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The Anatomy of the Printed Book in Early Modern Scotland¹

National historiography is victim to physical necessity – the reflection on circumstances within a specified geographical boundary. A degree of ‘historical bias’ may even be required for the survival of the history of the small nation no matter the undoubted value of comparative processes. Nonetheless, a convincing historical approach depends on a balance struck between the study of national core themes and an honest appraisal of the influence of ‘neighbouring nations’.² In the field of printed book history the character of the Scottish book and book trade must be consistently reviewed in relation to the larger neighbours of continental Europe and the British Isles while simultaneously recognising particular Scottish trends and qualities. While much has been achieved since the 1950s, it is debatable if Scotland’s historiography has studied adequately the national printed book before the Enlightenment with due attention to independent and interdependent development. British book historiography, in spite of recent laudable efforts to consider the Scottish factor before 1560,³ still finds itself prone to generalisations and omissions, and the ‘surprisingly late’ and ‘remarkably small’ criticisms that have, to a degree, stigmatised the study of Scottish book history.⁴ Yet the position is an improving one, and over the next few years forthcoming editions from the two series ‘The History of the Book in Britain’ (Cambridge University Press) and ‘The History of the Book in Scotland’ (Edinburgh University Press) will help provide much needed thematic surveys of the Scottish scene. Meanwhile, we are left to anatomise Scotland’s ‘inter-communication’ with the print cultures of early modern Europe and inevitably the many contrasting as well as common themes for Scotland in relation to England.⁵

¹ My thanks go to two anonymous referees and the editor of the SHR for suggestions for the improvement of this article. Any errors are of course my own.

² For a philosophical discussion of ‘core and periphery’ in relation to Scotland, of interest in relation to the book trade, see T.C. Smout, ‘Centre and periphery in history; with some thoughts on Scotland as a case study’, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, xviii (1980), 256-71.

³ See especially M. L. Ford, ‘Importation of printed books into England and Scotland’ in L. Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, volume 3, 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), 179-201 and for manuscripts and early printed books R.J. Lyall, ‘Books and book owners in fifteenth-century Scotland’ in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), 239-56.

⁴ Of course this discredited philosophy is to be found in two centuries of ‘general’ overviews as seen in C.H. Timperley *An Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote* (1839, reprinted New York, 1977), and C. Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London, 1965).

⁵ For a general commercial and political history of the early modern book trade in Scotland see A. J. Mann, ‘The Book Trade and Public Policy in early Modern Scotland, c.1500 – c. 1720’ (PhD, Stirling, 1997), or A. J. Mann, *The*

Some seventy years after the printer James Watson, the younger, published his *A History of the Art of Printing* (1713),⁶ the preface to which provides a brief history of early printing in Scotland, two important bibliographical discoveries confirmed the origins of Scottish printed book history. Firstly, came the chance location in 1785, by the Ayrshire booksellers George and John Paton, of sheets from eleven pieces apparently printed by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar around 1508 and pre-dating the previously regarded earliest work Bishop William Elphinstone's *Breviarium Aberdonense* of 1510. Of these small printed fragments, mainly of poetry in Scots, nine are certainly productions of Scotland's first printers and of these three are actually dated 1508, the others being from around this time.⁷ Secondly, came the detection of James IV's actual patent to Chepman and Myllar, dated 15 September 1507, unearthed at Register House by William Robertson in 1790.⁸ Thus the connection between the first patent and first printing in Scotland was validated. Royal patronage was vital, and more clearly in evidence than for Caxton and England, even though Dickson and Edmond's enthusiastic view that 'we are not aware of any other monarch, in the early days of printing, having been [so directly instrumental] in introducing the typographical art into his kingdom'⁹ risks exaggeration.

