

# BIBLIOTHECK

A SCOTTISH JOURNAL  
OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ALLIED TOPICS

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## SCOTTISH PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS, 1668-1775 : A STUDY OF SOURCE-MATERIAL by R. H. Carnie<sup>1</sup>

THE 107 years from 1668 to 1775 was a period in which the Scottish book-trade expanded enormously. Printers, booksellers, bookbinders and paper-makers could be found in only half a dozen centres at the beginning of the period; by 1775 at least 75 places could boast some representative of the book-trade, and in the larger towns the number of masters, journeymen and apprentices employed in the various branches of the trade had grown sufficiently to see the beginnings of specific trade-organisations. By the seventh decade of the eighteenth century this expansion of the book-trade in Scotland was beginning to have an effect on the London book-trade as well. Enterprising Scotsmen such as Alexander Donaldson and John Murray made their presence felt in the metropolis; an ever-increasing flood of cheap, well-printed books came on the English market, especially after the defeat of the London booksellers' claim to perpetual copyright by decision of the House of Lords in February, 1774. Bishop Percy saw what was coming when he wrote to George Paton, the Edinburgh antiquary, in July, 1774:<sup>2</sup>

What use do your Booksellers and those at Glasgow mean to make of the Liberty they have gained by the defeat of the London Booksellers? What new Editions of English Authors are they preparing in consequence of that Victory? Such as are elegant and cheap one would be glad to purchase.

When John Bell of the Strand gave the printing of his famous miniature series *Poets of Great Britain* in 1776 to the Edinburgh firm of Martin and Wotherspoon (The Apollo Press), he was to start a connection between London publishers and Scottish printers which has survived to the present day.

The above generalisations could be a summary of a chapter in the history of the Scottish book-trade, if any such history had, in fact, been written. In the absence of such a book this expansion and activity is best seen in the 157 Scottish entries in Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1668-1725* and the 539 entries in Bushnell's Scottish section of the *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1725-1775*. A satisfactory history of the Scottish book-trade cannot be written until the

pioneer work of Aldis, Plomer and Bushnell in finding and listing both the books and the men who made and sold them has been expanded and revised. The purpose of this paper is to survey some of the sources which can be used in collecting additional and revisionary material for the book-trade dictionaries from 1668 to 1775.<sup>3</sup> The writer hopes that some day the Bibliographical Society will pay Plomer and Bushnell the tribute of a revised edition of the dictionaries.<sup>4</sup>

Plomer did his work before 1922 and Bushnell his before 1932 and the mere passage of time has made some revision of the Scottish entries possible. In the last thirty years a good deal of record scholarship has been going on in Scotland. The Scottish Record Society has continued to issue its invaluable apprentice, marriage and burial registers, chiefly for Edinburgh and Glasgow, and has virtually completed its Register of Testaments for Commissariat records up to 1800. The Spalding Clubs of Aberdeen have published lists of burgesses, county bibliographies and local histories to such effect that the North-East of Scotland is one of the best documented areas, and enterprising Town Councils, notably Edinburgh and Aberdeen, have continued the work of the now defunct Scottish Burgh Record Society in printing extracts from Town Council minutes and accounts.<sup>5</sup> Nor should one forget these massive indices to invaluable record in the Register House of Scotland; the published *Index to the Register of Deeds* which is now available for the period 1661 to 1691 and the various typescript indices to general and particular registers of sasines for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first duty of a reviser of the book-trade dictionaries is to consult the relevant documents which lie behind these indices when they throw light on book-trade practitioners. He has lost some of the excitement of discovering unused sources for himself, but he has been saved a great deal of heavy labour. Indeed, without the aids offered by Register House indices and the record societies it is very likely that the sheer mass of material would overwhelm all but the most determined and long-lived investigators. Despite all this commendable activity, the coverage of local records by Scottish record societies has been unequal. Dundee, Perth and St. Andrews are three Scottish towns of significance in the history of the book-trade in which the record scholar has not been busy. Only selections from the Burgess and Guild-Brother Register of Dundee have been printed in the shape of a *Roll of Eminent Burgesses*.<sup>6</sup> The printing and publishing history of that particular city will remain fragmentary until a book-trade histor-

ian goes through the manuscript archives of the city for his part. The history of the book-trade of any town can be extracted from the records provided they have been preserved in reasonable order and condition. The Council minute-books are usually the key to this history, although significant detail as to the operations of any one bookbinder is most often found in the account-books. It was not unusual for a town-council which did not sometime between 1668 and 1775 to buy ink and paper from a local stationer, or did not have its books bound and repaired by a local binder, or did not encourage a local or bookbinder from outside the town to set up business without the approval by making him a burghess *gratis*. These examples are given from the records of the burgh of Stirling.<sup>7</sup> On 27 February 1773 the Town Council did 'receive and admitt John Hyndsshaw, the liberty and freedom of one burgesse and neighbour of this burgh and that gratis for his encouragement.' Hyndsshaw is not mentioned in the book-trade dictionaries. On 2 August, 1740, they gave James Jaffray, stationer, for seven gilded bibles to the provost, deacons and conveners.' The careful accounting of civic expenditure in the Glasgow Town records<sup>8</sup> allows one to see the far from trivial part of the brothers, in an everyday context, far away from their printing of classics, on 1 October, 1764, when the City Treasurer was ordered to pay Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers in Glasgow, four shillings and a penny sterling for printing a table of rates and fees for Glasgow carmen and couplets, regulations for the harbour of Port Glasgow (in November, 1762) and for furnishing books for prizes to the scholars of the Grammar School. It is worth while remembering when searching the manuscript archives that very few printed directories of trades and professions were published in Scotland before 1775. The first Edinburgh directory was that issued by Peter Williamson in 1773; the first Dundee directory came from Colville's press in 1782. Tait's Glasgow directory was published in 1784. One should therefore search for any manuscript copy of a directory by the magistrates for their own use or at the behest of the town before 1775. Such lists can give valuable information as to the names and status of persons in a printer's or bookseller's household, and in giving names and addresses. For example, the magistrates of Dundee issued a notice in January, 1773, ordering the landlords of all tenements to give in to the Town Clerk a signed account of their tenants, their families and occupations. The returns themselves survive and are worth a read:

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Account of Tennents in Mr. Mercer of Aldie's Land. South side of North Street and West side of the Watergate, Robert Morison Bookseller who has an apprentice John Peddie from Craigie in the Parish of Perth. Perth 1st February, 1773.

This return gives the dictionary-maker invaluable information about the location of this well-known Perth bookseller's home and the name of an otherwise unrecorded apprentice. The returns for the unpopular poll-tax which was levied by an Act of Scots Parliament dated 29 June, 1693, gives a partial census of these Scots parishes where either the poll-tax rolls or the actual returns themselves have survived. The rate of taxation differed according to one's status in society and whether one was a head of a household or not. In the case of tradesmen, the tax depended on how much the tradesman was worth. Surviving returns vary in fullness and accuracy. The Scottish Record Society issued in 1951 the returns for two Edinburgh parishes<sup>10</sup> which give an insight to the usefulness of such returns to a book-trade historian. For example, the entry concerning William Aitken adds considerably to what Plomer tells us of this man—that he was cautioner in the will of the bookseller, Gideon Schaw, in 1687. The poll-tax return gives the additional information that Aitken considered his free stock to be worth a hundred merks and that he had two daughters, Barbara and Isobel. Plomer's entry for George Mosman, bookbinder in Edinburgh, is a full and satisfactory one, but again the poll-tax return gives an investigator further facts that he would wish to know: for example, that his wife, who succeeded him as Printer to the Church of Scotland after his death, was called Margaret Gibb, and that in 1694 he had two apprentices, John Ramsay and Patrick Watson. The return of Robert Swan, a previously unrecorded printer, is nothing like so helpful, but one cannot help but admire the forceful brevity with which it is expressed; 'No stock—has none in his family but Marion Flucker his wife who is worse than nothing'. There is much labour but very few snags in investigating records of this kind. Care must be taken in some parts of Scotland, such as the Perth area or the Cambuslang area, in dealing with burial registers of the second half of the eighteenth century, to scrutinise carefully those described as 'printers'. The operatives employed in the colour-printing of linen are often described by this word as well as letterpress printers.

One of the chief difficulties in finding out more about individual book-trade practitioners in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries is that there were no distinct and separate book-trade organisations, like the Stationers' Company in London, to which the rest of the trade would normally have to be affiliated in order to do business within a burgh. Even in London the position is not so simple as it appears. For Blagden has told us that in 1684 book dealers could be found in less than thirteen city companies other than the stationers.<sup>11</sup> Not even in Edinburgh, where the members of the book-trade were numerous, were they powerful enough to form a separate organisation of their own until the end of the eighteenth century with the formation of the 'Society of Booksellers of Edinburgh and Leith'. By the time the old Scottish merchant guilds and crafts were on their way out, the exclusive trading privileges within a burgh which their members had enjoyed were finally lost by Act of Parliament in 1846. Bookbinding and printing were essentially crafts, bookselling and stationery selling were forms of merchandising. Yet in many instances these diverse occupations were combined in one man or one firm, and consequently cut across the frequent and often bitter opposition between Scottish towns between the merchants and the craftsmen concerning their trading rights and privileges. The trade structures in many important Scottish towns differed one from the other. In Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen there were merchant guilds to which one might expect the booksellers to be attached, but in other towns like Dundee and Perth the merchants were not so organised, and trade in the book-trade lay largely in the hands of the various incorporated bodies of craftsmen. It is therefore often very far from obvious to which set of records or guild records an investigator should turn in the hope of finding book-trade practitioners. Where they can be found at all—the records of the Scottish crafts have received scant attention from their custodians—the name trade of the craft often effectively disguises the fact that many diverse occupations are to be found within it. It is not so obvious, for example, from the trade name of the ancient Wrights of Perth whose unpublished records cover the period 1538 to 1810 that all kinds of wrights could be expected to work under its ordinance. It is not so obvious that barbers, coopers, slaters, glaziers, plasterers and masons would also affiliate themselves to this 'omnigatherum'. As Penny, the historian of Perth, makes clear. Reference to the titles of the books themselves reveals the further fact that in Perth the trades of parchment-making, bookbinding and bookselling were traditionally associated with window-glazing, and that full details of the ad-

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apprentices and journeymen of 25 master bookbinders and booksellers can be found there. *The Post Office Regulations* issued by Robert Morison, the best-known Perth printer, shows that as well as being bookseller, stationer, bookbinder and postman he also practised window-glazing.<sup>12</sup> Similarly in the city of Glasgow some of the bookbinders were attached as a 'pendicle' to the Hammerman trade, which consisted of the various kinds of smith, saddlers and cutlers. When Henry Luke, bookbinder, became a freeman of the Hammerman craft of Glasgow in 1716 and was allowed to practise his trade therein, his 'sey' or trial piece was 'ane letter case clesped, with bible clesps and keepers', bringing together metal and leather work.<sup>13</sup> The orderly structure of the seven trades of St. Andrews also disguises the fact that within the Hammerman craft were to be found smiths, leather-workers such as glovers and saddlers, dyers and painters, and a few stationers and bookbinders between 1707 and 1775.<sup>14</sup> It is obvious that, in smaller towns, tradesmen who were not numerous enough to form a trading organization of their own found the machinery for registering apprentices and journeymen offered by another craft useful, and they also enjoyed the trading goodwill of fellow craft members. It should be noted that a stationer would be introduced into the smith craft *qua* stationer and that he would be expressly forbidden to attempt to practise any other branch of the craft. In the Edinburgh Town Council Records for 3 and 8 June, 1681, is given evidence of an unsuccessful attempt by three printers, Patrick Ramsay, John Reid and Hector Aiton, to join the Hammerman craft. They took this step, presumably, because they felt the need for printers to be incorporated, and they almost lost their burgess-tickets by so doing.<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps in this field of identifying these crafts or guilds which contain information about the book-trade and in extracting the relevant material that the greatest amount of work has still to be done by book-trade historians.

A quite different approach to the problem of identifying booksellers and bookbinders is to try and reach them through the records of their customers. The customers most likely to keep full and accurate accounts of such dealings are institutions and corporations. The city records already mentioned produce much miscellaneous material of this kind. A more systematic approach is possible with the records of five institutional book buyers in this period, the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the two institutions which now make up the University of Aberdeen. The keys to the collections are the

minute-books of Senate and Faculty, but in order to get the required it is important to examine the account-books or, better, individual tradesmen's vouchers, which lie behind the accounts if such vouchers have survived. This work has been done by the writer for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Theivist at Glasgow University has outlined the range of extant there,<sup>16</sup> and the impending appointment of an archivist at St. Andrews should make similar records available. The most useful single collection available at Edinburgh is the *General Book of Disbursements* of the College Library which covers the period 1693 to 1719.<sup>17</sup> It is a carefully kept record lists payments for books bought, books bound, and charges for freight, postage and stationery. It was also used for many years as a receipt-book in which the booksellers and bookbinders concerned appended their signatures to paid accounts. A surprising amount of fresh facts concerning Edinburgh tradesmen were discovered. From p.29, for example, it can be learned that James Wardlaw, a bookbinder, was still in business on 20 July, 1708, when he bound *Archaeologia Britannica* for the library—a date which adds several years to his known period of activity as given by Plomer. It also lists a sale to Mrs. Ogstoun, bookseller, in the same year, and tells us that Alexander Ogstoun, junior, not previously recorded as a bookseller, was also in the business.

The minute-books, account-books and the Library-vouchers from the Muniments Room at St. Andrews University together provide fascinating information about the University tradesmen, bookbinders and booksellers. These tradesmen are more prominent than they might be otherwise, because of an unusual circumstance. From the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, a minor official, in the first instance a College porter, and from 1738 onwards, the University Archbeadle, a functionary who combined janitorial and ceremonial duties, was also the University bookbinder. Many attested examples of the work of these beadle-bookbinders can be found in good condition on the shelves of St. Andrews University Library today.<sup>18</sup> Not all of the University's books were bound by these men. Edinburgh booksellers, who were invited to be responsible for the collection of the St. Andrews copyright books under the Copyright Act of 1710, bound many books. In 1727, for example, John Paton, bookseller in Edinburgh, and father of the correspondent of Bishop Percy mentioned at the beginning of this paper, printed

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than they might be otherwise, because of an unusual circumstance.  
From the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nine-  
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1738 onwards, the University Archbeadle, a functionary who com-  
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John Paton, bookseller in Edinburgh, and father of the correspondent  
of Bishop Percy mentioned at the beginning of this paper, presented a

bill for binding and books of £7 4s. 6d. including a charge of eight pence for binding the first volume, duodecimo, of *The Master Key to Popery*. But much of the repair work and some binding was being done by University officials. On the 23rd day of April, 1696, William Adison or Adamson, porter of the New College (now called St. Mary's College, St. Andrews), acknowledged receipt of 'eight pounds Scots money for binding of several books belonging to the public Libraries of the University'. In 1738, Alexander McCulloch, the University Archbeadle, asked to be officially appointed bookbinder to the University, asserting that he had been:

bred Book-binder to my employment, in the Exercise of which, I hope I have given sufficient proof of my capacity and diligence. And it may be expected that such who have it in their power to encourage manufactories within themselves for the good of the Nighbourhood in which they live, should likewise, do what they can to encourage This, which one would reckon there should be some demand for, in a Place where there is a University-seat; whose members certainly must, upon several occasions, feel the want of such a tradesman; as the whole Nighbourhood may likewise do<sup>19</sup>.

McCulloch was hardly a master of fluent English prose but many books in the University Library, sturdily bound, give evidence of his craftsmanship. In 1758 Archbeadle Patrick Bower presented one of his many binding accounts to the University. At that time he was charging four shillings a volume for binding large folios in calf, titled; three shillings for a folio volume in the same style; one shilling and sixpence to one shilling and tenpence for a quarto volume, ninepence for an octavo, and sevenpence for a duodecimo. Occasionally the University instructed him to bind a valuable or important volume in a more elaborate manner, e.g. '1758, June 23rd, to Pine's Horace 2 Vol. 8vo Gilt Turkey . . . 7sh.' This pleasantly bound book with its discreet use of gold tooling and its Dutch gilt decorative endpapers is still on the Library shelves. It is perhaps worth noting that as well as the gold-tooled work done in Edinburgh and Glasgow, this investigation has revealed examples of decorative bindings done at Aberdeen, Perth and St. Andrews.

A disappointing feature of the search for new information about the Scottish book-trade is the apparent destruction or disappearance of the business records of many Scottish printing and publishing firms of the period 1668-1775. If sufficient records of this kind could be uncovered light might be thrown on the transactions between the Scottish printer-

publishers and their retail outlets—the small-town booksellers—their books over the counter. Three records of this kind—each of a full investigation in preparing a history of the firm concerned—disappointingly meagre in general information about the trade—worth further comment.

There are two volumes of business records amongst the papers of Thomas Ruddiman, printer, grammarian, controversialist and member of the Advocates' Library, which throw some light on the book-trade.<sup>20</sup> One volume lists weekly the progress of the task on which Ruddiman was engaged; reveals the names of his customers—to whom he paid 3s. weekly—and gives details of the transactions between the Ruddimans and Robert Fleming in 1723 and between Ruddimans and Robert Freebairn in 1736. The other volume throws some light on Ruddiman himself. Like many another Scotsman of the period, or fictional, Ruddiman kept a very tight hold on the purse strings. He had a passion for knowing exactly what he was worth at any one time. Between 1735 and 1750 he drew up many inventories of his property, books and money, even putting a cash value on his private library which contained a famous collection of school books. He valued this library in 1739 at £200, and in 1746 he wrote 'My library, which has been much increased from 1739 has cost me of £500 and may be reasonably valued at £300.' In the inventories of 1736 and 1739 are lists of debts owing by customers all over Scotland and the trade or profession of the debtor is usually given. Ruddiman traded much with small-town booksellers and thus previous records of recorded booksellers and bookbinders in places like Kirkcaldy, Perth, Glasgow and Kelso are revealed. The second house manuscript examined is a ledger belonging to Walter Ruddiman, and dealing with the transactions of sets of Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*—I have fully described elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> It gives the names of a number of small retail booksellers who might otherwise never have come to light.

A day-book of the Edinburgh publishing firm of Bell and Baskin covering transactions in the period February, 1794 to April, 1795, now in Edinburgh Public Library,<sup>22</sup> is also useful although it lies outside the limits of the present book-trade dictionaries. As well as giving a daily record of what was being bought—and presumably read—by the firm's retail customers, the day-book gives an account of the publisher's transactions in the fields of history, politics, poetry, travels, novels and essays with other booksellers in Dumfries, Paisley, Perth, London, New York



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Philadelphia. The lists of purchases by American firms such as Robert Campbell, bookseller in Philadelphia, and Henry and Patrick Rice, booksellers in the same city, are extremely revealing with their strong emphasis on theology, schoolbooks and dictionaries. On 22 December, 1794, H. and P. Rice bought 25 copies of William Perry's *Dictionary*, and in August of the same year Campbell had bought 20 copies of the same work, despite the fact that Isaiah Thomas, who had published many editions of the same compiler's *The Only Sure Guide to the English Tongue*, had selected Perry's *The Royal Standard English Dictionary* as his choice for the first English dictionary to be published in the United States, 1788.<sup>23</sup> As far as the Scottish trade is concerned the day-book allows a new terminal date to be given to the activities of some Scottish booksellers.

An investigator doing this kind of work finds himself leaning heavily on the information about the book-trade contained in the advertisement columns of contemporary newspapers. For the period under consideration the newspaper coverage varies from none at all in 1668 to full coverage for Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1775. Two newspapers, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, cover Edinburgh from 1718 to 1775; Glasgow is dealt with by the *Glasgow Courant* and the *Glasgow Journal* from 1715 to 1775 with a gap from 1716 to 1741, and Aberdeen is covered by the *Aberdeen Journal* from 1748 to the end of the period. Dundee, Perth and Stirling got their first newspapers in 1801, 1809, and 1820 respectively,<sup>24</sup> but printers and booksellers in these and other provincial towns are very often mentioned in the advertisements in the newspapers of the larger cities. The greatest gains made here are on what one would now call the retail side of the trade, for every Edinburgh and Glasgow publisher seemed anxious in the advertisements of his books, and in the imprints on the titlepages, to mention as many retail booksellers as he could muster. It is unwise when reading through the advertisements to limit oneself to advertisements dealing specifically with the publication of books and magazines. Other kinds of advertisements are ignored at the investigator's peril. Notices of property for sale, advertisements for patent medicines, lists of shops willing to take in cloth for Scotland's large bleachfields, and even the reports of criminal proceedings in the lawcourts can reveal unrecorded booksellers and bookbinders. Very often the inspection of an advertisement leads to knowledge of the book itself, and subsequent examination. Advertisements for appren-

tices and journeymen, and those giving the names of shopmen information about compositors and pressmen whose names will appear on the imprints of books. The mention of such men raises a general question of whether it is necessary to list them in a book or dictionary at all. To leave them out raises problems of its own. Of the men who later became masters and freemen starting their careers as journeymen and one would be reluctant to exclude a journeyman on the grounds that he never became a master, when evidence as to his career may be very incomplete. The appropriate place for journeymen, who are not known to have been successful for themselves is probably within the entry of the master who employed them. But the fact itself cannot always be discovered. It seems to be some sense, therefore, in following Plomer's and Pinner's practice of listing both masters and journeymen alphabetically. Up to about 1750 journeymen are very elusive. The names of journeymen in the large establishment of Mrs. Anderson, the printer from 1676 to 1716, are known only because they applied to the Privy Council of Scotland for exemption from 'watching and warding' in Edinburgh on the grounds that they were king's servants. An excuse for evading their civic responsibilities was accepted.<sup>25</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century the journeymen printers and bookbinders of Scotland were beginning to form friendly societies of their own for the payment of unemployment relief, the support of indigent widows and the payment of burial charges, and it is these friendly societies rather than to the crafts and guilds which were the master-men organisations that one must look for the beginning of trade-unions within the book-trade. A unique copy of the articles of the Company and Society of Journeymen Printers in Edinburgh, printed in Edinburgh and dated 1758, recently turned up in the archives of the Edinburgh Town Council. It reveals the fact that this 'friendly society' has been in existence since 1750, and gives the names of 65 journeymen printers working in Edinburgh between 1750 and 1758.<sup>26</sup> One of them was Gilbert Martin, later the fine printer at the Apollo Press mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Further light is thrown on Scottish journeymen printers in 1773 by a valuable volume of papers in the University of London Library (Goldsmiths' Library), which, in comparing the wages of Scottish compositors in 1773 with those of London and in 1803, lists the seventeen men, their weekly and yearly earnings and the names of the printing houses in which they worked.<sup>27</sup>

The lists of purchases by American firms such as Robert Bookseller in Philadelphia, and Henry and Patrick Rice, in the same city, are extremely revealing with their strong philology, schoolbooks and dictionaries. On 22 December, P. Rice bought 25 copies of William Perry's *Dictionary*, and of the same year Campbell had bought 20 copies of the same fact that Isaiah Thomas, who had published the same compiler's *The Only Sure Guide to the English* elected Perry's *The Royal Standard English Dictionary* as the first English dictionary to be published in the United States. As far as the Scottish trade is concerned the day-book terminal date to be given to the activities of some sellers.

Who doing this kind of work finds himself leaning for information about the book-trade contained in the columns of contemporary newspapers. For the period of the newspaper coverage varies from none at all in average for Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1775-1776, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian* in Edinburgh from 1718 to 1775; Glasgow is dealt with by the *Courant* and the *Glasgow Journal* from 1715 to 1775; Aberdeen from 1716 to 1741, and Aberdeen is covered by the *Aberdeen Journal* from 1748 to the end of the period. Dundee, Perth and Stirling have newspapers in 1801, 1809, and 1820 respectively,<sup>24</sup> but booksellers in these and other provincial towns are very few. In the advertisements in the newspapers of the larger towns the greatest gains made here are on what one would now call the book-trade, for every Edinburgh and Glasgow publisher has in the advertisements of his books, and in the imprints of his books, to mention as many retail booksellers as he could possibly use when reading through the advertisements to limit the number of advertisements dealing specifically with the publication of his books. Other kinds of advertisements are ignored at the time. Notices of property for sale, advertisements for lists of shops willing to take in cloth for Scotland's and even the reports of criminal proceedings in the real unrecorded booksellers and bookbinders. Very few of an advertisement leads to knowledge of the subsequent examination. Advertisements for appren-

tices and journeymen, and those giving the names of shopmen, give us information about compositors and pressmen whose names would not appear on the imprints of books. The mention of such men raises the general question of whether it is necessary to list them in a book-trade dictionary at all. To leave them out raises problems of its own. Many of the men who later became masters and freemen started their careers as journeymen and one would be reluctant to exclude a known journeyman on the grounds that he never became a master-printer when evidence as to his career may be very incomplete. The appropriate place for journeymen, who are not known to have been in business for themselves is probably within the entry of the master who employed them. But the fact itself cannot always be discovered. There seems to be some sense, therefore, in following Plomer's and Bushnell's practice of listing both masters and journeymen alphabetically. Up to about 1750 journeymen are very elusive. The names of sixteen journeymen in the large establishment of Mrs. Anderson, the king's printer from 1676 to 1716, are known only because they applied to the Privy Council of Scotland for exemption from 'watching and warding' in Edinburgh on the grounds that they were king's servants. This excuse for evading their civic responsibilities was accepted.<sup>25</sup>

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Lastly some consideration may be given to the primary source of information for any book-trade dictionary maker—the imprints of books printed within his chosen period. There are few difficulties of interpretation for the imprints of this period are full and informative. One can expect the name of the printer—occasionally given as a colophon even in the eighteenth century—the name of the bookseller-publisher and sometimes a list of booksellers who shared in the publication of a book. In addition, in many Scottish and English books of this period there are given in the imprint the names of bookseller-stockists in Edinburgh and other towns who apparently had no financial interest in the book other than the profit of selling it over the counter. The list in the imprint of Robert Maxwell's *The Practical Husbandman* is not untypical:

EDINBURGH: Printed by C. Wright and Company, for the Author: Sold by him, J. Paton, Hamilton and Balfour, Kincaid and Donaldson, W. Sands, W. Miller, G. Crawford, W. Gordon, Yair and Fleming, J. Brown, C. Wright, L. Hunter, Gray and Peters, Booksellers, *Edinburgh*: A. Stalker, D. Baxter, J. Gilmour, Booksellers, *Glasgow*: F. Douglas, *Aberdeen*: J. More, *Dundee*: and E. Wilson *Dumfries*. M.DCC.LVII.

If the evidence of William Perry, the pedagogue-printer already mentioned, who wrote and printed his own schoolbooks in Edinburgh in the late 1770's is to be believed, booksellers could become difficult if their names were left out of the titlepage of a book in which they were interested. Perry had been imprisoned on a *fugae* warrant because his creditors, including a bookseller called Robert Jamieson, believed that he was contemplating flight without paying his debts. In his appeal to the judges of the Court of Session Perry says:<sup>28</sup>

Your Lordships are no strangers to the Ambition of Booksellers who wish to have their names inserted on the Title-page of every Publication that has been received with Universal *eclat*. Works of the greatest merit are generally consigned to Booksellers of the greatest Reputation; and there are many Persons in the world who judge of the Merit of a Book by the Publishers' names affixed to it; in the same manner we judge a Man by the Company he keeps.

Your Prisoner, however, under the same predicament as Doct. Goldsmith's Painter, who wanted to please all the world, has often been obliged to change the Title-Page of his Publications, so far as respects the publishers' names *Twenty Times*. Unfortunately for your Prisoner, hurry of Business made him forget to insert the name of the Respondent, Robert

Jameson, Bookseller in Parliament Square, who, for this other, as your Prisoner can prove by Two persons, took out *fugae* warrant against your prisoner, and incarcerated him in a booth, by an oath that was malicious and false to the last d

Jamieson had legitimate cause of complaint against Perry who deceived him in many ways, but the fact that Perry chose this point suggests the importance that booksellers attached to their names on the titlepages of books.

The fictitious imprint is not a problem in Scottish books printed between 1669 and 1775. There are a few cases of books printed more in Holland because of heavy paper duties in this country more than as Edinburgh publications, and the infamous Mrs. Anderson's troubles in 1683, 1684 and 1690 of issuing 'pirate' almanacks which had to be printed by Forbes of Aberdeen.<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Anderson's troubles in protecting her monopoly of official printing, which led in January, 1708, the Edinburgh Town Council published an act that all public proclamations and pamphlets should carry the name of the printer in order to protect the Anderson monopoly.<sup>30</sup>

The real trouble as far as book-imprints are concerned is the balance between the beginning and end of the period in the period of information. In the period 1668 to 1700 the investigator is self winged on his way by the appropriate short-title catalogues and various supplements. It is comparatively easy for this period to construct a dictionary entry which gives with some degree of accuracy the first and last years in which any individual printer or bookseller appeared on the imprint of a known book. For the period 1700 to 1775 this is much more difficult. By examining special collections in local collections in city libraries, old parish and private libraries it may be possible to avoid needless duplication of the work done in institutional libraries by Plomer and Bushnell. The examination of some thousands of books in this way has led the writer of this book to the conclusion that the setting up of a central agency or office in Scotland, to which librarians and cataloguers could send notices of accessions to Plomer and Bushnell which they have noticed in the performance of their official duties in the examination of accessions to their books printed between 1700 and 1775,<sup>31</sup> is a *desideratum*. Samuel Johnson who knew all about the drudgery of dictionary-making once said that the task was 'not as unpleasant as may be thought'.<sup>32</sup> The history of dictionaries also has its own moments of pleasure and tri

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Robert Jamieson, however, under the same predicament as Doct. Goldsmith, who wanted to please all the world, has often been obliged to insert the Name of the Printer on the Title-Page of his Publications, so far as respects the public. *Twenty Times*. Unfortunately for your Prisoner, hurry of the Court made him forget to insert the name of the Respondent, Robert

Jameson, Bookseller in Parliament Square, who, for this cause and no other, as your Prisoner can prove by Two persons, took out a *Meditatione fugae* warrant against your prisoner, and incarcerated him in the Toll-booth, by an oath that was malicious and false to the last degree.

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1. A paper delivered to the Bibliographical Society, 18 January, 1961. A few of the footnotes are later in date, and were added in revising the paper for publication.
2. *The Percy Letters; the Correspondence of Thomas Percy and George Paton*, ed. A. F. Falconer, New Haven, 1961, p. 90.
3. A small part of the material for a revision of the Scottish sections of the dictionaries collected by R. H. Carnie and R. P. Doig has been published in *Studies in Bibliography*, xii, pp. 131-59; xiv, pp. 81-96; xv, pp. 105-20.
4. This intention has now been clearly stated in the Bibliographical Society's memorandum on publishing policy. *The Library*, ser. 5, xv, pp. 303-6.
5. The Scottish Burgh Record Society operated from 1868 to 1911. Six volumes of *Aberdeen Council Letters, 1552-1681* have been published by Aberdeen Corporation between 1942 and 1961, and *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1589-1701*, ed. M. Wood and H. Armet, have been published by Edinburgh Corporation from 1927 to date.
6. *Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, 1513-1886*, ed. A. H. Millar, Dundee, 1887.
7. *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A. D. 1667-1752*, ed. R. Renwick, Glasgow, 1889, pp. 132, 256.
8. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1760-1780*, ed. R. Renwick, Glasgow, 1912, p. 191.
9. Formerly in the archives of Perth City Council. Now in Register House.
10. Scottish Record Society, *Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns for 1694*, ed. M. Wood, Edinburgh, 1957, pp. 24, 35, 64. There is a collection of MS poll-tax returns for various Scottish parishes in the Scottish Record Office.
11. C. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company; a History 1403-1959*, London, 1960, p. 170.
12. R. H. Carnie, 'Perth Booksellers and Bookbinders in the Records of the Wright Calling' [*The Bibliothek*, i, no. 4, pp. 24-39]. R. H. Carnie, *Publishing in Perth before 1807* [Abertay Historical Society Publication No. 6] Dundee, 1960.
13. H. Lumsden and P. H. Aitken, *History of the Hammermen of Glasgow*, Paisley, 1912, pp. 12, 20.
14. R. H. Carnie, 'Stationers and Bookbinders in the Records of the Hammermen of St. Andrews.' [*The Bibliothek*, iii, pp. 53-60.]
15. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1681-1689*, ed. M. Wood and H. Armet, Edinburgh, 1954, p. 18.
16. D. J. Wilson Reid, 'The Archives of the University of Glasgow.' [*The Bibliothek*, i, no. 2, pp. 27-30.]
17. Edinburgh University Library MS, Da. 1. 34.
18. An illustration of one of these can be seen in *The Bibliothek*, iii, opposite p. 56.
19. St. Andrews University Muniments Room MS, UY7 Q2/1.
20. Ruddiman Papers. National Library of Scotland MSS, 762-763.
21. R. H. Carnie, 'Scottish printers and booksellers 1668-1775: a second supplement (II)' [*Studies in Bibliography*, xiv, 1961] p. 82.
22. D. Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830*, London, 1961, p. 204. The MS itself is preserved in the Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Public Library, Q.YZ. 325. B.43.

23. A. Law, 'William Perry, his academy and printing press in Edinburgh' *Bibliographical Society Transactions*, iv, no. 3] p. 99.
24. For details see M. E. Craig, *The Scottish Periodical Press 1750-1789*, Edinburgh, pp. 95-104.
25. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland 1676-1678*, ser. 3, Edinburgh, 441-2.
26. This pamphlet was discovered by Miss H. Armet, Edinburgh City Archives. A separate paper on the journeymen societies of the Scottish book-trade in the 18th century has been prepared by the present writer.
27. 'Memorial of the Compositors of Edinburgh', Goldsmiths' Library, U. London, e. G.
28. Register House MSS. Bill Chamber processes no. 20,120; 20,143; 26,120. I am indebted to A. Law for this reference.
29. J. F. K. Johnstone and A. W. Robertson, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Aberdeen, 1930, ii, pp. 478, 485, 523.
30. Copy in British Museum, 1854. d8(12).
31. The present writer has received much useful information of this kind from others, H. G. H. Drummond, Aberdeen University Library, R. Smart, University Library, and P. Gaskell, Glasgow University Library.
32. *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, Oxford, 1952, i, p. 7.

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f the material for a revision of the Scottish sections of the dictionaries  
. H. Carnie and R. P. Doig has been published in *Studies in Bibliography*,  
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31. The present writer has received much useful information of this kind from, amongst  
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