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Barbara L. Fitzpatrick  
*University of New Orleans*, moyakniga@icloud.com

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**Physical Evidence for John Coote's Eighteenth-Century Periodical Proprietorships: The Examples of Coote's *Royal Magazine* (1759-71) and Smollett's *British Magazine* (1760-67)<sup>1</sup>**

Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick

*Hail, mighty Coote! whose shop can soonest raise  
The needy wretch to pudding and to praise; . . .  
Whose authors first in reputation stand,  
And hold the reins of judgment from thy hand;  
Are once a month consign'd to endless fame  
And score an alehouse reck'ning in thy name!<sup>2</sup>*

The history of the establishment, production, and management of eighteenth-century London magazines remains largely unexplored, partly because of the rarity of extant copies of the magazines themselves. Few literary scholars venture beyond reading articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, or the two reviews, the *Monthly* and the *Critical*, and those who do attempt to gauge the contents of more obscure periodicals often find themselves thwarted by broken runs and the difficulties of obtaining even microfilm copies. Anyone pursuing comparative studies of two or more of the less well known magazines finds the problems only multiplied.

It is no surprise, then, that interconnections among magazines remain largely unrecognized and unexamined. Only recently has a close relationship been discovered between the subjects of this study, two mid-eighteenth-century London monthly periodicals, the *Royal Magazine; or, Gentleman's Monthly Companion* and the *British Magazine; or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies*. In a 1992 note E. W. Pitcher reports finding internal evidence that these magazines engaged in a "veiled collaboration," which became "especially manifest in 1766 and 1767."<sup>3</sup> He observes that in February 1763 the contents of the two periodicals included what might at first seem to have been merely "occasional . . . borrowings and serendipitous repetitions," such as could have happened between any two given magazines at a time when the plundering of periodical contents was common; however, he also finds that in January 1766 their contents included four prose articles and monthly news columns not only

identical in wording but printed from the same settings of type. He concludes that there must have been "a plan for exchanging and sharing" between the two periodicals, one that gradually developed over several years.<sup>4</sup>

Although Pitcher places responsibility for duplications within the two magazines on their unknown "editors,"<sup>5</sup> we cannot simply assume that editors were necessarily in charge of these magazines. *Editor* was then a vague term. Within the expanding world of magazine production, the word was a convenient catch-all, used indiscriminately to describe jobs undertaken by people ranging in degree, ability, and responsibility from known, gifted "authors" to hack abridgers and compilers who were paid by the paragraph. Thus, some editors gave orders and some editors followed orders, but unless we find external corroborating evidence specifying a particular editor's duties, it is very difficult to determine from magazine contents alone how much authority an editor might have held over those contents. In other words, editors may not have been the persons responsible for duplicated articles between the *Royal Magazine* and the *British Magazine*; printers or proprietary booksellers could just as likely have initiated the collaboration.

Not only did editors' responsibilities vary from magazine to magazine, but few mid-eighteenth-century British author-editors successfully initiated new magazines alone or busied themselves with the minutiae of routine printing house operations; rather, to produce monthly magazines, writers entered into business arrangements with influential booksellers who had proprietary interest in the periodicals. In fact, in normal circumstances, the booksellers, not the author-editors, apparently wielded or at least were perceived by the public to wield significant control over the British monthlies.<sup>6</sup> If we are to learn anything about the decisions that went into determining magazine contents each month, we must first acknowledge the influence that members of the London book trade had in the establishment and management of magazines and consider that analysis of their practices could yield information crucial to literary studies.

Despite an apparent lack of surviving booksellers' or printers' ledgers or files, I am going to argue that the two anonymous "editors" overseeing the *Royal Magazine* and *British Magazine*

in 1766 were well before that date actually *one* identifiable man, and that he was more than an editor: he was the chief proprietor of one of the magazines and probably a major shareholder in the other. This man was John Coote, a copyright-owning bookseller of considerable entrepreneurial skill who over a period of almost twenty years was associated with at least twenty periodicals, seventeen of which he either established or controlled at some point in their existence.<sup>7</sup> Documentary evidence survives for his founding of the *Royal Magazine*, the first of his stable of periodicals, but only circumstantial evidence has ever hinted at his connection with the *British Magazine*. During the eight years these two magazines co-existed, Coote developed a strategy for masking his involvement in many of his periodical enterprises. Indeed, he masked his proprietorships so well that he has no entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* although the lives of many less important booktrade members are recorded there. Coote also, however, developed a reliance on the concurrent printing of articles in his magazines, and it is physical evidence from certain concurrent articles within the *Royal* and *British* magazines that not only substantiates Coote's involvement in the *British* but points to his eventual management of it as well.

### Historical Background

#### I

We know much more about the history of the *British Magazine* than we do about the *Royal* because the *British* was founded by Tobias Smollett, and we have sought to learn as much as possible about his positions as chief editor and major contributor.<sup>8</sup> *The British Magazine; or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies* commenced publication in London in early January 1760 and ran until December 1767. Robert D. Mayo defines it as a review-miscellany, a sub-species of common miscellany or general magazine that in 1763 dropped its book review department and became more aligned with other general magazines.<sup>9</sup> With the exception of its first year when thirteen numbers were published, twelve numbers of the *British Magazine* appeared annually; the full run eventually reached eight volumes. Octavo in format, each monthly number contained 56 pages or seven half sheets of letterpress and generally three copperplate



engravings. One of the more unusual aspects of the *British Magazine* during its first three and a half years was the relationship that Smollett, an author and editor, enjoyed with his booktrade partners. He apparently maintained authority over the contents and probably owned a significant share in the copyright, a situation that ran directly contrary to the normal magazine editor-proprietor relationship of the mid-century in which, customarily, the editor worked under the general direction of the owners of the property.<sup>10</sup>

Of the staff of people responsible for producing a general magazine, readers often would have been able to name only one or two members: the publisher or publishers. While the printer, editor or editors (including compilers), and the majority of the property shareholders remained anonymous, the publishers displayed their names in the imprint on volume title pages, on the outer wrappers of monthly numbers, and in newspaper advertisements.<sup>11</sup> One of the publishers would also commonly invite readers to send letters and articles for submission to his business address.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, subscribers tended to associate general magazines with their publishers. By the mid-1750s many readers simply assumed that whoever was named in the imprint controlled the magazine. The matter, however, was not so simple. Often a single publisher was indeed the major proprietor of a magazine, but sometimes publishers were among a group of five, six, or more partners, some or all of whom might be named in the imprint, and sometimes a publisher was little more than a hireling. Imprints alone could not help eighteenth-century subscribers discriminate among these different levels of authority, and they cannot reliably help us now determine the particular person or persons who actually controlled a magazine.<sup>13</sup> But other means beyond imprints do exist for identifying chief proprietors: periodical owners occasionally entered their property at Stationers' Hall,<sup>14</sup> or, more commonly at the end of the 1750s, they often petitioned for royal licenses or patents.<sup>15</sup> A royal license granted the petitioner the sole right to print and publish the specified work, or a part of the work, for fourteen years. For those magazine proprietors who petitioned for one, a license served as a guarantee against piracy or abridgment of any original articles included among the contents.<sup>16</sup> For us, the license identifies the

major proprietor of a work more accurately than a title page imprint.

The original publishers of the *British Magazine* were the bookselling partners James Rivington and James Fletcher, Jr., and a third bookseller, Henry Payne, but following the early January 1760 bankruptcy of Rivington and Fletcher, Henry Payne alone took over. Payne was joined by his partner William Cropley in July 1760. Later, in July 1761 James Fletcher, at first with his father (an Oxford bookseller), returned as publisher, replacing Payne and Cropley; the younger Fletcher remained publisher until the magazine's demise in 1767.<sup>17</sup> Given the names Rivington and Fletcher, and Payne, or Payne alone, in the imprints of the January 1760 numbers and the commonly held assumption that publishers were the major proprietors of magazines, readers would have expected that either Rivington and Fletcher, or Payne, were the purchasers of the royal license for the *British Magazine*. Instead, through various forms of advertising, they learned that in January 1760 Smollett had petitioned and paid for the license.<sup>18</sup> He ordered that its text be reprinted on the outer blue-gray paper wrappers of the second, third, fifth, and sixth monthly numbers of the magazine<sup>19</sup> and quoted in newspaper advertisements,<sup>20</sup> thus ensuring that his dual proprietary-editorial rôle would be well publicized.

Smollett was the chief editor of the *British Magazine* from its inception until about June 1763 when he left England for two years.<sup>21</sup> His rôle as founding editor of the *British* is analogous to the editorial position he had established earlier in his *Critical Review; or, Annals of Literature*, begun in 1756. The first publisher of the *Critical Review* was the bookseller Richard Baldwin. A correspondent to the March 1756 number of the *Critical* assumed that anyone who wrote a review article for the new periodical must be working under Baldwin's supervision, just as contributors to the *Monthly Review* were known to be working under the supervision of Ralph Griffiths, its publisher-proprietor; thus, the *Critical Review* correspondent, in attacking a review published in the previous number, referred to its anonymous writer as "Mr. Baldwin's author." Smollett corrected him, pointing out that "in fact, Mr. Baldwin [was] no more than the said critick's publisher." The "said critick" had been Smollett

himself.<sup>22</sup> The distinction between publisher's author and author's publisher was an important one, signaling an unusual reversal of proprietorship that Smollett took opportunity to clarify in both the *Critical Review* and the *British Magazine*.<sup>23</sup>

Smollett conceived of the *British Magazine* as a vehicle for original articles over which he could exercise editorial control without having to submit to the profit-driven judgment of booksellers. Instead of settling for the heavily derivative contents typical of most general magazines, he wanted the originality of the *British Magazine* to be a major selling point, and he wanted to be the final judge of original contributions, many of which were his own. The text of the royal license shows that as proprietor and editor he had "been at great Labour and Expence in writing Original Pieces himself, and engaging learned and ingenious Gentlemen to write other Original Pieces. . . ."<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, below the table of contents printed on the front of the paper wrappers of the magazine's first four numbers, Smollett inserted the following information: "We have not distinguished any of our Articles by particular Marks, as the Reader will perceive that they are almost all Originals."<sup>25</sup> By July 1761 Smollett was advertising in the *Salisbury Journal* that the *British Magazine* "... contain[ed] as many original Articles as almost all the other Magazines put together," and he listed the five important "standing Articles (besides Variety of occasional ones)" that he himself was then contributing.<sup>26</sup> Smollett was not merely spouting the conventional claims made on behalf of new magazines: the majority of the contents of the *British Magazine* during its first three years were original, the most notable piece being Smollett's new serialized novel *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*.<sup>27</sup>

In the absence of contrary evidence, we have assumed that Smollett exerted just this kind of full editorial authority over the *British Magazine* consistently until June 1763, and at first he probably did. With Smollett at the helm, seconded by his friend, the magazine's printer Archibald Hamilton,<sup>28</sup> the several changes of publishers that occurred during the first two years caused no disruption in publication because the actual management of the magazine continued smoothly behind the scenes. However, after Smollett's departure the magazine still continued to appear

without break for another four and a half years. No one has ever identified his successor or considered how the duties of management might have been shared even while Smollett was still nominally in charge.<sup>29</sup>

Because no formal Articles of Agreement survive, the numbers and identities of the partners in the *British Magazine* remain uncertain.<sup>30</sup> The financial arrangements are unknown, except for a single record of partial ownership, which reveals that one shareholder was the bookseller George Kearsly, who worked closely with Coote in the 1760s.<sup>31</sup> A trade sale catalogue of October 1764 records that Kearsly's copyright shares in the *British Magazine* were offered at his bankruptcy auction in two lots—of 1/16th and 1/48th shares, respectively—but they apparently failed to attract a buyer.<sup>32</sup> The fractional shares suggest that when the business partnership for the magazine was organized in late 1759, the property may have been divided into as many as sixteen, or possibly as few as eight parts.<sup>33</sup> Smollett's purchase of the royal license and his known editorial control of the magazine indicate that he probably owned at the very least one share.<sup>34</sup> Among other partners in the property were probably the magazine's printer, Archibald Hamilton, and the booksellers who advertised their current publications on the outer wrappers of the monthly numbers of the magazine; besides Kearsly, these men included Payne and Cropley, Fletcher, John Newbery,<sup>35</sup> Richard Baldwin, William Johnston, Stanley Crowder—and John Coote.

## II

Much less is known about the history of the *Royal Magazine* than about the *British*. In May 1759 John Coote petitioned for a royal license to print *The Royal Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Companion*. Mayo has defined this periodical as a common miscellany aimed at a "fairly literate reading audience;" it "anticipated" the *British Magazine* and was its "chief competitor" in January 1760.<sup>36</sup> The *Royal Magazine* began publication in late July 1759 and continued until December 1771. Through 1767 the monthly numbers were intended to be bound up into seventeen semi-annual volumes, then from January 1768 through December 1771 into four annual volumes, for a total of 21 vol-

umes.<sup>37</sup> Octavo in format, initially each number averaged 56 pages or seven half sheets of letterpress, plus at least three plates.<sup>38</sup> No records providing details of ownership have been found, but while there could have been other shareholders in the property, it is evident that Coote oversaw the production of the magazine from the beginning and intended that readers should perceive it as his property. While newspaper advertisements identify him as the sole publisher, and the imprints on all volume title pages for the *Royal Magazine* explain that it was "Printed, pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Licence, for J. Coote. . .," it is the text of the May 1759 license petition, quoted below, that most clearly defines his authority:

The humble Petition of John Coote of the City of London Book-seller, Most humbly sheweth, That your Majesty's Petitioner hath been at very great labour and expence in purchasing Books and employing ingenious men to write and compile a Work entitled The Royal Magazine, &c. Containing an Account of the vast improvements lately made in different parts of the World in the several Arts, Sciences, trades and Manufactures; together with a description of the several Empires, Kingdoms, Cities, Towns, Castles, Palaces, Ruins, &c. in the known World. Which work your Majesty's Petitioner humbly apprehends will be of the greatest Use and Service to the Public in general; and being desirous of reaping the Fruit of his very great Labour and Expence, and of enjoying the profit and benefit that may arise from printing and vending the Same without any other person interfering in his just Property, most humbly prays your Majesty to grant him your Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said work. . . .<sup>39</sup>

The description of the contents set out in the petition probably refers specifically to "The Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences," "The Modern Traveller," "A Tour Through the Cities of London and Westminster," and other original serialized articles that the license would have protected from piracy.<sup>40</sup> Many of the shorter articles in the *Royal Magazine* were simply lifted from the current newspapers, a common practice among the general magazines (and among the historical miscellanies, as well). Such pieces could not be and were not expected to be protected by the license.

With the *Royal Magazine*, Coote operated as a conventional proprietor of a common miscellany: not only did he presumably own most if not all of the property and serve as his own publisher through the entire twelve-year run, but he also never publicly revealed the identities of the *Royal Magazine* printer or its compiler. Press figures during the first five years of the magazine appear as the numbers 1, 2, or 3 on some half sheets (indicating probably three presses in the printing establishment) but in others they are absent.<sup>41</sup> At best we can infer from such evidence that in its early years the printer of the *Royal Magazine* was probably *not* the printer of the *British Magazine*, Archibald Hamilton. By 1760 Hamilton maintained a minimum of eight presses; press figures in the *Critical Review* and *British Magazine* reach at that time as high as the number 8 and appear on almost every half sheet.

Coote also suppressed the identity of the editor or compiler of the *Royal*; however, a minor writer named John Barrow was connected with the *Royal* through a satirical article, "The Motives for Writing. A DREAM," that appeared anonymously in the *Court Magazine* for December 1761. This piece includes a list of fifty-six literary men, their supposed credentials, and their "compelling motives" for writing. At the head of the list appear Edward Young and Samuel Johnson, respectively; at the foot are John Coote, Archibald Hamilton, John Barrow, and, last of all, John Shebbeare. The author of the article perhaps deliberately placed Coote, Hamilton, and Barrow in close proximity, describing Coote as "bookseller, and song writer" (Coote was author of an opera and five farces, none ever staged<sup>42</sup>), Hamilton as "critic and printer," and Barrow as "F.R.S. doctor of philosophy, putter together of the *Royal Magazine*, and author of Nelson's bible."<sup>43</sup> Little is known about Barrow beyond his identification in the *DNB* as a "geographical compiler," and in William Rider's *Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Living Authors of Great-Britain* (London, 1762) as "[a] Laborious and judicious Compiler . . . [whose] Works are too voluminous to be here enumerated."<sup>44</sup> Barrow had already been employed by Coote in writing *A New Geographical Dictionary* (London: Coote, 1759-60),<sup>45</sup> and, if the *Court Magazine* correspondent can be believed, he would appear to have been

chief among the "ingenious men" Coote hired "to write and compile" the *Royal Magazine*.

Barrow may have been compiler of the *Royal*, but Coote was in charge. Soon after the appearance of "The Motives for Writing," the *Court Magazine* published an anonymous poem, "ESSAY on Modern Writing," which in part attacked Coote for hiring authors of questionable talents and successfully setting himself up as an undeserving arbiter of literary taste.<sup>46</sup> This poem reveals that by early 1762 Coote's multiple magazine proprietorships were already attracting less than flattering attention, at least from one quarter. In fact, Coote's rapid rise in the periodical publishing world would have been obvious to anyone who merely scanned the back-to-back magazine advertisements placed in the London *Daily Advertiser* at the beginning of every month. During the second half of 1760 twelve monthly magazines were consistently advertised together in that newspaper and Coote's name appeared more often in the advertisements than any other publisher's. Most of the publishers' names were associated with only one magazine apiece; Newbery's and Kearsly's names each appeared twice; but Coote's name appeared four times, on one quarter of the magazines being advertised (*Royal Magazine*, *Christian's Magazine*, *Lady's Museum*, and *Musical Magazine*). The new year of 1761 brought a shuffling of the magazines publicized in the *Daily Advertiser*; several ceased publication at the end of 1760 and one or two new ones commenced. During 1761 typically ten magazines were advertised together, three of which included Coote's name in their imprints. Certainly by early 1762 the cumulative impression that these advertisements left on the reading public would have been that Coote had rapidly become a very well known and presumably powerful figure among magazine publisher-proprietors. Damaging publicity such as that created by the *Court Magazine* poem may in part have provided Coote with the impetus to explore ways to begin keeping his proprietorships less visible while he continued to expand his magazine empire.

In 1759 Coote had announced his control of the new *Royal Magazine* with much fanfare; by 1770 he had long been practicing deliberate concealment when he founded the *Lady's Magazine*; or, *Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex*. This maga-

zine was probably Coote's most profitable periodical enterprise; in Mayo's estimation, it "was to become the most successful publishing venture of its kind in the century."<sup>47</sup> Coote initiated the *Lady's Magazine* in August 1770, watched it quickly become popular, and after seven numbers sold it on 18 March 1771 to the booksellers George Robinson and John Roberts for £500.<sup>48</sup> The *Lady's Magazine* is significant here because it is the only one of Coote's periodicals for which details of his management (against his will) were made public; they were recorded in the account of a 1771 court trial concerning the right to publish the magazine.

When he founded the *Lady's Magazine*, Coote hired the bookseller John Wheble to serve as publisher; Coote's name was not connected publicly with the periodical. After Coote sold the property, the new owners unceremoniously dropped Wheble as publisher; in the eighth and subsequent numbers the names of Robinson and Roberts replaced Wheble's in the imprint. Undeterred, Wheble continued to bring out his own version of the magazine, so that beginning with the ninth number there were two versions of the *Lady's Magazine* for sale.<sup>49</sup> Wheble's in fact rapidly became the more popular, at least among some provincial readers.<sup>50</sup> Robinson and Roberts retaliated with a lawsuit and sought £2000 in damages.<sup>51</sup>

Wheble was angry that the sale of the property had denied him his sure income as publisher of a best-selling magazine. Intending to appeal directly to "his" women readers, he had a shorthand account of the 8 July 1771 trial taken down. He then printed in the July number of his magazine a full account of the proceedings, plus copious defensive and sarcastic footnotes commenting on the testimony. His transcript of the trial shows that several booksellers, including John Coote, testified about magazine ownership and the role of publishers in magazine production.

Wheble's transcript—the gist of which is corroborated by a report of the trial in the *London Chronicle* for 6-9 and 9-11 July 1771—first provides a general background describing Coote's role in establishing the *Lady's Magazine*. The counsel for the plaintiffs Robinson and Roberts presented a history, part of which reads as follows:



Mr. Coote intending to commence a new Magazine to be published monthly, did for the purpose engage the sort of assistance which the conduct of such a work required. He engaged proper persons to write in this pamphlet, himself was to receive, and to judge of such compositions as should be sent to him. . . . He engaged likewise proper engravers to embellish this work, proper printers to print it, and amongst others a publisher.<sup>52</sup>

The plaintiffs argued that Wheble had been no more than an instrument through whose hands passed correspondence written by potential contributors to the magazine. Thus, Coote had controlled the magazine, but the reading public was unaware of his power because his name appeared nowhere in the imprint or in advertisements. Purchasers thought Wheble controlled the magazine, and, in fact, Wheble used that assumption in his attempt to claim legal right to the property.<sup>53</sup> The verdict in the trial went against Wheble (although the damages were only nominal, having been reduced to one shilling<sup>54</sup>), and he resorted to printing the trial proceedings and his comments.

Not only did the trial testimony yield the only known details about Coote's proprietary rôle in one of his periodicals, the *Lady's Magazine*, and, by extension, about his rôle in overseeing the *Royal Magazine* and other magazines, but it also gave Wheble opportunity to disclose information Coote had been carefully withholding from the public. At one point during the trial, Coote was cross examined by Wheble's counsel and asked why he had not published the *Lady's Magazine* for himself, that is, why he had not put his own name in the imprint. Coote replied, perhaps deliberately unclearly, "I was then [1770] Publisher of several Magazines, and it is a conceived notion amongst people, that if they do publish three or four, they are made up one of the other." In other words, according to Coote, the public was under the impression that publishers and proprietors of magazines were one and the same, and if readers saw the same name in the imprints of two different magazines, they would presume collusion between them, such as might result in, for example, some unwelcome duplication of contents. Wheble's lawyer pressed Coote only to the point of admitting that he was both publisher and proprietor of one unnamed magazine:

Q. You was publisher and proprietor of another?

A. Yes.

Q. So that the Public might suppose this intelligence, information and entertainment came from different sources, you put one in the hands of another person, that the public might not be undeceived?

A. Yes, Sir, that was the way.<sup>55</sup>

It was left to Wheble to reveal in a footnote what his former employer had managed to avoid divulging under oath—the current extent of Coote's periodical empire. Wheble announced that at the time of the trial, July 1771, Coote was proprietor of eight other magazines (only one of which, the *Royal Magazine*, bore his name prominently in the imprint), and he proceeded to name them all.<sup>56</sup> The seven periodicals in which Coote's controlling interest was then being concealed were, in chronological order of their founding, the *Universal Museum and Complete Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, begun January 1762; the *Court Miscellany; or, Gentleman and Lady's New Magazine*, begun July 1765; the *Oxford Magazine; or, University Museum*, begun July 1768; the *Freeholder's Magazine; or, Monthly Chronicle of Liberty*, begun September 1769; the *Court and City Magazine; or, A Fund of Entertainment for the Man of Quality*, begun January 1770; the *Gentleman's Museum, and Grand Imperial Magazine*, begun July 1770; and *Every Man's Magazine; or, The Monthly Repository of Science, Instruction and Amusement*, begun July 1771. Wheble did not include the *British Magazine*, of course; it was already defunct.

Wheble's revelation of Coote's 1771 proprietorships is crucial because it is the key to identifying Coote's presence in a group of magazines for which no other evidence of his management now seems to exist. Coote becomes the one firm link among them all, his control alone explaining the curious duplications of contents some of them exhibit. For example, in June, July, and August of 1771 readers could have followed a serialized tale, "The History of the Fair Ardelia,"<sup>57</sup> simultaneously in two supposedly completely unrelated magazines, the *Court Miscellany*, published, according to its imprint, by William Richardson and Leonard Urquhart, and the *Universal Museum*, published "by assignment from [Joseph] Johnson and [John] Payne for J. Smith." By 1771 Coote had not only adopted but had long been

practicing a strategy of often ordering articles to be printed concurrently in his magazines. The first instances seem to have occurred as early as 1761, between the *Royal Magazine* and the *Musical Magazine*, and, as I shall discuss below, between the *Royal Magazine* and the *British Magazine*. The few surviving copies of the *Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Orpheus*, printed “[w]ith his Majesty’s Royal Licence and Protection” for J. Coote,<sup>58</sup> are bound volumes lacking publication dates, but newspaper advertisements show that the first number was published 1 February 1760 and that the magazine ended in 1761 after twenty numbers. In 1761 the *Royal Magazine* reportedly carried “several of the airs” from the *Musical Magazine*.<sup>59</sup> Readers of both magazines would have known through the imprints that they were subscribing to Coote’s publications, but it is doubtful that anyone would have complained at seeing one of the songs from the *Musical Magazine* imported each month into the *Royal* or that the repetition hurt the sales of the *Royal*, although why the *Musical* stopped is not known. The duplications between the *Royal* and the *Musical* marked only the beginning of a practice that Coote expanded as the decade progressed.

### The Physical Evidence

I shall now turn to examining the physical evidence of collaboration between the *British Magazine* and *Royal Magazine*.<sup>60</sup> There is clear evidence that duplicated articles occur in both magazines; however, the majority of those articles, especially those appearing before 1764, could be construed as merely coincidental, or to use Pitcher’s term, “serendipitous.” One example of such a duplication is the extract from Oliver Goldsmith’s *Life of Richard Nash* that appeared in the *British* and *Royal* numbers for October 1762. According to the *London Chronicle*, the Nash biography was published in the second week of October, and before the month was out many periodicals hastened to include excerpts from the new book in their pages.<sup>61</sup> The accounts in both the *British* and *Royal* commence at the eighth paragraph of Goldsmith’s biography. Each quotes this paragraph more or less verbatim except that both insert in its midst a sentence lifted from Goldsmith’s seventh paragraph. The possibility that the same rearrangement of Goldsmith’s sentences in both magazines

could be mere coincidence is of course slight, and indeed, the duplication was not coincidental: both magazines apparently drew their accounts from the extract printed in the *London Chronicle* for 12-14 October where the sentences had originally been rearranged.

Actually, many of the articles that Pitcher has cited as possible serendipitous repetitions were taken from common sources such as the *London Chronicle* or *London Gazette*. As Pitcher recognizes, these duplications in themselves cannot be accepted as evidence of collaboration.<sup>62</sup> Even the suspicious-seeming increase in the numbers of such duplications over time cannot conclusively prove collaboration. From its inception the *Royal Magazine* combined original contents with articles reprinted from newspaper and other sources. The *British Magazine*, on the other hand, began with almost all original material, a point that Smollett stressed in the license and in advertising. As time progressed the *British* gradually intermingled reprinted pieces with its original ones, and it is not surprising to find that many of the reprinted articles were the same ones that most of the general magazines of the 1760s, including the *Royal*, had been seizing on all along. Thus, in September 1760 the two magazines concurrently duplicated one article from the recent newspapers or other common sources; in 1761, four articles (1 in Apr., 2 in May, 1 in Dec.); in 1762, seven articles (2 in Apr., 2 in Oct., 1 in Nov., 2 in Dec.); in 1763, sixteen articles (3 in Jan., 7 in Feb., 2 in Mar., 1 in Apr., 1 in Aug., 1 in Sept., 1 in Dec.); and so on.<sup>63</sup> Considered alone, this kind of evidence can illustrate only how the *British Magazine* gradually came to rely more and more on previously published pieces.

Significantly, however, several of these same concurrent articles also provide a second kind of evidence that is essential for demonstrating collaboration. These particular articles were printed from the same settings of type and so function as physical, visible links between the two magazines.<sup>64</sup> Pitcher discovered such evidence in the numbers for January 1766, but the practice actually began occurring five years earlier. In May 1761, in the midst of Smollett's editorship of the *British*, two such articles were printed. They came from current newspapers; one, giving "Directions for Entering the Port of Padstow," had origi-

nally appeared in the 16-19 May issue of the *London Chronicle*; the other, an alphabetical "List of the Members of the House of Commons" was similar to a list in the 19-21 May issue of the *London Chronicle* (as well as in other newspapers), but in the *Chronicle* it had been organized by location rather than by members' surnames. In the *British Magazine* the House of Commons List immediately follows the Padstow article (Fig. 2); in the *Royal Magazine* a third article separates them (Figs. 3-5). The simplest explanation for this sharing of two articles set from the same type would be as follows. First, there would have been no question about the desire to include the list in both magazines; probably every London periodical of note carried that list in May of 1761, an election year. Second, the House of Commons list is five and one quarter pages long and was set in brevier roman, very small type. The labor involved in composing the list once was probably significant enough to prompt someone who happened to be involved in the operations of both magazines to use the same setting twice rather than to order it composed again separately. Third, the Padstow article was probably selected as filler in the second magazine to bring the five and one quarter pages up to a full six.

In both magazines, the House of Commons list begins three-quarters down its first page rather than at the top, indicating that compositors may originally have set it to fit into the sequence of articles already planned for one of the magazines, while space in the other magazine was set aside in preparation for receiving the list in due course. In both magazines, the five and one quarter pages are contained in a single half sheet of eight pages (Fig. 6); however, in the *British Magazine* the list comprises the bottom quarter of page 1<sup>v</sup> through 4<sup>v</sup> of sheet Ll, whereas in the *Royal Magazine* it comprises the bottom quarter of page 2<sup>v</sup> through 4<sup>v</sup> of sheet Ee. This difference means that the list begins on a verso or even page in the *British* and on a recto or odd page in the *Royal*, and that once one of these sheets was printed off for one magazine, the type pages had to be reimposed for the other, a time consuming interruption. This situation is further complicated by the presence of the Port of Padstow article in the same half sheet in both periodicals. In the *British Magazine* it occupies the first three-fourths of page 1<sup>v</sup> while in

Figure 1. Sample volume title pages of *Royal Magazine* and *British Magazine* (Courtesy of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University)

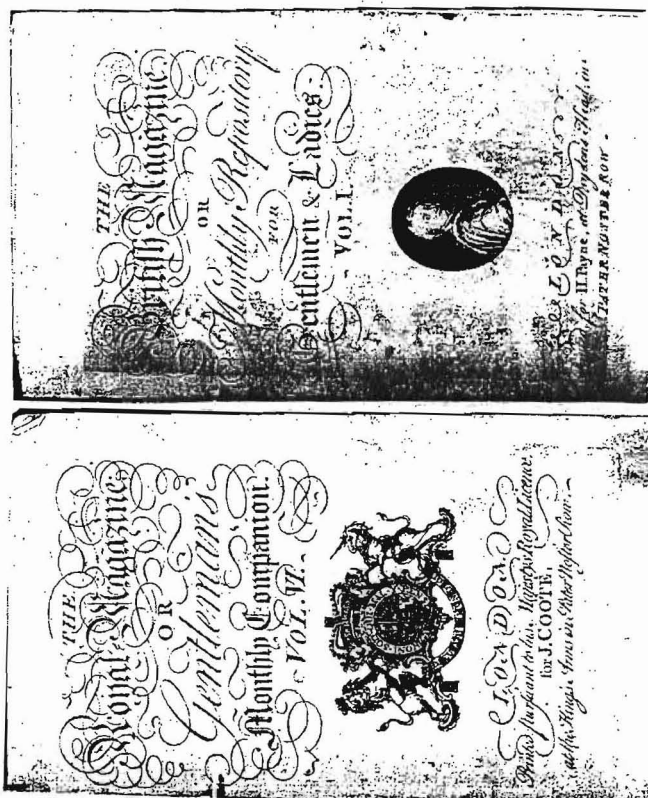




Figure 3. *Royal Magazine*. "Padstow" article (BL copy, microfilm)







Figure 6. Half-sheets of octavo showing arrangement of articles in *Royal Magazine*, sheet Ee, and *British Magazine*, sheet Ll.

2 Ee2 List	3 (3)	3	2 /
219 Mag. Royal	222 Royal	221 Mag.	220 Royal
218 Royal Padstow	223 Mag.	224 Royal	217 Mag.
1 /	4 /	4 /	1 Ee /
May 1761	Royal Magazine		Sheet Ee

2 Ll2 /	3 /	3 /	2 (3) /
267 Mag. British	270 British	269 Mag.	268 British
266 British Padstow	271 Mag.	272 Mag.	265 Mag.
1 List /	4 /	4 /	1 Ll /
May 1761	British Magazine		Sheet Ll

the *Royal Magazine* it is split, appearing partly on 1<sup>r</sup> and partly on 1<sup>v</sup>. The perfect fit of the Padstow article on 1<sup>v</sup> of the *British* might suggest that it was first composed for that magazine and then reimposed for the *Royal*. However, according to other evidence in the *British Magazine*, the opposite is actually what happened. Measurement of twenty lines of letterpress from the Padstow article reveals that the type set for that article differed from all the other comparable Caslon roman type set for that number of the *British*; the Padstow letterpress measures approximately 67 mm. per 20 lines, the same size as the type—long primer roman—commonly used in printing featured articles in the *Royal Magazine*, whereas random measurements of 20 lines of letterpress among featured articles elsewhere in the *British* equal approximately 73 mm., the size of small pica roman. Thus, the Padstow type probably originated with the *Royal Magazine*, and it was probably imported to the *British* because it conveniently filled out the first page of the list. Furthermore, in the *British*, a mix-up occurred in the headline on 4<sup>v</sup>, an even page (Fig. 7): the abbreviation “Mag.” normally appears in the left side of the headline on odd pages, but here it appears in the left side on an even page. The error indicates that the type for that page had originally been set up for an odd page. That, in turn, suggests a last minute shifting of type pages in the *British*, one possibly caused by the discovery that the House of Commons list was going to take up more space than had been projected when the contents of the number were initially planned.

The May 1761 examples of duplicated articles show formes imposed for the *Royal Magazine* being reimposed and imported to the *British Magazine*. Although the opposite action occurred as well, the first perceptible instance occurring in the April 1763 numbers of the magazines,<sup>65</sup> the earlier movement from the *Royal* to the *British* is significant; it indicates that Coote was not simply in some nefarious way stealing matter from under the noses of Smollett and his *British* staff to plump out the *Royal*, but rather that he was willing to use the *Royal* to help the *British*, which means that he probably already had some formally recognized relationship with the *British*.

The May 1761 number of the *British Magazine* also originally contained yet a different kind of physical evidence signal-

Figure 7. *British Magazine*. Sheet Ll, page 4<sup>v</sup> (Tulane copy)

Mag:

[ 272 ]

Poetical ESSAYS for MAY, 1761.

STANZAS on the SPRING.

I:  
**N**OW from the southern climes return-  
 ing spring {mell'd ground,  
 Breathes fragrant odours o'er th'ens-  
 The feather'd warblers flutter on the wing,  
 And with their notes th'embow'ring  
 woods resound.

II.

The rising son, when first he gilds the  
    plains,                     (through,  
Receives the tribute of the Sylvan  
And Philomela, fraught with tragic strains,  
Tunes to the full-orb'd moon her plaintive  
    lone song.

III.  
Now blithsome Collin, with his oaten reed,  
Delights the list'ning swains in glade  
or grove;  
While Cnorydan in yonder yellow meads,  
To Amarvillus tells his tale of love.

IV,  
At evening hour the nymphs and swains  
Advance, {fern,  
And rang'd in order on the plain are  
In various oiks revolve the rustic dance,  
And beat with measur'd pace the level  
green.

V.

The purple violet scents the mossy hill,  
And rich in bloom the fragrant hawthorn  
                blows ;                                 [rill,  
While near the margin of some brawling  
The cowslip brightens and the daisy  
                glows.

VI.  
The lawns, the mountains, and the vernal  
woods, [fields with snows,  
The groves, with leaves adorn'd, the  
hills, the valleys, and the crystal fountains,  
Rejoice and seem to hail the vernal  
hours.

VII.  
Mark I how the birds in concert raise their  
notes ;  
And sweetly chaunt the renovated lay,  
'Tis nature's impulse tunes their warbling  
throats,  
To hail thee, Flora, goddess of the May.

VIII.  
To thee of old, on fair Ausonia's plains,  
(With ease and wealth by godlike Titus  
hied) {swains  
The blooming virgins, and the jovial  
Pour'd the full bowl, and pil'd the annual  
cast.

IX.  
And still to thee in fair Britannia's Isle,  
When each revolving year renews the  
spring; [plenty smile]  
(Beneath Great Gower! while ease and  
My swelling lyre shall annual tribute  
bring.

X.  
Hail, Flora! goddess hail! to thee belong  
Th' aërial strains Theocritus of old essay'd;  
Be thine the lays; be thine the rural  
song [leaves muffled]  
Of every British swain, and every breeze  
May 1, 1763. I. W.

H O R A C E, Ode 15th, Book I.

## THE PROPHECY of NEREP.

WHEN faithful Paris with the Spartan bride,  
 Plough'd with Iliac keels the Trojan tides,  
 Curleuan Nerius from the deep broods  
 To calm the surges, and the wind compo-  
 Nigh o'er the waves he rais'd his hoary  
 head,  
 And thus the fate-foretelling monarch  
 said:  
 'O youth unhappy! blind to fate  
 ' You hear the beautiful prize in triumph  
 home;  
 ' Greece, injur'd Oreece, with all her war-  
 Will soon require her at your hand  
 again,  
 ' In vengeful league conspiring to destroy  
 ' Troy's ancient kingdom and the race of  
 Troy.  
 ' See I show the quadrants paint the chur-  
 ' Call for the sight, and glow with glori-  
 of her  
 ' What hoars, alas! of Dardans are de-  
 ceed,  
 ' Ill-fated victims! for thy crime be  
 bleed!

• **Self**

ing Coote's connection with its management. It was normal for advertisements for new publications to be printed on the inside and back of the paper wrapper<sup>66</sup> or cover that protected each monthly number as it was issued (the wrappers were later discarded when the completed volume was bound); with the May 1761 magazine, a notice for one of John Newbery's publications appeared on the recto of the back cover, and a notice for one of George Kearsly's appeared on the verso of the back cover. But the May number also included an additional advertising leaf, inserted between the wrapper and the text of the magazine. This notice was for John Coote's new evening newspaper, the *Royal Gazette*. In common with the advertisements placed by booksellers who had interest in the *British Magazine*, notices for Coote's publications had been appearing sporadically on the outer wrappers; *his* commenced in August 1760. If nothing else, the presence of the separate leaf in May 1761 shows Coote's involvement with the magazine at that date, but the unconventionality of its appearance—that is, the very fact that it is printed on an insert—also suggests that by that time he had more than a casual rôle in the magazine's operations. In other words, by May 1761 if not earlier Coote had acquired sufficient influence among the shareholders to have obtained permission (if, indeed, he needed it) to include the insert. Heretofore, the only other known advertisement leaf included with the magazine had carried the proposals for the *Continuation* of Smollett's *Complete History of England*; it apparently accompanied the April 1760 number.<sup>67</sup>

### Conclusions

We know that for years Smollett was burdened by numerous editing and writing projects; that sometime in the summer of 1760 he visited Scotland; that having been convicted of libel, he was in the King's Bench Prison from late November 1760 through most of February 1761; and that throughout 1762 he was acknowledging a serious deterioration in his health.<sup>68</sup> We may well ask just how involved Smollett would have kept himself in the day to day running of the *British Magazine*, particularly after it had weathered its first crucial months. The amount of effort Smollett put into directing the *British* may have been comparable to his oversight of the *Critical Review*. During the

first year of the *Critical* Smollett had contributed over seventy articles himself and compiled that periodical with only limited assistance; in 1757 he began to reduce the number of his contributions although he continued to be known as the “author” of the *Critical Review*.<sup>69</sup> From this earlier experience Smollett may have learned just how much he could accomplish himself in launching a successful periodical and just when he could safely begin to delegate authority. Once he saw that the *British Magazine* was firmly established, it would have been both convenient and sensible for him to turn routine matters over to the expertise of a *British Magazine* shareholder experienced in overseeing periodicals, someone like Coote who since July 1759 had already been controlling at least one successful monthly magazine, the *Royal*; who had purchased the royal licenses for the *Musical Magazine*, begun in February 1760, and for the *Lady’s Museum*, begun in March 1760;<sup>70</sup> who had co-purchased the royal license for the *Christian’s Magazine*, begun in May 1760;<sup>71</sup> and who was probably only too willing to avail himself of a chance to assist with Smollett’s new magazine. Moreover, Smollett and Coote seem to have had a good working relationship during the early years of the *British Magazine*. In February 1761 proposals came out for a translation of the *Works of Voltaire* to be edited by Smollett and others and published by seven booksellers, including Coote.<sup>72</sup> At the end of March 1762 Coote (and Kearsly, but Coote’s name alone was on the title page) published the first book edition of Smollett’s new novel, *Sir Launcelot Greaves*,<sup>73</sup> which had previously been serialized in the *British Magazine*; and beginning in late May 1762, Coote published Smollett’s weekly political essay-journal, the *Briton*.<sup>74</sup> I would maintain that it was Coote’s decision, surely not a momentous one but even so possibly made with Smollett’s knowledge and certainly with the printer Hamilton’s, to include the Port of Padstow article and the House of Commons list in the *British Magazine* in May 1761. I would argue further that it was just such a moment of minor irregularity in the monthly preparation of the magazine that permitted Coote to begin by degrees to take on more and more responsibility for the contents of the *British* and put himself in a position to take the reins without perceptible interruption when Smollett left the magazine in June 1763.<sup>75</sup>

The duplications between the two magazines that may have begun out of expediency evolved into necessity as the *British Magazine* began to wane in popularity in 1764 or 1765. At first, Coote probably found it useful to be able to parcel out the same article to two magazines in months when one magazine might be lacking in contributions, or when an issue of particular topicality demanded insertion in more than one magazine and it was inconvenient to reset the type. Usually the duplicated material was set separately for each periodical; occasionally material that, given Coote's habits, one would expect to be duplicated, was not.<sup>76</sup> In some instances, however, with printing deadlines looming, Coote must have found it convenient to avoid the wasted time, not to mention the expense, involved in composing the same piece twice. At such times he ordered that the type composed for an article in one magazine be kept standing for use in a second magazine; if the length of the article was such that it perfectly fit into the space provided for it in the second, then only the head and direction lines on each page had to be altered to correspond. Otherwise, Coote was prepared to have the length of the text modified as needed, either by cropping whole paragraphs or adding white space. Sometimes, duplications were quite subtly disguised: opening sentences would be rewritten or a sentence or two added at the beginning of one article but not the other, headlines would be varied, and page numbers, and signatures, even press figures, changed;<sup>77</sup> normally, a reader would have to be looking very carefully for such duplications to find them. Inevitably, however, such a complicated scheme also produced errors, perhaps most often when reimposition was carried out in extreme haste, and the duplications were then made glaringly obvious.

Coote's experiences with the *Royal* and *British* began early in his career as a periodical proprietor. From 1759 through approximately 1762 Coote seems to have involved himself to varying degrees in all the magazines in which he held some proprietary interest. He had ample opportunity to observe various author-editors in action—Smollett, Charlotte Lennox, William Dodd, perhaps Robert Lloyd,<sup>78</sup> probably Arthur Young—and to learn the difference between exercising full control over a magazine himself and delegating authority to independent-minded



literary editors. His subsequent career illustrates his preference for direct control of his property through heavy reliance on compilers. Apparently, in the cases of magazines whose editors remained anonymous, the public considered publishers and proprietors to be identical, and Coote learned to take advantage of this misperception as he diversified his magazine holdings. The contents of his magazines reflect his experimentation with and refinement of the duplications which developed into what we might call, with some irony, his signature technique. No one else seems to have employed duplications printed from the same settings of type to the extent he did.

From his habits of duplication we can draw several general conclusions about the policies Coote developed in the course of managing his periodicals. Apparently, he carefully monitored the popularity of each of his magazines. Quality of contents became necessary only as a means to an end: the ultimate goal was always profit. Understanding very well the importance of novelty, he was realistic if not cynical about the typical brevity of the lifespans of periodicals and planned accordingly. James E. Tierney has observed that "[r]ecognizing the book value of bound editions of periodicals, many shrewd contemporary publishers looked forward to only a predetermined number of issues after which they would conclude publication and re-issue the work in a collected edition."<sup>79</sup> While Coote was not looking to re-issue his magazines in collected editions, he certainly understood the value subscribers attached to the bound volume, and he exploited their desire for completing their semi-annual or annual volumes prior to binding. His "collaborative" production methods neatly obviated the necessity for planning the entire contents of each number of each magazine in advance. While a magazine was gaining in popularity, he was careful to muster sufficient original material to attract subscribers and keep them reading. Then, knowing that interest was bound to wane and gauging when it had peaked, he would shift to relying more and more on duplicated contents, trusting that readers would fail to notice the repetition or possibly not caring by that time if they did notice it. Rather than end a magazine abruptly in the middle of a volume, he would continue to eke out its contents with blatantly duplicated material until either a final six-month or twelve-month

volume could be completed.<sup>80</sup> Concomitantly, he often allowed newspaper advertising of declining magazines to slacken.<sup>81</sup> Because he had what amounted to captive audiences—the remaining subscribers who would want to complete their volumes—he could let the older magazines slowly die while he turned his attention and energy to newer titles that had profit potential.<sup>82</sup> It is conceivable that, by employing such methods, Coote could manage to juggle at any one time eight (Wheble's number in 1771) or even more magazines in varying stages of growth or decline.

In the cases of the *British Magazine* and *Royal Magazine*, by January 1764 the monthly news columns in both had virtually merged. By January 1766, as Pitcher points out, four prose articles and the news columns in both magazines were printed from the same settings of type. Examination of their numbers for December 1767, the final month for the *British*, reveals that by then the two magazines were no longer even two discrete publications, and it becomes impossible to assert that Hamilton printed the *British* and someone else with fewer presses printed the *Royal*.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, Hamilton may have taken over the printing of both magazines as early as January 1764.<sup>84</sup> Then, as though the existence of the *British Magazine* had somehow controlled its structure during 1767, the *Royal Magazine* altered substantially immediately following the final number of the *British*. Beginning with the number for January 1768, the *Royal* shifted from semi-annual to annual volumes and its layout underwent dramatic change. Individual numbers were 48 pages long rather than 56 (a reduction to six half sheets), pages were 60 lines long rather than 47 to 48 (the standard page length for important articles in the *Royal Magazine* from January 1764 on, while 54 lines per page had been the norm prior to 1764), the double columns were wider, white space was reduced, and press figures disappeared. Overall, the *Royal Magazine* abruptly declined in elegance and legibility. Furthermore, in the January number, page numbers jumped from 40 to 377 at the start of the "Foreign Intelligence" department. I surmise that with the termination of the *British Magazine* Archibald Hamilton severed his connection with the *Royal Magazine* as well and that Coote may have lifted the entire "Foreign Intelligence" and "Domestic Intelli-

gence" columns from yet another of his magazines, and assigned the task of printing the *Royal* to either the printer of that other magazine or to another printer altogether.<sup>85</sup> He was thus able to keep the *Royal Magazine* limping along for four more years while he turned his attention to creating new, promising endeavours such as the *Lady's Magazine*.

Physical evidence reveals that Pitcher's unknown "editors" who were conducting both the *British Magazine* and the *Royal Magazine* in 1766 were probably one and the same, a bookseller who had been vilified as early as January 1762 for arrogantly controlling too many magazines and their compiler-writers. Not only was John Coote chief proprietor of the *Royal Magazine* but he probably succeeded Smollett as chief proprietor of the *British Magazine*. Moreover, it is clear that over a period of about ten years Coote developed and refined a strategy of concurrent publication (a strategy that he alone seems to have practiced regularly) and, to reduce the possibility of detection in this practice, eventually adopted the subterfuge of masking or minimizing his real involvement in many of his magazines. Consequently, any discovery of evidence of articles appearing concurrently and set from the same type in any two magazines during the years Coote was in business, from 1757 to at least 1777, coupled with any circumstantial evidence of Coote's involvement with either magazine, should warrant further, careful consideration that Coote may have had a proprietary interest in both.

### University of New Orleans

#### List of London Periodicals Associated with Coote

The following is a list of periodicals in which John Coote probably owned at least part of the property. In most cases it is impossible to determine without further evidence the full extent of his proprietary interests. Those few periodicals over which he seems to have had little or no editorial influence are marked with an asterisk. I have provided the dates, if known, of the full runs of all the publications, but because many of them underwent modifications in title and/or publishers over time, I have simplified the list by recording for each one the title and publisher(s) from only the first or earliest known number.

- The British Magazine; or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies.* Jan. 1760-Dec. 1767. Printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, and H. Payne.
- \**The Briton.* 29 May 1762-12 Feb. 1763. Printed for J. Coote.
- \**The Christian's Magazine; or a Treasury of Divine Knowledge.* May 1760-June 1767. Printed pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Licence, for J. Newbery and J. Coote.
- The Court and City Magazine; or, A Fund of Entertainment for the Man of Quality.* Jan. 1770-June 1772. Printed for J. Smith.
- The Court Miscellany; or, Ladies New Magazine.* July 1765-Dec. 1771. Printed for Richardson and Urquhart.
- Every Man's Magazine; or, The Monthly Repository of Science, Instruction and Amusement.* July 1771-June 1772. Printed for the Authors; and sold by Francis Blyth [London]; Fletcher, at Oxford; Fletcher and Hodson at Cambridge, Etherington at York, Wilson at Dublin.
- The Freeholder's Magazine; or, Monthly Chronicle of Liberty.* Sept. 1769-Aug. 1771. Printed for Isaac Fell.
- The Gentleman's Museum, and Grand Imperial Magazine.* July 1770-Dec. 1771. Printed for J. Cooke.
- The Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex.* Aug. 1770-1819. Printed for J. Wheble.
- The Lady's Museum.* Feb.-Dec. 1760. Printed for J. Newbery and J. Coote.
- The Monthly Miscellany; or, Gentleman and Lady's Complete Magazine.*<sup>86</sup> Jan. 1774-Sept. 1777. Printed for R. Snagg, R. Cruttwell, and Hodson and Johnson.
- The Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Orpheus.* Jan. 1760-Aug. 1761. Printed for J. Coote.
- The Oxford Magazine; or, University Museum.* July 1768-Dec. 1776. London: printed for the authors, and sold by W. Jackson, at Oxford; S. Bladon, and J. Coote, London; Mess. Fletcher and Hodson, at Cambridge; Mr. Smith, at Dublin; and Mr. Etherington, at York.
- The Poetical Magazine; or, The Muses Monthly Companion.* Jan.-June 1764. London: printed by Dryden Leach, for J. Coote.
- The Royal Gazette; and Universal Chronicle* (newspaper). 22 May-19 June 1761? Printed for, and sold by R. Griffiths

and J. Coote.

*The Royal Magazine; or, Gentleman's Monthly Companion*. July 1759-Dec. 1771. Printed, pursuant to his Majesty's Royal Licence, for J. Coote.

\**The St. James's Magazine*. Sept. 1762-June 1764. Printed for W. Flexney, T. Davies, and J. Coote.

*The Sentimental Magazine; or, General Assemblage of Science, Taste, and Entertainment*. Mar. 1773-Dec. 1777. Printed for the Authors, and sold by G. Kearsly.

*The Universal Museum; or Gentleman's and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks, and Literature*. Jan. 1762-Dec. 1772. Printed for T. Durham.

*The Whimsical Repository; or General Receptacle of Wit, Humour, and Entertainment*.<sup>87</sup> Aug. 1774-Aug. 1776? Printed for R. Snagg.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> A version of this article was read before the "History of the Book" session at the South Central Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Meeting, at Edmond, Oklahoma, on 1 March 1997. I am grateful to George Walton Williams for examining the copy of the *Royal Magazine* at the British Library, and to Professors Williams and James E. Tierney for their welcome criticisms of the original version of the article. I wish also to thank Gregory Lowchy for cheerfully answering my many queries, and Reference Librarian Jeanne Pavy of the Long Library, University of New Orleans, and graduate students Dale Massey and Patricia Janssen for much appreciated aid.

<sup>2</sup> "ESSAY on Modern Writing," *Court Magazine* 1 (January 1762): 223-25, lines 29-30, 33-36.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Pitcher, "The Interactions of *The Royal Magazine* (1759-1769) and *The British Magazine* (1760-1767)," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 86 (1992): 472.

<sup>4</sup> Pitcher, "Interactions" 473, 475.

<sup>5</sup> Pitcher, "Interactions" 472.

<sup>6</sup> Our understanding of the degree of the booksellers' power in this area is still limited. When the 21-year-old author-editor Arthur Young planned in late 1761 to commence and control the *Universal Museum*, Samuel Johnson warned him against the

venture, explaining, "No, sir, . . . such a work would be sure to fail if the booksellers have not the property . . ." (*The Autobiography of Arthur Young*, ed. M. Betham-Edwards [London, 1898] 27). For a brief listing of some known contractual agreements between authors and proprietors of periodicals, see Donald D. Eddy, *Samuel Johnson: Book Reviewer in the Literary Magazine*: or, *Universal Review 1756-1758* (New York: Garland, 1979) 8. As Eddy points out, it is difficult to generalize about author-publisher contracts; however, some relationships between booksellers-proprietors and authors-editors of the mid-eighteenth century may have corresponded to the one between John Newbery and William Dodd concerning the *Christian's Magazine* (1760-67), in which Newbery employed Dodd, and Dodd, despite considerable latitude in determining specific contents, reluctantly acquiesced in carrying out Newbery's general instructions for the magazine. Part of Dodd's correspondence concerning his work on that periodical is included in James Prior's *Life of Oliver Goldsmith, M.B.*, 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1837) 1: 410-14. See also Percivale Stockdale's reminiscence of the difficulties he encountered while editing the *Universal Magazine* in 1771 for the bookseller John Hinton (whom he stigmatized as "such a pretender to judgment, in matters of which he was totally ignorant") (*Memoirs of the Life, and Writings of Percivale Stockdale* [1809] 2: 74, quoted in Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815: With a Catalogue of 1375 Magazine Novels and Novelettes* [Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1962] 415, n. 24).

<sup>7</sup> John Coote (1734?-1808) seems to have had no formal association with the Stationers' Company but entered the London book trade in 1757 as the bookseller John Cooke's partner. In 1758 Coote set up business for himself at the King's Arms (subsequently No. 16) in Paternoster Row. Thomas Mortimer's note on Coote in *The Universal Director* (1763) states that he "[p]urchases any valuable Manuscripts that are offered him; and is a Proprietor in several considerable Copies [copyrights]." Coote was bankrupt in November 1772 but returned to business on a smaller scale by 1775 or 1776, opening his shop at 14 Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell. The fullest account of his career is found in Barbara L. Fitzpatrick, "J. Coote," *The British Literary Book*

*Trade, 1700-1820*, eds. James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 154 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1995) 57-65.

<sup>8</sup> The best discussion of Smollett's editorial control of the *British Magazine* is in Chapter 9 of James G. Basker, *Tobias Smollett: Critic and Journalist* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1988) 188-210. See also Lewis Mansfield Knapp, *Tobias Smollett: Doctor of Men and Manners* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1949) 221-23.

<sup>9</sup> Mayo, *English Novel* 215-16. Mayo traces the rise of common miscellanies to the 1740s and explains that, in contrast to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which he categorizes as an historical miscellany,

they really represent a different breed of periodical, in which "Knowledge" tends to give way to "Pleasure," and in which poems, diverting essays, and stories receive a greater degree of emphasis than historical and scientific articles, and summaries of public affairs, although a few miscellanies, like the *Universal*, tried to combine features of both. (210)

Mayo's observation about the *Universal* points to the difficulty one encounters in attempting any rigid classification of magazines. In the *British Magazine*, articles imparting "knowledge" are fairly well balanced with those inducing "pleasure."

<sup>10</sup> In his unrevised Sandars Lectures of 1959, Graham Pollard points out a similar editor-proprietor relationship which, with limited exceptions, was the norm in printed book production:

The ownership of shares was customarily confined to London booksellers, but there are exceptions: a few authors—or more usually editors—might have a share. Andrew Kippis held an eighth share for many years in the *Biographia Britannica* which he edited. But this was unusual: the trade preferred to pay their authors at piece work rates rather than by a share in the profits.

("The English Market for Printed Books: *The Sandars Lectures, 1959*," *Publishing History* 4 [1978]: 33).

<sup>11</sup> Examples are John Hinton's *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (1747-1815), Thomas Kinneresley's *Grand Magazine of Magazines* (1758-59), and Jonathan Scott's *Imperial Magazine* (1760-62).

<sup>12</sup> For example, the first number of the *Universal Museum* encouraged reader participation by stating that "Letters, &c. are received by T. Durham, Publisher of this Universal Museum, at the Golden-Ball in the Strand" (1 [January 1762]: 54). However, the anonymous founder of the *Universal Museum* and editor of the first five numbers was Arthur Young (Robert Bataille, "Arthur Young and the *Universal Museum* of 1762," *The Library*, 6th ser., 6 [1984]: 279-85).

<sup>13</sup> D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross showed how difficult it is to relate the *London Magazine* partners named in imprints with their actual positions in the management of that periodical ("Introduction," *A Ledger of Charles Ackers: Printer of The London Magazine*, eds. D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, ns, vol. 15 [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968] 8-11).

<sup>14</sup> The inconsistencies of registering copy at Stationers' Hall in the mid-eighteenth century are discussed in James E. Tierney, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Dodsley 1733-1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 44-45.

<sup>15</sup> For example, in December 1759 George Kearsly petitioned for a license to print the *Royal Female Magazine* (Public Record Office, London, SP 36/144/f. 128) and in January 1760 Jonathan Scott petitioned for a license to print the *Imperial Magazine* (PRO, SP 36/145/f. 23).

<sup>16</sup> Royal licenses are discussed in detail in R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1957) 162-68.

<sup>17</sup> The publishing history of the *British Magazine* is described in detail in the "Textual Commentary" in Tobias Smollett, *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, eds. Robert Folkenflik and Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, *The Works of Tobias Smollett* (Athens: U of Georgia P, forthcoming).

<sup>18</sup> Knapp, *Tobias Smollett* 221.

<sup>19</sup> I examined photocopies of the wrappers of the *British Magazine* copy held by the Free Library of Philadelphia (shelf mark GS 136).

<sup>20</sup> For example, *London Chronicle*, 29 Jan. 1760.

<sup>21</sup> According to Knapp, "Smollett severed all his connections with the *Critical Review* and, in his own words, with 'ev-



ery other literary system,' bade farewell to his London friends, and took his family to France in June 1763" (*Tobias Smollett* 247).

<sup>22</sup> "Articles of Correspondence," *Critical Review* 1 (March 1756): 192. Basker has argued persuasively that Smollett wrote the "Articles of Correspondence"; he also observes that the marked copy of the *Critical Review* which presumably belonged to Archibald Hamilton, its printer, identifies Smollett as the author of the review to which the correspondent referred (*Tobias Smollett* 230).

<sup>23</sup> Smollett was breaking new ground. In September 1762 the poet Robert Lloyd followed suit and entered into a similar relationship with booksellers when he began the *St. James's Magazine*, published by William Flexney, Thomas Davies, and John Coote in London, William Jackson in Oxford, and Thomas Merrill in Cambridge. This literary magazine also ran counter to the perceived norm; none of its publishers was its director although they probably owned shares in it. Lloyd, whose name appeared on the volume title page, fully controlled the contents. Because this situation was unusual, Lloyd saw the necessity for informing readers of his management and did so forthrightly. He prefaced the first number with a revealing address "To the Reader":

Certain it is the word MAGAZINE carries with it rather an unfavourable omen. . . . For in the present age, when booksellers have erected themselves into proper and sufficient judges of all literary merit (which indeed, if we consider their prodigious literary property, they have some right to lay claim to) an author, who writes so *apparently* under their colours, as the unfortunate word MAGAZINE seems to intimate, cannot hope to be considered in any other light than as their journeyman bookmaker, till the observation of the judicious shall distinguish between the work and its title. ([unsigned pp. 2-3])

Lloyd followed his "Address" with his poem "The Puff. A Dialogue between the Bookseller and Author" (1-8), in which he clearly defined his proprietary control.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from the outer wrapper of the March 1760 number of the *British Magazine*.

<sup>25</sup> The recto of the front wrapper of the January 1760 number is reproduced in Albert Smith, "Sir Launcelot Greaves: A Bibliographical Survey of Eighteenth-century Editions," *The Library*, 5th ser., 32 (1977): 224.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in O M Brack, Jr., "Tobias Smollett Puffs His Histories," in *Writers, Books, and Trade: An Eighteenth-Century English Miscellany for William B. Todd*, ed. Brack (New York: AMS, 1994), 284-85, n. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Pitcher assumes that Smollett remained editor of the *British Magazine* throughout its existence and so has disparaged him for either presenting reprinted pieces in the *British* as though they were originals or misattributing reprinted pieces. Yet, all the essays or short fiction from the *British Magazine* cited by Pitcher as examples of Smollett's deliberately misleading practices date from the September 1763 number or later, well after Smollett's resignation as editor in May or June 1763. See Pitcher's "Inconsistent Attributions and Arbitrary Signatures in Smollett's *British Magazine* (1760-67)," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 75 (1981): 443-47; and "Further Remarks on Arbitrary Signatures in Smollett's *British Magazine* (1760-67)," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 80 (1986): 91-92.

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton's position as printer was revealed in the answer to a rebus in the poetry section of the April 1760 number of the magazine (Basker, *Tobias Smollett* 189).

<sup>29</sup> Basker (*Tobias Smollett* 189) surmises that the printer Hamilton was the person responsible for holding the *British Magazine* together while the publishers changed several times, and no doubt Hamilton had a significant part to play in its management. But Hamilton's presence alone cannot account for the duplications eventually shared with the *Royal Magazine*.

<sup>30</sup> Little documentary evidence concerning the business organization of individual eighteenth-century magazines has survived, but the number of shareholders seems to have varied considerably from title to title. Five partners, for example, established the *London Magazine* in 1732 (D. F. McKenzie and J. C. Ross, "Introduction," *A Ledger of Charles Ackers* 8); two partners began the *Grand Magazine* in 1758 (Robert D. Harlan, "The Publishing of 'The Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence

and Monthly Chronicle of our Own Times," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 59 [1965]: 429); Arthur Young turned over full control of the *Universal Museum* in 1762 to as many as "ten or twelve" booksellers (Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, "Arthur Young and 'Ten or a Dozen Booksellers': The Publication of the *Universal Museum* in 1762," *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History 1994 Annual*, eds. Michael Harris and Tom O'Malley [Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996] 35, 38-39). By contrast, numbers of shareholders in newspapers were more regularized; Michael Harris estimates that "the weeklies generally had six to ten shareholders, the thrice-weeklies ten to fifteen and the dailies twenty" ("The Management of the London Newspaper Press during the Eighteenth Century," *Publishing History* 4 [1978]: 98).

<sup>31</sup> Together, for example, they published the 1762 book-form edition of Smollett's fourth novel, *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, which had first appeared serially in the *British Magazine* during 1760 and 1761. In 1760 and 1761 Coote, Kearsly, and Thomas Davies published five editions of Samuel Foote's comedy *The Minor*, and in 1761 Coote, Kearsly, and Stanley Crowder published the first volume of Foote's projected twelve-volume *Comic Theatre: Being a Free Translation of All the Best French Comedies*.

<sup>32</sup> Longman no. 136, 16 Oct. 1764, lots 17 and 18, in "Booksellers' Trade Sale Catalogues, 1718-1768," British Library, London. By late 1764 the popularity of the *British Magazine* may have begun to wane sufficiently to discourage potential purchasers of shares.

<sup>33</sup> Shares in magazines were seldom offered for bid at trade sale auctions; in fact, Kearsly's offer was unusual. Unfortunately, the variant fractions (1/16 and 1/48) of Kearsly's shares reveal little more about ownership in the *British Magazine* than that in 1764 Kearsly owned two fractional shares. They do not show that he was necessarily a partner at the founding of the magazine in December 1759 (although his book advertisements on the outer wrappers of the magazine beginning in August 1760 do point to early partnership). The differing sizes of his shares suggest that he acquired his fractions at two separate times. The probability is that he purchased the 1/16 share earlier than the 1/

48: the 1/48 share could have been created by a 1/16 share being split into thirds, or a 1/8 share (Smollett's?), into sixths; such splits were not uncommon and could lead to confusion about precise ownership. See Terry Belanger, "Booksellers' Trade Sales, 1718-1768," *The Library*, 5th ser., 30 (December 1975): 281-302.

<sup>34</sup> Although partners in a magazine might own equal fractions of the property, the division of their labor within the structure of the management probably varied considerably. Not much is yet known about magazine management, but it was perhaps similar to newspaper management. See Michael Harris, "Management" 95-112, especially 99-100 and 103-104.

<sup>35</sup> Charles Welsh was mistaken in identifying Newbery's 1/7 share in the *British Magazine* as referring to Smollett's periodical (*A Bookseller of the Last Century: Being some Account of the Life of John Newbery, and of the Books he published, with a Notice of the later Newberys* [London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1885] 177). Actually, as Welsh's own evidence makes clear, the 1/7 share was in an earlier *British Magazine*, which ran from 1746-51. Assigning the 1/7 share to the earlier periodical does not, however, preclude Newbery's having also owned a share or shares in Smollett's magazine; it simply means that whatever share Newbery owned would probably have been some fraction of sixteen (or possibly eight) rather than seven.

<sup>36</sup> Mayo, *English Novel* 275.

<sup>37</sup> Copies of complete runs of the *Royal Magazine* (1759-71) are very rare. The British Library holds one (shelfmark P. P. 5441), and the National Library of Ireland holds another (call number J 05). The *Royal* is not included in the *ESTC* (1998 CD-ROM) database. The UMI Early British Periodicals microfilm (reels 844 and 845), made from the British Library copy, stops with the 1769 volume.

<sup>38</sup> David Alexander explains that the *Royal Magazine* "had up to five plates per issue, several by Hullett; it also had coloured prints of natural history and folding maps, several signed by G[eorge] Rollos" ("'Alone worth treble the price': Illustrations in 18th-Century English Magazines," *A Millennium of the Book: Production, Design & Illustration in Manuscript & Print* 900-

1900, eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris [Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1994] 116).

<sup>39</sup> PRO, London, SP 36/142/f. 54. The wording for Coote's proprietary rôle in the *Royal Magazine*—that he had “been at very great labour and expence in purchasing Books and employing ingenious men to write and compile . . .”—differs significantly from that for Smollett's in the *British Magazine*. By 1764, however, the *British Magazine* had shifted its emphasis from originality to compilation and so moved closer in make up to the *Royal* as defined here.

<sup>40</sup> Pitcher points out that the *Royal* and the *British* never duplicated each other's original serialized pieces (“Interactions” 474).

<sup>41</sup> B. J. McMullin has recently provided a good overview of scholarship on press figures and discusses the limitations of their use in bibliographical analysis (“Further Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures,” *Writers, Books, and Trade* 177-200).

<sup>42</sup> John Nichols, “Obituary, with Anecdotes, of Remarkable Persons,” *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 78, pt. 2 (November 1808): 1041.

<sup>43</sup> *Court Magazine* 1 (December 1761): 168-69. Barrow's credentials suggest (it is not clear whether they were accurate or not) that the author of “The Motives for Writing” was privy to inside information concerning both the production of the *Royal Magazine* (“putter together” could have been a derogatory term for a “compiler” who was denied any real editorial authority) and the publication of *Dr. Nelson's Annotations on the New Testament*. An advertisement for the latter work, in the *London Chronicle* for 24-26 December 1761, states that it was “by S. Nelson, D.D.,” and printed for S. Crowder and Co., J. Coote, and J. Townsend; Barrow is not mentioned.

<sup>44</sup> [William Rider], *An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Living Authors of Great-Britain*, The Augustan Reprint Society, No. 163 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1974) 33. Louis L. Martz corrects the flawed *DNB* entry on Barrow, pointing out that “about half” his *Collection of Authentic, Useful, and Entertaining Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1765) was plagiarized from

Smollett's *Compendium of Voyages* (London, 1756) (*The Later Career of Tobias Smollett* [1942; n. p.: Archon, 1967] 18).

<sup>45</sup> In May 1759, the same month he petitioned for a royal license to print the *Royal Magazine*, Coote also petitioned for a license to print *A New Geographical Dictionary* (PRO, SP 36/142/f. 56). No author's name is on the title page of the first edition, but Barrow's name appears on the title page of the second.

<sup>46</sup> *Court Magazine* 1 (January 1762): 223-25. The poem attacks by name first Coote and then Ralph Griffiths and his wife. The Griffiths part of the poem could concern the *Monthly Review* (although Griffiths had interest in other periodicals as well) but the Coote section does not seem to refer to the *Critical Review*, which was often reviled in tandem with the *Monthly* by unsuccessful authors; Coote is not known to have been connected with the *Critical Review*, which began publication a year before he entered business. Griffiths and Coote's only known business collaboration was in a short-lived newspaper, the *Royal Gazette and Universal Chronicle*, in May and June 1761; no copies of it appear to be extant.

<sup>47</sup> Mayo, *English Novel* 212.

<sup>48</sup> Graham Pollard, "The Early Poems of George Crabbe and *The Lady's Magazine*," *The Bodleian Library Record* 5 (1954-56): 150-52. Coote apparently had owned the entire property. Sometime after the sale and after Roberts had departed from their business, Robinson seems to have split the property into six equal shares and sold five; according to the Stationers' Company Records, Entry Book of Copies 1774-1786, the partners in January 1774 were Archibald Hamilton, Sr., Archibald Hamilton, Jr., Lacey Hawes, Stanley Crowder, Bedwell Law, and George Robinson. At the same time, according to the Stationers' Company Records, these six partners also owned the *Town and Country Magazine*. A similar shift from single to multiple ownership of a periodical seems to have occurred after the printer Henry Baldwin purchased three newspapers from the printer William Rayner in 1761 (Richmond P. Bond and Marjorie N. Bond, "The Minute Books of the *St. James's Chronicle*," *Studies in Bibliography* 28 [1975]: 17).

<sup>49</sup> Pollard, "Early Poems" 150-52.

<sup>50</sup> Jan Fergus, "Women, Class, and the Growth of Magazine Readership in the Provinces, 1746-1780," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 16 (1986): 49.

<sup>51</sup> According to a notice inserted by Wheble in the *London Chronicle* for 9-11 July 1771.

<sup>52</sup> "An Account of the Trial at Law, respecting the Right of Property in the Publication of the *Lady's Magazine*. With Observation on the same," [Wheble's] *Lady's Magazine* 1 (July 1771): 41. Copies of Wheble's magazine are very rare. I examined the Bodleian Library copy (shelfmark Vet. A 5 e. 1986).

<sup>53</sup> See Pollard, "Early Poems" 150-52.

<sup>54</sup> "An Account of the Trial" 52, and Wheble's notice in the *London Chronicle*, 9-11 July 1771.

<sup>55</sup> "An Account of the Trial" 47.

<sup>56</sup> "An Account of the Trial" 47. It is important to remember that Wheble's identification of Coote's proprietorships was for the year 1771 only; Coote had not necessarily founded all the magazines.

<sup>57</sup> No. 649 in Mayo (*English Novel* 526).

<sup>58</sup> The full title and publisher plus the boast about the royal license appear in an advertisement for Number III of the magazine in the *Daily Advertiser*, 1 April 1760.

<sup>59</sup> Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish, and Irish . . .* (1900; rpt. New York: Blom, 1967). I have not seen the *Musical Magazine*.

<sup>60</sup> The following copies of the two magazines were examined: *British Magazine*, Tulane University (vols. 1-2, call number PR 1134 .B75 Rare), National Library of Ireland (vols. 1-8, call number J 05), Yale University (UMI microfilm, vols. 1-8, call number Z17.297d/1-2); *Royal Magazine*, British Library (both the bound copy, vols. 1-21, and the UMI microfilm, vols. 1-19, shelfmark P. P. 5441), National Library of Ireland (vols. 1-21, bound throughout as six-month volumes, 1-25, call number J 05).

<sup>61</sup> *London Chronicle*, 12-14 Oct. 1762. According to Arthur Friedman (*Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, 5 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1966] 3: 281), a second edition did not appear

until 9 December. Excerpts cited in the newspapers were from the first edition.

<sup>62</sup> Pitcher, "Interactions" 473.

<sup>63</sup> Duplicate articles occur at the following sites in the *Royal Magazine* and the *British Magazine* from 1760 through 1763; each duplicated article in a given month has been assigned a parenthetical number, beginning with (1):

- Sep. 1760 (1) *RM* p. 151, *BM* p. 536
- Apr. 1761 (1) *RM* 172-73, *BM* 181
- May 1761 (1) *RM* 217-18, *BM* 266
- (2) *RM* 219-24, *BM* 266-71
- Dec. 1761 (1) *RM* 292-94, *BM* 636
- Apr. 1762 (1) *RM* 200-201, *BM* 197-98
- (2) *RM* 208, *BM* 198-99
- Oct. 1762 (1) *RM* 177-81, *BM* 542-45
- (2) *RM* 185-87, *BM* 531-35
- Nov. 1762 (1) *RM* 250-51, *BM* 566-67
- Dec. 1762 (1) *RM* 307, *BM* 648
- (2) *RM* 307, *BM* 648
- Jan. 1763 (1) *RM* 29-31, *BM* 7-9
- (2) *RM* 34, *BM* 6
- (3) *RM* 41-43, *BM* 11-13
- Feb. 1763 (1) *RM* 66-75, *BM* 81-84
- (2) *RM* 75-76, *BM* 96-97
- (3) *RM* 76-81, *BM* 73-77
- (4) *RM* 81-87, *BM* 61-67
- (5) *RM* 87-88, *BM* 95-96
- (6) *RM* 94-95, *BM* 92
- (7) *RM* 99, *BM* 67
- Mar. 1763 (1) *RM* 135-37, *BM* 138-39
- (2) *RM* 148, *BM* 114-15
- Apr. 1763 (1) *RM* 201-210 [214], *BM* 197-210
- Aug. 1763 (1) *RM* 83-86, *BM* 406-409
- Sep. 1763 (1) *RM* 133-35, *BM* 464-66
- Dec. 1763 (1) *RM* 297-300, *BM* 631-34

<sup>64</sup> From 1761 through 1763 the following duplicate articles were printed from the same settings of type (the parenthetical numbers correspond to the article numbers assigned in note 63):



- May 1761 (1) *RM* 217-18, *BM* 266  
 (2) *RM* 219-24, *BM* 266-71  
 Dec. 1762 (1) *RM* 307, *BM* 648  
 (2) *RM* 307, *BM* 648  
 Feb. 1763 (4) *RM* 81-87, *BM* 61-67  
 Apr. 1763 (1) *RM* 201-210 [214], *BM* 197-210

<sup>65</sup> In this instance, the duplications set from the same type occur on two half sheets in each magazine, sheets Cc and Dd in the *British*, and sheets Dd and Ee in the *Royal*. The article in question, entitled "Some Account of the City of Manila . . ." in the *British* and "The City of Manila . . ." in the *Royal*, comprises 14 pages in each periodical. In the *British* the page numbers run sequentially from 197 through 210 (Cc1'-Dd3'), but in the *Royal* they run 201-207 (Dd1'-Dd4'), then 204-210 (Dd4'-Ee3'), with the last seven page numbers matching the *British* page numbers. Headlines and signatures have been altered in the *Royal* for pages 201-207, but in the latter half of the article the only differences introduced into the *Royal* are the word *Royal* in the headline, and the signatures. The press figure 5 on Dd1' (206) in the *British* recurs on Ee1' (206) in the *Royal* (at a time when no press figures were appearing in the *Royal*), and even the catchword *Poetical* at the end of the "Manila" article on Dd3' (210) in the *British*, heralding the "*Poetical* Essays for APRIL, 1763" on the following page, finds its way onto Ee3' (210) in the *Royal*, only there it unexpectedly precedes a political song, "Lord WARKWORTH."

<sup>66</sup> The only copies of the *British Magazine* known to retain some of the outer wrappers are held by the London University Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Free Library of Philadelphia.

<sup>67</sup> The leaf carrying the proposals is loose but included among the six numbers of the *British Magazine* still retaining all or part of their wrappers, held by the Free Library of Philadelphia. It is dated "April 1760" and presumably accompanied the number of the magazine for that month.

<sup>68</sup> Knapp, *Tobias Smollett* 229-30, 236. See Smollett, "To John Wilkes," 28 Mar. 1762; "To John Moore," 1 June 1762; "To John Home," 27 Dec. 1762, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*,

ed. Lewis M. Knapp (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) 104, 105-06, 110-11.

<sup>69</sup> Basker, *Tobias Smollett* 131-32. In August 1762 Smollett wrote to John Moore:

Your Conjecture is right in supposing I still write some articles in the *Critical Review*. As I am Proprietor of that work, I should be a Fool to give it up at a Time when it begins to indemnify me for all the Vexation and Loss I have sustained by it; but the Laborious Part of Authorship I have long resigned. (*Letters*, ed. Knapp, 108)

It is unlikely that Smollett was *sole* proprietor of the *Critical Review*; he probably meant that he was *chief* proprietor.

<sup>70</sup> The *Lady's Museum* lasted eleven numbers. Coote's November 1759 petition for its royal license reveals that the original title was *The Female Magazine; or Lady's Polite Companion* (PRO, London, SP 36/144/f. 46). The petition adds that Coote had "employed Mrs. Charlotte Lennox [*sic*] and other Learned and ingenious Persons to write and compile" the magazine.

<sup>71</sup> Newbery and Coote together petitioned in December 1759 for the royal license for the *Christian's Magazine* (PRO, London, SP 36/144/f. 122), and their names appear together on its volume title pages through at least the seventh annual volume. Coote, however, seems not to have been the editorial power behind this magazine as he was for many of his others (see note 6).

<sup>72</sup> *London Chronicle*, 21-24 February 1761. Coote retained interest in this major publishing venture until 30 May 1770 when for £410.9.3 he sold 7/16 of the copyright and 7/16 of the 12,776 remaining volumes to Robinson and Roberts (G. E. Bentley, Jr., "Copyright Documents in the George Robinson Archive: William Godwin and Others 1713-1820," *Studies in Bibliography* 35 [1982]: 86). It is not known when he acquired such a large fraction of the property, but he was involved with the project from the outset.

<sup>73</sup> *London Chronicle*, 30 March-1 April 1762.

<sup>74</sup> *London Chronicle*, 25-27 May 1762. The *Briton* ran from 29 May 1762 to 12 February 1763.

<sup>75</sup> February 1763 is a month of particular interest because the duplications between the two magazines suddenly jump to

seven articles, filling 31 of the 56 pages in each, which argues some sort of disruption in Smollett's normal editorial duties, resulting in an unforeseen paucity of original material for that number of the *British*.

<sup>76</sup> One such example occurred in the numbers for July 1762. A half-page article, "Some Account of the INDIANS now in England," appears on page 16 of the *Royal*, while "An Account of the Cherokee Nation" appears on pages 377-78 of the *British*. Each article is accompanied by a plate of "Austenaco, Great Warriour" (also known as Outacite), the leader of the three Cherokee chiefs then visiting London; the unsigned plates appear to have been engraved by the same artist but show different poses of Austenaco. Both articles seem to have been inspired by the same event, but the *British* article describes Cherokee culture in general, making only passing reference to the visit, while the *Royal* article restricts itself to describing the Cherokee chiefs and their visit in particular. Neither article seems to have influenced the other.

<sup>77</sup> A good example of several of these changes occurs on the first page of the April 1763 article on the City of Manila, which is described in note 65. The type, which was set in double columns of 50 lines each in both magazines, was first composed for the *British Magazine* and then altered just enough to make the *Royal Magazine* article appear different under cursory examination. In the *British* the opening paragraph is nine lines long. In the *Royal* it is ten, the first three lines from the *British* having been reworded and expanded in the *Royal* to four lines. The rest of the paragraph in both magazines is identical. The first line of the second paragraph in the *Royal* varies slightly in wording from the *British*, but otherwise the rest of that paragraph and the rest of the page are the same in both magazines. Because the opening paragraph in the *Royal* is one line longer than in the *British*, the entire page of the *Royal* is one line out of synchronization with the *British*, with the first and second columns each breaking one line later in the *Royal* than in the *British*. To add to the masquerade, the *British* page number (197) and signature (Cc) have been changed to fit into the *Royal* sequences (201 and Dd). The resulting slight discrepancies in appearance between the two pages are very effective in misleading readers.

<sup>78</sup> Although the *St. James's Magazine* included Coote among the five publishers listed in its 1762 imprint, Lloyd's aggressive statements as its editor indicate that this magazine was one in which Coote probably played only a minor part.

<sup>79</sup> James E. Tierney, "The Museum, the 'Super-Excellent Magazine,'" *Studies in English Literature* 13 (1973): 514.

<sup>80</sup> For example, the *Gentleman's Museum and Grand Imperial Magazine* existed from July 1770 through December 1771; the *Court and City Magazine*, from July 1771 through June 1772; the *Court Miscellany*, from July 1765 through December 1771; the *Oxford Magazine*, from July 1768 through December 1776; the *Freeholder's Magazine*, from September 1769 through December 1770; *Everyman's Magazine*, from July 1771 through June 1772; the *Universal Museum*, from January 1762 through December 1772.

<sup>81</sup> For example, advertisements for the *British Magazine* were sporadic in the *London Chronicle* in 1766 (one appears in the newspaper for 31 May-3 June) and were absent altogether in 1767.

<sup>82</sup> Without any knowledge that Coote was involved or what his practices were, a twentieth-century commentator has observed this gradual loss of focus in one of his periodicals, the *Court Miscellany*, describing its final months as languishing: "Political news apparently lost its urgency. . . . The tone was pastoral; the editor, it would seem, was tired or bored even before the *Miscellany* ceased publication at the end of that year [1771]" (Betty Richardson, "Court Miscellany, The," *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698-1788*, ed. Alvin Sullivan [Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983] 62).

<sup>83</sup> Of the 24 articles carried by the *Royal Magazine* in December 1767, 18 reappear set from the same type but in a different order in the *British Magazine* (which contains 21 articles in all). Press figures in the *Royal* are 8, 4, 7, 4, 8, 8, 7, one in each half sheet; press figures in the *British* are 6, 2, 7, 4, 4, 2, 7, one in each half sheet.

<sup>84</sup> In the numbers of the *Royal* for July through December 1763 (vol. 9), no press figures appear, but in the January 1764 number the following figures occur: 7, 5, 1, 2, 3, 7; and similar figures appear in subsequent numbers of the magazine. These

press figures suggest that Hamilton's shop was now printing the *Royal* as well as the *British*.

<sup>85</sup> A comparison of the copies of the *Royal Magazine* and *Universal Museum* held by the National Library of Ireland reveals that in 1771, as the *Royal Magazine* drifted through its final year, Coote bolstered it with monthly "Foreign Occurrences" and "Domestic Intelligence" lifted in their entirety, including pagination, from the *Universal Museum*. For example, in June 1771 the last half sheet (Nn) of the *Universal Museum*, comprising pages 281 to 288, reappears in its entirety in the *Royal Magazine*, causing pagination there to revert from 464 to 281; in December 1771 the last half sheet (4C, pages 571-78) of the *Universal Museum* again reappears in the *Royal*, where pagination shifts from 752 to 571.

<sup>86</sup> Many articles in the *Monthly Miscellany* and the *Sentimental Magazine* were identical beginning with their numbers for August 1776 (see Pitcher, "Problems with Eighteenth-Century Periodicals: *The Monthly Miscellany*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 80 [1986]: 235-36). In 1777, according to their volume title pages, both magazines were "Printed for the Authors and sold by J. Coote."

<sup>87</sup> The entire contents of the August 1776 numbers of the *Oxford Magazine* and the *Whimsical Repository* are identical. I am examining Coote's involvement in the *Whimsical Repository* in a separate study.