## American Bibliographical Notes

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[L1396a]

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[L1495b]

## George N. Belknap

## A NOTE CONCERNING THE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY COLONY SEAL

In 1935, Matt B. Jones published an article entitled 'The Early Massachusetts-Bay Colony Seals' (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 44: 13–44); it has stood ever since as the definitive study of the subject.

Most of the article was devoted to a study of the cuts of the seal frequently used by early Massachusetts printers at the head of official publications: one bearing the likeness of a female Indian (fig. 1) which was used by Samuel Green at the Cambridge Press, the other, displaying a male Indian (fig. 2), used by John Foster and his successors at the Boston Press.

In the course of his study, Jones examined more than a hundred copies of sixty impressions of the seals and noted that the imperfections found in any one impression of either cut were also present in all other impressions. He concluded, American Antiquarian Society



Figure 1

therefore, that only one cut of either version ever existed, and further postulated that there had never been any exchange of seals between the rival Boston and Cambridge printers. In support of the latter point was a Council Order of September 17, 1675, printed by Green and headed by the seal bearing the female Indian. When John Foster reprinted that order on page 15 of Increase Mather's *A Brief History of the Warr* with the Indians (Boston, 1676), he headed it with his own version of the seal rather than with that which had adorned the original printing.

There is, however, still a third version of the seal, and while Jones must have been aware of it, he had no good reason to mention it in his article. It appears on page 15 of the London edition of Mather's *Brief History*, printed by Richard



Figure 2

Chiswell in 1676. It is clearly a copy of Foster's cut, although the black-haired, scrubby Massachusetts Indian was transformed by Chiswell's engraver into a blonde, Anglo-Saxon warrior (fig. 3). There are obvious differences in the border ornamentation, and the shading of both the Indian's torso and the three pine trees is more precisely executed than in the Boston version. When photocopies of the two versions are superimposed over a light table with bows and strings perfectly aligned, registration of all other features varies by less than one millimeter. It would thus appear that the London engraver made a tracing of the impression of Foster's seal and executed a first-class woodcut which was far superior to anything then available in Massachusetts.

While the existence of a London version of the seal is prob-



ably not of great significance, it does raise the question as to whether Chiswell ever used it on any other publications; a reasonable search fails to produce any. A year earlier, he had collaborated with Boston's John Usher in promoting the socalled 1675 edition of the Massachusetts laws. As is now known, it was a spurious edition and was actually nothing more than the sheets of the 1672 edition, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, supplied with a few new leaves including a new title page. Chiswell did not then see fit to copy Green's version of the seal; why he should have used Foster's a year later must remain a matter for speculation.

Jones also took note of the seal of the Dominion of New England, used by Richard Pierce of Boston (fig. 4). As this illustration attests, it was probably a copy of the Foster seal,



Figure 4

but being much larger in size and clearly different in detail, the two are not easily confused. The question has arisen, however, as to whether Pierce altered or recut his seal with an eye to improving the quality of the impression. The evidence suggests that he did not. The impression heading a proclamation of May 25, 1686 (Evans 409), shows an Indian with a slightly dusky torso and arms, but rather white legs. The version shown on a proclamation of May 28 (Evans 410), evidently used by Jones, shows very black torso, arms, and legs as well as the tip of a bush which appears between the arrow and the warrior. A proclamation of the following day (Evans 411), however, shows a relatively pale Indian and only a suggestion of the bush tip. An order of June 10 (fig. 4, American Antiquarian Society



Bristol-Evans 39233) once again shows a dusky torso and arms, clean legs, and no bush tip. Few copies of the foregoing imprints exist and thus adequate comparison is impossible, but if we may assume that the items were printed in the order given above, then it would appear that the differences in appearance resulted from poor inking and not because of recutting by Pierce.

There are still two other versions of the seal, neither of which properly fell within the scope of Jones's study; both of them appear in the lower left-hand corner of the first issues of printed Massachusetts paper currency. The five-shilling bill, authorized by an order of December 10, 1690, carries a very crude imitation of the Foster seal (fig. 5). The twenty-shilling bill of February 3, 1690/91, bears an equally crude ren-

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dition which can be seen to be generally similar to the seal cut by Richard Pierce (fig. 6). While the engraver knew enough to omit the inscription of the Dominion of New England from the border, he substituted that of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay, although that government had been defunct for more than five years. It appears likely that both plates were engraved by the same hand, that the differences in the seals were probably intended to signify differences in denominations and possibly help prevent alteration of the notes. If so, the effort was in vain; the only known copies of each note have been altered.

In summary, this note can only support and confirm the findings of Matt B. Jones and offer three additional versions of the seal which, it is hoped, may suggest further research on the subject.

John D. Cushing

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