Book publication is a physical as well as intellectual act. Where books are printed we expect paper to be made. But by necessity the paper employed by Chepman and Myllar came from outwith Scotland. Indeed, Anglo-Scottish paper making was primitive until the 1690s. Initially the impact of foreign labour and experience was crucial. England's first paper mill was established at Hertford in 1495, although it was 1575 before the first economic mill was set up by the German Hans Spilman at Dartford. Meanwhile, Scotland's first paper mill, located at Dalry in Edinburgh in 1590, was owned by Mungo and Gideon Russell but leased to the German paper-makers Michael Keyser and John Seillar who, by order of the privy seal, were

Scottish Book Trade 1500 to 1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland (East Linton, 2000)

⁶ James Watson, *A History of the Art of Printing* (Edinburgh, 1713; facsimile ed. D.F.Foxon, London, 1965). This was the first history of printing published in the British Isles, even though the non-Scottish details were plagiarised, a fact not recognised in such as J. Feather's *A Dictionary of Book History* (London, 1980).

⁷ For typographical analysis of these early fragments see R. Dickson and J.P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing, 1507-1610* (1890, reprinted Amsterdam, 1975), 49-82. The two fragments of uncertain origin were probably printed in Rouen and Cologne, perhaps on commission from Chepman and Myllar.

⁸ For wording see *Register of Privy Seal of Scotland* [RSS], i, no.1546, 223-4 and National Archives of Scotland [NAS] PS.1.3, 129.

⁹ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Printing*, 8-9.

granted a nineteen year monopoly in December 1590.¹⁰ After the Restoration Scotland was indebted to the German Peter Breusch, who became a printer as well as paper-maker and engineer, and to Frenchmen like Nicolas de Champ, who set up two mills, and Nicolas Dupin who, in 1694-5, brought financial and practical expertise to the establishment of the Society of the White-Writing and Printing Paper Manufactory.¹¹ The granting of a charter to this joint stock company was a deliberate attempt by the government to put domestic paper production on an economically viable and qualitative footing after over a century of failed initiatives.¹² Nonetheless, most Scottish press papers still had to be imported.

The first networks of the European book trade followed the same routes as the paper trade, and indeed many paper merchants were also book merchants. That France was the main source of Scotland's reading matter from 1500 to 1560, and also of its white paper imports, supports this generalisation. Before 1500 book supply was not so focused on Paris and other French centres, and just as printed volumes came from the likes of Venice and Cologne, so printing papers came from non-French paper centres including those of the Rhineland and the Low Countries. Thereafter French papers dominated Scotland's book printing, and especially those from Normandy, Bordeaux, and Rouen.¹³ However, following the end of the Anglo-Dutch war in 1674, the importation of Dutch paper increased along with a contemporaneous rise in the use of English low quality paper. Yet, remarkably, English paper only became common in the eighteenth century. It required high protectionist import duties, imposed by Westminster in 1712 and at unprecedented levels for the low customs regime of pre-union Scotland, to force Scottish printers to turn finally to England rather than to France and the Low Countries.¹⁴

Scottish and English presses for the entire early modern period were the wooden 'common press' - Stanhope's iron press would not arrive until the 1790s. In a technical sense,

¹⁰ This was granted after James VI's return from Denmark during which he met the Danish astrologer Tycho Brahe who had already set up his own paper mill, as well as print works. NAS, PS.1. 61, 84v.

¹¹ A.G. Thomson, *The Paper Industry in Scotland, 1590-1801* (Edinburgh, 1974), 18. Dupin was an experienced paper-maker who had already set up mills in England and Ireland before settling in Scotland in 1694. The Society and its antecedents would continue paper making until the 1830s. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* [APS], iv, 429.

¹² Mann, 'Book Trade', 237-8.

¹³ R.J. Lyall, 'Materials: the paper revolution' in Griffiths and Pearsall, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*, 16-20; Ford, 'Importation of printed books', 193-5; T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh, 1963), 172.

¹⁴ 10 Anne c.19. For paper duties see Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 135-6; Mann, 'Book Trade', 239-40; J. Macfarlane, 'The paper duties of 1696-1713: Their effect on the printing and allied trades', *The Library*, 2nd ser., i (1900), 31-44.

therefore, the press of 1700 was little different to that of 1500. Although Andro Myllar may well have brought his press from Rouen in 1507/8, it is likely that most of the Scottish presses after the Reformation were made in England, or were made in Scotland based on English designs. Some Dutch presses were certainly used in Scotland in the seventeenth century - James Watson informs us in his *History* that 'our Cases and Presses [were] all of the Dutch Make, till of late years', so it seems that English presses, though admittedly of 'old English fashion', were the norm in the early eighteenth century. The connection with Holland though is further emphasised as Watson reports that the actual hand techniques of type composition 'Face from us and the Nick downwards' and 'our making ink' were in the Dutch manner.¹⁵ Furthermore, it was common for Scottish printers to enlist tradesmen from across the North Sea, as when Thomas Bassandyne employed the Magdeburg compositor Solomon Kirknett in 1576, or when the printing and bookselling partnership of David Lindsay and John Cairns brought over the Dutch printers Joshua van Solingen and Jan Colmar in the 1680s.¹⁶ Scotland realised the value of foreign labour including, as we will see, skilled Englishmen.

The typographer A.F. Johnson concludes that throughout the first two hundred years of Scottish printing, types were usually English in origin, even if they were, especially in the case of roman faces, invariably copies of Dutch or French designs.¹⁷ As late as 1703, when Alexander Nisbet petitioned parliament for financial assistance with his *System of Heraldry* (1722), one particular difficulty was the 'few [italick types] in the Kingdom'.¹⁸ In fact Scotland's first significant typefoundry, Alexander Wilson's Glasgow works, did not appear until the 1740s.¹⁹ Before then imported type and matrices were the only options available to Scottish printers. In addition, ornaments and engravings of English presses found their way across the border. Scotland was prepared to borrow from England, mostly out of financial imperatives though sometimes in recognition of desirable quality and design.²⁰

¹⁵ Watson, *History*, 7.

¹⁶ *Register of Privy Council [RPC]*, i, 2, 582-3; H.R. Plomer (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922, reprinted 1968), 62-3; 79; 189; 276.

¹⁷ A.F. Johnson 'Type designs and type-founding in Scotland', in P. Muir (ed.), *Selected Essays on Books and Printing* (London/Amsterdam, 1970), 312-26.

¹⁸ *APS*, xi, 85, and *NAS*, PA. 2. 38, f. 124.

¹⁹ Johnson, 'Type designs', 326.

²⁰ By Waldegrave's press in the 1590s the full range of roman, italic and gothic types was available to Scottish printing. See P. B. Watry, 'Sixteenth century printing types and ornaments of Scotland with an introductory survey of the Scottish book trade', (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford, 1992), 69-78, for an excellent summary.

Early modern bookbindings also exhibited national and international qualities. The Scottish bindings of the early sixteenth century were in the style of Northern Europe - of England, the Low Countries, north-west France, and the German provinces - that is, black leather, wooden boards and Dutch decoration. However, a distinctive Scottish binding style had evolved by 1650, and quite differentiated in design from that of England or France. Although the tools and ornaments used were English and continental models, and mostly outdated and from the previous century, their arrangement became a 'Scottish type' as crafted, for example, by the Aberdeen binder Francis van Hagen in the 1620s and 1630s. This 'type' consisted of multiple boxed frames, one inside the other, and pressed into the binding by a wheel rolling instrument. The result was not dissimilar to concentric boxes of William Morris designs.²¹ Therefore, Scottish design traditions and fashions evolved out of many influences, only some of which were English.

International fashion extended to book genre as well as book design. Both Andro Myllar and William Caxton went to the Continent to learn their trade, to Rouen and Bruges respectively.²² But in addition their two presses had a common interest in vernacular poetry. Scotland's first printers followed Caxton in the rendition of national literature – while Caxton printed Geoffrey Chaucer, Chepman and Myllar's 'Southgait Press' published the poetry of Robert Henryson, William Dunbar and Walter Kennedy.²³ It is sometimes suggested that the Chepman and Myllar press was more French than Scottish in style of design and perhaps even in its financing, yet the output was undoubtedly Scottish. The arrival of printing represented an expression of national pride as Scotland's first press produced poetry in the national tongue, as well as a new breviary compiled by a Scottish ecclesiastic. Indeed, after the introduction of printing such literary nationalism was the common denominator for the presses of Europe in nations large or small. Scotland had to thank its first major publisher Henry Charteris who ensured, by commissioning other printers from the 1560s or through his own press from the 1580s, the survival of vernacular literature and that Scots, Latin and English domestic

²¹ W. S. Mitchell, *A History of Scottish Bookbinding, 1432-1650* (Aberdeen, 1955), *passim*.

²² Colin Clair mistakenly states that 'except for Germany, England was the only country in Western Europe where the pioneer of the new art (Caxton) was a native of the country'. Clair, *History of European Printing* (London, 1976), 94.

²³ The printing house was located in the Southgait (now the Cowgate) in Edinburgh. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Printing*, 43.

printings coexisted into the next century.²⁴

The small scale and apparent lateness of the advent of printing in Scotland has produced an atmosphere of pessimism over Scottish printing in the early sixteenth century. However, notwithstanding the exceptionally large output of Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde,²⁵ the remaining output of the English press was very slight before 1508, and England, like Scotland, still imported most of its reading matter. Close studies of Scottish and English texts and manuscripts affirm the existence of early Scottish printed editions lost to us today, although the poor survival rate remains a source of great frustration for the pre-Reformation book historian. James Watson, the printer, believed that the shortage of surviving press output for the years before 1560 was accounted for by the overzealousness of Scotland's Reformers - 'Books were either carry'd away by Priests who fled beyond Seas, or were destroy'd by our Reformers, in the Heat of their Zeal'.²⁶ This, of course, is speculation. Yet the fact that some important Scottish authors, such as Hector Boece, John Mair and John Knox, had their works printed overseas within the more promising European market, has certainly led some historians from Steinberg to Donaldson to draw exaggerated conclusions about the low output of the early Scottish press.²⁷ There was in fact much demand in England for the works of Scottish authors even before Scotland's Reformation, and while the earliest surviving editions of such as Sir David Lindsay's *Testament of the Papyngo* (1538) and Gavin Douglas's *Palace of Honour* (1553) were printed in London - the earliest 'known' printed Scottish poetry, *The Contemplacioun of Synnaris* (1499) by William of Touris, was actually printed by Wynkyn de Worde - there is evidence that some English editions were based on earlier and lost Scottish printings.²⁸

In book production and design terms the surviving highlight is Thomas Davidson's

²⁴ Henry Charteris published the first collection in print of Sir David Lindsay's *Works* in 1568 (printed by John Scot) and an edition of Gavin Douglas's *The Palace of Honour* in 1579 (printed by John Ross) and, when he started his own press, produced editions of Robert Henryson and Blind Hary's *Wallace*, although an earlier edition of *Wallace* was published by him in 1570 using the press of Robert Lekpreuik. The importance of Charteris has been challenged but if his role as publisher is considered, most of his contemporary printers being commissioned by him, his traditional significance cannot be greatly reduced. A.A. MacDonald, 'Early modern Scottish literature and the parameters of culture', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood (eds.), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), 93-4.

²⁵ An unusually large output in European terms for a nation's first printers.

²⁶ Watson, *History*, 7.

²⁷ S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 206-7; G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V to James VII* (Edinburgh, 1985), 260.

undated edition of Hector Boece's *The hystory and croniklis of Scotland* (c.1536-41), translated from Latin to Scots by John Bellenden, which Dickson and Edmond proclaim as 'an almost unrivalled specimen of early British typography'.²⁹ On the evidence of Davidson the pre-1560 Scottish press was remarkably sound and confident, regardless of its scale and the level of output that has or has not survived, and so it was an available tool for the forthcoming religious revolution. This explains why Robert Lekpreuik's press was able to generate numerous copies of the Geneva *Book of Common Order*, *The Confessions of the Faith*, and Calvin's *Catechism* in the early 1560s, and these were quickly made available to every school. The Scottish reformers became swift learners when it came to printed propaganda even though larger project of the first Scottish bible was not completed until 1579.

Taking their lead from John Knox and the vernacular revolution, the Protestant reformers made English their preferred language. Latin smacked of 'popery' and was a less valuable domestic medium for the new mass religion. Although the sixteenth century Scottish 'neo-Latinists', such as Florence Wilson, Sir James Foulis of Colinton and George Buchanan, were published successfully on the Continent and suggest a widening audience, the evidence of contemporary libraries and book trade inventories suggests that Latin began switching from public booths to universities during the last quarter of the century. Nonetheless, Scotland continued a considerable academic and literary dialogue with continental Europe throughout the following century, and much of this took place in Latin. This was especially true of theology where the desire was compelling to debate at international level. David Calderwood used English to appeal to a wide domestic audience in England and Scotland, as in his *Perth Assembly* (1619) printed at Leiden and republished in abridged Latin form within *Parasynagma Perthense* (1620). Calderwood and Archbishop John Spottiswoode carried on a battle of divines in Latin, Spottiswoode's *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae* (1620) being a riposte to Calderwood's *De Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae Brevis Relatio* (1618). Even though for political reasons Spottiswoode's *Refutatio* was printed in London, as were other 'controversies' such as government anti-Jacobite propaganda a century later, in general Latin helped reduce the pull of London publishing as a centre of cultural gravity, and

²⁸ P. Bawcutt, 'Crossing the border: Scottish poetry and English readers in the sixteenth century' in Mapstone and Wood, *The Rose and the Thistle*, 62.

to maintain Scotland's traditional links with European centres of learning and commerce.

The steady output of the major late sixteenth century book makers confirms the fertility of Scottish publishing after the Reformation. From Lekpreuik's press, in addition to the liturgy already discussed, came the earliest surviving and complete printed editions of the epic poems *Wallace* (1570),³⁰ and *The Bruce* (1571); *The Psalms in Scots Meter* (1565), the first of the sacred writings to appear in Scots; Scotland's first medical work *Ane Breve Descriptioun Of the Pest* (1568) by Gilbert Skene, and the works of Buchanan, in Latin, and of Knox, including Knox's liturgy in Gaelic (1567). John Ross's press, operating from 1574 to 1580, produced the first edition of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni* (1579), so popular that it was printed in London in 1580 and 1581. Buchanan's publisher was Henry Charteris and this probably accounts for his being passed over when the king's printer Alexander Arbuthnet died in 1585. Charteris was the natural successor but must have been shunned by the earl of Arran and the young King James.³¹ Meanwhile, from his son Robert Charteris, who started printing in 1599, came the first edition of Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dream* (1603), which would appear in six further editions in the seventeenth century, some in Scots and some in English. As well as the writings of puritans and presbyterians, Robert Waldegrave (ps.1589-1603),³² the former 'Martin Marprelate' printer, issued *The Sea-Law of Scotland* (1590), the earliest British book of maritime jurisprudence; Napier's millenarian *A Plaine Discovery* (1593), and the major works of King James: his *Poetical Exercises* (1591), *Daemonologie* (1597, reprinted 1600) *The Trew Law* (1598), and *Basilikon Doron* (1599, reprinted 1603). Scottish printing history of the sixteenth century began with a king and ended with a king.

A simple count of the Aldis *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* reveals that roughly ten times as many books, newspapers and pamphlets were printed in the seventeenth compared to the sixteenth century.³³ Indeed, a formidable list of Edinburgh printers was in business after 1603, such as Thomas Finlason (ps. 1604-27) an accumulator of copyrights; Andro Hart (ps. 1608-21), the brilliant publisher, printer and bookseller who also lived a

²⁹ Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Printing*, 123. There may have been more than one edition. For a more dispassionate response to Davidson's typography see F.S. Isaacs *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1508-41*, ii, (Oxford, 1930), 95-6.

³⁰ David Laing found fragments of a printed edition which could date from 1508 and the Chepman and Myllar press. Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Printing*, 81-2.

³¹ Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 115-6.

³² 'ps' indicates 'printing activity in Scotland'.

shadowy existence as an English agent and Puritan spy; John Wreittoun (ps. 1623-40) a Presbyterian; the Englishmen Robert Young (ps. 1633-42), Evan Tyler (ps. 1641-51, 1660-72) and Christopher Higgins (ps. 1652-60); Andrew Anderson (ps. 1653-76), the recipient of the great royal printer monopoly of 1671; Agnes Campbell (Mrs Anderson) (ps.1676-1716), his widow, the most wealthy of them all; John Reid, the elder (ps.1678-1712); George Mosman (ps. 1690-1707), the church printer and James Watson, the younger (ps.1695-1722) the news printer and rival of Agnes Campbell.³⁴ The success of major seventeenth-century printers, let alone their numbers, is perhaps one way to refute the idea that after the Regal Union Scotland regressed inevitably to a cultural satellite. However, it would be more accurate to conclude that simultaneously the press facilitated both native and alien cultural developments.

Scotland's orientations within the book trade networks of the Continent and England were extremely intricate. The trading links with Europe sprang from long-standing continental politico-religious and educational contacts before 1603, and English foreign policy thereafter. Scotland's larger printer/publishers, such as Henry Charteris, Andro Hart and Agnes Campbell maintained regular contacts with English, Dutch, Flemish and French suppliers of printing capacity, printed stock, type, and paper. But sometimes book purchasing was organised on less formal lines. Before the Reformation the 'wandering scholar' was an essential lifeline for the individual book collector back in Scotland. Such a student was James Watson, student of Louvain, who in 1506 dispatched to Scotland a kyst of books costing 30 guilders.³⁵ Informality continued to be vital. A century later the ecumenical divine John Durie, during his wide travels throughout Europe, became a busy conduit for the supply of 'nonconformist' and suppressed literature for eager Presbyterian and Puritan readers in Scotland and England, especially in the 1630s and 1640s.³⁶ Before and after 1715 the Jacobite printer Robert Freebairn traveled

³³ H. G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed firth of the Realm for Scottish Bookseller* (Edinburgh, 1904, reprinted and updated 1970).

³⁴ Of the above book makers only John Reid and George Mosman were not royal printers. See Mann, 'Book Trade', 207-9. For Campbell see, Mann, 'Book commerce, litigation and the art of monopoly: The case of Agnes Campbell, Royal Printer, 1676-1712', in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, xviii (1998), 132-56 and for Scotland's women book traders in general, in surprisingly large numbers see, Mann, 'Embroidery to enterprise: the role of women in the book trade of early modern Scotland', in E. Ewan and M.M. Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100 – c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), 136-51.

³⁵ *The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, 1492-1503: Conservator of the privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Netherlands*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1867), 6; 100-3; 254. For a useful summary see Watry, 'Sixteenth century printing types', 9.

³⁶ This can be seen in his letters. See G.H. Turnbull (ed.), *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (London, 1947), *passim*.

extensively in Holland, Italy and France and supplied books directly to the intelligentsia of Scotland, including the young Robert Wodrow.³⁷

Scotland's pre-Reformation trading links with France can be seen in the number of French printed books in the 300 libraries compiled by John Durkan and Anthony Ross. Within these personal and institutional libraries, containing approximately 1000 different titles, over 50% originated from French presses, mainly from Paris and Lyon. Up to the 1500, however, German and Italian print supply centres, especially Cologne and Venice, were even more important than Paris, and the Low Countries also supplied books to Scotland, particularly from the university town of Louvain where a number Scots were students. Nonetheless, while German speaking Basel supplied many books after 1500, the influx of books from France grew steadily from 1500 to 1560, though more heavily during the regency of Mary of Guise from 1554 to 1560.³⁸ From the Scottish Reformation much of Scotland's trade in books shifted to the Low Countries although this was not a simple switch to the Protestant book emporiums of the north, such as Amsterdam and Leiden. Antwerp, and especially through the vast book production and merchandising business of Christopher Plantin, continued as the major supplier of books to Scotland from 1560 until the city fell to Catholic Spain in 1585. Scotland imported small quantities of books from Antwerp as early as the 1480s, but the explosion of printing in Holland and Zeeland under the Dutch Republic made a commercial virtue of political necessity.³⁹

The growth of the Upper Clyde and Glasgow between 1600 and 1700, during which Glasgow rose from fifth to second burgh, also opened up new channels for the book trade. The economic development of Glasgow increased in direct proportion to the expansion of its links with Ulster and the Americas. The port books of Glasgow show that in the 1670s and 1680s 'Bibles, psalm books and godly tracts were sold to assemblies of the Elect' both in Ulster and the New World, mainly in New England and Virginia.⁴⁰ In the same decades Glasgow also became the conduit for the illegal importation of Dutch bibles as the burgh printer Robert

³⁷ *The Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709*, ed. L. W. Sharp (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1937), *passim* and W. J. Couper, 'The Pretender's printer: Robert Freebairn', *ante*, xv (1917), 106-23.

³⁸ J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), 15.

³⁹ Mann, 'Book Trade' 122-32 and *Scottish Book Trade*, 71-6. For a detailed history of the Plantin press, see L. Voet, *The Golden Compass: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, 1969).

⁴⁰ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 236. NAS Exchequer Records, *passim*, such as NAS E72. 10,3 Quarterly Import and Export Books (1671-2) with book and paper stock exports to Ireland.

Sanders, the elder, set up trade contacts with Anna Marie Stam, widow of the great Amsterdam bible printer Fredericksz Stam.⁴¹ The Stam family became one of the many catalysts for conflict between the royal printer Agnes Campbell and the Glasgow book trade. In 1678 Campbell took Sanders to the Court of the Dean of Guild at Edinburgh and then to the Court of Session for poaching her bible printer, a certain Jacob Stam!⁴²

The book trade with England was regular but not substantial before 1560, and in the field of bibles and liturgical works remained slight until the Restoration. And yet geo-politics and gradual cultural and linguistic convergence promoted an increase in trade between the two kingdoms.⁴³ There strong evidence for this from the 1570s. The library of James VI, 1573-83; the wills of the printer Thomas Bassandyne (d.1577) and bookseller Robert Gourlaw (d.1585), and additional smaller testaments of the book trade, show that the acquisition by Scottish traders of English language books printed in England was quite substantial after 1560, and especially from about 1575.⁴⁴ Almost simultaneously as the Latin supply moved from Antwerp to Holland so English language supply came increasingly from England before the mid-seventeenth century expansion of Scottish printing. Trade also operated in the other direction, though clearly not so extensively. We have already seen that some printed Scots literature entered England before the Reformation. Britain's first printed bibliographical catalogue, produced in 1595 by the London bookseller Andrew Maunsell, shows that a scattering of editions from the Edinburgh presses of Lekpreuik, Vautrollier and Waldegrave were available in London.⁴⁵ Furthermore, before the revolution of 1637/38, the works of Sir David Lindsay, George Buchanan and John Napier were not uncommon in English bookshops. Culturally and commercially the relationship between Scotland and England was essentially symbiotic.

It would not surprise us to discover a key role for the Bible in the publishing history of Scotland, but did Scotland follow England? For England the development is clearly traceable:

⁴¹ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Notarial Archive, [GAA NA] 4779. 101-2. Mann, 'Agnes Campbell', 149-50.

⁴² NAS, Hay of Haystoun papers GD34.665 (1678)

⁴³ M.A. Bald's paper 'Anglicisation of Scottish printing' *ante*, xxiii (1926), 106-15 shows that following the years of the Waldegrave press, that is by about 1600, anglicised texts clearly outnumbered those printed in the vernacular by a ratio of 2 to 1.

⁴⁴ 'The Library of James VI 1573-83:from a manuscript in the hand of Peter Young his tutor', ed. G. F. Warner from *Miscellany*, i (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1893); *Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, ed. D. Laing, (Edinburgh, 1836), 191-202; 209-215; F.S. Ferguson, 'Relations between London and Edinburgh printers and stationers to 1640', *The Library*, 4th ser., viii (1927), 145-98.

⁴⁵ *Andrew Maunsell: Three Part Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595) ed. D.F.Foxon (facsimile, London, 1965).

Tyndale's Geneva New Testament of 1524, and the foundation of his Cologne Bible of 1526, to the Great Bible of 1539 which was ordered to be used in all churches. Judging though by pre-Reformation libraries and the work of Durkan and Ross Scotland was relatively uninterested in these early English bibles. This, however, conflicts completely with the testimony of the likes of John Knox who declared that the wide circulation of English bibles encouraged the spread of Protestantism in Scotland. In 'known' pre-Reformation Scottish libraries, before the impact of the Geneva Bible of 1560, the Vulgate ruled supreme, and especially those editions from Lyon, Venice and Basel. In the book markets of early sixteenth-century Europe some 30 vernacular editions competed with no less than 90 Latin editions. