment of a Book Review section as a regular feature in 1765 furnished another area for editorial views, namely on the literature of the day.¹⁹ But opinion also occurred in the form of editorial comment interjected throughout the magazine by such means as footnotes.²⁰ Some are short; some are rather long.²¹ A few are even vague and unintelligible to the researcher. For example, one can make little of this com-

ment:

*** P.Q's obliging hints are taken in good part.
Where parties are violent, hints of the same kind
come from opposite quarters. - Hinc Illæ lachrymæ!²²

The majority of such comments, however, do shed valuable light on editorial practices for they supply information on the criteria for selecting and rejecting material. One example will suffice to indicate the nature of this type of comment:

To our Correspondents

*** Among the multiplicity of our papers, the Letter signed Theodocia, is misplaced, we therefore hope that our Correspondent will transmit another Copy to us. - A Friend to the Quakers came too late for insertion. - If M.N. will oblige us with a drawing of the Greek coin he mentions, we doubt not but some of our Numistical correspondents will satisfy his doubts relative to it. - The Letter signed N. is under consideration. - H - n's Verses will be inserted in our next, - We are tired of Shandy Junior's impertinence, and beg he would convey his witless Essays to those who deal in ribaldry and obscenity. - Our Canterbury friend needs not to make any apologies for the hints he gives us, as they are always pertinent and sensible.²³

Thus, in succinct language, the editors inform readers of their decisions, thereby leaving a record for the scholar interested in the editorial policies and practices of the magazine.

Furthermore, the magazine as a source provides information on public response to editorial policies, a response that takes the specific form of reader comment usu-

ally prefacing contributions and letters. The editors exerted a certain amount of control on this type of information, control which is evident in the fact that most of the comment is very favourable to editorial policies. Criticism, however, does appear within the magazine and gives an indication not only of editorial impartiality but also possible failings in the magazine's policies and methods. Reader comment is, therefore, a valuable contemporary assessment of editorial aims. The fact too that readers bought and wrote to the magazine is further evidence of their approval, in general, of the whole project.²⁴

Finally, the magazine, by its very structure in the arrangement, length and types of features, provides, as a source, vital information on editorial preferences. While the stated criteria for editing materials plus the interchange of opinion between editors and readers do themselves establish some priorities important in an analysis of editorial thinking, an examination of the form and format of the magazine itself reveals subtler means of expressing and influencing such opinion. Every item in the Gentleman's from the title to the index gives an indication of the magazine's nature and in many ways is a potential factor, however small, in accounting for its success. The impossibility of examining every facet of the periodical given

space limitations is apparent, but the details are elements that demand awareness in any study using the contents of the magazine as source material.²⁵

In the eighteenth century, where the majority of research by scholars of the magazine has focussed, the year 1754 is a most important date in the history of the Gentleman's for it marks a transition from Edward Cave's management to that of David Henry and his associates. For John Nichols, that year began "a new æra in the publication of the Magazine".²⁶ W. Graham, a major researcher of eighteenth-century periodical literature in general, notes that after that date writers changed their work from a medium for "gently ironic comment on the morals and manners of the time" into one "for instruction in the arts and sciences, and for criticism of literature".²⁷ He generally assesses the situation thus:

Before 1800 the "magazine", or miscellaneous monthly periodical, had found a public and become a necessary part of the literature of the day. Readers sent letters, stories, poems, or essays to it; scholars inquired through its columns, or answered the queries of others. It supplemented the private library of the country squire or city merchant by furnishing copious extracts from most of the new books of importance, and the more important articles from the weekly and daily journals. It encouraged the young poet, and furnished him with models of the poetry of the masters. Although the major part of its contents were of a general and unliterary nature, this

form of periodical had become by the end of the eighteenth century an indispensable vehicle of literature in all its forms.²⁸

C. L. Carlson has conducted more specific research on the Gentleman's Magazine for the period 1731-1754. He calls it the "first magazine", and concludes that, by the time of Cave's death in 1754, the Gentleman's had "exerted its greatest influence on the periodical press, and its editorial policies had become settled".²⁹ As to reasons for the magazine's survival Carlson concludes that

It was the flexibility of the scheme of the magazine, its natural tendency to serve the demands of both parties, that enabled it to survive where other periodicals failed. It was this same adaptability to the tastes and demands of the age that made for its later development from a periodical with an emphasis mainly political and historical to a monthly that was scientific and literary.³⁰

Continuing Carlson's work, J. M. Kuist examined the Gentleman's for the period 1754-1800. He discovered something in the later period that contradicted Carlson's assessment that

the early magazine did little to forward the cause of literature, that the public did not expect magazines to be primarily literary, that there was no definite systematic policy with regard to the publication of essentially literary material in the first of the magazines.³¹

Kuist attributes the importance of the magazine in the lat-

ter half of the eighteenth century to editorial encouragement of increased correspondence. He notes that

as the century progressed contributed articles were allowed increasingly to dominate the first half of each issue, and it was through such articles that the discussion of literature achieved a significant place in the Gentleman's Magazine.³²

Other studies of some note have focussed on specific genres treated within the magazine. Those studies have basically agreed that the Gentleman's was of significance in the eighteenth century. Though studying dramatic criticism in the periodical, Keesey sums up their conclusions best when he points out that

the position of the magazine in itself makes its comments on the drama significant. For the Gentleman's Magazine was the most influential magazine of its time, and what it said about the theatre was read by thousands every month. That what it said was not always unusually penetrating or strikingly different must be admitted; in fact, it might even have been predicted. Still whatever the intrinsic merit of these reviews, there can be little doubt, considering the central importance of this periodical, that they furnish a reasonably accurate index to late eighteenth-century taste.³³

But scholars have also examined more specifically the effects that personalities, especially editors, have had on the Gentleman's. Their studies are justified considering the high reputation of those principal people in the eighteenth century who were associated with the maga-

zine. For example, to Boswell, John Nichols was "the worthy and indefatigable editor of that valuable miscellany".³⁴ The same opinion is generally applicable to Cave, Henry and their principal associates.

Critical opinion of the magazine, therefore, from Nichols to date, though important, appears somewhat fragmented. Basically Graham emphasizes the form of the magazine, Carlson, the flexibility of its scheme, Kuist and others, the important effect of personality and increased correspondence. None of the critics would deny the importance that all of those factors had in the success of the magazine, but their studies, while taking different viewpoints with varying degrees of emphasis on subjects, details and trends, generally avoid developing the significance of the magazine as a basic whole. The following analysis, in examining and attempting to account for the success of the magazine, considers the conception, application and effect of the idea to be basic and central to a study of the Gentleman's. That idea, involving the establishment of a medium for communication between people, determined to a large extent the form of the work, challenged its associated personalities to execute the plan ably and ensured an extensive circulation, longevity, and a high reputation - in short - the success of the Gentleman's Magazine in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEA

The "Advertisement", found on the reverse side of the title-page for the March, 1731, issue of the Gentleman's Magazine, contains the statement of the idea as originally conceived and expressed in policy form.¹ The following analysis of that prose piece shows the nature of the founder's assumptions, concepts, methods and purposes. The whole is the idea, the "plan", which guided the magazine's editors and associates throughout the century.

The first paragraph begins with an assumption:

It has been unexceptionably advanced that a good Abridgment of the Law is more intelligible than the Statutes at large; so a nice Model is as entertaining as the Original, and a true Specimen as satisfactory as the whole Parcel. . . .

The author² basically assumes that his project has the possibility of being not only entertaining and satisfactory but also intelligible. The words, "Model" and "Specimen" serve to emphasize and establish more specifically the nature of "Abridgment". By emphasis on all three the author implies that a synthesis from his viewpoint may equal the original in every respect except detail.

A statement of the idea follows in which the author presents the outline of his "Undertaking"

which in the first place is to give Monthly a View of all the Pieces of Wit, Humour, or Intelligence, daily offer'd to the Publick in the News-Papers, (which of late are so multiply'd, as to render it impossible, unless a man makes it a business, to consult them all) and in the next place we shall join therewith some other matters of Use or Amusement that will be communicated to us.

That assertion reveals that two basic actions form the plan or method, in effect, the policy. The first action is "to give Monthly a View"; the second is to receive contributions for insertion in their work. In order to achieve comprehensiveness rather than completeness, the author makes his project a process involving the synthesis of materials. The word, "View", establishes essentially the result of that process.

The significance of that opening paragraph is twofold. Firstly, it introduces the nature of the enterprise beginning with the assumption, proceeding through a statement of the idea, and ending with purpose. Thus, and this is the second point of significance, in its logical and concise manner the opening paragraph attempts to persuade the reader to accept the intelligibility and reasonableness of the whole project.

The author then proceeds to develop the argument of his idea more specifically. He does so in the second paragraph which is an explication of the periodical sources he uses and which emphasizes one major point about them:

"Newspapers" in prolific numbers are a significant but a scattered means of communication.³ Firstly, the author notes that

a considerable Part of which constantly exhibit
Essays on various Subjects for Entertainment. . . .

Secondly,

all the rest, occasionally oblige their Readers
with agreeable Pieces of Poetry, valuable Receipts in Physick, Dissertations on Trade, Revolutions in Kingdoms, Secrets in Art or Nature, Criticisms in Literature, Essays on Government, and Proposals of Public Concern. . . .

Once again the author emphasizes his aims and purposes in his use of the words, "various", "Entertainment", "agreeable" and "valuable", words which are synonymous with the terms, "Use" and "Amusement" found in the first paragraph. The writers of the papers are "Persons of Capacity", a fact which further substantiates their importance from an authorial viewpoint. Moreover, that "they are become the Chief Channels of Amusement and Intelligence" indicates their real significance for the author. His perception of that point, especially with the emphasis on "chief", implies a desire on his part to make the undertaking a similar enterprise for a similar purpose.

The truth of that last observation is apparent in the pivotal word, "But", which at this point in the second paragraph introduces the author's view of the need for such a project given the situation among newspapers. He expresses his assessment of the situation thus:

But then being only loose Papers, uncertainly scatter'd about, it often happens, that many things deserving Attention, contain'd in them, are only seen by Accident, and others not sufficiently publish'd or preserved for universal Benefit and Information.

The sentence begins logically with the statement that the papers are "loose" and "scatter'd". The author makes two additional points. Firstly, readers see the papers only by chance. Furthermore, circumstance fails to find them "sufficiently published or preserved". By choosing the term, "sufficiently", to express his thought, the author acknowledges his recognition of a need for a new and central force in the publishing world. That he considers the project worthy is evident in his use of the phrase, "deserving Attention". Finally, the author in his conclusion to this second paragraph once again essays to emphasize and to unify his two-fold purpose in the expression, "universal Benefit and Information".

The significance of that second paragraph to the development of the author's thought is that it logically demonstrates authorial recognition of a particular public

need which he hopes to fulfil by making his project more central and efficient than any other, a single chief channel capable of reaching a wider readership. The author concludes his analysis of the need by providing highly noble but general purposes to ensure that his enterprise receives serious attention and to justify his undertaking as a public service for the common good.

The third paragraph of the "Advertisement" presents the author's method for satisfying the need thus:

This Consideration has induced several Gentlemen to promote a Monthly Collection, to treasure up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable Pieces on the Subjects abovemention'd, or at least impartial Abbridgments thereof, as a Method much better calculated to preserve those Things that are curious, than that of transcribing.⁴

In that statement, the author expresses metaphorically the nature of the means of communication. His project, using the image of a magazine,⁵ is to be a "Monthly Collection" in which "to treasure up" a variety of important materials.

The author, however, presents a number of qualifications regarding the treatment of those materials. Firstly, in the phrase, "the most remarkable Pieces on the Subjects abovemention'd", the use of the word, "most", implies selection, a method necessitated by the great variety of available materials and by the magazine's space limitations which make

it impossible to accommodate all "the Subjects abovemention'd". Furthermore, selection connotes the presence of criteria because the process of choosing renders comparisons unavoidable. Anticipating the potential for criticism on that point and realizing the impossibility of being complete, the author quickly clarifies his intention by adding the phrase, "or at least impartial Abridgments thereof". Despite an apparent contradiction in terms,⁶ the statement is particular enough to show the author striving for a certain objectivity, difficult though that might be. The goal is a high one, demanding effort for success. His optimism may be naïvete, idle boasting or even deceit, but the author reveals his awareness of the rational necessity of expressing his aims clearly by specifically rejecting transcription as a useful method. He, thereby, dismisses a passive, mirror-image function and adopts the role of creator. Though the latter position is in his case a conservative one, attempting as it does "to preserve" what is "curious", the author's plan is flexible enough to allow him to develop the magazine in any manner he chose.

The short fourth paragraph of the "Advertisement" appears to be with the fifth an acknowledgment of public response to the project as of March, 1731, and it indicates that by the time the author was writing, the magazine was

already a success. He states that

In pursuance whereof, and the Encouragement already given, this Work will be continued, shall appear earlier, and contain more than former Monthly Books of the same Price.

Therefore, in recognition of the immediate success of the magazine, the author makes three promises. The first promise, though rather obvious, signifies the author's quick response to acknowledge and to express gratitude for public support. Success, rather than lulling the author into a state of indolence, stimulates him to further the position of importance he has already attained. The second and third promises are additional indications of authorial diligence, but they also show an awareness of possible, real competition. As well they express a willingness to be first and best. The author sees those two ambitions as being desirable goals, challenges furthermore that he thinks he can meet successively.

Two conditions, however, qualify the comparison. One must compare the magazine with its peers, similar monthlies similarly priced. Determining success is, therefore, from an authorial viewpoint, a question of being first among equals. His qualification implies on his part a desire to prevent the possibility of meeting unfair competition with periodicals having different deadlines and cri-

teria. Furthermore, the point shows that the author is aware of the differences that existed in the publishing industry of his time and that he wants his audience also to note the fact if they become inclined to make comparisons.

In the fifth paragraph, the author attempts to cement further the relationship between himself and his audience by establishing some basic rules of procedure. He modestly recognizes the possibility of error but promises to prevent such inaccuracies, a fact evident in his assertion that

. . .all possible Care will be taken to avoid the Mistakes incident to undertakings of this kind. . . .

The process, moreover, calls for co-operation, a relationship based on mutual effort. So, in polite terms,

the Author will think himself oblig'd to such Persons who shall give him a true state of any Transaction erroneously publish'd in the Papers, or shall please to communicate any Pieces of Wit or Entertainment proper to be inserted. . . .

To make sure the public understands his sincere wish for their support, the author gives specific directions to where readers may send their corrections and contributions. But he once again significantly qualifies his overture for help by stating that he would only insert what he considered to be "proper". The implication is not only that a correspondent should exercise his or her own judgment in

submitting material for possible inclusion in the magazine but also that the author retained the ultimate word in making, and bearing the responsibility for, decisions.

The above analysis establishes that the "Advertisement" is important as a very logical and perceptive statement by the author of the formation and application of policy that not only reveals his astute assessment of the situation but also presents his clear but ambitious policy to meet the need. Furthermore, the analysis shows that success was the most important reason behind the conception of the idea, a success, however, that depended on co-operation between a responsible management and the magazine's public. The following discussion examines background information on the nature of this success.

Conception of the idea for a magazine was a matter of much forethought and consideration representing not an instantaneous but a gradual process. Samuel Johnson records that

Mr. Cave, when he formed the project, was far from expecting the success which he found; and others had so little prospect of its consequence, that though he had for several years talked of his plan, among printers and booksellers, none of them thought it worth the trial.⁷

That comment raises the issue of originality. In respect

to the theoretical implications of that troublesome question, W. Roberts defines the position well in the following manner:

Whether a man starts a new paper, promotes a fresh enterprise, or propounds a new theory in science, some one or more feature of the results of his planning are due to incidents or circumstances of which he may have no cognizance, and to which he cannot lay the claim of originality. But the scheme, whatever it may be, is, in its entirety, and to all intents and purposes original.⁸

C. L. Carlson, applying himself to the issue, notes specifically of the Gentleman's Magazine that

Such originality as there is, is inherent in the editorial policy or, more accurately, in the methods of applying standards which were borrowed from earlier publications of a nature similar to the magazines.⁹

For him the Gentleman's

represented the culmination of a tradition, rather than the inception of one. Diverse publications contributed to shaping its method, notably the historical miscellany, while the order in which the material was presented was the result of suggestions drawn from the weekly journals.¹⁰

E. Hart takes a dissenting view to Carlson both on the question of originality and on the culmination theory. Although studying a later period, he concludes that

Nichols' Gentleman's Magazine was not a magazine in the original sense of the term. It was not just a collection (or storehouse) of materials gathered from other sources, nor had it been from the beginning. The Gentleman's Magazine was not really much different from the modern magazine.¹¹

The magazine actually continued an old and began a new

tradition. As to culmination theories they in some ways deny the role of personality in assuming that outward circumstance plays a greater part than authorial treatment of materials. The argument here is that the magazine required personalities to conceive and to execute the idea. Predecessors and news of the day provided examples and source materials¹² respectively which management could follow and use for their purpose. Nothing quite like the Gentleman's existed at the time and those persons responsible for the magazine took advantage of the fact to create a successful work.

Who were the managers and what were their responsibilities?¹³ An analysis shows that management was in a few hands, a fact which discouraged but did not eliminate the possibility of overlapping responsibility. Certain persons associated with the magazine could perform different functions of production. For example, John Nichols could own, print, edit, publish and write for the magazine simultaneously. The following discussion examines the distinctions between the proprietor, publisher, editor, printer and staff of the periodical, and the analysis reveals that, in the seventies at least, several persons held those responsibilities at one and the same time. Though their duties overlapped they themselves were aware of differences.

The proprietor was the owner of the magazine, the person in whose hands the vested interest of the property lay. Originally, the magazine's ownership remained in Cave's hands,¹⁴ and at his death in 1754 the inheritance stayed within the family, David Henry and Richard Cave assuming the ownership. Henry, who kept his share until his death in 1792, appears to have been the major partner for his name alone is first in the colophons. Richard Cave's share at the time of his death in 1766 passed to his daughter who, in August, 1778, sold her shares to John Nichols who in addition received Henry's majority portion in 1792. The only other known owner at the time is Francis, nephew to John, Newbery, who in 1755 bought a one-twelfth share of the magazine. At his death in 1780, his wife, Elizabeth, inherited his portion which she kept till around 1800.¹⁵ Significantly, that particular pattern of ownership, showing the majority of shares to be in the hands of family or close friends, served to avoid major conflicts of interest by establishing a small but solid power bloc. Furthermore, as the proprietors also performed functions within the production of the magazine such as editing and printing, management was, therefore, centralized, self-contained and unified making decision-making flexible and efficient, for that process did not experience delay in communicating ideas from one corporate group to another.¹⁶

The printer printed the magazine for the owners.¹⁷ David Henry was the printer of the magazine until his retirement from the profession on the death of R. Cave in 1766, at which time Henry hired agents to do the work of printing the magazine. From thence, Henry's role in relationship to printing was one of supervision. His agents are unknown until 1769 when a J. Lister appears on the colophons as the printer. In December, 1771, David Bond became the agent authorized by Henry to print the magazine. He continued to be the sole printer until June, 1778, at which time management made a significant move, for Miss Cave decided to sell her shares to John Nichols and with the transfer of ownership went her responsibility to fold, stitch and bind the magazine. In addition, Henry agreed to let Nichols print part of the magazine, and Henry, as a major shareholder, pressured Bond to share printing responsibilities with Nichols. The magazine for October, 1778, represents the first issue of joint printership. Gradually, but decisively, Henry eased Bond out until, by December, 1780, the latter was no longer printing the magazine, a loss which occasioned much bitterness on his part. John Nichols had become the full-time printer of the Gentleman's.

That significant management move demonstrates that the printing of the magazine was so lucrative as to occasion

power struggles, no matter how subtle, the results of which ultimately depended on the interests and strength of the top levels of management. Furthermore, it appears that John Nichols was more useful to Henry and the magazine, for Nichols possessed great ability and wide experience as a printer. Joint printership was a temporary and inefficient move, but it allowed Nichols time to secure his position until Henry could make his final decision.¹⁹ Significantly, Henry retained control, and his power to choose printing personnel assured the continuity of magazine production with the least disruption. That the changeover was smooth demonstrates how necessary to the periodical's success it was that owners control printing directly.

Some confusion exists as to the function and identity of the publisher of the Gentleman's.²⁰ Nichols refers to Henry as a publisher when he states that

Not long after he retired from publishing, Henry moved to a large farm which he owned at Beckenham, Kent.²¹

But booksellers were also known as publishers and Francis Newbery was the bookseller/publisher of the magazine in the seventies.²² Most likely, as in the case of the printer, Henry was the general publisher who hired others as his agents.

The same difficulty of identification exists in a discussion of editors.²³ Henry was the editor of importance from 1766 to 1778. Though he had retired from printing and publishing in 1766, he was still an active editor as the following example, replying privately to a correspondent in 1775, shows:

I thank you very kindly for the favour of the entire Copy of the Story of the Prince of Condé. As it stands it would take up many months in the portions we can allot for it in these busy times. I have therefore taken the Liberty to abridge it, to which I hope you will have no Objection.²⁴

After 1778 and into the 1780's, John Nichols came to hold that most important position as an associate of Henry, but the final and official transfer came only in 1791 as the following excerpt from one of Henry's letters to Nichols shortly before the former's death in 1792 indicates:

Dr Sir

Finding myself unfit for the Business of the Magazine and sensible how much I trespass on your Time and Patience in supplying my Defects, I beg leave to commit the whole and entire management of it with the Salary anexd into your Hands in sure and certain hope of seeing it flourish in greater Perfection from the Improvemt it will receive from an abler Compiler.²⁵

In the work of magazine production, management had the assistance of capable associates and staff²⁶ of whom John Hawkesworth was an important example in the sixties and early seventies. So important was he, that even con-

temporaries considered him as a co-editor, but he denied it, and in the following comment he also provides an insight into editorial activities:

though Mr. Duncombe assured you that the Magazine was solely under my direction, I must beg leave to assure you that it is not, nor ever was, there being in almost every number some things that I never see, and some things that I do not approve
27

Hawkesworth at times had the assistance of his own brother-in-law, John Ryland, but John Duncombe, a regular correspondent, undertook the review section shortly before Hawkesworth's death in 1773 and performed the responsibility until his own death in 1786 when Richard Gough, another trusted correspondent, took over the position of reviewer.²⁸

Significantly, the assistants all received training and gained experience through the Gentleman's itself before they assumed major responsibilities with the magazine. Furthermore, they were close friends of, or correspondents with, the important members of management. The associates of the magazine were, therefore, able to prove their worth and to acclimatize themselves to the editorial policies and practices of the Gentleman's, thereby assuring the stable and successful continuance of the same when the time came for them to perform their functions officially.

Evidence, therefore, shows that a recognizable

hierarchy existed and that those persons involved in that chain of command well understood its importance and use. The experience of Henry and Nichols as printers and editors greatly facilitated decision-making for they were also owners, and, furthermore, their experience and abilities improved supervision and removed many possibilities for inefficiency and delay. In addition, the existence of an able staff, chosen by management and long associated with the magazine, led to the stability and the continuity of the periodical's ideas and traditions but tended towards conservatism in order not to endanger the magazine's success. The major personalities, therefore, who were associated with the magazine as either management or staff, formed a solidly and personally knit group of family, close friends and associates whose affability, cohesiveness and general likemindedness were major factors in the magazine's success.

Management, however, was involved in resolving procedural problems which challenged its potential for efficiency and unity. The following outline, a theoretical model considered on a general but purely logical basis, purposes to demonstrate the whole process of magazine production in its attempt to implement the idea. With accumulated capital a printer buys or leases an establishment where he gathers together presses, stock and raw materials which

place him in a position to print the magazine. His purchases make him a proprietor while others may participate in ownership by holding shares. He hires assistants, qualified personnel including apprentices whom he will train, to print the magazine. He, himself, in the role of an editor selects materials which he synthesizes and arranges for inclusion in the periodical. Here too he may hire associates to help him. The resulting copy goes to the printer, in this case, himself, or his agent, who prints the magazine. The possibility exists of proof-reading in the form of corrections, revisions and further additions. After folding and stitching, the printed copy is now ready for distribution.²⁹

The finished product, the single issue, goes to the bookseller (more than one may share responsibility) who distributes and sells the magazine either to the consumer personally or to intermediaries, agents and entrepreneurs who will perform that function for him. The market may consist of urban, rural or foreign persons from a wide variety of backgrounds. In the act of reading the magazine they might wish to make contributions in the form of written work or to criticize and to make suggestions on the project itself. They duly submit the same to the proper address or authority and depending on editorial criteria their contributions be-

come part of a future issue. The process continues thus until circumstances dictate otherwise.

Where did the capital originate? Johnson, referring to Cave's employment with other periodicals and to his experience in the London Post Office, records the fact that

By this constancy of diligence and diversification of employment, he in time collected a sum sufficient for the purchase of a small printing-house, and began the Gentleman's Magazine. . . .³⁰

By 1754, the magazine itself was a very valuable piece of property and over the remainder of the century continued so, a fact which from a management viewpoint made it worth preserving.³¹

The printing establishment founded by Cave and successfully maintained by him and his successors was originally situated at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, which was not only central to the heart of London but also to the printing industry.³² In addition, the prime core of establishments related to the publishing of the Gentleman's Magazine in the seventies were close and available to each other.³³ For example, the author of Friendship notes that

It is a common thing for Printers to supply occasional wants as are too trifling to trouble the Founder for, by borrowing one of another. . . .³⁴

Only that proximity could facilitate such borrowing. Fi-

nally, the density of London's population provided a ready supply of skilled and unskilled labour from the messenger boy and carter to the qualified printer and editor.³⁵

Management was very proud of another labour source, their correspondents, and repeatedly acknowledged gratitude for their contributions,³⁶ but efficiency was a problem depending sometimes on circumstance. For example, a mishap resulted in this notice:

*** The Letters received at London for this Magazine, from the 22d to the 27th Instant, have been accidentally lost: The Writers are, therefore, requested to supply their Contents, which shall have Preference in our next.³⁷

Moreover, as the following example shows, the bulk of materials received led to a general office inefficiency:

*** Among the multiplicity of our papers, the Letter signed Theodocia, is misplaced, we therefore hope that our Correspondent will transmit another Copy to us.³⁸

Management, however, had organized means to ensure that they received copy fairly regularly. The author of Friendship details one method thus:

It is necessary here to mention the mode in which Mr. Bond was furnished with copy. That for the Review of Books, which belonged to his part, came to his hands, by post, from a Gentleman in the Country; and, in general, he was so well supplied as to have a surplus in hand at the end of the month. His portion of miscellaneous copy was transmitted to him by Mr. Nichols, whose directions Mr. Henry had instructed him to observe.³⁹

Furthermore, many notices in the magazine instructed correspondents where to send or pick up materials. For example, this notice comments that

It would be an additional favour to the Editor, if D.H. would spare the original for the engraver to copy. By leaving the original with the publisher, the utmost care shall be taken to return it unsullied.⁴⁰

Finally, a correspondent could view proofs of his work and correct copy even while material was in press. For example, this remark declares that

The other errors mentioned by this gentleman were noticed and corrected, a few copies only having passed the press without correction.⁴¹

Clearly, management attempted to accommodate the reception of copy as efficiently as possible.

Apart from an efficient organization, in order to succeed the magazine had to have a substantial economic base over and above its original capital investment, a base which represented the profit and loss aspect of magazine publishing, an imaginary line that registered success or failure. Too much loss meant a re-examination of policy, a sharpening up of practices and procedures or bankruptcy. Significantly, from management's viewpoint, no such thing existed as too much profit.

The printing costs alone were substantial. Bond had

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not only to pay his predecessor, J. Lister, nearly £ 520 to be in a position to print the magazine but also to replace stock at his expense, for

the type and other printing accessories which he bought, at Henry's request, from Lister were so worn that within a short time he was obliged to make new purchases.⁴²

In Bond's case, too, printing the magazine meant a commitment on his part that prevented him from doing other work, and that fact could be an expense in the form of a loss,

For example, Friendship notes that

the damage I have this month sustained by declining other work, upon the supposition of the Magazine's continuing with me, makes me the more peremptory in this claim.⁴³

Salaries involved another cost factor. Evidence exists to show that even the top levels of management received salaries in addition to a share of the profits. Staff and other labour also received income either on a regular basis or for work done, and if magazine employment was not lucrative in the early years, the situation had changed by the seventies. For example, D. D. Eddy comments that

In addition to Hawkesworth's need for money until he could sell the publication rights of the voyages, politics and parliamentary debates provided a possible additional reason for his continued association with the Gentleman's Magazine early in 1773.⁴⁴

Most, if not all, of the income needed to meet those

costs came from circulation sales. The price per issue was 6d, a good value for what was offered, and estimates of the numbers sold range from 2,000 to 15,000 copies per month over a period of time.⁴⁵ The magazine did not, however, receive any substantial income from the sale of advertising space, and, in fact, advertising in other papers meant an expense.⁴⁶ Furthermore, even minor incidental costs made management wary of spending money needlessly. The following notice indicates that point:

N.B. Correspondents should pay the postage of their letters, as their own benefit, not mine, is proposed by their enquiries.⁴⁷

Finally, an eye on income often made management hesitant about including some work, a concern which affected the nature of the magazine's contents. Economic interest appears in this comment:

E. B - ss's Poetry is not destitute of Merit, but will answer no pecuniary purpose.⁴⁸

One of management's primary objectives was, therefore, the acquisition of money, which, however, was necessary to implement the idea and to overcome procedural problems, but, which, as the above discussion of the economics of magazine production has tried to demonstrate, management viewed as an indicator of success.

Another economic factor, the existence of stamp-

duties, greatly affected the success of the Gentleman's.⁴⁹ Those duties are of significance only because management never paid them. The "Autobiography" records that

it was deemed to be the law, that no periodical containing news could be published at a shorter interval than a month without becoming subject to the newspaper-stamp.⁵⁰

As the Gentleman's appeared monthly, it escaped the tax. Publishers of other periodicals, envious of Cave's economic advantage, registered complaints, but Johnson, referring to the part of the magazine that contained news, notes that

when the stamp-officers demanded to stamp the last half-sheet of the magazines, Mr. Cave alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of the rival Magazines would meanly have submitted.⁵¹

Significantly, Cave, by exercising his own initiative and leadership, successfully resisted the government, and the stamp-duties were never afterwards a major issue for the magazine's owners.

Laws of another kind were. Copyright was such a law involving originally the editorial method of abridging for publication another person's work.⁵² The editors were astutely aware of the situation and, referring to charges and practices of their competitors, strongly expressed their opinion and knowledge of copyright in this comment:

Several of them have now dignified their works with an appearance of the highest patronage, and have written over them in the most magnificent capitals,

"By the King's Royal Licence and Protection." It might have been thought, by those who have only a speculative knowledge of mankind, that there were few persons in this kingdom so little acquainted with the privileges of British liberty, as not to know, that no particular licence or protection is necessary for the publication of any work, not contrary to the laws, and that no particular licence or protection can authorise the publication of any thing by which the laws are violated; that the press is yet unlicensed; and that the property of every original work is vested in the proprietor exclusively for fourteen years, by a statute of the realm. Yet it has been found, that the number of those who imagine a license necessary, tho' the press is free, and that the law of the land is not a sufficient protection, is not small; many, at least, are deceived into an opinion, that the king's royal licence and protection are testimonies of the superior merit of the work for which they are obtained. It is therefore necessary to declare, expressly and publickly, that the pompous addresses. . . are no other than words of course, that may be purchased for a trifling sum paid in fees to clerks and office-keepers, in favour of any work, by any person who can pay the price. . . ."

The anomaly of the law itself, therefore, allowed the editors of the magazine free access to a vast amount of materials.

Another aspect of law which was related to the copyright situation and which generally affected the success of the magazine was the issue of parliamentary privilege. The "Autobiography" makes clear that the question was specifically one of copyright. Referring to the early newspapers, the author asserts that

They did not pretend to give any systematic reports

of parliament. That branch of information was monopolized by the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, which were not merely printed for the use of the members, but largely sold to the public, under the control of the Speaker; but they were not permitted to be copied by unauthorised printers, either in newspapers or otherwise.⁵⁴

Yet some papers including the Gentleman's exceeded, from a government viewpoint, their rights, and, on April 13, 1738, the House of Commons unanimously passed the following resolution:

That it is an high indignity to, and a notorious breach of the Privilege of, this House, for any News-writer in Letters, or other Papers, (as Minutes, or under any other denomination,) or for any printer or publisher of any printed Newspaper of any denomination, to presume to insert in the said Letters or Papers, or to give therein any Account of the Debates, or other Proceedings of this House, or any Committee thereof, as well during the recess, as the sitting of Parliament, and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such Offenders.⁵⁵

Cave tried successfully to circumvent the ruling and only later in 1747 suffered slightly for his risk-taking.⁵⁶

By the seventies the situation of a free press, however, had changed somewhat. Studying the altered political climate, S. Lutnick found that the

freedom of the press was not absolute in England during the era of the American Revolution, but the press said what it wanted to say; if freedom of expression was not legally guaranteed, it was not overtly taken away; and while an occasional jail sentence was considered a common occupational hazard for a newspaper editor, legal prosecutions from either Parliament or the Attorney General's

office never drove an important newspaper or magazine off the streets during this period.⁵⁷

Prosecutions by that time also had centred around the issue of personal, as opposed to political, libel, the latter, a legal question related to copyright and parliamentary privilege but more a concern of the courts of law than of Parliament.⁵⁸ Therefore, poorly defined laws allowed the founders not only to establish the magazine but to maintain it with an economic advantage that also left them free to report generally what they chose within certain limits.

Such freedom combined with generally high circulation might have inclined management to lapse into a state of carelessness, indolence or overconfidence. But management was aware of the problem of inertia and repeatedly assured readers of its attempts to overcome it as the following comments testify.

As we doubt not but the Favour of the Publick will be preserved by the same Conduct which obtained it, we shall endeavour to show, that Applause has rather increased than relaxed our Application, and that Victory has not lulled us in Security, but excited us to Vigilance.⁵⁹

. . . instead of relaxing in our speed, the encouragement which we receive and gratefully acknowledge, and the rivalry which our success has excited, shall only quicken our endeavours to deserve the one, and to counteract the other.⁶⁰

Those two comments indicate that two external factors, competition and correspondents, existed to work against management inertia.⁶¹

A lack of competition was an important factor at the founding. A preface of the magazine remarks:

When the Gentleman's Magazine was first established, it was the only compendium of the politics, history, and entertainment that appeared in the current month, and this was a sufficient foundation of success.⁶²

The "Autobiography", quoting a contemporary account, says that

The booksellers, as in more recent questions, were divided in their councils; some of them allowing personal and individual interests to break up their combined tactics of self defence; and we are told that "instead of uniting their strenuous endeavours in a fair and generous opposition to this piractical Pamphlet, many, for the sake of an inconsiderable gain, sold it themselves".⁶³

The London Magazine, founded in 1732, was the first major rival of the Gentleman's; the Monthly Review, founded in 1749 by Ralph Griffiths, was another later one of importance.⁶⁴ Competition did have the effect of sharpening up editorial practices in terms of the accuracy and completeness of the magazine's coverage. For example, at the appearance of Griffiths's Monthly Review, the Gentleman's began to include more of its own criticism of books, an action that led to the formation of the Book Review section in 1765 as a regular feature.⁶⁵

The early attitude of the Gentleman's towards its rivals was hostile. Management used every opportunity to reply to criticism⁶⁶ but at the same time the author acknowledged that competition was a significant sign of the magazine's success. A preface, referring to the practices of competitors, offers this challenge:

Let those who have long pilfered from our store with impunity, pilfer with impunity still; only let their fault be remembered as a test of our merit, since it undubitably proves, that they can find nothing as well suited to gain the favor of the public to them, as what gained the favour of the public to us, before they had a being.⁶⁷

Gradually the magazine developed a maturer attitude and either invited readers to make their own comparisons or playfully alluded to the fate of potential rivals. An example of the latter view appears in the following passage:

We have indeed, still imitators, but with them we have desisted to contend, and long left them to be broken by their own efforts against us, like a wave that dashes against the foot of a rock. Like a wave, indeed, they swell, foam and bellow, but the eye can scarce be fixed upon them before they disappear, and another and another, equally sounding, unsubstantial, and evanescent, arises and vanishes in the same noisy succession.⁶⁸

By the seventies and afterwards the magazine rarely mentioned rivals. So secure was management of its position in fact that it patronized papers that were just beginning.⁶⁹ Therefore, though the magazine did not initially have much competition, later rivals did help to keep management alert

and careful. However, as the nature of magazine competition changed, the threat lessened and the attitudes of the editors adjusted accordingly.

The magazine since its founding in 1731 had been able to survive the threats of time and competition. Management had successfully overcome procedural difficulties and in the seventies the following comment records once more that the idea, which remained basically unchanged, accounted for the magazine's success:

By pursuing invariably the original Plan of blending useful Knowledge with innocent Entertainment, the Editors have been enabled, by the Friends of Virtue, to stand the foremost among a Crowd of Competitors, and to maintain the Credit of their Work without flattering the Corruption of the Times, or administering to the Vices.⁷⁰

The following chapter attempts to analyze the nature of the magazine's form and format as well as to examine the criteria the editors used to fill that structure in order to show how management particularized the idea more concretely into a physical whole.

CHAPTER III

THE MAGAZINE

In the "Advertisement", March, 1731, the word, "magazine", appeared metaphorically to describe the nature of the founder's project.¹ Form was of great significance to the author for it gave shape and meaning to his undertaking. As the magazine had been constantly an uninterrupted publishing venture ever since its founding, each issue was the small part of a much larger whole, representing a continuation rather than a completion of the form. The following chapter discusses that magazine genre which became the adopted means of editorial communication.

The magazine originally contained two basic parts. The first had two sections: the "Weekly", then the "Poetical Essays". The second section, titled Trader's Monthly Intelligencer, contained information on many topics, generally "news" of a miscellaneous nature. Both sections balanced the motto, "Prodesse et delectare". Of the whole, the editors came to claim that it contained "More in Quantity and greater Variety than any Book of the Kind and Price".² Gradually over a period of time, however, the "Weekly Essays" gave way to the coverage of parliamentary debates and

to the inclusion of increased correspondence, while the poetry section yielded space to a growing feature, book reviews. The sections within the magazine, therefore, were not static.³

But, structured as a genre conceived by the founder, the magazine existed within certain space limitations, necessitated generally by economic considerations. While each issue up until 1783 contained about forty-eight to sixty pages, the editors continually felt hampered by a lack of space, a need they tried to meet in several different ways. They could: add a supplement, which they did in 1733;⁴ or propose a separate work to accept rejected materials, a measure attempted in the 1740's;⁵ or even expand the length of the magazine itself, as management finally did in 1783.⁶ Those solutions were fairly drastic for the Gentleman's even though the owners required the readers to bear the extra cost. More convenient at times was the method of serialization whereby the editors could continue a work in installments if desirable, a method which overcame space limitations fairly well and which even increased sales value by attracting, maintaining and prolonging reader interest.⁷ But the method was not generally applicable to every article nor could it accommodate all the material that the editors wished to include. Therefore, by definition, by the

limitations of economics and production techniques, the magazine had a rather prescribed form which, however, offered the editors a challenge that they met quickly and often successfully without seriously changing their original policy, features or substance.

The general solution was to edit. By means of selection, synthesization and arrangement of materials, the editors were able not only to accommodate materials to the magazine form but also to develop criteria that would help unify the work by providing direction as well as consistent and logical themes for the magazine.⁸ On the question of editing in the early period of the Gentleman's, C. L. Carlson comments that

The desire for completeness and a continuity of interest could easily have thwarted the editor of a serial which set the recording of a period as its goal. Fortunately, Cave realized that it was more important to include representative materials than to include all the material. Careful selection is evident in the Gentleman's from the first issue.⁹

Throughout the period the editors expressed that policy of selection in various ways. In 1747 they caution that

. . .the articles in our Magazine should not be such as may be gather'd from every stall, but new, or curious, relative to the design, and tending to general information.¹⁰

In 1780 this metaphorical comment records the fact that

. . .we are often at a loss what to adopt and

what to reject, and, in general, instead of extracting honey, as at first, from the fugitive flowers and blossoms of the month, or poison (as is the manner of some) from the baneful hemlock of the day, have little more merit than the industrious husbandman or gardener, who sows good seed in his ground, and clears it from weeds and vermin.¹¹

Clearly, editing posed some problems.

One method, chosen by the editors to overcome the difficulty and referred to in the "Advertisement", March, 1731, was abridgment.¹² Management was quite emphatic on what that word meant, for they remark:

Argument is the Chief Object of an Abridger.¹³

That meaning had a number of consequences on the inclusion of materials into the magazine. Firstly, the editors would reject materials that did not present an argument. For example, they note in this comment that

Our Correspondent, we hope, will excuse the omission of the introductory part of the above letter, as it did not materially affect the argument. The example adduced by way of illustration did not appear to us in point.¹⁴

Secondly, the editors selected those parts of articles that argued well. Referring to a letter that they planned to include, the editors affirm that

. . . we shall alter no part of it but that by which it is introduced, and that only to accommodate it to our own Magazine. The parts omitted are foreign to the question in dispute.¹⁵

The use of abridgment, depending as it did on arguments,

materially affected, therefore, the contents of the magazine.

The length of an item also determined its inclusion.

This comment records the fact that

Sometimes the Productions which we regret have no other Fault but the Length of them.¹⁶

Occasionally, despite the rejection of an article on account of its length, the editors could encourage a correspondent for his work and recommend publication elsewhere. For example, this notice claims that

. J.T.'s Letter cannot be admitted because of its extraordinary length. The Editors would recommend the printing of it in a Twelve-penny Pamphlet by itself. It is well written, and on an important subject.¹⁷

At times, the length of one article affected the acceptance of another. For example,

The letter from Gen. Lee to Gen. Burgoyne, on his arrival in America, was omitted, because that from Gen. Burgoyne, by way of answer, was found too long to accompany it. Other omissions of the same kind are to be accounted for on the like ground.¹⁸

But, if the length of a work affected editorial decisions when selecting, the editors could actually make room for articles if necessary.¹⁹ Referring to the seriousness of the American situation, this notice observes that

[finger pointer] The attention of the public being principally directed to the deliberations of parliament on this important crisis, the debates of the former sessions are unavoidably deferred, to make room for what has already passed in this.²⁰

Furthermore, the importance alone of a work affected editorial treatment of it. For example, this remark notes that

The following letter, addressed to Lord North, appears to be of the highest importance. It is therefore printed without abridgment.²¹

But the editors accentuated the importance of a work by once more making space. Referring to the Seven Years' War, this comment reveals that point:

The public events that have taken place during the last twelve months, are so numerous and so important, that more than the usual proportion of each number has been appropriated to record them.²²

The same statement is true concerning coverage of the American War although domestic events sometimes took precedence if the editors considered them important enough. For example, they point out that

[finger pointer] The importance of the above trial, and our desire to gratify our readers with the substance of it at once, has obliged us to postpone the Account of American Affairs, and the rather as our late advices from thence are not to be relied upon.²³

In addition, by the seventies most items of importance generally all had priority over the parliamentary debates and this comment became relatively frequent:

[finger pointer] The Parliamentary Debates of the present Sessions, which have been postponed this Month to make room for the above account, will commence in our next.²⁴

That notice shows that it was also a policy of the editors

to attempt to present materials "instantly".²⁵ This example makes that point clearer:

*** The conclusion of the Life of Lord Chesterfield is deferred, as less temporary than Mr. Burke's Letter on American affairs, from which, to gratify the impatience of the Public, we have inserted a large extract, p. 232.²⁶

Importance and timeliness from an editorial viewpoint, therefore, provided the editors with priorities which helped them to choose and to accommodate materials.

Related to timeliness in editorial considerations for the selection of materials was the factor of novelty. In 1741, the editors, referring to readers, made this claim:

They will, we hope, easily perceive that we pass by no Object of laudable Curiosity, omit no reigning Topic of Conversation, and forget no Matter that may instruct the present Age, or be useful to Posterity.²⁷

In 1782, they still held the same view. Referring to a proposed reprinting, they comment:

In the Work we now offer to the Publick, the original Compiler is known to have made every Thing that was new the first Object of his Care; nor have those who succeeded him been less attentive.²⁸

So in theory the editors selected what they considered to be novel. This comment notes that the same was true in practice:

The editors of the Gentleman's Magazine have from the begining [sic] been studious to announce to the public the discovery of every new invention,

and the improvements in every useful art; it is with pleasure therefore that they have been favoured with the following description of a machine to introduce a new mode of steering ships, which seems to promise great advantage.²⁹

Occasionally articles which were not new appeared in the magazine,³⁰ but the editors, referring to poetry contributions, had earlier asserted quite emphatically their policy towards such materials:

Again, we observe that some Pieces sent us are already printed, and we have not Satisfaction that others are entirely new; for tho' we have (indiscreetly perhaps, however undesignedly) disobliged some of our Correspondents, we are not at that low Ebb, to be under a necessity of inserting stale Pieces. . . .³¹

The editorial aim was to avoid repetition for

Serious subjects, though ever so well written, if long continued, are apt to grow tiresome to the generality of readers, who are pleased only with novelty.³²

Therefore, quite frequently notices such as the following would appear:

So much has already been said on Wheel-Carriages, that any farther illustration seems unnecessary.³³

Such comment generally and effectively cut off discussion on the topic in question.

At times, however, the editors did include for specific reasons articles they acknowledged were not new or original. Sometimes, they recognized essential differences

in an author's treatment of subject. Referring to one such item the editors comment that

** These accounts are copied verbatim from Pen-
nant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds; a book well worth
the perusal of the curious in Natural History, as
that author has differed in some essential points
from every other in his manner of classing the
quadrupeds.³⁴

Sometimes, too, the editors tried to justify rationally the inclusion of material that was no longer novel. Thus this remark appears on the debates:

It must indeed be owned, that the Debates in Par-
liament, since they have been retailed genuine day
after day in the newspapers, have become much less
interesting than when formerly fabricated "by Dr.
Johnson in his garret". Yet though they may be
thought stale for the present, they every year be-
come more and more important, as a register to be
consulted on future occasions.³⁵

Novelty, therefore, in all its aspects, was another signi-
ficant factor in the editorial process of the Gentleman's.

Though timeliness and novelty were important cri-
teria, so was accuracy. The latter, however, sometimes re-
quired time. In that respect, the magazine had the advan-
tage over newspapers for the former had more of an interval
to prepare and to present their materials accurately and
succinctly. Thus the editors could claim that

our labours may justly be considered as some-
thing more than a brief chronicle of the times
- they are authentic materials for future his-
torians.³⁶

J. M. Kuist considers that the editors were generally too busy to check factual information,³⁷ yet the commentary within the magazine shows a high degree of editorial activity in that respect. One example demonstrates the nature of that editorial care and concern for accuracy:

Having about the year 1777 received a letter from Norwich, with an account of the extraordinary powers of a child of two years old in playing upon the organ, we deferred publishing the particulars till the fact should be better authenticated. We have now the pleasure of entertaining our readers with a narrative of what Dr. Burney calls an uncommon exertion of the human faculties at a more early period of life than they usually develop.³⁸

The year of publication was 1779. Accuracy, therefore, was important and the editors involved themselves in its pursuit.

Accuracy formed a relationship with an editorial desire for intelligibility, another factor in the editorial process. The "Advertisement", March, 1731, expressed the hope that the project would be intelligible.³⁹ Logically, the editors would want to make every effort to accomplish that aim, but the task was difficult, a fact the editors often admitted. For example, referring to the organization of the material in the Historical Chronicle, they indicate that

Where facts are numerous and various, method in arranging them seems indispensable in order to their being readily referred to; but while facts

remain undetermined, and are every day differing in their circumstances, arrangement is impossible to be preserved.⁴⁰

Not only the availability of accurate facts but also the presence of other criteria such as the importance or timeliness of a certain item tended to thwart attempts for intelligibility. The parliamentary debates suffered that fate of confusion, and comments such as the following two remarks attempted to restore order, sometimes without success.

Some temporary Debates having intervened, we shall now resume the Proceedings in Parliament in their regular Order, from November 26.⁴¹

See the conclusion of this Debate accurately stated in our Magazine for March last.⁴²

Such confusion seriously affected chronological continuity and intelligibility.

To pursue that point further, in the earlier period the editors were not adverse to altering pieces submitted to them for the sake of intelligibility or, more specifically, of style. Their rationale appears in this notice:

. . .if we sometimes (tho' we seldom have occasion) take the Liberty to endeavour to cloath them better, to give them a freer Air, an easier Turn, and a more polite Address, that they may be agreeable to the many Persons eminent for their Learning, Wit and Quality, who are our Readers, how can their Authors justly blame us?⁴³

Generally, the editors, however, remained satisfied in indicating weaknesses in style or in stating stylistic conditions for accepting articles. Two examples will demonstrate their

concern for both clarity and polish. The first, referring to an article on the voyages of the ship, Resolution, points out that

For a perfect Delineation of the Track of the Resolution the reader is referred to the annexed Map, in which, to avoid confusion, the Track of the Adventure is omitted.⁴⁴

The second is rather self-explanatory:

We have received a letter signed Nicholas Gimcrack, requesting us to take from the newspapers what he calls "A dispute respecting the criminality of killing insects for curiosity." He says, "In the course of this dispute, two or three pieces have appeared which merit preservation in some literary collection", but we are sorry to say, that we cannot be of his opinion: the dispute is feebly managed, and the subject of it imperfectly represented even in the very letter which recommends it to our notice.⁴⁵

The editors, therefore, did take into consideration elements of style when selecting and synthesizing material.

The editors were also aware of the necessity of orderly arrangement to convey intelligibility, a fact particularly evident in their use of juxtaposition. Referring to the earlier period, C. L. Carlson says that

The essays from each journal were grouped together and arranged in chronological order, thus giving a rapid view of the discussions in each through the month.⁴⁶

Examples from the seventies show the editors engaged in the same methods. One means was to withhold material in order to present it at a later time with similar articles for the

sake of comparison. The practice is evident in this comment:

[finger pointer] A curious paper on Bees has been received, and shall be compared with that published by Debraw, in Phil. Trans. and what is new in both comprised in our next.⁴⁷

The following example has even wider ramifications than the purpose of comparison.

94. I. A Sermon on Numbers xxiii. 23. Preached Monday, April 21, 1777, on laying the Foundation of the new Chapel near the City Road, London. By John Wesley. pp. 47. 6d. Fry.
 II. Imposture detected, and the Dead vindicated. In a Letter to a Friend. Containing some gentle Strictures on the false and libellous Harangue lately delivered by Mr. John Wesley, upon his laying the first Stone of his Dissenting Meeting-House, near the City Road. By Rowland Hill, M.A. pp. 40. 6d. Valance.
 III. An Answer to Mr. Rowland Hill's Tract entitled Imposture detected. By John Wesley, M.A. pp. 12. 2d. Fry.
 IV. A Rod for a Reviler; or, a full Answer to Mr. Rowland Hill's Letter, entitled Imposture detected. By Thomas Olivers. pp. 64. 6d. Fry.
 V. A full Answer to the Rev. J. Wesley's Remarks upon a late pamphlet published in Defence of the Characters of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and others. By Rowland Hill, M.A. 6p. pp. 45. Valance.⁴⁸

The example reveals that the editors presented the items chronologically to show the development in the criticism of the subject. By waiting and gathering together the available materials, the editors have used juxtaposition to present clearly and intelligently coverage at one time which from their viewpoint also is succinct and important, timely

and novel. Finally, their method reveals a desire for comprehensiveness and variety which form other factors affecting editorial decisions in selecting material.

In that last respect, the editors selected and included articles for a general reading public. This policy statement makes that clear:

. . . sometimes in the Pieces which we receive, though written with great Accuracy, such Subjects are treated as are by no means agreeable to the bulk of our Readers.⁴⁹

One way of achieving that aim was thus to present a variety of materials, and that factor became another criterion in the editorial process. They note that

Our Readers, we believe, will do us the justice to acknowledge, that no means have been left unattempted to make room for variety. . . .⁵⁰

Therefore, the editors also rejected materials which did not meet the requirement of variety as this comment indicates:

The Editor would willingly have complied with this gentleman's request, but the nature of a Magazine will not admit of so great a proportion of it to be on one subject.⁵¹

To meet the "nature" of a miscellany, the editors attempted to be comprehensive which is an extended aim of being varied. The desire to be comprehensive led the editors to include new and different materials. For example, re-

ferring to the book section they point out that

The Review of New Books is on a plan that is equally liberal and extensive; and through the whole of this undertaking, as it has been our ambition to meet the good taste of an indulgent publick, we have the unspeakable pleasure to find that our endeavours have been successful.⁵²

A desire for comprehensiveness implied a wish for completeness and the editors often added work to round out a story. Thus an article which appeared in the October, 1777, issue⁵³ sought to develop the geographical area affecting a British campaign in America.

However, completeness and even comprehensiveness were generally impossible because of above-mentioned space limitations, so the editors adopted the technique of selecting "specimens". Comments, such as the following one, alluding to the American situation, are quite frequent:

The following addresses, among many others lately presented to the King, are selected as specimens of the opposite modes of treatment recommended to his Majesty, with respect to the Americans on the present critical occasion.⁵⁴

Generally, though, the specimens chosen represented items of interest to the editors. The "Autobiography", relating to coverage of debates by the Gentleman's and the London, concedes that fact in this way:

. . .as neither party could undertake to publish the whole debates we each reported what struck us respectively as most important or likely to be most interesting to the public.⁵⁵

That sentiment, furthermore, is applicable to the whole editorial process.

Thus the ultimate criterion was an editorial wish to communicate and preserve worthy ideas and information. The following notice, referring to an article titled "A full REPORT of the Speeches of the Council in the Case of the King and Woodfall; together with what has already dropt from the Judges upon that Cause", offers this comment:

. Some important Cases respecting the Liberty of the Press and the Privilege of Juries, having come before the Court of K.B. to be argued during the Course of the present Month; a summary of the Arguments on those subjects must be of use to be referred to, when the Common News-papers from whence they are taken, are not to be purchased.⁵⁶

Furthermore, editorial concern focussed on the propriety and impartiality of the materials communicated. Generally, propriety referred to balance, decorum, moderation, and the editors rejected materials that did not meet those standards. For example, this statement notes that

A.M. of Norwich, though his Project is not destitute of just reasoning, it is yet too fanciful for the present times.⁵⁷

What the editors, therefore, were preserving was material proper from their viewpoint. Despite claims of impartiality all their criteria, in its implicit rejection of material because of certain established policies plus their synthesization and arrangement of the same for similar reasons, ex-

pressed editorial opinion which flavoured whatever they included in the magazine.

The criteria and methods used by the editors to define more explicitly and to implement more fully their idea often affected the inclusion and presentation of material simultaneously. The following analysis examines one particular case to show not only how the editorial process worked as a whole but also how that method of thinking and editing affected the literature which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine. One of the important events in the late sixties and early seventies of the eighteenth century was the publication of the Junius letters.⁵⁸ Junius was the most forceful and mysterious of the attackers on government. But apart from his political opinion and satire, Junius possessed exceptional literary abilities that earned him a high reputation for his prose style, for his works of literature.

Junius made his first appearance in the periodical press of his day via the Public Advertiser, its issue for Saturday, January 21, 1769; he first appeared reprinted in the February, 1769, issue of the Gentleman's Magazine.⁵⁹ The editors of the Gentleman's did not print all of the letters of Junius, and on some of those letters they exercised cuts for various reasons. For example, the most famous

Junius letter was his address to King George III, letter No. 35, which appeared in the Public Advertiser, its issue for December 19, 1769. That letter immediately made its appearance in the December, 1769, issue of the Gentleman's. Although the letter met necessary editorial criteria such as those ones of importance, timeliness and novelty, the editors prefaced its reprinting in the magazine with this comment:

As a late extraordinary Address to his M - y has excited the Curiosity of all ranks of People, we have thought it our duty to gratify our readers with such Parts of it as we are perswaded can give no Offence.⁶⁰

Decorum and propriety with perhaps an awareness of the legal implications for libel overruled editorial concern for impartiality.

"Junius's Letter to his Grace the Duke of G - n" serves as a more specific example of editorial treatment of such literary works. The letter appeared first in the Public Advertiser for June 22, 1771, and the editors of the Gentleman's reprinted it in their June, 1771, issue.⁶¹ Republication was, therefore, immediate and timely. Furthermore, the letter, filling the reverse side of the title-page for June's magazine, has a primary position in that issue, a fact also indicating importance and prominence from an editorial viewpoint.

A comparison with the H. S. Woodfall edition (1772) of the Junius Letters reveals that the editors did abridge the letter, but they did not indicate by means of asterisks or otherwise any important editorial deletions. The letter, therefore, appeared seemingly as an unabridged whole except for the omission of letters in proper names, a practice the editors were using fairly consistently at the time.⁶² The edited parts are, however, quite sizable.

As the letter rather tightly fills one full page, the possibility exists that space limitations predicated the deletions. Further examination, however, reveals some similarities between the edited parts, a fact that indicates that the editors omitted certain passages for specific reasons. For example, paragraph one in the original letter contains an attack on the King:

While I remember how much is due to his sacred character, I cannot, with any decent appearance of propriety, call you the meanest and the basest fellow in the kingdom.

Paragraph 4 in the original has a similar unflattering reference.

Other omissions occur. For example, one of those edited portions vaguely refers in paragraph six to a political intrigue. Yet the deletion definitely makes the short,

terse sentence, "But in Murder you are both principals", a more effective conclusion to that paragraph by sustaining and emphasizing in its stark and blunt accusation the horror mentioned just previously by the author. Similarly, in paragraph seven, the omission of the word, "office", avoids the original's redundancy with its use just earlier of the phrase, "business of the day". Furthermore, the omission restores the balance the author had originally tried to establish by the two phrases beginning with the verb, "to relieve". Without pursuing stylistics further the deletions noted in paragraphs six and seven of the letter appear to be editorial efforts to perfect the style of an author's work. At times, as those examples show, the editors are rather successful.

In effect, the editors have generally preserved the satiric tone of the original letter. The wit of Junius is forcefully yet subtly evident in every paragraph. Of special note is the effective insinuation of the conclusion regarding Lord Weymouth's drinking habits. The clever turn of the cliché, "Yet he must have Bread, my Lord", to, "- or rather, he must have Wine", is especially telling not only because of the author's control but also because of his suddenness, proceeding as he does from a playful to a biting tone.⁶³

But the editors have definitely weakened the original letter by omitting the references to the King. They blunt the scope and the sharpness of the attack, a fact which implies editorial sympathies with moderate tastes and with traditional establishment values. The practice seriously affects their claims not only to the impartiality but also to the literary merit of their work. Altering a writer's material in that way introduces the factor of dual authorship which can lead to contradictions and cross-purposes which in turn affect both the tone and unity of a piece of literature. Such is the result in the abridgment of the Junius letter. All the editorial criteria and methods imply the same conclusion. The nature and unity of the magazine as a whole tended to sacrifice the specific and general overall aims of individual authors to the tenets of editorial policy. In some ways the editors attempted to deny individuality in making the contributions or materials of others conform to their policy. The conforming process on the whole is, therefore, rather devastating in its use of arbitrary power, even of deception, and yet rather necessary from an editorial viewpoint in order to provide the magazine with direction and to unify the idea that would ensure success.

What follows is an examination of the nature of the

audience of the Gentleman's and of possible reasons why the magazine had such an appeal for that public. Readers were aware of editorial attempts to flavour coverage by means of editing and commenting. They responded accordingly with suggestions and criticisms. Yet the editors had other means of influencing opinion of which readers were not aware, methods that even more seriously compromised editorial claims to impartiality but which gave the magazine a character and personality of its own. The above factors are what the following chapter attempts to present and analyze.

CHAPTER IV

THE READER

The editors of the Gentleman's Magazine interested themselves in appealing to general and varied tastes. "Such is the Plan of our Magazine", they affirm,

that it must necessarily bear the stamp of the times, and the political historical and miscellaneous parts, dilate or contract in proportion to the diversity and zeal of parties, the number and importance of events, and the reigning taste for literary entertainment.¹

Similarly, they boast:

That we are so fortunate as to gratify, even beyond all others, the prevailing taste, without flattering its corruption, cannot be controverted, and that we shall continue the same attention, need not be questioned.²

On the question of taste in the eighteenth century, A. Aronson notes:

As to the exact meaning of the word, there was considerable disagreement. . . . Such a disagreement is of more than semantic significance; it reflects an evolution representative of eighteenth-century thought, from the Augustan emphasis on external form, polished conduct, and urbanity, to philosophical speculation and an increasingly analytical approach to moral problems.³

He concludes:

The problem of Taste, indeed, was to them an essentially human problem which most vitally concerned the common man's attitude to social conduct and his integrity of character. Pro-

blems related to behaviour were, throughout the eighteenth century, morally determined.⁴

The Gentleman's, therefore, by Aronson's definition involved itself with a general eighteenth-century idea, the concept of taste.

Early in the magazine's history the editors had reprinted this comment:

So much depends on a true Taste, with regard to eloquence and even morality, that no one can be properly stil'd a gentleman who takes not every opportunity to enrich his own capacity, and settle the elements of Taste which he may improve at leisure. It heightens every science, and is the polish of every virtue; the friend of society, and the guide to knowledge; tis the improvement of pleasure and the test of merit, it enlarges the circle of enjoyment and refines upon happiness. . . .

The article continues:

a good taste. . .comprehends the whole circle of civility and good manners, and regulates life and conduct as well as theory and speculation.⁵

The magazine's management considered it important to maintain that attitude.

The London Magazine's editors thought otherwise, and they decided upon a different course in 1770, a course of action which sought a debased, popular taste. Their "Preface" for 1771 unashamedly presents their goal thus:

Magazines if well conducted will always prove barometers of the times, and shew how the spir-

it of politicks, of religion, of gallantry, and of other pursuits rises or sinks. The proprietors, meaning to play a winning game, will naturally consult the publick taste; and never mistaking or neglecting it but to their own loss, will thro' necessity soon return into the popular vortex.

"Some will perhaps blame us here", they continue,

for deviating in some measure from the original plan of this work, and not strictly keeping our word with the publick. But let them not be too hasty in condemning. It is not we but the publick that have made the alterations in the London Magazine. We are in a great measure passive, and act as instruments in the hands of the nation. If it calls for divinity, we give divinity; if it requires politicks, we publish politicks. If love-stories be the mode, we become historians of gallantry; and if antiquities be the fashion, we commence antiquarians. In short, as far as virtue and decorum will permit, we are whatever our readers please.⁶

The Gentleman's, on the contrary, could not forsake its integrity quite so boldly. Significantly, under the new policy, the London Magazine had ceased to exist by 1785.

Although the Gentleman's also sought to satisfy a general taste, the magazine's managers were slightly more discriminating than those of the London.⁷ Firstly, the Gentleman's did not cater to the taste of the town and invariably published for country readers as this comment, referring to dramatic works, makes apparent:

It is not easy to give such an epitome of these pieces as will enable our readers to determine whether the different fate they suffered was the effect of justice or caprice, or whether the pub-

lick voice was directed by the merits of the author or the actors, some account however will be expected by our distant friends, for whom we have always extracted these important events from dramatic history.⁸

Secondly, the main appeal was to gentlemen. Note this remark:

As we designed this work not only for general use, but also for the entertainment of Gentleman who have well furnished libraries, it has been our aim to exhibit variety with novelty. . . .⁹

As the "Autobiography" affirms:

Suffice it to say that I was born a "Gentleman", - a designation which, whilst it has lost in a great measure the distinctive sense which it possessed at the time of my birth, as denoting a particular grade in society, has gained in a higher degree in what may be termed its moral character. . . .¹⁰

From Sylvanus Urban's point of view, therefore, magazine publishing was a means of co-operating and communicating between gentlemen.

The magazine's editors, however, had established attitudes to other groups of people besides gentlemen. Referring to women they note:

We have been told, that a due regard has not been shewn to our Fair Readers. . . .that there is little or none of that fine sprightly kind of composition calculated to kill time, and furnish fashionable conversation. . . . And perhaps (though we can boast of some of the first female names in Europe among our regular correspondents) this complaint is not wholly groundless.¹¹

Furthermore, a fair amount of content in the magazine di-

rected towards children and students reveals editorial attempts to appeal to youth.¹² The editors were not, however, primarily concerned with women or the young.

More specifically, who are those people to whom the editors appealed? An answer to that question lies in a discussion of the identity of correspondents. The editors sometimes did not know who their correspondents were, as this statement seemingly indicates:

Much the great part of these contributors conceal themselves with such secrecy, that we correspond only with them by the Magazine; and can make no other than this public acknowledgment for favours, which are equally the support and honour of our collection.¹³

Referring to the early period, C. L. Carlson notes that good reasons existed for anonymity:

In those days when suppression was inevitable, should anything hostile to the government appear in a news-sheet, anonymity was all too frequently a rule with both editors and contributors.¹⁴

Let, however, a correspondent himself speak to the question:

Mr. Urban, / I am well pleased that Mr. Sharpe has answered my objections with candour; it is a mark of true urbanity: and I consider his giving up his name and place of abode as a kind of pledge, that he, as well as myself, has the good of the public in view; on which account I am almost tempted to give him mine; but several reasons forbid, amongst which diffidence of my abilities is not the least. But I hope he will not let this circumstance deprive me of the pleasure, and the public of the benefit, that may accrue from his answers to my objections: for I promise him, I would not, if in

my power, avail myself thereby of any advantage that an open amicable disputant ought not to take. It is not victory that I seek, but a clear and indisputable rebuttal of the objections. . . .¹⁵

But the editors did know the real identity of many of their correspondents as they acknowledge here:

Names of the most distinguished eminence have honoured this work with essays on subjects of importance; and some of them we could point out, who have had the rare felicity of instructing and amusing the publick during the whole existence of our Miscellany, a period now within the verge of half a century.¹⁶

In addition, the editors acknowledged the fact that gentlemen wrote to the magazine¹⁷ as well as women¹⁸ and even children,¹⁹ though the last two groups made only rare appearances. Furthermore, the editors rarely accepted materials from the lower classes. As A. Aronson comments,

Eighteenth-century journalists unanimously rejected the "vulgar" taste of the "multitude" and the "artificial" or "false" Taste of the aristocracy. It is significant, however, that they hardly ever concerned themselves seriously with the lower strata of society.²⁰

The following example represents an exception and most likely the editors paid attention to the correspondent because of his pitiful and unusual circumstances:

Mr. Urban, As I am a new correspondent, it will be necessary to acquaint you who I am; otherwise the following questions may appear to you and your readers mean and insignificant, and not worthy your nor their attention. I am a blind man, and have been so upwards of 31 years, and never knew either letter or figure. Since my

blindness, I have (for my amusement) applied my memory to calculation, and the following, with many more, are the product thereof. As I am destitute of those qualifications requisite to publications, request you will rectify such impropriety of expression as may appear to you necessary. I am, Sir, your humble servant, NOAH (his X mark) Girlin / Master of the Cyder-Press inn, at Woodbridge, in the county of Suffolk.²¹

Generally, the editors attempted to appeal to learned persons, for, as they observe, referring to science contributions,

While so many men of unquestionable erudition and abilities, too elevated to be bribed, too distant to be courted, unite in one design of propagating science by our vehicle, we have little to dread from competitors. . . .²²

As the century progressed the editors tended to appeal to an even more specialized audience, mostly antiquarians, yet this disclaimer attempts to qualify their position:

But it is not to the Antiquary alone, however respectable, that the Editors ought to devote their attention. The Philosopher, the Historian, the Physician, the Critic, the Poet, the Divine, and above all the Public, have an undoubted claim to the utmost exertion of their abilities.²³

Significantly, all the occupations they list are learned professions and the addition of the "Public" seems only a general afterthought.

One example will suffice to show the type of person who wrote to the magazine. The Reverend Dr. Samuel

Pegge, the Elder, (1705-1796), LL.D., F.S.A., classical scholar, landed gentleman, clubman, priest in the Church of England, family man, biographer, antiquarian, author and editor among other interests contributed to the Gentleman's nearly three hundred articles over a period of fifty years from 1746-1795.²⁴ Although Pegge signed his articles numerous ways,²⁵ the editors did know of his identity and in fact corresponded with him and sought his advice.²⁶ He, therefore, epitomized the eighteenth-century gentleman who found the Gentleman's appealing and who responded accordingly by assiduously reading and contributing to it.

Such people as Pegge and other gentlemen were important to the magazine not only for their financial support but also for their contributions and advice.²⁷ Sometimes a few of those people performed a regular function such as supplying the Meteorological Diary,²⁸ but more often correspondents responded as the situation arose, a fact that pleased both the readers and the editors.²⁹ In fact, the editors attributed part of their success to correspondents. Witness this comment:

To our correspondence we impute our superiority, not only with pleasure but with pride; for we are more flattered by the contributions which we receive from others, than we could be by any success that might attend what was our own. We have nothing to hope or desire, but a continuance of this literary bounty, which we shall, by every means in our power, labour incessantly to deserve.³⁰

However, to reiterate, the editors do admit that

The most difficult Part of our Task remains; an Apology to those who may feel hurt at their Productions not appearing in Print. To such we can only say, that, in Cases where Articles are wholly improper, we regularly point them out; but that all others are intended to be used, till the Press of fresh Correspondence becomes so great, that, large and crowded as our Pages are, and small as is our Type, we are often unable to find Room for what we esteem truly valuable. We have, therefore, to request Indulgence on this Head; and to beg that our Friends will be as concise as the Subject will admit, and avoid, wherever they can, superfluous Controversy.³¹

That statement reveals, therefore, that the editors were in control of the situation and that their opinions ultimately directed the magazine.

The basic principle, however, which contributed to the success of the magazine from the public's viewpoint was that of co-operation on all levels. For example, the editors realized the value of the magazine in helping to acquaint correspondents with each other and to induce them to work together. Such realization is evident in this comment:

By this friendly intercourse, the contributors become as it were, acquainted - the powers, pursuits and principles, the character and genius, writings, and discoveries of each, are known to his contemporaries.³²

The editors were a significant factor in this co-operation and the following comment reveals somewhat the formal nature of their assistance.

The copy of J. W.'s antient parchment is communicated to the gentleman alluded to, who, if explicable, will probably explain it.³³

Co-operation, therefore, greatly facilitated the stability and growth of the magazine and furthermore helped legitimize its role in communications as a valid conveyor of opinion as well as to unify purpose by bringing together many varied interests.

But the editors brought upon themselves the great amount of material by constantly soliciting information and articles from correspondents. In one instance they request that

If any Thing farther be thought, by our Correspondents, necessary to compleat our Plan, to which we have from Year to Year made Additions, we continue to hope for Advice and Information; for we are not yet so much elated by Success, as to imagine that we have attained Perfection.³⁴

Thus, the editors at times asked for additional information, corroborative evidence and new viewpoints in order to produce a more complete magazine.³⁵

The readers of the magazine were quite forward, however, in supplying not only information but also suggestions. The editors recognize the need for the same in this manner:

That the Gentleman's Magazine is not yet arrived to that degree of utility of which a work

on so extensive a plan is capable, every day's experience evinces. To the numerous Correspondents, of whose assistance the Editors may justly boast; others, who still find something wanting, are continually adding their contributions to supply the defects.³⁶

Generally speaking the editors followed through and acted upon the hints as this example indicates:

A copy of the Following Ode, with several Faults, having stolen into another Magazine, we are desired, in justice to the ingenious Author, to present the reader with one more correct.³⁷

Occasionally they might print something such as the following:

†† The Gentleman who communicated the Plan in our last for a Reform in the Army, being solicitous to preserve in our Magazine his preliminary Address to Lord Barrington, as in that the Reasons on which his Plan is grounded are set forth; it is with Pleasure that we comply with his Request, hoping that at a proper Time the whole will be taken into Consideration.³⁸

That comment with its use of the expression, "proper Time", and of the word, "Consideration", tellingly reveals that the editors were not amenable to every suggestion and they felt no compulsion, either, to include every "Request".

Yet response from readers was not only welcome in general but also acceptable as a good indication of their opinion of the magazine's policies and practices as well as its appeal. Furthermore means existed whereby correspondents could almost ensure the acceptance of their work, for readers

were constantly aware of the editors' plan and they sometimes tried the technique of intimidation,³⁹ but if that method failed to secure access to the magazine they usually resorted to another means. A. W. Hutton presents the case thus:

a true way to an editor's heart is neither learning nor ability, nor any nonsense of that kind, but simply flattery.⁴⁰

Hutton overstates the point and correspondents were not necessarily so obsequious but the following two comments reveal the nature of their approach:

Mr. Urban, / I send the following paper to your Magazine, in preference to any other, as it has been the constant channel, thro' which the inventions of the ingenious have been communicated to the public. I am, Sir, yours, J.B.⁴¹

Mr. Urban, / The following letter, which I take to be an original, accidentally falling into my hands, and containing in it something curious, may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to some of your readers, and consequently not altogether unworthy a place in your useful Magazine. I shall make no comments upon it, to enforce either belief or disbelief; let every one enjoy his own opinion: you print from the naked original, and that's sufficient on your part. W.W.⁴²

The readers, therefore, knew how to express themselves to gain editorial favour, or at least, the editors admitted the comment of those persons who could use the technique well.

Part of the response of readers and editors to each other represented a gentlemanly game, a conventional mode of

behaviour and expression. As. R. D. Mayo affirms,

Most editors, in addressing their readers, adopted the courtly and deferential air associated with the genteel traditions in journalism.⁴³

That statement is true some of the time but not always.

Generally the editors could be polite, a sentiment noticeable in this acknowledgment:

We thank J.B. for his friendly hint.⁴⁴

But, "Mr. Burlington's blunders", they barked,

do not come within the limits of our work. We have cautioned our readers generally against literary impositions; but have neither room nor inclination to descend to particulars.⁴⁵

Moreover,

T. Jones's Ode on Christmas day is little better than the Exhibition of a school-boy of the third or fourth class.⁴⁶

Finally, with rustic gusto, this comment providentializes:

* * A Country Gentleman, a great philanthropist, among other improvements for the benefit of the poor, suggests a method of continuing the milk of cows, without ceasing, from their first calving. . . . Supposing the fact to be true, which, however, we much doubt, Quere, Whether the increase of milk would not be counterbalanced by the decrease of flesh? And our correspondent is left to determine which an English labourer would sooner part with, his beef or his pudding.⁴⁷

Such opinions with those implied by editorial criteria raise serious doubts as to the impartiality of the editors.

The editors, themselves, expressed their own working definition of impartiality in this way:

. . . we will in that part of the work which is our own, however small, inviolately preserve the strictest regard to truth, and relate whatever is alleged in any contest that excites the public attention, and whatever events may bring honour or disgrace upon those who shall transact the public affairs of this kingdom, with the most dispassionate impartiality, equally uninfluenced both by hope and fear, without attachment to any party or implicit confidence in any person.⁴⁸

Generally, the editors were tolerant in allowing controversy, but they also reserved the right to express their own opinions at the same time as this comment indicates:

. Tho' our impartiality would not suffer us to suppress this letter, yet we cannot help remarking the slender grounds upon which the author arrogates to his nation the honour of this invention. A single fact, which he reports from hear-say, is to overthrow the authentic testimony of the whole British Legislature - Very modest truly!⁴⁹

Once again, the editors expressed their ultimate say very firmly for supposedly very impartial persons.

Part of the forcefulness of their comments was a result of the equally great pressure exerted by correspondents, each expressing a slightly different viewpoint desirous of exerting its own influence. The editors amusingly collated and gathered some of those varied opinions together in the form of imaginary letters in the "Preface" for the 1755 yearly volume. One example shows the nature and exertion of the ideas of readers. A person whom the editors call "Jack Dactyl" vociferates thus:

. . .but d -- n it why doest fill four or five pages of thy book every month with the dreams of those old wizards the antiquarians? What the devil have we to do with old scraps of stone, which some of our Gothic ancestors scratched a face upon that would disgrace a barber's block?⁵⁰

Significantly, the editors ended that "Preface" with this conclusion:

Such is the various advice which the Editor of the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE perpetually receives; from the whole tenor of which he thinks he may fairly infer, that his present plan ought to be pursued without the least alteration.⁵¹

Despite that unequivocal statement readers continued to exert pressure, but generally their efforts were only successful if the editors happened to agree with their hints.

Advice, however, could be more strident than the polite suggestion or even than the passionate appeal, and could in fact take the form of vigorous criticism which would have involved the editors in some controversy which they, however, were very eager to avoid. For example, one correspondent wrote this comment with an editorial footnote attached:

Mr. Urban, / I must beg leave, through the channel of your Magazine, to address a few lines to the unknown person who has so candidly* replied to my strictures on Mr. Davis's pamphlet against Mr. Gibbon. As the polite composer of this elegant epistle has honoured me with the imputation of ignorance, of prejudice, of vanity, and of assistance; I shall not, I trust, be censured for troubling your readers with an explanation of my own letter, and with a few observations upon his.

*We would recommend moderation, in controversy,
to our correspondents in general. Edit.⁵³

Editorial advice to avoid controversy, however, did not prohibit the admittance and rebuttal of criticism, for in one sense that kind of interaction could be of a great benefit to both editors and readers if the results improved the magazine from their respective viewpoints.

Of such criticism in general the editors commented:

But, notwithstanding every advantage in our favour, we cannot boast that our work is carried on without complaints. . . .the utmost impartiality cannot escape party censure.⁵⁴

Readers had complaints about the magazine and its contents. They also engaged in arguments with the Reviewers, expressed differences over books, about editorial inaccuracy, selection and editing among many other things. Sometimes they levelled very serious charges indeed and to those accusations the editors devoted some attention. For example, one special case occurs in the August, 1775, issue of the Gentleman's Magazine.⁵⁶ Of the criticisms expressed in that letter, three are basic. Firstly, the magazine propagates lies. Secondly, it misrepresents the facts often slanderously. Finally, the periodical repays favours with arrogance. Thus the correspondent basically criticizes the magazine's editorial methods. For example, in paragraph four of the letter, he accuses the editors of including one article to the

exclusion of another.

The editors took great pains to reply. In so doing they reveal to the correspondent and to the scholar the policies of the magazine and the real circumstances behind editorial methods. The reply to the charge in the first paragraph is that

The Editors of the Gentleman's Magazine utterly disclaim all party partialities whatever, and never did, nor ever will, knowingly, make it the Vehicle of Party Lies, or Party Paragraphs.

The key word in that statement is the term, "knowingly", for the editor in paragraph three makes it clear that in the inclusion of an article he "had no reason to doubt the truth of it". Furthermore the editors in paragraph seven respond to the charge of inaccuracy quite judiciously, honestly admitting their error and promising amends. Their last statement in fact redeems the editors from the criticisms of arrogance and harshness which are apparent in some of their earlier responses to the letter.

The bite of their comment, however, is all too often present for editors who claim impartiality. Even on the general occasions when the editors graciously appeal to readers to judge of criticisms for themselves, the editorial presence is quite prevalent. The following remark, referring to another correspondent's accusations, is a classic

example of such editorial influence:

[finger pointer] The Editors of this Magazine submit the contents of this letter to the impartial public; and are of opinion, that the abuse contained in it against themselves and their correspondents is as virulent as any of which the writer so grievously complains. We know of no scurrilous publications; we admit of none in the Gentleman's Magazine against any persons learned or unlearned. We lay before the public such papers as our correspondents are pleased to communicate to us, with an impartial care. Strictures upon books and authors are, and ever were, the right of the public. Every man who is a buyer is entitled to the privilege of declaring his sentiments of the merits or demerits of the book for which he pays his money. It is this right that entitles our correspondent to censure us, and those of our correspondents who differ from him in points of controversy, with such severity. We are happy, however, in having no correspondent of a malevolent disposition, not doubting but that the writer can clear himself of that odious charge.⁵⁷

One does not associate words and phrases such as "abuse", "virulent", "grievously complains", "scurrilous", "severity", "malevolent disposition", and "odious charge" with impartial editors, for those expressions, used in their above context, represent mental attitudes, preferences, that form barriers complete with their own logic which help distinguish one side from another. The whole, therefore, is not impartial by definition, but the comment quoted demonstrates in another instance that virtually nowhere within the magazine is a reader free from editorial influence. Furthermore, one can identify, define and analyze that influence.

As to influence, none was or could be used,

nor was any intended.⁵⁸

Though that assertion refers to the founding of the magazine, it basically represents the general editorial attitudes presented to the eighteenth-century reader of the Gentleman's Magazine. But if the editors had various criteria to help in the editing of materials, they also had preferences for subjects, preferences that revealed themselves in the inclusion of materials as a result of the criteria established at the founding and developed and maintained during the long history of the magazine.

One such preference was for politics, yet after the first flush of success occasioned by coverage of the parliamentary debates, the editors had this to say:

. . .under a Form of Government like ours, which makes almost every Man a secondary Legislator, Politicks may justly claim a more general Attention than where the People have no other Duty to practise than Obedience, and where to examine the Conduct of their Superiors, would be to disturb their own Quiet, without Advantage, yet it must be owned, that Life requires many other Considerations, and that Politicks may be said to usurp the Mind, when they leave no Room for any other Subject.⁵⁹

That remark appears logical enough considering editorial aims for comprehensiveness and variety, but the following comment, referring to the European turmoil surrounding the French Revolution, expresses stronger views that represent editorial opinions towards politics totally undisguised:

When the World around him [the "Compiler"] is in Confusion; when "the Nations rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing, the Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Princes take Counsel together;" with Astonishment and an impartial Eye he sees the absurd Doctrine of the Rights of Men, and of turning loose into a State of Equality Men who have no more Idea of Liberty than Infants have of being left to go alone, or are no more to be trusted than the Tenants of Bedlam or Newgate. For of this Axiom he is firmly convinced, that the torpid Greenlander, the indolent Turk, the placid Hindoo, the ferocious Cossack, and the stupid Negro, the more flippant Frenchman, and the self sufficient Chinese, have not the same Idea of Liberty, or the same Talents for using or improving it, with his brave and generous Countrymen; - consequently, all Men are not equal in their natural or acquired Advantages. . . . In giving his Sentiments on These Topicks with Freedom, he has borne his Testimony as a true Friend to the Constitution of his Country, which, he hopes and prays, will not be subverted, or even shaken, at the Caprice of every Visionary, or the Clamours of every Incendiary.⁶⁰

Such is the conservatism and the national as well as racial prejudice of the Gentleman's Magazine in the period.

Other subjects than the debates and politics received particular editorial attention. "In the wide Range of Literature", they point out,

there is not a Subject that the most fertile Genius can suggest, but must, in the Course of so many Years, come before the Tribunal of the Publick to be discussed. . . .⁶¹

Of one of those subjects, biography, D. A. Stauffer says:

Such publications as the Gentleman's Magazine or

the Monthly Review not only reviewed biographies but published their own brief life-sketches and obituaries, thereby increasing, or creating, the demand for timely and exact biographical information.⁶²

The editors indicate their responsibility and preference for such material in this remark:

Among the many original Pieces which we have inserted, the Lives of celebrated Men have been thought worthy of particular Attention, and it shall be our Endeavour to preserve it, by continuing our Enquiries on that Head. . . . [we] therefore entreat those who have been acquainted with any Circumstances of the Lives of learned or remarkable Men, to transmit them to us, that they may be added to those which we may obtain from other Hands, or at least be treasured in our Collections, as Materials for future Biographers.⁶³

Biographies often, therefore, received particular attention among the literature included in the magazine, but prose fiction, on the contrary, rarely received consideration, being out of editorial favour, as this comment acknowledges:

* Romantic stories seldom find a place in this Magazine; yet the following is so characteristic of the humour of the times in which it was written, that we could not resist the sollicitation of our correspondent to have it inserted.⁶⁴

Thus not every subject category found admittance because of editorial preferences for some over others.

Poetry and books contained particular enough importance to receive sections of their own. The editors present their policy towards poetry thus:

we endeavour to pick the shorter Pieces, or such

as we can shorten in order to lessen the Number of our Debts as fast as we can.⁶⁵

The following comment indicates fairly clearly the editorial opinion of poetry, directed towards a group the editors considered from their point of view as their subordinates to whom they catered for an equally lesser aim:

As Poetry is the feast provided for our fair readers, we would wish it chiefly to consist of delicacies; and therefore earnestly request the assistance of rising genius to contribute to their entertainment.⁶⁶

Of books, the editors make this significant claim:

Advertising the Contents of Books is not our method of reviewing them. Sat verbum.⁶⁷

However, this notice, referring to a book under discussion, is relatively frequent:

*This was translated into English, under the title of Memoirs of the Marquis de Bretagne, in 1745, and printed for Cave, and just reprinted for the Publishers of this Magazine.⁶⁸

Certain types of literature, therefore, received editorial preference and priority within the magazine itself.

Yet the editors showed partiality to people as well as to subjects. Comments such as the following ones make regular appearances in the magazine:

Particular attention is always paid to letters with the above signature. ["D.H."] ⁶⁹

Our Canterbury friend needs not to make any apologies for the hints he gives us, as they are always pertinent and sensible.⁷⁰

The liberal contributions of this ingenious correspondent are already so well known to the public, that whatever he may think proper farther to communicate, will, doubtless be favourably received.⁷¹

The last two observations seem to indicate that editorial preference went to persons of ability, yet even more telling is the preference editors gave to themselves and their associates. This thesis to this point has examined fairly direct expressions of editorial opinion, but subtler means existed whereby editors could influence readership opinion. The editors and their colleagues could disguise themselves as correspondents, a fact completely unknown to readers in general. David Henry, John Nichols, John Hawkesworth, John Duncombe, Richard Gough and others could use pseudonyms, as an example, for a variety of purposes including not only the soliciting of information but also the influencing of public opinion.⁷²

The editors admittedly had interests and preferences that found prominent reflection in the Gentleman's. For example, David Henry was very interested in agriculture and politics, two areas that received important attention in the magazine.⁷³ D. E. Keesey notes Hawkesworth's "preference for the sentimental comedy".⁷⁴ Significantly, too, John Duncombe's sermons on different occasions always seem to receive first attention over works of comparable circumstance.⁷⁵

Finally, Richard Gough, speaking in the third person, firmly and unashamedly speaks of the opinions which he expressed in the Gentleman's thus:

If he criticized with warmth and severity certain innovations attempted in Church and State, he wrote his sentiments with sincerity and impartiality - in the fulness of a heart deeply impressed with a sense of the excellence and happiness of the English Constitution both in Church and State.⁷⁶

Certainly such views in their "warmth and severity" were not impartial, a fact of which the editors and their associates seemed entirely unaware.

John Nichols himself had an important individual influence on the Gentleman's. Firstly, as a person he was a very able man, experienced as an editor and a printer possessing the confidence of a great many people.⁷⁷ His abilities on the whole helped in the management and supervision of the magazine. Secondly, Nichols personally knew and worked with a great number of persons. As E. Hart points out,

Nichols' collaborators were not only Malone, but also Johnson, Boswell, Walpole, Steevens, the Wartons, and almost every other literate man, known or unknown, in the England of that day.⁷⁸

Those contacts drew more people into the magazine as consultants and contributors. Moreover, Nichols was not only a magazine editor but he managed and owned a large and important printing establishment which afforded him the opportunity of publishing and then immediately reviewing in

the magazine works of importance such as Johnson's Lives of the English Poets.⁷⁹ Furthermore, that printing establishment held important and lucrative government printing contracts which probably influenced and reflected editorial political opinions under Nichols's management of the magazine.⁸⁰

A person like Nichols with his abilities, contacts and opinions, therefore, managed the magazine for nearly fifty years thereby continuing its traditions into the nineteenth century. Moreover, Nichols took an active interest in the magazine even before he purchased a share "when there was little prospect of his becoming its chief support".⁸¹ He continued his interest and became very active not only as an editor but as a contributor on his own and the magazine's behalf right from his early association as a part owner, printer and writer. "If he possessed anything worthy of printing," Hart reveals,

it went to the Gentleman's Magazine first and was later farmed out to one of his collections.⁸²

All that work he did with the help of his friends and of the magazine's contributors, for the Gentleman's was an ideal medium to check and correct facts, to test the validity of information and to exchange critical opinion.

A significant example of Nichols's work which ap-

peared in the magazine and which demonstrates the magazine's importance to such an editor is the abridged and serialized article, entitled "Anecdotes, Literary and Biographical, of Mr. Bowyer",⁸³ and prefaced by this comment, signed "J.N.":

Mr. Urban, I send you, agreeably to my promise, some anecdotes concerning the late Mr. Bowyer, which I hope will not prove unacceptable to your readers.⁸⁴

As a biography Nichols's work did not differ significantly from other eighteenth-century examples of the genre following the format of birth, education, friends, marriage and family, his work, clubs, character, second marriage with a further character analysis emphasizing positive and negative qualities, association with Nichols, extracts from Bowyer's works, final illness, death, finishing with additional character, his will and epitaph.⁸⁵ Significantly, the editors of the Gentleman's add their own contributions in the form of two letters and a further epitaph in order to meet their aims for comprehensiveness. Certainly the article met many other editorial criteria such as originality, importance and timeliness.

The work is fairly representative of Nichols's style. As a narrator he is fairly sympathetic yet unobtrusive though he carefully notes the full character of Bowyer thus:

As he knew himself the first in his profession, he disdained the servility of solicitation: but, when he saw himself neglected, or another pre-

ferred where friendship gave him a claim, he did not suppress the impulses of resentment, which he felt on such occasions.⁸⁶

His use of anecdotes, letters and some direct quotation is an attempt to make the life vivid.⁸⁷ One of the significant features of the article, however, is the great amount of space devoted to footnotes, a practice that Nichols tended to increase in later efforts. Some take up the better part of a column.⁸⁸ Though they somewhat mar the presentation of the work, they demonstrate Nichols's own concern for cohesiveness, comprehensiveness, accuracy and fact. Many of the footnotes are indeed small biographies themselves of persons whom Bowyer knew.⁸⁹

Truth was apparently of the utmost importance, and Nichols's desire to obtain that goal in memory of his friend led to the following end-comment:

* * The compiler of the preceding Anecdotes cannot but lament that he had not more ample materials to do justice to the subject. Of such as he could meet with, he hopes no improper use hath been made. Where he may have fallen into mistakes he shall be happy to acknowledge and to rectify them. The candour of one correspondent (see p. 475) hath pointed out some slight improvements. In consequence of further search, it appears, that Mr. Bonwicke was of St. John's Coll. Oxford, and not of Cambridge. . . .⁹⁰

That comment indicates not only Nichols's concern for taste, evident in his reference to propriety, but also his desire that readers help him to correct errors, a function one cor-

respondent has already performed. Furthermore, the one response became a flood in such future solicitations as Nichols cared to make, a fact which demonstrates the effectiveness of the control Nichols exerted over the magazine and its readers via his suggestions.

To conclude this chapter, the magazine's appeal to a general audience and to varied tastes is basically true but more specifically applicable to the class of gentlemen. An examination of correspondents reveals that gentlemen, in particular the learned professions, are among the readers. They performed the important function of assessing editorial policies and practices from various viewpoints, but editorial response to suggestions and criticisms revealed contradictions to editorial claims of impartiality. In fact, editors had strong preferences for certain subjects and authors, including among the latter none other than themselves and their associates. By means of disguise, the editors could subtly present their points of view and further attempt to influence the direction of the magazine and public opinion. An examination of one specific work by Nichols, an editor and owner of the magazine, reveals not only the quality of editorial work with its emphasis on fact but also the subtle means by which management could present its own interests. Significantly, their reading public responded favourably, a

circumstance which indicates that from the viewpoints of both management and readers, the editorial policies and practices of the Gentleman's Magazine were successful.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, all the available evidence examined reveals that the Gentleman's Magazine was a success from the viewpoint of the editors and readers because for them it performed its function of conveying information and opinion in a pleasing and instructive manner with a sincere concern for accuracy, detail and perspective. The height of the success of that profitable medium for communication was the continuation of a high circulation, a long life and an esteemed reputation throughout the eighteenth century. The basis for that success was the idea or plan of the magazine itself, a fact critics of the Gentleman's have not examined sufficiently to date.

Many factors played their part in sustaining and perfecting the idea. Apart from cultural climates and competition one of the most important elements was editorial ability, and the analysis shows that the personalities associated with the Gentleman's as either management or staff held certain characteristics in common. Experience as printers and editors facilitated magazine publication. Their acquired and inherent abilities, their intelligence,

intuition and education, enabled them to perceive and to assess opportunities, such as the ramifications of the existing copyright and libel laws, and to judge perspicaciously of topics as diversified as agriculture, antiquities, history, literature and politics. As editors they were punctual -- a factor necessitated by deadlines -- accurate, active and alert as well as meticulous, organized and effectual. They were diligent and took the initiative in, for example, resisting the stamp-duties, but sometimes they acted cautiously and eclectically in beginning new features such as the "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia" and the Book Review Section.

Many of those qualities would have served the editors ill if they had not been able to co-operate and to work with people. Within management itself they were firm, if occasionally ruthless, as Bond, the printer, discovered to his chagrin. However, in their social contacts they knew and collaborated with a great many people, a number of whom, such as Samuel Johnson, they even assisted to fame. Moreover, the editors were accessible and influential, able to mix freely with different classes of people. In addition, they possessed qualities commanding particular respect, such as integrity, incorruptibility, trustworthiness, responsibility, discretion, a certain impartiality as well as fairness

and sincerity. But they were also human and suffered from inefficiency and mistakes. Furthermore, they did not particularly demonstrate any strong aesthetic sense which is apparent in poorly printed pages. Their interests lay primarily in facts which they hoped ultimately to preserve for the historian, but they showed a lack of objectivity and vision in not being able to distinguish trivia from essentials. They became slightly overwhelmed in materials as a result of success, and perhaps as a consequence the magazine lost some of its original freshness.

Yet maturity demonstrates not only the success but also the stability of the idea. Editorial aims of timeliness, novelty and intelligibility gained public approval and respect that were in effect a means of legitimizing success in the face of charges by rivals of plagiarism. Furthermore, those criteria helped to mold the idea into a distinct and vital whole that gave the magazine character and direction and that made it a creative force in its own right, encouraging as it did the discussion of literature, the furtherance of research, criticism and scholarship in a great variety of fields. But as an established form the idea had influence which was at times detrimental to literature as, for example, was the case in the reprinting of the Junius letters.

The whole effect was to convey editorial opinion sometimes astutely to an interested public. An analysis reveals how subtle that influence occasionally was. Although one cannot hope to determine fully the results which those opinions had on the magazine's audience, certainly the study indicates editorial presence in every sphere of the magazine. That presence found its focus collectively in editorial commentary and presentation of materials, but nominally in the person of Sylvanus Urban. As Mr. Urban never appears as a particularized human being with well-defined habits and idiosyncracies, one must, therefore, rely on editorial pronouncements and actions, editorial policies and practices, to analyze the magazine's character.

The source and sustenance of the somewhat conservative editorial thinking as far as it concerned the magazine was the original conception of the idea, the plan as expressed at the founding. That statement was logical and ingenious, general and flexible enough to authorize any editorial developments throughout the century. Contrary to their claims of impartiality the editors carefully maintained the integrity of the original idea despite external pressure in the form of suggestions and criticisms, whereas the London Magazine succumbed to overtly popular taste only to die an ignominious death as a result.

Tastes were essential to the editors of the Gentleman's. Their concepts of taste paralleled eighteenth-century ideals on manners and morals, decorum and propriety, the accepted way of life for gentlemen. Yet neoclassicism, of which gentlemanly attitudes were a part, is not a fault in itself, and certainly the utile/dolce function of human action and thinking as well as of art in general is virtually universal. What one can criticize is the assumed generality and superficiality of the behavioral patterns of eighteenth-century life and art.

The editors of the periodical assuredly appealed basically to gentlemen both as a class and as a moral ideal, each of which the eighteenth century held in especial esteem. Moreover, those persons are identifiable in many cases, and they are, in effect, complex human beings who, by their individual personalities, are different and distinguishable one from another. Granted, much of their speech and manners they formally based on conscious imitations of supposedly classical ideals, but when challenged, they expressed themselves as forcefully and as sincerely as people in any age. Witness the exchange of opinion between the editors and the correspondents over suggestions and criticisms. However, an examination of the Gentleman's reveals an essentially editorial viewpoint, for the selection, synthesiza-

tion and arrangement of materials, in essence, the editorial process, gave the editors the ultimate say. As a result the magazine assumed the form of the ideas of its founder originally and tended to maintain its form since potential associates always received basic training in that periodical's tradition before they assumed official duties.

Finally, one can make a claim to the magazine itself as a work of literature in the broadest eighteenth-century sense even though as such it may not merit that ambiguous, arbitrary, general term, "great". An appreciation of the Gentleman's requires the reader to see it as a whole unit despite the many individual monthly issues. The "Advertisement", March, 1731, shows that the founder ultimately conceived of it as a complete work. The themes were to be the events and spirit of an age. Sometimes the editors, as narrators, remained fairly unobtrusive but certainly their thinking flavoured the magazine in various ways. Nichols with his biographical, literary and antiquarian interests demonstrates that point sufficiently.

Furthermore, the magazine possessed a very functional, intelligent, somewhat complex form, and stylistically, the editors used, for example, figurative language, such as the "wave" image which described their competitors, to express

their thought imaginatively. In addition, their comments were basically quite astute, succinct and vivid. A discussion of the magazine's fictional and non-fictional aspects is probably irrelevant as both found expression in an editorial viewpoint. Language was, therefore, basically the editorial medium, a visual, symbolic art whose potential the editors may have failed to realize at times as journalists, critics and historians. One cannot deny, however, that the whole process involved the creative imagination.

Moreover, as the analysis shows, truth and perfection were desirable if unobtainable goals. Nevertheless, editors and readers of that day basically believed that the magazine fulfilled its purpose to instruct and delight. But only when one attempts to understand their ideas and methods on their terms can one fully appreciate and imaginatively relive their culture. Historical perspective plus new developments of research, however, do have their advantages and uses, but one must not insist on viewing the magazine narrowly, focusing entirely on detail for then one can never hope to appreciate either the magazine as a whole generally or the expression of editorial opinion particularly, both of which formed the basis and are the proof of the success of the Gentleman's Magazine in the eighteenth century.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Sylvanus Urban, "Preface", in the Gentleman's Magazine, XLVII (London, 1777). Future references to such prefaces will appear, for example, in the following form: "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777).

² "Preface", GM, XLIX (1779). See also the "Preface", GM, XLVI (1776) and John Nichols, "The Rise and Progress of the Magazine", the "Preface", in General Index to the Gentleman's Magazine (1821), III, v, fn. The latter source will appear in future references as GI, followed by the volume number, III, and then the page.

³ GM, II (Apr. 1732). Quoted by C. L. Carlson, The First Magazine: A History of the Gentleman's Magazine (Providence, 1938), p. [59].

⁴ GI, III, lvii, fn.

⁵ Universal Magazine (1747-1815), n.s. I (April 1804), 359, quoted in Robert D. Mayo, The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815 (Evanston, 1962), p. 176.

⁶ A. W. Hutton, "Dr. Johnson and the 'Gentleman's Magazine'", English Illustrated Magazine, XVII (1897), 664 and 665 respectively.

⁷ "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782), [i].

⁸ GI, III, iii.

⁹ L. M. Salmon, The Newspaper and the Historian (New York, 1923), p. xliii.

¹⁰ A study of the whole of the Gentleman's Magazine would fall into five basic periods: 1731-1754, from the founding by Edward Cave until his death; 1754-1778, reorganization under Richard Cave (d. 1766) and David Henry; 1778-1826, beginning of John Nichols's association with the magazine, his takeover as sole editor at the time of Henry's death (1792) until his own death (1826); 1826-1868, transition out of the hands of the Nichols family; 1868-1907, radical change in

editorial policy, decline and demise. This study focusses generally on the magazine in the eighteenth century and more specifically on the period basically paralleling the 1770's.

¹¹ See also Dora Mae Clark, British Opinion and the American Revolution (New York, 1966), p. 289; and Solomon Lutnick, The American Revolution and the British Press 1775-1783 (Columbia, [1967]), pp. vii-viii.

¹² D. F. Bond, "The Gentleman's Magazine", MP, XXXVIII (1940), 86.

¹³ Anon., "Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), 283. This work will appear in future references as the "Autobiography". For notices of various reprints see the prefaces to the collected volumes for the years 1745, 1746 and 1749. Cf. "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782), iv; GI, III, lxii; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), vi. See "N", "Royal Paper Copies of the 'Gentleman's Magazine'", N & Q, XI (May 4, 1861), 349, for a comment on special editions.

¹⁴ J. Leed, "Some Reprintings of the Gentleman's Magazine", SB, XVII (1964), [210]-214.

¹⁵ W. B. Todd, "A Bibliographical Account of The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1754", SB, XVIII (1965), 81-93. See also, for a further discussion of the type of research needed, his article, "The Printing of Eighteenth-Century Periodicals", Library, ser. 5, X, No. 1 (Mar. 1955), 49-54.

¹⁶ J. C. Francis, "The 'Gentleman's Magazine'", N & Q, ser. 9, III (Mar. 25, 1899), 231, makes a few errors which Todd in his SB article, op. cit., p. 90 ff. corrects. A comparison of the illustrations, pp. xiv-xvii above, reveals a constant change in format from issue to issue. My own research has shown differences between unbound and bound volumes of the same issue, April, 1775. The changes appear to be minor. In addition, in randomly checking references to material quoted from the Gentleman's by various secondary sources against the volumes in McMaster's Rare Books Room, I found variations that appeared to be more the result of erring scholars than evidence of textual variations between issues.

E. Hart, ed., Minor Lives: A Collection of Biographies by John Nichols (Cambridge, 1971), p. 194, mentions the existence of annotated editorial manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, documents that would be of importance in establishing the criteria used by the editors in creating a ma-

gazine and of importance in providing a basis for bibliographical comparison. Hart's work appears in future references as Minor Lives.

¹⁷ James Marquis Kuist, The Gentleman's Magazine, 1754-1800: A Study of Its Development as a Vehicle for the Discussion of Literature. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. (1965), p. 135.

¹⁸ See Appendix C for "Advertisement", March, 1731, quoted in full. Examples of important prefaces are those for the years 1774, 1777, 1782, 1784. A few examples will demonstrate style and development. In the "Preface", GM, VIII (1738), the editors rather politely state that

The usual Design of Addresses of this Sort is to implore the Candour of the Public. . . .

By 1759, the prefaces were becoming tedious:

The irksomeness of a labour as often repeated is alleviated only by the acknowledgment of our obligations; for the pleasures of gratitude are scarce less than those of generosity.

By 1785, their writers considered them almost a formula:

Preface has succeeded Preface, as Year has succeeded Year, for more than Half a Century, till a Repetition of the same Acknowledgments, and a Requisition for the same Favours, have become like Birth-day Congratulations at Court, which vary only by being presented in the splendid Decorations of a new Dress.

Cf. "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757). Outright solicitation by management for increased readership occurred, for example, in the prefaces for the years 1777 and 1785. Expressions of especially strong editorial statements on government appear, for example, in the "Preface", GM, LXI (1791). Cf. GI, III, lxxi; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 9. Kuist presents a slightly different view regarding the importance of the prefaces.

For a discussion of who wrote the prefaces see: E. A. Bloom, Samuel Johnson in Grubstreet (Providence, 1957), p. 10; "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), p. 287; GI, III, lviii, lxxi.

¹⁹ Cf. D. F. Bond, op. cit., p. 87; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. ix, 23-24; and, GM, XXXV (Apr. 1765), 187 ff.

²⁰ This type of editorial comment is scattered throughout the magazine, often in very small spaces. For an example of the latter point, see GM, XLIII (Oct. 1773), 525. Material that is definitely editorial exists in abundance.

The identifying editorial signs and symbols are: *, **, crosses; "Ed.", "Edit.", "Editor", "Editors", "Sylvanus Urban", "S. Urban", "S.U."; finger pointer, italics, round and square brackets, and "N.B." Many such comments use the editorial "we" though some occasionally employ the passive voice. For further discussion see the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Nov. 1856), 531; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 124, 134, 351.

21 See, for examples of short comments, GM, XLIX (Nov. 1779), 542; GM, L (May 1780), 214. For an example of a longer comment, see GM, XLVII (July 1777), 304. Some of the comment is no longer available for it appeared on the blue covers or wrappers of a single issue. They are now rare. See "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 156.

22 GM, XLIX (Aug. 1779), 386. Such comment may be intentionally secretive for the benefit of the individual concerned. Notices like that were also entirely functional, being direct and inexpensive by avoiding separate mailings. See R. M. Wiles, Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England ([Columbus], [1965]), p. 8 f.

23 GM, XLI (Apr. 1771), 152. Cf. GM, XLIV (Feb. 1774), 56; GM, XLIV (Feb. 1774), 56; GM, XLIII (Aug. 1773), 368; GM, XLI (Jan. 1771), [17]; "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778). The editors concentrated many comments in the seventies in a minor feature titled "To our Correspondents", replaced in the 1780's with another feature, titled "Index Indicatorius". For the rationale of the latter see "Preface", GM, LV (1785). Cf. J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 16, 122 ff. For other selected examples, see: GM, XLI (July 1772), 304; GM, XLIV (June 1774), 248; GM, XLVIII (Mar. 1779), 137.

24 Chapter II examines circulation while Chapter IV analyzes readers' criticism and editorial impartiality.

25 Among the many other sources of importance, which appear in passing, the book, entitled Friendship Strikingly Exhibited in a New Light, is of special significance. The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, 1660-1800 (Cambridge, 1971), II, 1295, attributes it to D. Bond, and the tone of the writing and the sources used affirm Bond's authorship. The book provides a different viewpoint on printing practices in the seventies. An examination of Nichols's account of the same period in GI, III, lvii, corroborates the general sequence of events. Though the tone of Bond's work is harsh and bitter, his logic is clear and the feeling sincere. For a discussion of the few biographical details on Bond, see J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 356 f.

26 GI, III, lvi.

27 Walter Graham, English Literary Periodicals (New York, 1930), p. 43. For opinions on that change and the tendency for magazines to specialize, see J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. vii; and R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 175.

28 W. Graham, op. cit., p. 191. The magazine has attracted scholars because of Johnson's association with it. See, for example, Graham's review of Carlson's work, Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXXVIII (1939), 638; and A. Sherbo, "Samuel Johnson and the Gentleman's Magazine, 1750-1755", in Johnsonian Studies, edited by M. Wahba. (Cairo, 1962), pp. [133]-159; Oliver Elton, A Survey of English Literature 1730-1780 (London, 1928), I, 88. But the public was not generally aware of Johnson's associations with the magazine until the publication of Boswell's Life (1791). Therefore, neither Johnson's activities or his name serve to account for the magazine's continued success, and Graham's assessment gives a somewhat false impression.

29 C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. vii. Cf. W. Graham's review, op. cit., p. 637.

30 C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 58.

31 Ibid., p. 150.

32 J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. ix. He does not, however, examine the books or poetry contained in the magazine.

33 Donald Earl Keesey, Dramatic Criticism in the Gentleman's Magazine 1747-1784. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (1964), p. 23. For other examples see Johannes Adler, Zur Shakespeare-Kritik des 18 Jahrhunderts (Konigsberg, 1906); Sara Allison Burroughs, Biographies in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1740's and 1790's. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. (1970); Calvin Daniel Yost, Jr., The Poetry of the Gentleman's Magazine: A Study in Eighteenth Century Literary Taste (Philadelphia, 1936).

34 James Boswell, Life of Johnson. Edited by Birkbeck Hill. Revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934, 1950), I, 90, fn. 4. Future references will appear as Boswell's Life. Dr. Warton's comment appears quoted by A. Chalmers in "Memoir of John Nichols, Esq. F.S.A.", [London, 1826], in Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. Edited by John Bowyer Nichols (London, 1858), VIII, x. Future references appear as Illus-

trations. For E. Hart's view, see "An Ingenious Editor: John Nichols and the Gentleman's Magazine", Bucknell Review, X (1962), 238. Cf. Minor Lives, p. xviii.

35 The best sources for information on Cave are: [Samuel Johnson], "An account of the Life of the late Mr. Edward Cave", GM, XXIV (Feb. 1754), [55]-58 (to appear in following references as Johnson's "Life"); the "Autobiography"; C. L. Carlson, op. cit. For Johnson, the best include Boswell's Life; Sir John Hawkins, The Life of Samuel Johnson. Edited, abridged, and with an introduction by Bertram H. Davis. (New York, 1961); C. L. Carlson, op. cit.; E. A. Bloom, op. cit.; A. Sherbo, op. cit.; James L. Clifford, The Young Sam Johnson (New York, 1955). For Henry, see GM, LXXII (June 1792), 578-9; GI; John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1812-1815), III, 423-426 (to appear in following references as LA); J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 38 ff. For Nichols, see Illustrations, VIII, 1 ff.; LA, VI, 627-637; DNB; Austin Dobson, "A Literary Printer", in his Rosalba's Journal and Other Papers (Freeport, 1915, 1970), pp. 195-228; E. Hart, Minor Lives, [167]-194, plus his three articles (see the bibliography); A. H. Smith, "John Nichols, Printer and Publisher", Library, ser. 5, XVIII (1963), 169-190.

Some critics have attempted to compile bibliographies of works and writers in the magazine. See, for example, C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. [243]-265; D. F. Bond, op. cit., pp. 89-100, for corrections and additions to Carlson's list; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 360 ff., for a bibliography of articles on Pope and Swift in the magazine; J. A. R. Séguin, Voltaire and the Gentleman's Magazine 1731-1868 (New York, 1962). Indexes of the magazine are to date very unreliable. Much work, therefore, still remains to be done.

CHAPTER II

¹ C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 29, and others refer only to the "Preface" for the collected volume (1731). See Appendix C for the "Advertisement", March, 1731. Appendix B has an even earlier "Advertisement" which appeared in the Universal Spectator and which indicates editorial aims to a certain extent. Footnote references will not appear for individual passages quoted from the "Advertisement", March, 1731, unless additional information is supplied.

² One may justify the use of "author" here by its appearance in the last paragraph of the "Advertisement".

³ The number, "200", though possibly an exaggeration, shows that those papers were numerous enough from the author's viewpoint to warrant gathering them together and giving them to the public by such means as abridgment.

⁴ Though the word, "Gentlemen", implies the participation of more than one important person in the project, they appear to be acting as a collective unit.

⁵ See the Glossary for a definition of the word, "magazine".

⁶ Though selection implies a preference for one item over another, the author in using the adjective, "impartial", promises to use criteria based on consistent, logical rules rather than on a fancy or a whim.

⁷ Johnson's "Life", p. 57. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXIV (1754). For a discussion of early editions, see W. B. Todd's SB article, op. cit., pp. 81-93.

⁸ W. Roberts, "The History of 'The Gentleman's Magazine'", Bookworm, III (1890), [98].

⁹ C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 53. Cf. ibid., pp. 45, 46, 51-52; E. A. Bloom, op. cit., p. 7; R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. [209]. For a full discussion of predecessors, see W. Graham, op. cit. pp. 145-160; and C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 31-45.

¹¹ Minor Lives, p. xxi. Cf. ibid. xxi-xxii. Some of the illustrations Hart mentions in the latter reference appeared in colour. See the "Autobiography", CCII (Mar. 1857), 282; and, W. Todd's SB article, op. cit., p. 86.

¹² For comments on sources see C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 47, 106, 149; the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Aug. 1856), 132-133. Cf. "Preface", GM, XLV (1775). For a variety of examples see: GM, XL (Jan. 1770), 45; GM, XL (Feb. 1770), 59-60; GM, XL (Feb. 1770), 93; GM, XL (Mar. 1770), [137]; GM, XL (Aug. 1770), 373; GM, XLVII (Apr. 1777), 188; GM, XLIX (Oct. 1779), 511. See also S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 8; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 48, 108; and, C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 10. Former magazines were sources. See GM, XLIII (Nov. 1773), 548. So too were books, especially if they were foreign publications. See E. A. Bloom, "'Labors of the Learned': Neoclassic Book Reviewing Aims and Techniques", SP, LIV (1957), 538-539; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 53, 149-

150. Interested persons submitted information. See "Preface", GM, XXV (1755); GM, XXX (1760); "Autobiography", CCII (Feb. 1857), 155. Furthermore, the editors could boast of original work more and more making an appearance in the magazine. See the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Aug. 1856), 132-133; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., "Appendix", p. [243] ff.; D. F. Bond, op. cit., pp. 89-100; Charles Harold Gray, Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795 (New York, 1931, 1964), pp. 102-103; GM, XVI (Mar. 1747), 133; "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778); "Preface", GM, XI (1741); "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757).

13 For a fuller discussion of the responsibilities of Cave and his associates, especially Johnson, see C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 12 ff.; E. A. Bloom's book, op. cit., pp. 5-62, especially 5-9; and, A. Sherbo, op. cit., pp. [133]-159. J. M. Kuist, op. cit., contains an important discussion of management in the later eighteenth century. The authoritative sources are the magazine, the statements of the managers and their close confederates. See also the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), 286; W. Roberts, "The 'Gentleman's Magazine' and Its Rivals", Athenaeum, XXVI (Oct. 26, 1889), 560; Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., 284-5; Robert L. Haig, The Gazetteer: 1735-1797 (Carbondale, [1960]), p. 156. See Chapter I, fn. 10, above, for a brief outline of management. For contemporary use of the word, "management", see: Friendship, p. 20; Minor Lives, p. 234; IA, III, 295; and Illustrations, VIII, xiii. Their use of the word refers to an action while the use in this work is to both the action and a collective group of people.

14 See Johnson's "Life", pp. 56-57. Cf. GM, IX (Mar. 1739), [111].

15 The sources of information for R. Cave and D. Henry are: GI, III, lvi, lxxii. See also: GM, LXII (July 1792), 671; and a letter signed, "N.L.L." in GM, LXII (Aug. 1792), 697-698. The sources for Miss Cave are: GI, III, lvii; Friendship, p. 6. For Nichols's role in ownership, see: GI, III, lvii; Friendship, p. 6. On Newbery's part, see C. Welsh, A Bookseller of the Last Century. Being Some Account of the Life of John Newbery (London, 1885), p. 84, fn. Cf. S. Roscoe, John Newbery and his Successors 1740-1814: A Bibliography ([Wormley], [1973]), p. 7. The latter, p. 11., corrects a misinterpretation by W. Graham, op. cit., pp. 157-8, who erroneously states that John Newbery was directly involved in ownership.

16 Legal factors, as, for example, the existence of

a contract, apparently not now known, may have placed certain restrictions on management freedom. For an example of a contract with such restrictions see R. Haig, op. cit., his Appendix B, p. 270 ff.

17 For comments on the importance of the printer, see W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., p. 45; and, R. Haig, op. cit., p. 163.

18 On Henry's retirement, see GI, III, lvii. But Friendship, p. 6, notes his importance as a printer in the role of supervisor. The name of J. Lister appears in the colophon from January, 1769, until January, 1770, with the exception of December, 1769. However, H. R. Plomer, et. al., A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 (Oxford, 1932), gives no information on him concerning his relationship with the magazine. For information on Miss Cave's function see GI, III, lvii. Cf. Friendship, pp. 6, 27; GI, III, lvii (Nichols's role); "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782), iv.

19 See Friendship, p. 6. Bond outlines in detail there the methods Henry used to give Nichols the position of printer.

20 See the Glossary for definitions. Cf. "Preface", GM, XVIII (1748); "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 155.

21 IA, III, 424.

22 Compare GM, XLV (May 1775), 235, No. 29; and GM, XLVII (Oct. 1777), 494, No. 87. The result shows the reviewers using the terms, "bookseller" and "publisher" synonymously. See F. A. Mumby and Ian Norrie, Publishing and Bookselling (London, 1974), pp. 127-186. Cf. C. Welsh, op. cit., p. 84; GM, XLIV (Oct. 1774), 463. J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 119, examines more evidence in the 1780's. See GM, LI (1781), 312; GM, LIII (1783), 484; and GM LIV (1784), 407; also GM, XLVI (Aug. 1776), 344; and, GM, XLIX (Jan. 1779), 30.

23 See the Glossary for definitions.

24 J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 86, quotes the whole letter, dated 1775, to Samuel Pegge. The letter is in Bodleian MS. English Letters, d. 45. ff. 209 and 210.

25 Minor Lives, p. 234. Cf. E. Hart's PMLA article,

op. cit., p. 394; Friendship, pp. 14, 18.

26 Johnson was one of the more important, earlier editorial assistants. See especially E. A. Bloom's book, op. cit., p. 10. So too were Moses Browne and John Duick. See the "Autobiography" and GI, passim.

27 D. D. Eddy, "John Hawkesworth: Book Reviewer in the Gentleman's Magazine", PQ, XLIV (1964), 223-4. The letter originally appeared in A. Chalmers, The General Biographical Dictionary (London, 1812), XVII, 237-238, dated November 8, 1765, but not showing an addressee. See also the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), 285-6; GI, III, lvi; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 24; C. H. Gray, op. cit., p. 172, fn. 22; and J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 23, 42.

28 The sources of information for John Ryland's activities with the magazine are: GM, LXVIII (July 1798), 629; LA, IX, 500; the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Apr. 1857), 380. For John Duncombe's association, GI, III, lviii. For information on Richard Gough, see: GM, LXXIX (March-April, 1809); LA, VI, 262-343, 613-626; DNB; Illustrations, VIII, xiii.

29 The founding or history of the magazine in 1731 actually dates from this point in the process, the completion of the first issue occurring early in February of 1731.

30 Johnson's "Life", p. 56. See also C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 11-12 ff. Detailed financial records for the magazine do not exist. Presumably either the fire, May 7, 1786, GM, LVI (May 1786), 437, which destroyed Mrs. Newbery's shop, or the fire, February 8, 1808, GM, LXXVIII (Feb. 1808), 99, that did likewise to Nichols's printing establishment, consumed the majority of such materials. Friendship is an important source. So also is D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, ed., A Ledger of Charles Ackers (London, 1968), (to appear following as Ackers). See also Patricia Hernlund, "William Strahan's Ledgers: Standard Charges for Printing, 1738-1785", SB, XX (1967), 89-111. Ackers is especially useful as the work describes specifically magazine production, the printing costs of the London Magazine in the period of the thirties and forties.

31 Cf. C. Welsh, op. cit., p. 84.

32 See GI, III, lvii-lviii. Cf. A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 178. On the importance of London to the printing industry, see S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 10. London was also

the centre of England's transportation system and had fairly easy access to centres in the country. See A. S. Turber-ville, Johnson's England (Oxford, 1933), I, 140, 141 ff., 154 ff. London was also of importance in supplying raw materials such as paper to the printing industry. See J. A. Cochrane, Dr. Johnson's Printer: The Life of William Strahan (London, [1964]), p. 16. Cf. Friendship, p. 6.

33 St. John's Gate in Clerkenwell, Nichols at Cicero's Head just off Fleet Street, and Newbery's book-selling shop in Ludgate Street, the corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, were very close to each other. See R. Horwood, Plan of the cities of London and Westminster [map] (London, May 24, 1799).

34 Friendship, p. 14, fn. Cf. ibid., p. 7. Proximity did not always ensure the efficiency of joint printership. See Friendship, p. 20; and, GI, III, lvii.

35 London attracted labour, including Johnson. See J. Clifford, op. cit., p. 170 f. Furthermore, the country provided opportunities for gaining experience as Cave and Henry discovered. See Johnson's "Life", p. 56; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 8 ff.; GI, III, lxxii. In London, itself, a young man such as Nichols could serve his apprenticeship with an experienced Master printer such as Bowyer. He could also become a partner and even inherit the business. For details on apprentices, see Ackers, pp. 1, 19-21, 32. For other references, see GM, XLI (July 1771), 296; the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Dec. 1856), 671; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 60; E. A. Bloom's book, op. cit., p. 69; Colin Clair, A History of Printing in Britain (London, 1965), p. 163 ff; and, R. M. Wiles, op. cit., pp. 131-132, 136.

36 For example, see "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757). Cf. "Preface", XXV (1755), "N.B."; and "Preface", XXX (1760).

37 GM, XLVIII (Aug. 1778), 344.

38 GM, XLI (Apr. 1771), 152. Cf. GM, XLI (May 1771), 200; GM, XLI (July 1771), 296; GM, XLIII (Jan. 1773), 8; GM, XLIV (Feb. 1774), 77; GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 496; GM, XLVIII (Nov. 1778), 510; GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 492; "Index Indicatus", GM, LV (1785), vi. For further comments see C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 223; and J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 135.

39 Friendship, p. 6. Cf. DNB article on Duncombe who is probably the "Gentleman in the Country". See also J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

⁴⁰ GM, XLII (July 1772), 304. For similar examples see: GM, XL (June 1770), 270; GM, XLIII (Apr. 1773), 164; GM, XLVII (Supp. 1777), 624; GM, XLIX (Aug. 1779), 400.

⁴¹ GM, XLIV (Oct. 1774), 456, square brackets. Cf. GM, XLII (July 1772), 304; GM, XLIV (July 1774), 296; J. A. Cochrane, op. cit., p. 19. See also GM, XLVI (June 1776), 248; GM, XLVI (Sept. 1776), 396.

⁴² Friendship, p. 11. Cf. ibid., p. 6. For the limits on the amount of printing that could be done, see Ackers, pp. 13-15. For Nichols's outlays for type, see A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 181. The necessity of keeping type so long led to the poor aesthetic quality of printing. See J. A. Cochrane, op. cit., pp. x, 20. Cf. "Preface", GM, XII (1742); A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 188; R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 163.

⁴³ Friendship, pp. 12-13. See also the "Preface", GM, XVI (1746), fn.

⁴⁴ D. D. Eddy, op. cit., p. 235. For a reference to management's salary see Minor Lives, p. 234. Ackers, p. 14, gives information on labour costs. See also the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 150. Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 197-8. Also "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 153; and, E. A. Bloom, in his SP article, op. cit., p. 553. Generally the income accruing to individuals working for the magazine as writers generally increased. See E. Kimber, [List of Books, with Annual Indexes and the Index to the First Twenty Years] (London, 1752, 1966), [iii]. Cf. S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 8. Profits were also substantial. See Ackers, p. 13 f., for an idea of profits in the forties. Whatever the figure, it must have been high to have allowed Henry, whose chief interest was the magazine, not only to retire in 1766 at the age of 57 but also to buy a large farm in Beckenham, Kent.

⁴⁵ The price, appearing either on the blue covers or on the title-page, remained at 6d until the expansion of the magazine in 1783 when the price became 1s, changing to 1s 6d in 1799 and to 2s in 1809. Cf. W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., p. 100.

The references to figures of circulation are many. See W. Roberts's Athenaeum article, op. cit., p. 560; W. B. Todd in his SB article, op. cit., p. 85; Ackers, p. 11; Boswell's Life, III, 322; Sir John Hawkins, op. cit., p. 57; "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 149; a poem prefixed to GM, VI (1736); "Preface", GM, XVI (1746); C. L. Carlson,

op. cit., pp. 62-63; D. F. Bond, op. cit., p. 86; W. B. Todd, in his SB article, op. cit., p. 85 f.; "Preface", GM, XV (1745); "Preface", GM, XXI (1751); GM, XLVI (July 1776), 297; W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., p. 356; A. Dobson, op. cit., pp. 218-219, fn.; R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 43. Perhaps some of those issues were returned unsold as GM, IX (Mar. 1739), [111], claimed was the case of some 70,000 copies of the London Magazine. Moreover, a large circulation was also an expense. See "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), 286.

46 See C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 53, fn. Cf. W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., p. 283; Friendship, p. 7; GM, XLIII (Apr. 1773), 172.

47 GM, XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 160. Cf. Friendship, p. 17.

48 GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 492. See also GM, XLII (May 1772), 208; GM, XLIV (Oct. 1774), 463; GM, L (Mar. 1780), 129; and C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 199.

49 See P. M. Handover, Printing in London (London, [1960]), p. 138.

50 "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Jan. 1857), 7. See also the anonymous author of "The Gentleman's Magazine", TLS, (Dec. 9, 1939), p. 724. For further discussion see P. M. Handover, op. cit., p. 141; and, R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. [159].

51 Johnson's "Life", pp. 57-58. Cf. "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Jan. 1857), 4, quoting from Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street, 1737, "Preface", p. xii.

52 See R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 160. Cf. Lyman Ray Patterson, Copyright in Historical Perspective (Nashville, 1968), especially chapters 7 and 8; E. F. Skone James, Copinger and Skone James on Copyright. 11th ed. (London, 1971), p. 7 ff.; R. F. Whale, Copyright: Evolution, Theory and Practice (Totowa, 1972), especially chapters 1 and 2. The quotation is from R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 160. See also Sir John Hawkins, op. cit., p. 16. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 204, is incorrect in saying that there were "no copyright laws" at the time.

53 "Preface", GM, XXIX (1759). Cf. "Preface", LM, XXVIII (1759). See also R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 160. For further examples and more information within the magazine, see GM, XLII (May 1772), 229-230; GM, XLIX (July 1779), 346;

GM, XLIX (Dec. 1779), 608. Surprisingly enough publishing work in the press was sufficient reason for claiming exemption from the copyright law in eighteenth-century England.

54 "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Nov. 1856), 532. Cf. ibid., p. 534.

55 "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Nov. 1856), 541. Cf. ibid., p. 533.

56 For the material that actually occasioned Cave's trial before the Lords in 1747, see GM, XVII (Mar. 1747). See also C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 104; Fr. Williams, Dangerous Estate: The Anatomy of Newspapers (London, 1957), pp. 35-36. For the magazine's own astute justification for including the debates, see GM, XXII (June 1752), [247]. Cf. "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 157. For various explanations and explications of their use of disguise, see GM, VIII (June 1738), [283]-287; "Anagrammata Rediva; or the Act of Composing and Resolving Anagrams. . .", GM, IX (Supp. 1739), 699; GM, XL (Feb. 1770), p. [51], f. Use of disguise in the seventies continued until 1782. But other periodicals had discontinued that practice earlier. See GI, III, xlvii-xlviii, fn.; and "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 157. For the effects of others laws, see, for example, D. E. Keesey, op. cit., p. 37. Cf. C. H. Gray, op. cit., pp. 103-104; and, C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 136.

57 S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 5. Cf. ibid., pp. 6-7, 220. The early seventies saw famous trials on the question of a free press, covered extensively in the Gentleman's. For accounts and analyses of the same see Boswell's Life, IV, 140, n. 1; T. B. Howell, A Complete Collection of State Trials (London, 1813), XIX-XI; Benjamin Beard Hoover, Samuel Johnson's Parliamentary Reporting: Debates in the Senate of Lilliput (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953), p. 31; Michael MacDonagh, The Reporter's Gallery (London, n.d.), pp. 186-264; and H. R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers (London, 1887), I, 214. See also H. H. Bellot, "Parliamentary Printing, 1660-1837", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XL (Nov. 1933), 85-98.

58 The jury decided who was responsible for publishing a libel; the judge determined if the content of a publication in question was actually libellous. The most famous cases for libel occurred in the seventies over the Junius' letters, the Wilkes affair, and others. Significantly, the Gentleman's was not involved directly in any of those cases. For further discussion, see R. Birley, Printing and

Democracy (London, 1964), p. 27; R. Haig, op. cit., p. 82; S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 3. On the question of responsibility specifically, see S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 180; and, R. Haig, op. cit., p. 25. Peter F. Carter-Ruck, Libel and Slander (London, 1972), and F. S. Siebert, Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776 (Urbana, 1952), provide broad perspectives on the issues. Laws, therefore, do play a significant role in magazine publication in particular.

59 "Preface", GM, XII (1742), iv.

60 "Preface", GM, I (1780).

61 A discussion of the effect of correspondents on the magazine appears in Chapter IV. The discussion here on competition focusses on the magazine's attitude and response towards competitors. See C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 82. Cf. ibid., p. 27. For expressions of superiority by the editors, see "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757); "Preface", GM, XII (1742); "Preface", GM, XVII (1747); and, "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758).

62 "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758).

63 "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Jan. 1857), p. 4 f., quoting from Memoirs of the Society of Grub-street, 1737, "Preface", p. xii.

64 No major study has appeared on the London Magazine. An important work on the Monthly Review is N. E. Oakes, Ralph Griffiths and the Monthly Review. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. (1961). See Johnson's "Life", p. 57, for a comment on the London Magazine. Cf. W. Roberts's Athenaeum article, op. cit., p. 560; and, C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 66, 80.

65 Another effect of competition was the trend to print the magazine as early as possible in the following month. See C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 61, 79; W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., pp. 99-100; "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Jan. 1856), 9. Friendship, p. 20, confirms the need for early publication. D. D. Eddy, op. cit., p. 226, fn., offers a qualification on the establishment of precise dates. Cf. "Autobiography", GM, CCI (July 1856), 9.

66 Early competition was quite stiff. See W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., p. 287; and his Athenaeum article, op. cit., p. 560. In the early years, the Gentleman's was a vigorous participant in the mud-sling-

ing. For Johnson's part, see E. A. Bloom's book, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Cf. "Preface", GM, VII (1737); "Preface", GM, VIII (1738); GM, VIII (Feb. 1738), [59]-61; GM, IX (Mar. 1739), 112; "Preface", GM, XI (1741).

67 "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758). Cf. "Preface", GM, XI (1741); "Preface", GM, XXI (1751); "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758); "Preface", GM, XXX (1760).

68 An insect metaphor occurs in the "Preface", GM XX (1750). Cf. "Preface", GM, XI (1741), "Preface", GM, XXII (1752); "Preface", GM, XXIII (1753).

69 See Illustrations, VIII, xi. Cf. GM, XLI (Feb. 1771), 76. Both imply disdain of competitors. Generally in the later period, editors were very tolerant of each other. See "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii. Cf. R. Haig, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123. For an example of patronization, see GM, XLVI (Supp. 1776), 603-4. Cf. C. L. Carlson, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Furthermore, in the fifties, the financial position of the Gentleman's allowed the owners to set up rivals of their own to beat down competition even though they themselves might suffer somewhat of a loss. See GM, LXII (Aug. 1792), 697-698, for more details on Henry's establishment for such a purpose of the Grand Magazine of Magazines in the late fifties.

70 "Preface", GM, XLIII (1773). Cf. "Preface", GM, XLIV (1774).

CHAPTER III

¹ See Appendix C. For the etymological roots of the word, "magazine", see the OED and specifically the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (July 1856), 8. See the Glossary for definitions of the words, "magazine", "miscellany" and "periodical". A magazine is both a periodical and a miscellany, in the Gentleman's case, a "Monthly Collection".

² Despite the apparent change noted in the illustrations, pp. xiv-xvii above, the main title did provide a centre of stability which was not always the case with other periodicals. See E. A. Bloom's SP article, *op. cit.*, p. 544. See also W. B. Todd's SB article, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ff., for his findings on sub-title changes in the magazine.

The mottoes were important as general statements of purpose. The "Advertisement", March, 1731, makes that clear.

Cf. "Preface", GM, VII (1737); "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778); "Autobiography", GM, CCI (July 1856), 9; L. F. Powell, "An Addition to the Canon of Johnson's Writings", Essays and Studies, XXVIII (1942), 39.

³ A feature entitled, "Dissertations and Letters from Correspondents" appeared in 1735. See the annual title-page for that year. The "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia" appeared in June, 1738, [283] ff.; the Book Review section in April, 1765, p. 187 ff. titled "List of new Books published, with Extracts". All had appeared earlier but they were not regular or formal as features, and by the seventies the sections were not quite as clearly definable as those in the earlier period. Compare the illustrations, above. Furthermore the sections did not restrict the appearance of related material in other sections. For example, see GM, XLVI (Apr. 1776), 178; GM, XLIV (May 1774), 232; GM, XLIV (Jan., Feb. 1774), 29-30, 78-80; GM, XLVIII (Mar. 1778), 127; GM, XL (Aug. 1770), 383; GM, XL (Sept. 1770), 432; GM, XL (Feb. 1770), 72; GM, XLVI (June 1776), 262. Apart from the necessity of accommodating lengthy articles, the adjustment of such materials reveals an editorial awareness to make the content of the magazine as fluid and as consistent as possible.

⁴ The London Magazine first made use of the supplement as a feature in 1732. See C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 91-92. The Gentleman's followed suit the next year. Cf. "Preface", GM, LIII (1783), iv, fn.

⁵ See GM, X (May 1740), 250; GI, III, xxxii-xxxiv.

⁶ See "Preface", GM, LII (1782); "Preface", GM, LIII (1783); GI, III, lix. Occasionally the magazine could add additional letter-press. See GM, XLV (Apr. 1775), 160; GM XLVII (Oct. 1777), 463. Such a measure incurred a loss generally in profits for the price remained stable.

⁷ The editors used that method to accommodate materials in every section. For example see: GM, XLV (Feb. 1775), 83; GM, XLV (Supp. 1775), 639; GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 144; GM, L (Sept. 1780), 433; GM, L (Nov. 1780), 528. Cf. J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 197. For a discussion of the use and implications of serialization in other works, see R. M. Wiles, Serial Publications in England before 1750.

⁸ See the Glossary under "editor"; and Chapter II, fn. 27, above; and fn. 58 on the question of responsibility.

⁹ C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 57.

10 "Preface", GM, XVII (1747).

11 "Preface", GM, L (1780). Cf. "Preface", GM, VII (1737); "Preface", GM, XI (1741); "Preface", GM, XXII (1752); "Preface", GM, LII (1782); "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv.

12 See the Glossary for a definition of the term, "abridgment".

13 GM, VIII (Feb. 1738), 61.

14 GM, XLIV (May 1774), 204, square brackets. Cf. GM, XLI (June 1771), 248; GM, XLVI (Aug. 1776), 360; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), iv; GM, XLVII (Dec. 1777), 589.

15 GM, XLVIII (Nov. 1778), 516. Cf. E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., p. 556; and, C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 93.

16 GM, X (May 1740), 250. Cf. GM, XLII (Feb. 1772), 75; GM, L (Apr. 1780), 169; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), iv.

17 GM, XLVII (Sept. 1777), 441. Cf. GM, XLV (Jan. 1775), 24; GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 137.

18 "Preface", GM, XLV (1775).

19 The editors omitted many articles, however, simply for want of room. See, for example, notices to the same in GM, XLVI (Mar. 1776), 124; GM, XLVI (June 1776), 266; GM, XLVII (Apr. 1777), 178; GM, XLVII (July 1777), 314. Even major features could suffer such a fate at times. See, for example, GM, LII (1782). Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 104.

20 GM, XLV (Oct. 1775), [459]. Cf. GM, XLIII (Dec. 1773), 602.

21 GM, XLIV (Feb. 1774), 67. Cf. GM, XLV (Dec. 1775), 572; GM, XLVIII (Mar. 1778), [99].

22 "Preface", XXVI (1756). Cf. "Advertisement", GM, L (1782), iii.

23 GM, XLVI (Apr. 1776), 187. See also GM, LIII (Oct. 1783), 877 ff.; and S. Lutnick, op. cit., pp. 142, 157, 207-208. Cf. GM, L (June 1780), 264.

24 GM, XLIV (May 1774), 198. For the insecure position of the debates see GM, XLVII (Nov. 1777), 516. Cf. D. D. Eddy, op. cit., p. 235; GM, XL (Dec. 1770), 578; GM, XLIII (July 1772), 303; GM, XLVII (Oct. 1777), [463].

25 "Preface", GM, XXX (1760).

26 GM, XLVII (May 1777), 237. Cf. GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 137; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785); GM, XLIV (Apr. 1774), 184; and GM, XLVIII (July 1778), 326. For a general comment on the effect of timeliness among book reviewers, see E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., p. 549 f. Cf. D. E. Keesey, op. cit., p. 16; C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 11, with fn.

27 "Preface", GM, XI (1741).

28 "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782), ii. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758).

29 GM, XLIX (Sept. 1779), 439. Cf. GM, XLIX (Aug. 1779), 393; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), vi.

30 See GM, XLV (May 1775), 234. Cf. GM, XLIII (May 1773), 212; and GM, L (June 1780), 281.

31 GM, V (Oct. 1735), [6]16.

32 GM, XLIX (Apr. 1779), 192. Cf. Henry's letter to S. Pegge, quoted in J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 86.

33 GM, XLIV (June 1774), 248. Cf. GM, XLV (May 1775), 239; GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 500; GM, L (Supp. 1780), 604; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), [iii]. Cf. GM, L (Apr. 1780), 169.

34 GM, XLIII (Feb. 1773), 66, square brackets. Cf. GM, XLVI (Mar. 1776), 124; GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 523; GM, XLVII (Mar. 1777), 117.

35 "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv.

36 "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778). Cf. "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757); "Preface", GM, XLIX (1779); and "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv. For an astute assessment of the Gordon Riots, see GM, L (Aug. 1780), 269. The Riots had occurred in June and received some preliminary comment, but the delay between then and the August issue definitely aided the assessment. For further discussion of the magazine's advantage over newspapers, see

S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 22; GM, XLVII (Oct. 1777), 501; GM, XLVI (May 1776), 231; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 62, 84; D. M. Clark, op. cit., p. 11; S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 9.

37 J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 130 f.

38 GM, XLIX (Dec. 1779), 588. Cf. GM, XLI (Mar. 1771), 104; GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 414; GM, XLVII (Sept. 1777), 422; GM, L (Nov. 1780), 508.

38 See the first paragraph of that "Advertisement", Appendix C. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXX (1760). See also J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 114, 126.

40 GM, LIV (1784), iv.

41 GM, XLVIII (May 1778), [195].

42 GM, L (Supp. 1780), 604. Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 56-57, 90.

43 "Preface", GM, VII (1737). Cf. GM, V (Aug. 1735), 556. For a discussion of poetry alterations, see C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 229.

44 GM, XLVI (Jan. 1776), 20. Cf. GM, XLVI (Supp. 1771), 608.

45 GM, XLII (Feb. 1772), 75. Cf. GM, XLIII (May 1773), 212; GM, XLVI (Apr. 1776), 163; GM, XLIX (Oct. 1779), 484. Often the editors will ask for complete materials in order "to judge of their merit". Cf. GM, XLII (Jan. 1772), 9; GM, XLVII (Supp. 1777), 436; GM, XLIX (Nov. 1779), 530; GI, III, xxx. See also GM, XLVII (Supp. 1777), 624; GM, L (June 1780), 264. Cf. "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), iv.

46 C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 46.

47 GM, XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 152. Cf. GM, XLI (June 1771), 248; GM, XLVI (Sept. 1776), 402.

48 GM, XLVII (Nov. 1777), 540-542. Compare the two entries in GM, XLVII (Jan. 1777), 33-35; and the several ones in GM, XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 182. See the "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii, for an editorial statement on policy for book reviewing. For further discussion see E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., 537-563; D. E. Keesey, op. cit., pp. 13 ff., 171 ff.; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 23; and R. D.

Mayo, op. cit., p. 176 ff.

49 GM, X (May 1740), 250. Cf. GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1778), 588; GM, XLIV (June 1774), 248; GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 400; GM, XLVII (Apr. 1777), 168; and "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), [iii].

50 "Preface", GM, LII (1782). Cf. "Preface", GM, XXIII (1753).

51 GM, XLIV (Mar. 1774), 109, square brackets. Cf. GM, XLIV (May 1774), 200; GM, XLIX (Sept. 1779), 459; "Preface", GM XI (1741).

52 "Preface", GM, XLIX (1779). Cf. GM, VIII (Feb. 1738), [59]-61; and "Preface", GM, XXIII (1753). For further discussion see the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Nov. 1856), 535; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 87, 109.

53 GM, XLVII (Oct. 1777), 472-74. Cf. GM, XLVI (Mar. 1776), 133.

54 GM, XLV (Oct. 1775), 476. Cf. GM, XLVII (Sept. 1777), 433; and GM, I (Dec. 1780), 574-5; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., p. 555 f.; Boswell's Life, I, 71; II, 226; IV, 308.

55 "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Dec. 1856), 668. Cf. L. Hanson, Government and the Press (London, 1936), p. 79; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., pp. 542, 550.

56 GM, XL (July 1770), 298. Cf. GM, X (May 1740), 250; "Preface", GM, XXX (1760); and GM, XLVI (Feb. 1776), 65; Illustrations, VIII, xi.

57 GM, XLVIII (June 1777), 294. Cf. GM, XLII (Dec. 1772), 552; GM, XLIII (May 1773), 212; GM, XLVIII (Supp. 1778), 625; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., p. 559. See also GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 487; GM, XLIX (Oct. 1779), 483.

58 For background on this particular period see: D. Jarrett, Britain 1688-1815 (New York, 1965), pp. 281-88; D. Marshall, Eighteenth Century England (London, 1968), pp. 348-359, 400, 410-11; Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790 (London, 1964), I, ix, 67ff., 73 ff., 80 ff.; R. R. Rea, The English Press in Politics 1760-1774 (Lincoln, 1963), pp. 174-187; R. K. Webb, Modern England; from the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York, 1968), pp. 76 f., 81 n.

59 GM, XXXIX (Feb. 1769), 65.

60 GM, XXXIX (Dec. 1769), [563]. See H. S. Woodfall, ed., Junius's Letters (London, 1772), II, 29-56. Cf. GM, XL (Aug. 1770), 391; GM, XL (July 1770), 298.

61 The letter appears in GM, XL (June 1771), [242]. "G - n" refers to Grafton. Junius himself considered that Grafton letter to be his best work. See John Wade, ed., The Letters of Junius (London, 1907), I, 224. Appendix D contains the letter fully quoted. The edition used for the purposes of comparison and of completing the omitted portions is H. S. Woodfall's, op. cit., II, 182-189.

62 See Chapter II, fn. 56, above. Inconsistencies, however, do occur. Note "M - r" in paragraph four while paragraph six contains "Murder". The references to the letter appear following in this study without footnotes unless the addition of further information warrants the same.

63 The punctuation also functions to sustain that control.

CHAPTER IV

1 "Preface", GM, XVII (1747).

2 "Preface", GM, XVIII (1748). Cf. GM, L (July 1780), 309; "Preface", LIV (1784), iv; and R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 162. See Charts I and II for a breakdown of contents.

3 A. Aronson, "The Anatomy of Taste: A Note on eighteenth-Century Periodical Literature", MLN, LXI (1946), 228.

4 Ibid., p. 236. Cf. ibid., p. 234.

5 GM, I (Feb. 1731), 55, an article from the Weekly Register, February 6, 1731, titled "An Essay on Taste in General". See A. Aronson, op. cit., p. 233.

6 "Preface", London Magazine, XL (London, 1771). See R. D. Mayo, op. cit., pp. 183, 185-186.

7 For further discussion see: Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel (Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 53-54; R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 162; C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 17.

⁸ GM, XXIV (Mar. 1754), 128. Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 60. See also "Preface", GM, XVII (1747); "Preface", GM, XVIII (1748); and "Preface", GM, (1777). Many readers lived in foreign countries. See "Preface", GM, XXIII (1753); GM, XLII (Dec. 1772), 552, (Holland); GM, XLIV (Mar. 1774), 124, (Spain); GM, XLII (Aug. 1772), 355, (New Orelans); GM, XL (Dec. 1770), 565, (Bengal, India). Cf. R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 16; and C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 113.

⁹ "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1748). Cf. R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 163.

¹⁰ "Autobiography", GM, CCI (July 1856), 4. For a discussion of the legal definition of the term, "gentleman", see W. A. P[hillips] and X [the Editors], Encyclopaedia Britannica, (1971), X, 112-113. Cf. Harold Nicholson, Good Behaviour (London, [1955]), p. 187. Nicholson examines the concept of gentleman as defined in English terms by Braithwaite. Cf. W. Roberts's Bookworm article, op. cit., pp. 98-99; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 200.

¹¹ "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii. Cf. R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 162.

¹² See GM, XLVI (Dec. 1776), 543; GM, XLIII (Feb. 1773), 82-6; GM, XLVIII (May 1778), 224-5; GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 425-6.

¹³ "Preface", GM, XXII (1752). Cf. GM, XLIX (Sept. 1779), 452.

¹⁴ C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 8. Cf. ibid., p. 56; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., pp. 552-3. For further discussion of reasons for anonymity see James Kennedy, ed., Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (New York, 1971), p. xi.

¹⁵ GM, XLIII (Supp. 1773), 641-642. Cf. GM, LVII (Dec. 1787), 1044; GM, LVIII (Feb. 1788), 122; GM, LVIII (Jan. 1788), 3-4; and J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 118-119. For the editorial position in the eighties, see GM, LVIII (Jan. 1788), 4.

¹⁶ "Preface", GM, XLIX (1779). The problem of identifying those writers is a difficult one. See GM, XLIX (June 1779), 318; GM, XLIX (May 1779), 261-2; GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 400. Cf. D. F. Bond, op. cit., p. 89; R. Haig, op. cit., p. 167; GM, XLVI (July 1776), 309. Identification,

however, is possible. For examples, see Minor Lives, pp. 9-10; GM, VIII (Nov. 1738); GI, III, lxxiv-lxxviii; GM, XLI (Nov. 1771), 499; GM, XLI (Dec. 1771), 546; GM, XLIII (Nov. 1773), 571; GM, XLIII (Dec. 1773), 613; GM, XLIV (Mar. 1774), 136; GM, XLIX (Nov. 1779), 558; and Illustrations, VIII, x.

17 "Preface", GM, XXVI (1756).

18 "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii. Cf. J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 120.

19 GM, XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 183. Cf. C. D. Yost, op. cit., 18; R. M. Wiles, "Middle-Class Literacy in Eighteenth-Century England: Fresh Advice", in R. F. Brissenden, ed., Studies in the Eighteenth Century (Canberra, 1968), pp. 49-65.

20 A. Aronson, op. cit., p. 232.

21 GM, XLVI (Dec. 1776), 543. Cf. GM, XLVII (Sept. 1777), 433.

22 "Preface", GM, XXII (1752). Cf. "Preface", GM, VII (1737); "Preface", GM, XLIII (1743); "Preface", GM, XV (1745); "Preface", GM, LXIV (1794), iv; GM, XL (Apr. 1775), 168. For examples of contributors who were highly stationed persons, see GI, III, ix, fn.; GM, LII (Mar. 1782), 128; GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 448; GM, XLVIII (Nov. 1778), 519. Cf. "Autobiography", GM, CCI (Sept. 1856), [267]; Illustrations, VIII, xi; E. A. Bloom's book, op. cit., (Providence, 1957), p. 69; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 168, 231, 237; and J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 142. See also "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii.

23 "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii. For a discussion of the profession of antiquarian, see Minor Lives, p. [xv].

24 For the serialized biography of Pegge appearing in the Gentleman's, see GM, LXVI (June 1796), 451-454; (Aug.), 627-630; (Oct.), 803-807; (Nov.), 891-895; (Dec.), 979-982; (Supp.), 1081-1085. Cf. LA, VI, 224-259; DNB; Minor Lives, pp. [127]-147; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 172.

25 An examination of the list of contributions at the end of the biography in the Gentleman's reveals that he signed some of his works: anonymously; using his own name, Samuel or S. Pegge; arranged the letters of his name into an anagram to form a new identity, Paul or P. Gemsege; used the

first letters of The Rector of Whittington, his professional position, to obtain yet another personality, "T. Row"; employed different arrangements of the first and last letters of his names to disguise himself further as "S.P.", "P.S.", "P.G.", "P.E.", "G.P.", or "L.E."; finally, adopted pseudonyms such as "Vicarius Cantianus", "Portius", "Senex", "L. Echard", "A Ploughist", and others. Significantly, what appears to be many correspondents is in fact in his case only one. If this is true of others, as it is, one concludes, therefore, that the magazine was more the domain of a comparatively smaller number of correspondents than of a great many persons, a fact that tended to unify ideas and interests even more.

26 See Henry's letter to Pegge, quoted in J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 84-86.

27 The editors came to refer to materials from correspondents as "letters to the editor". See GM, XLIV (Nov. 1774), 512.

28 GM, XLII (Dec. 1772), 552. For examples of corrections from correspondents, see GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 416; GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 137; and GM, XLIX (July 1779), 354.

29 For further discussion see J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 111 ff., 142, 261, 278, 344.

30 "Preface", GM, XXVII (1737). Cf. "Preface", GM, XVIII (1748); and "Preface", GM, XIX (1749). See also J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 344. Editorial gratitude was profuse. See GM, X (May 1740), 250; "Preface", GM, XXVI (1756); "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758); and "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778).

31 "Preface", GM, LXIV (1794), iv. Cf. GM, X (May 1740), 250.

32 "Preface", GM, LXVII (1777). See also GM, XLIII (Jan. 1773), 18; GM, XLIX (Sept. 1779), 472. Cf. "Preface", GM, XVIII (1748); "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777); Minor Lives, p. xi.

33 GM, XLVIII (Jan. 1778), 16. Cf. GM, XLI (Apr. 1771), 152; and GM, L (Dec. 1780), 561. Sometimes the editors passed on or sponsored notes advising or asking for cooperation. See GM, XLVII (July 1777), 304; GM, XLVII (Aug. 1777), 389; GM, XLVIII (Jan. 1778), 16; GM, XLVIII (Feb. 1778), 77; GM, XLVIII (Mar. 1778), 125. See also GM, XLII (June 1772), 375; GM, XLVII (July 1777), 338; GM, L (June 1780), 272.

34 "Preface", GM, XII (1742), iv. Cf. "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., p. 553, fn. 27. See also GM, XLVIII (Feb. 1778), 64; GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 400.

35 For examples representative of the various aspects of solicitation, see GM, XL (Sept. 1770), [455]; GM, XLVI (Aug. 1776), 357; GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 400; GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 131; GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 137; GM, L (Apr. 1780), 187; GM, L (June 1780), 264; GM, L (June 1780), 264; GM, L (Supp. 1780), 605. Cf. "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777); GM, XLVIII (May 1778), 200.

36 "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii.

37 GM, XXV (Jan. 1755), 37. Cf. GI, III, xxxii-xxxiii; GM, XLVII (Nov. 1777), 516; GM, L (Supp. 1780), 618.

38 GM, XLVI (July 1776), 313. Cf. GM, XL (July 1770), [292]; GM, XLIX (Dec. 1779), 597; and "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iii. Occasionally editorial response to suggestions depended on economic considerations. See GM, XLII (May 1772), 208; GM, XLIV (Oct. 1774), 463; GM, L (Mar. 1780), 129.

39 See GM, L (July 1780), 337; GM, XLIV (Mar. 1774), 136. Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 169.

40 A. W. Hutton, op. cit., p. 666. Cf. GM, XLII (Apr. 1772), 161; GM, XLIV (July 1774), 328; and J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 111.

41 GM, XL (Apr. 1770), 153.

42 GM, XLII (Feb. 1772), 59.

43 R. D. Mayo, op. cit., p. 322.

44 GM, XLVIII (Supp. 1778), 644. Cf. GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 128.

45 GM, L (June 1780), 264.

46 GM, XLI (Dec. 1771), 532. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXVII (1757); GM, XLI (June 1771), 248; GM, XLVI (Oct. 1776), 448; GM, XLIX (May 1779), 225; "Index Indicatorius", GM, LV (1785), [iii] ff.

47 GM, XLVIII (Jan. 1778), 16. Cf. GM, XLIII (Mar. 1773), 123.

48 "Preface", GM, XXVI (1756). Cf. "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782), ii; "Preface", LXIV (1794), iv.

49 GM, XLIII (Feb. 1773), 71. Cf. GM, L (Aug. 1780), 374; Illustrations, VIII, xi; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 240; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 298, 307 ff.; Minor Lives, p. 54; C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 136.

50 "Preface", GM, XXV (1755).

51 "Preface", GM, XXV (1755).

52 For authentic reader comment on general subjects included in the magazine, see GM, XLI (Mar. 1771), 109; GM, XLIII (Oct. 1773), 499; GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1773), 581; GM, XLVII (June 1777), 266; GM, XL (Jan. 1770), 38; GM, XLIV (Apr. 1774), 161; GM, L (July 1780), 336; "Preface", GM, XLIV (1784), iv; GM, XL (Dec. 1770), 583; GM, L (Oct. 1780), 460; GM, XLVII (Mar. 1777), 110; GM, XLVII (Aug. 1777), 365.

53 GM, XLIX (Mar. 1779), 132. Cf. GM, XLVI (Mar. 1776), 112; GM, XLVI (July 1776), 309; GM, XLIX (Oct. 1779), 484. See also J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 108-109, 344; and C. D. Yost, op. cit., p. 113.

54 "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777).

55 For further examples of complaints see "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777); "Preface", GM, LII (1782). Cf. GM, XLVI (Nov. 1776), 496; GM, XLVII (Jan. 1777), 13; GM, XLVIII (June 1778), 247; GM, XLIX (Apr. 1779), 173. See also GM, XL (Aug. 1770), 373; GM, XLVII (July 1777), 322; and GM, L (Nov. 1780), 506. For complaints against the poetry section, see GM, IX (Mar. 1739), 157; "Preface", GM, XIX (1749); cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 230. For complaints against editorial inaccuracy, see GM, XLVIII (Feb. 1778), 88; GM, XLIV (June 1774), 268. Cf. "Preface", GM, VII (1737); GM, XLIV (Oct. 1774), 463.

56 GM, XLV (Aug. 1775), 365-366. See the whole letter quoted in Appendix E.

57 GM, XLVII (Dec. 1777), 569. Cf. GM, I (Aug. 1731), 319; GM, XLVII (Supp. 1777), 624.

58 "Preface", GM, XXII (1752). Cf. GM, XLIX (Feb. 1779), 92. For further discussion on the technique of influence see D. M. Clark, op. cit., p. 10 f.; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 114, 138.

59 "Preface", GM, XIII (1743). Cf. "Preface", GM, XVII (1747); "Preface", GM, XIX (1749); "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Feb. 1857), 157; and L. Hanson, op. cit., p. 81. See also the "Preface", GM, XLVIII (1778); "Preface", GM, LIV (1784).

60 "Preface", GM, LXI (1791), iii. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXVIII (1758); "Preface", GM, XLIV (1774); "Preface", GM, XLVII (1777); "Preface", GM, LX (1790), iii; "Preface", GM, C (1830), v; Illustrations, VIII, xi-xii; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 196. Readers shared similar views. See, for example, GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 404. Cf. GM, L (Oct. 1780), 486. Yet the editors were capable of perceptive criticism especially of the political situation. For examples, see: GM, XLV (Mar. 1775), 201, 305; GM, XLV (June 1775), 295; GM, XLV (Aug. 1775), 397, 405; GM, XLV (Dec. 1775), 597; GM, XLVI (May 1776), 221; GM, XLVI (Sept. 1776), 476; GM, XLVI (Dec. 1776), 573; GM, XLVII (Nov. 1777), 549; GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 413-14; GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 489; GM, XLVIII (Supp. 1778), 629-38; GM, LI (Jan. 1780), 31-32; GM, LI (July 1780), 337; GM, LII (Feb. 1782), 82-83; GM, LIII (Feb. 1783), 145, 155. For important discussion of press opinion in general on the political climate in the eighteenth century see: D. M. Clark, op. cit.; S. Lutnick, op. cit.; R. R. Rea, op. cit.; R. D. Spector, English Literary Periodicals and the Climate of Opinion during the Seven Years' War (Hague, Paris, 1966). See also Sir Lewis Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution (London, 1961); and J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III 1760-1815 (Oxford, 1960).

61 "Advertisement", GM, LII (1782). Cf. GM, XLVI (Feb. 1776), 56. See also "Preface", GM, XIV (1754); "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv; Illustrations, VIII, xii; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 164, 167 f. Cf. GM, XL (Feb. 1770), 66; and GM, XLIV (Jan. 1774), 8.

62 Donald A. Stauffer, The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England (Princeton, 1941), 508. Using the guidelines provided by James C. Johnston, Biography: The Literature of Personality (New York, London, [1927]), pp. xiii f., 285 ff., one finds biographical information permeating the magazine. Cf. Mark Longacre, English Biography in the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 477-512.

63 "Preface", GM, XII (1742), [iii]-iv. Cf. "Preface", GM, LXIV (1794), iv; Minor Lives, [xv]-xvi; C. L. Carlson, op. cit., p. 134; S. A. Burroughs, op. cit., pp. 1-3, 67, 180.

64 GM, L (July 1780), 310. Cf. GM, L (June 1780), 263; GM, LII (1782), iii; David Henry's Letter to Samuel Pegge, quoted by J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 84. For a fuller discussion of prose fiction in the magazine, see R. D. Mayo, op. cit., especially pp. 9, 165-166, 180. Cf. C. L. Carlson, op. cit., 127.

65 GM, XLVIII (Nov. 1738), 600. Cf. "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv. For the type, quality and quantity of the magazine's verse, see C. D. Yost, op. cit., especially pp. 7-8, 17, 31, 36, 50, 63, 98, 111, 120, 137, 138 ff.; and C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 203, 238.

66 "Preface", GM, LIV (1784), iv.

67 GM, XLVII (June 1777), 294. Cf. "Preface", GM, XXIV (1754); "Preface", GM, LV (1785).

68 GM, XL (Oct. 1770), 454. For other examples of such direct advertising see GM, XI (Apr. 1741), 215; GM, XXXV (May 1765), 230-1; GM, XXXVII (Feb. 1767), 86; GM, XLV (May 1775), 245-6; GM, XLV (July 1775), 339; GM, XLVII (Mar. 1777), 134-6; GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 464. For further discussion, see C. L. Carlson, op. cit., pp. 53, 229-230; E. A. Bloom's SP article, op. cit., pp. 543, 556, 560; D. E. Keeseey, op. cit., pp. 25, 33, 44, 90, 217 f.; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. viii, 149, 258-259, 266-268, 344.

69 GM, XL (June 1770), 259. Cf. GM, XLII (Sept. 1772), 400.

70 GM, XL (Apr. 1771), 152.

71 GM, XLIV (Nov. 1774), 520. For other examples, see GM, XL (Dec. 1770), 584; GM, XLI (June 1771), 248; GM, XLI (July 1771), 296; GM, XLVII (June 1777), 294.

72 The problem of identifying editors' work in the magazine is similar to that of correspondents. See fn. 16 above. For E. Cave, see the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Apr. 1857), 386. For examples of the use of stylistic analysis to identify authorship especially in the case of Samuel Johnson, see A. Sherbo, op. cit.; L. F. Powell, op. cit.; and E. A. Bloom's book, op. cit., Appendix A, p. [249] ff. For David Henry, see LA, III, 425; Boswell's Life, "Index", VI, under "Henry, David"; GM, XLII (Mar. 1772), 104. For Hawkesworth, see D. D. Eddy, op. cit., especially pp. 224, 229, 234, 236. Cf. GM, L (May 1780), 241-2; and GM, L (June 1780), 279. The editors often took pains to avoid having

correspondents use the same signature as others. See GM, XLI (June 1771), 248. Cf. the "Autobiography", GM, CCII (Mar. 1857), 284 fn. f., 287; D. D. Eddy, op. cit., p. 224. For John Duncombe as "Crito", see GI, III, lxvi; Minor Lives, p. 86. For Richard Gough, see GI, III, lxvi; GM, XL (Aug. 1770), 374; GM XLI (July 1771), 315-7. For John Nichols, see LA, VI, 628; Minor Lives, p. 179. The ruse of disguise served basically as a means of exercising influence without risking public censure.

73 David Henry was interested in the theory and practice of agriculture and discussions of his work often appeared in the magazine. See, for example, GM, XLI (Nov. 1771), 505-9; GM, XLI (Dec. 1771), 352-55. Cf. LA, III 424 f.; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 110, 138.

74 D. E. Keesey, op. cit., p. 113. Cf. GM, XLIII (June 1773), 286-90; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., pp. 28, 126 ff., 138-9.

75 For examples of John Duncombe's works discussed and criticized in the magazine, see GM, XLVIII (Mar. 1778), 131-2; GM XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 176; GM, XLIV (Sept. 1774), 431-2; GM, XLI (Nov. 1771), 488-90; GM, XLI (Dec. 1771), 535-[537]; GM, XLIV (Feb. 1774), 83-5; GM, XLVIII (Jan. 1778), 37; GM XLVIII (Apr. 1778), 152; GM, L (Aug. 1780), 374; GM, L (Mar. 1780), 120.

76 GI, III, lxvi.

77 For a discussion of Nichols attributes, see Illustrations, VIII, vi-vii, ix-x, xviii, xx-xxi, xxiii-xxiv; Minor Lives, p. [283]; J. M. Kuist, op. cit., p. 92.

78 Minor Lives, p. xxxii. For further discussion of Nichols's friends, see GM, L (July 1780), 330-3; GM, L (Sept. 1780), 425-30; Illustrations, VIII, xiii-xiv; Minor Lives, pp. xviii, xxvii, 4, 243-244, 2456, [275]; E. Hart's PMIA article, op. cit., p. 393; and A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 176.

79 See GM, XLIX (June 1779), 312-313; GM, XLIX (July 1779), 362-364; GM, XLIX (Aug. 1779), 453-457; GM, XLIX (Sept. 1779), 505-507; GM, XLIX (Oct. 1779), 549-552; GM, XLIX (Nov. 1779), 598-601. See also: LA, II, 550; Illustrations, VIII, xiii; S. A. Burroughs, op. cit., p. 88. For more information on Nichols's printing establishment see: E. Hart's Bucknell Review article, op. cit., p. 233 ff.; and A. H. Smith, op. cit., especially p. 175.

80 The Bowyer press, which Nichols inherited in 1777,

had been as far back as 1729 the Printer of the Votes of the House of Commons, a contract held until 1939, a fact that placed some restrictions on political comment under Nichols's management of the magazine. See LA, I, 392; III, 39-43. Cf. A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 180; S. Lutnick, op. cit., p. 7.

81 Illustrations, VIII, xiii.

82 E. Hart's Bucknell Review article, op. cit., p. 238. For a disdainful comment on Nichols by Horace Walpole, see Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Mason, II, Volume 29 of the Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence (New Haven, 1955), 292.

83 GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 409-412; GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 449-456; GM, XLVIII (Nov. 1778), 513-516; GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1778), 569-574. Cf. GM, XLVIII (July 1778), 310; and GM, XLVIII (Aug. 1778), 344. That work grew over the years into the multi-volumed Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century and its continuation, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century. For further bibliographical details, see Illustrations, VIII, xvi, xx; A. Dobson, op. cit., p. 213.

84 GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 409.

85 The source of comparison is basically S. A. Burroughs, op. cit.

86 GM, XLVIII (Oct. 1778), 454.

87 D. A. Stauffer, op. cit., p. 239, criticizes Nichols's use of anecdotes. Cf. ibid., p. 491. See also S. A. Burroughs, op. cit., pp. 26, 87, 254. Cf. C. R. Tracy, "Johnson and the Art of Anecdote", University of Toronto Quarterly, XV (Oct. 1945), 86-92.

88 GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1778), 570.

89 For examples, see the footnotes on Mr. William Clarke, GM, XLVIII (Sept. 1778), 410, and the one on Robert Jenkin, GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1778), 570.

90 GM, XLVIII (Dec. 1778), 572. For a discussion of truth, its public and private aspects, in the presentation of eighteenth-century magazine biography, see S. A. Burroughs, op. cit., pp. 6, 11, 247, 262. Cf. E. Hart, in Minor Lives, p. xxiii.

GLOSSARY

Abridgment: A condensed version of a work of fiction, not greatly reduced in scale. Most abridgments followed more or less the author's own wording, and, therefore, attempted to afford the same pleasures as the original. From R. D. Mayo, op. cit., Glossary. He also says, p. 239, that: Abridgments were always intended to have interest in themselves, as imaginative works, at the same time that they also figured as condensations of new books. GM, VIII (Feb. 1738), 61, comments: "Argument is the Chief Object of an Abridger." Cf. "Preface", GM, LII (1782); Boswell's Life, I, 71; II, 226; IV, 308.

Article: A literary composition forming materially a part of a journal, magazine, encyclopædia or other collection, but treating a specific topic distinctly and independently. From the OED. The "Preface", GM, XVI (1747), says: "They justly expect that the articles in our Magazine should not be such as may be gather'd from every stall, but new, or curious, relative to the design, and tending to general information."

Author: 1. The first beginner or mover of any thing; he to whom any thing owes its original. 2. The efficient; he that effects or produces any thing. 3. The first writer of any thing; distinct from the translator or compiler. From Johnson's Dictionary. The "Advertisement", March, 1731, points out: "the Author will think himself oblig'd to such Persons who shall give him a true state of any Transaction erroneously publish'd in the Papers".

Compiler: A collector; one who forms a composition from various authors. From Johnson's Dictionary. See the "Preface", GM, LXI (1791).

Edit: To prepare, set in order for publication. From Johnson's Dictionary. Similar words are: to oversee, to direct, to conduct, to compile, to collate, to revise, to emend.

Editor: He that revises or prepares any work for publication. From Johnson's Dictionary. One who prepares the literary work of another person, or number of persons for publication, by selecting, revising and arranging the material; One who conducts a newspaper publication. From the OED. Similar words are: author, compiler. R. Haig, op. cit.,

defines the word thus: "the name of the man responsible for selecting and synthesizing". The term makes an early appearance in the "Preface", GM, XI (1741): "To render this Variety the greater, we resolved to make our Collection more in Quantity than any other Editors."

Epitome: A highly condensed summary of a work of fiction, intended chiefly to acquaint readers with the fable of the book. From R. D. Mayo, op. cit. The "Preface", GM, XVII (1757), says: "We have not extracted unconnected parts, but have given an epitome of the whole."

Extract: A selection usually from a book in the form of a direct quotation for the purpose of illustrating.

Essay: A loose sally of the mind; an irregular indigested piece, not a regular and orderly composition. From Johnson's Dictionary. A composition of moderate length on any particular subject or branch of a subject; originally implying want of finish. . .but now said of a composition more or less elaborate in style, though limited in range. From the OED.

Historical Miscellany: A type of miscellany that attempted to record contemporary "history", by summarizing the news, and keeping readers informed on parliamentary affairs, new advances in science and learning, and contemporary opinion on a broad front. From R. D. Mayo, op. cit.

Impartial: Equitable; free from regard to party, indifferent, disinterested, equal in distribution of justice; just. It is used as well of action as persons. From Johnson's Dictionary. Not partial; not favouring one party or side more than another; unprejudiced, unbiased, fair, just, equitable. From the OED with an example from Junius's Letter No. XXXV, 1769: "Their sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial."

Journal: A daily newspaper or other publication; hence, by extension: Any periodical publication containing news or dealing with matters of current interest in any particular sphere. From the OED. Nichols, GI, III, xxxvii, quotes Johnson as saying: "I think the insertion of the exact dates of the most important events, in the margin, or of so many events as may enable the reader to regulate the order of facts with exactness, the proper medium between a Journal, which as regard only to time, and a History, which ranges facts according to their dependence on each other, and postpones or anticipates according to the con-

venience of narration."

Magazine: Of late this word has signified a miscellaneous pamphlet, from a periodical miscellany named the Gentleman's Magazine, by Edward Cave. From Johnson's Dictionary. A periodical publication containing articles by various writers; chiefly, a periodical publication intended for general rather than learned or professional readers, consisting of a miscellany of critical and descriptive articles, essays, works of fiction. From the OED. Cf. the "Autobiography", GM, CCI (July 1856), 8.

Miscellany: Referring to a periodical; a serial collection of writings on several subjects or in several manners, designed to amuse and inform a somewhat general audience of readers. From R. D. Mayo, op. cit. In his study "It is used exclusively to denote periodical publications like the Gentleman's Journal, the Gentleman's Magazine. . . which offered a flexible combination of poems, stories, essays, letters, and informational articles, some original, some collected from outside sources, or translated from foreign literature. Because of the dominant position of the Gentleman's Magazine among eighteenth-century serial publications, the term magazine was frequently synonymous with miscellany."

Periodical: The periodical is usually a series of numbered and dated issues produced under a continuing title on a definite frequency for an indefinite period. It differs from a collection of related pamphlets or allied books in its very periodicity, and from its older, often mercurial, brother-in-print the newspaper in that the latter is more concerned with momentary matters and proceeds on a less leisurely course. The periodical is a publishing enterprise with editorial problems of contents and methods and deadlines, with business problems of production and circulation and solvency. Every issue of a periodical is a unit in serialization subject to the limitations and challenges of date, length, format, audience, purpose, material, techniques, editorship, authorship, and temper of the time; each number is a part of a whole. From Richmond P. Bond, Studies in the Early English Periodical (Chapel Hill, [1957]), p. [3].

Policy: In reference to conduct or action generally: Prudent, expedient, or advantageous procedure; prudent or politic course of action; also as a quality of the agent; sagacity, shrewdness, artfulness. From the OED. The editors of the Gentleman's generally used the words, "plan" or "method"

to refer to their policy.

Publisher: One who puts out a book to the world. From Johnson's Dictionary. The OED terms that definition rare now. They do, however, give this quotation from Dyche and Pardon, 1740: Publisher. . .among the Book-sellers, is one that has his name put at the bottom of pamphlets, newspapers. . .though the property is in another person, to whom he is accountable for the sale. . . .

Review: A form of surrogate magazine fiction, very popular in the miscellanies, consisting of a summary of a new work of fiction, "specimens", and a few critical comments. . . . The "review" is distinguished from the epitome in being prefaced with a bibliographical citation giving the title of the work, its publisher and price. From R. D. Mayo, op. cit.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SELECTED DATES

- 1731 - Founding of the Gentleman's Magazine by Edward Cave.
- 1732 - Founding of the London Magazine.
- 1749 - Founding of the Monthly Review by Ralph Griffiths.
- 1754 - January 10 - Death of Edward Cave (b. 1691). David Henry and Richard Cave take over the management of the magazine.
- 1755 - January 1 - One-twelfth share of the Gentleman's sold to F. Newbery via Benjamin Collins. See C. Welsh, op. cit., pp. 84-85.
- 1756 - Founding of the Critical Review.
- 1765 - The Book Review section becomes a regular feature in the April issue of the magazine under the guidance of Dr. John Hawkesworth.
- 1766 - Death of Mr. Richard Cave, nephew of Edward. David Henry relinquishes the actual profession of a Printer and assigns others to print the magazine for him.
- 1769 - Saturday, January 2 - The first letter signed Junius is printed in the Public Advertiser.
- 1770 - The editors resume the publication of the debates in Parliament as a regular feature. In 1772 they openly entitle them "the Debates in Parliament". By 1783, the practice of printing the names of the speakers with blanks and dashes is entirely dropped.
- 1771 - February and March - The House of Commons orders eight printers to attend at the bar on a charge of breach of privilege, in publishing reports of debates. December - David Bond becomes the sole printer of the Gentleman's until June of 1778.
- 1772 - The Complete English Farmer published. (Written anonymously by David Henry.) See GM, XLI (Nov. 1771), 505-9.

The Rev. John Duncombe becomes the major book reviewer, a position he is to hold until his death in 1786. See GI, III, lxxii.

- 1775 - 1783 - The American Revolution.
- 1778 - The Brief Memoirs of Mr. Bowyer, written by John Nichols and privately circulated.
August - John Nichols buys into the Gentleman's and begins his important role with it. See IA, VI, 628.
- 1780 - June 8 - Francis, nephew to John, Newbery dies. His wife, Elizabeth, carries on the business.
Gordon Riots.
September - D. Bond's lease of the gate expires. See Friendship, p. 6.
- 1781 - The printing of the magazine entirely removed to Cicero's Head, the site of John Nichols's printing establishment.
- 1783 - The magazine expands in length to two yearly bound volumes.
- 1786 - May 7 - A fire in Ludgate Street consumes Mrs. Newbery's shop.
- 1791 - David Henry formally turns over to John Nichols the "whole and entire managem^t" of the Gentleman's. See Minor Lives, p. 234.
- 1792 - Death of David Henry (b. 1709). Nichols becomes solely responsible for the magazine.
- 1808 - February 8 - Fire destroyed the printing establishment of John Nichols.
- 1826 - Death of John Nichols (b. Feb. 2, 1744/5).
- 1868 - A radical change in editorial policy leads to a further decline in prosperity.
- 1907 - The magazine becomes a title only.

NOTE ON DATING

"Chesterfield's Act" (24 Geo. II, c. 23.) passed Parliament in March 1751. It enacted that the following first of January should be the first day of 1752 and that the second of September 1752 should be followed by September 14, 1752. Previous to that act, Great Britain and Ireland had legally reckoned the beginning of the new year as the 25th March (Lady's Day - the Feast of the Annunciation). That Act did not significantly affect the Gentleman's for the magazine followed the general practice of most of the nation in referring to January 1st as the change in the new year. Thus the editors thought of the periodical's first issue as January, 1731 (New Style) as opposed to 1730 (Old Style). New Style had frequently been used as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century in England although the continent had used the newer system earlier. In reference to the list of selected dates above, all appear in New Style unless otherwise indicated. See C. R. Cheney, Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (1955).

APPENDIX B*

Advertisement in the Universal Spectator
for
January 30, 1731

In a few Days will be Publish'd, Number 1
for January, 1731
The Gentleman's Magazine: or Trader's Monthly
Intelligencer: Being a Collection of
Matters of Information and Amusement: Com-
priz'd under the following Heads, viz.

Publick Affairs, Foreign and Domestick,
Births, Marriages, and Deaths of Eminent Persons,
Preferments, Ecclesiastical and Civil.
Prices of Goods, Grain and Stocks.
Bankrupts declar'd and Books Publish'd
Pieces of Humour and Poetry
Disputes in Politicks and Learning.
Lists of the Civil and Military Establishment.
And whatever is worth quoting from the
Numerous Papers of News and Entertainment, British
and Foreign; or shall be communicated
proper for Publication.
With Instructions in Gardening, and the Fairs for
February.

By Sylvanus Urban of Aldermanbury, Gent.
Prodesse et Delectare.

Printed for A. Dodd without Temple-Bar. Price 6d.

*. Quoted by C. Lennart Carlson, The First Magazine (Provi-
dence, 1938), p. 30.

APPENDIX C

"Advertisement", reverse side of the title-page, March, 1731, issue of the Gentleman's Magazine.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

It has been unexceptionably advanced, that a good Abridgment of the Law is more intelligible than the Statutes at large; so a nice Model is as entertaining as the Original, and a true Specimen as satisfactory as the whole Parcel: This may serve to illustrate the Reasonableness of our present Undertaking, which in the first place is to give Monthly a View of all the Pieces of Wit, Humour, or Intelligence, daily offer'd to the Publick in the News-Papers, (which of late are so multiply'd, as to render it impossible, unless a man makes it a business, to consult them all) and in the next place we shall join therewith some other matters of Use or Amusement that will be communicated to us.

Upon calculating the Number of News-Papers, 'tis found that (besides divers written Accounts) no less than 200 Half-sheets per Month are thrown from the Press only in London, and about as many printed elsewhere in the Three Kingdoms; a considerable Part of which constantly exhibit Essays on various Subjects for Entertainment; and all the rest, occasionally oblige their Readers with agreeable Pieces of Poetry, valuable Receipts in Physick, Dissertations on Trade, Revolutions in Kingdoms, Secrets in Art or Nature, Criticisms in Literature, Essays on Government, and Proposals of Public Concern, communicated to the World by Persons of Capacity thro' their Means: so that they are become the chief Channels of Amusement and Intelligence. But then being only loose Papers, uncertainly scatter'd about, it often happens, that many things deserving Attention, contained in them, are only seen by Accident, and others not sufficiently publish'd or preserved for universal Benefit and Information.

This Consideration has induced several Gentlemen to promote a Monthly Collection, to treasure up, as in a Magazine, the most remarkable Pieces on the Subjects above-mention'd, or at least impartial Abridgments thereof, as a

Method much better calculated to preserve those Things that are curious, than that of transcribing.

In pursuance whereof, and the Encouragement already given, this Work will be continued, shall appear earlier, and contain more than former Monthly Books of the same Price.

As all possible Care will be taken to avoid the Mistakes incident to undertakings of this kind, so the Author will think himself oblig'd to such Persons who shall give him a true state of any Transaction erroneously publish'd in the Papers, or shall please to communicate any Pieces of Wit or Entertainment proper to be inserted; directing for him at the British Coffee-house in Finch Lane, near the Royal Exchange, or that at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell.

The "Advertisement" appears from all available evidence to be the original for March, 1731. See W. B. Todd, "A Bibliographical Account of The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1754", SB, XVIII (1965), 81-93. The passage appears originally in italics with the underlined portions in Roman type. A comparison between the "Advertisement" quoted here and the "Preface", GM, I (1731) reveals changes, for example, in wording, punctuation and capitalization.

APPENDIX D

"JUNIUS's Letter to his Grace the Duke of G[rafton]N."

Gentleman's Magazine, XLI (June 1771), [242].

My Lord,

The profound respect I bear to the gracious Prince who governs this country with no less honour to himself than satisfaction to his subjects, and who restores you to rank under his standard, will save you from a multitude of reproaches. [The attention I should have paid to your failings is involuntarily attracted to the hand that rewards them; and though I am not so partial to the royal judgment as to affirm that the favour of a king can remove mountains of infamy, it serves to lessen at least, for undoubtedly it divides, the burden. While I remember how much is due to his sacred character, I cannot, with any decent appearance of propriety, call you the meanest and the basest fellow in the kingdom. I protest, my Lord, I do not think you so. You will have a dangerous rival in that kind of fame to which you have hitherto so happily directed your ambition, as long as there is one man living who thinks you worthy of his confidence, and fit to be trusted with any share in his government.]

I confess you have great intrinsic merit; but take care you do not value it too highly. Consider how much of it would have been lost to the world, if the K - had not graciously affixed his stamp, and given it currency among his subjects. If it be true that a virtuous man, struggling with adversity, be a scene worthy of the Gods, the glorious contention, between you and the best of Princes, deserves an audience equally respectable. [I think I already see other gods rising to behold it.]

But this language is too mild for the occasion. The K - is determined, that our abilities shall not be lost to society. The perpetration and description of new crimes will find employment for us both. My Lord, if the persons, who have been loudest in their professions of patriotism, had done their duty to the public with the same zeal and perseverance that I did, I will not assert that Government would have recovered its dignity, but at

least our gracious S - n must have spared his subjects this last insult, which, if there be any feeling left among us, they will resent more than even the real injuries they received from every measure of your Grace's Administration. In vain would he have looked round him for another character so consummate as yours. Lord M - d shrinks from his principles; - his ideas of Government perhaps go farther than your own, but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. - C - F - x is yet in blossom; and as for Mr. W - rb - e, there is something about him which even treachery cannot trust. For the present therefore, the best of Princes must have contented himself with Lord S - h. - You would long since have received your final dismissal and reward; and I, my Lord, who do not esteem you the more for the high office you possess, would willingly have followed you to your retirement. There is surely something singularly benevolent in the character of our S - n. From the moment he ascended the Throne, there is no crime of which human nature is capable (and I call upon the Recorder to witness it) that has not appeared venial in his sight. With any other Prince, the shameful desertion of him, in the midst of that distress, which you alone had created, - in the very crisis of danger, when he fancied he saw the Throne already surrounded by men of virtue and abilities, would have outweighed the memory of all your former services. But his M - y is full of justice and understands the doctrine of compensations. He remembers with gratitude how soon you had accommodated your morals to the necessities of his service; - how chearfully you had abandoned the engagements of private friendship and renounced the most solemn professions to the public. The sacrifice of Lord C - m was not lost upon him. Even the cowardice and perfidy of deserting him may have done you no disservice in his esteem. The instance was painful, but the principle might please.

You did not neglect the Magistrate, while you flattered the Man. The expulsion of Mr. Wilkes predetermined in the Cabinet; - the power of depriving the subject of his Birthright attributed to a resolution of one branch of the Legislature; - the Constitution impudently invaded by the H - of C - s; - the right of defending it treacherously renounced by the H - of L - ds: - These are the strokes, my Lord, which in the present reign, recommend to office, and constitute a Minister. [They would have determined your sovereign's judgment if they had made no impression upon his heart.] We need not look for any other species of merit to account for the K - g's taking the

earliest opportunity to recall you to his councils. Yet you have other merit in abundance. - Mr. Hine, - the Duke of Portland, - and Mr. Yorke. - Breach of Trust, Robbery, and M - r. You would think it a compliment to your gallantry, if I added Rape to the catalogue; - but the stile of your amours secures you from resistance. I know how well these several charges have been defended. In the first instance, the Breach of trust is supposed to have been its own reward. Mr. Bradshaw affirms upon his honour (and so may the gifts of smiling never depart from him!) that you reserved no part of Mr. Hine's purchase money for your own use, but that every shilling of it was scrupulously paid to Governor Burgoyne. - Make haste, my Lord; - another patent, applied in time, may keep the OAKS in you [sic] family. - If not, Birnham Wood, I fear, must come to the Macaroni.

The Duke of Portland was in life your earliest friend. In defence of his property he had nothing to plead, but equity against Sir James Lowther, and prescription against the Crown. You felt for your friend; but the law must take its course. Posterity will scarce believe that Lord B - e's son-in-law had barely interest enough at the Treasury to get his Grant compleated before the General Election.

Enough has been said of that detestable transaction, which ended in the death of Mr. Yorke. - I cannot speak of it without horror and compassion. - To excuse yourself, you publicly impeach your accomplice, and to his mind perhaps the accusation may be flattery. But in Murder you are both principals. [It was once a question of emulation, and if the event had not disappointed the immediate schemes of the closet, it might still have been a hopeful subject of jest and merriment between you.]

This letter, my Lord, is only a preface to my future correspondence. The remainder of the summer shall be dedicated to your amusement. For I mean now and then to relieve the severity of your morning studies, and to prepare you for the business of the day. [Without pretending to more than Mr. Bradshaw's sincerity, you may rely upon my attachment as long as you are in office.]

Will your Grace forgive me, if I venture to express some anxiety for a man, whom I know you do not love? My Lord W - h has cowardice to plead, and a desertion of a later date than your own. You know the Privy Seal was in-

tended for him; and if you consider the dignity of the post he deserted, you will hardly think it decent to quarter him upon Mr. Rigby. Yet he must have Bread, my Lord; - or rather, he must have Wine. If you deny him the cup, there will be no keeping him within the pale of the Ministry.

JUNIUS

The passages in square brackets appear in the H. S. Woodfall edition of Junius's Letters (London, 1772), II, 182-189.

APPENDIX E

"Charges against the Editor stated and answered."
GM, XLV (Aug. 1775), 365-6.

Mr. Urban,

I am sorry to see the Gentleman's Magazine made a vehicle of Party Lies and Paragraphs fit only for the Public Ledger or London Evening Post.

The Editors of the Gentleman's Magazine utterly disclaim all party partialities whatever, and never did, nor ever will, knowingly, make it the Vehicle of Party Lies, or Party Paragraphs. It is part of their plan to record the memorable transactions of the times, and in doing that they regard no party, but act indifferently by all. Their commendation is without flattery, and their censure without malignancy.

In p. 326 of your last Magazine, a charge is brought against the King of settling an annuity of 50l. a year on a sailor* for his bravery in killing two savages and carrying off a young lion from them which they had taken, and which he has presented to his Majesty. I have no doubt but that this fact, is very grossly misrepresented.

The paragraph, on which the above charge is founded, was not inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine at all. Our Correspondent's motive for giving occasion to the above charge, he no doubt will explain. All we shall add, is, that if the fact be true, and we have never seen it contradicted, the person who recommended the soldier to his Majesty's notice must have considered the action in a military light only, and must totally have overlooked the criminality of it in a moral sense. The killing two innocent fellow-creatures, unprovoked, only to rob them of the fruits of their ingenuity, can never

*[editorial] footnote Soldier it should have been written.

surely be accounted meritorious in one who calls himself a Christian. If it is not meritorious, but the contrary, the murderer was a very improper object to be recommended as worthy to be rewarded by a humane and Christian King.

- With the same illiberal view of throwing an odium on the King, a paragraph was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine of last March, p. 147, viz. That Lord Balmerino, son of the late Earl of Balmerino, executed for being concerned in the rebellion in 1745, was presented to the King, and very graciously received.

- Now it is certain, as Mr. Watson has observed, page 316, that the Earl of Balmerino left no son; but what of that? The lye has had time to operate and probably spread by many who may not be able or willing to contradict it.

By the above charge we may learn how differently the relation of the same fact may strike different minds. The editor, at the time he inserted the article, had no reason to doubt the truth of it, and rather inserted it in compliment to his Majesty's clemency in graciously encouraging returning Loyalty, than with a view to throw an odium for countenancing a Rebel's son. It is known that the son of Lord Lovat is deservedly a favourite. Why might not the son of Lord Balmerino have been the same, had he been equally loyal and equally brave? Be that as it may, the ready insertion of Mr. Watson's information must in the eye of impartiality clear us from the charge of any intentional disrespect to his Majesty.

In p. 317; the indecent and inflammatory Remonstrance of the Livery of London intended to be presented to the King (I should rather say intended to be spread through America) is given at full length, whilst the more mild and decent Address of the Aldermen and Common-Council, which really was presented, is totally omitted.

For both these Petitions we could not find room in the same Magazine. The former had preference only as it was first in point of time.

- With regard to Mr. Strange the engraver's persecution, as is called, p. 333, by the King and Lord Bute, I will leave his own performance to speak for itself. - Sure I am, that many unprejudiced persons who have read all Mr. Strange's

pamphlet have drawn very different conclusions even from his own premises.

The Reviewer of Mr. Strange's pamphlet will, without doubt, answer for himself. In the mean time, it is a question worth examining, Whether men strongly prejudiced themselves are not insensibly led to fancy prejudices in others that never did exist.

- The account of the shipwrights association, and quitting the King's yards, p. 325, is set, if not in a false, at least in a very unfair and imperfect light. A very different, and, I believe, a much more just account, was given of this transaction in some of the papers. This surely should have accompanied the other, and then readers might have formed their own judgments.

Whenever an authentic account of the shipwrights association shall be communicated to us, we shall give it preference to every other subject. - If we are imposed upon by false intelligence, we are ever ready to expose the error, and never suppress the TRUTH, when it comes to our knowledge, to cover our own or our Correspondents mistakes.

- In June Magazine 4 pages are filled with an historical account of an ancient picture at Windsor Castle, lately engraved at the expence of the Society of Antiquarians. This print has been advertised to be sold only at the Society's house in Chancery-lane; but in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, p. 338, it is said that this print is not to be sold, but appropriated entirely to the use of the members of THE ROYAL SOCIETY, at whose expence it was engraved. - This is but a sorry return for the pages that were borrowed from the last volume of the Society's tracts.

To this charge we plead guilty. We acknowledge our fault in giving too easy credit to the information we received from memory only. But now that our Correspondent, who made the enquiry and the public, are authentically informed by the above remark, we hope the injury to the Society is repaired by the best return we can make.

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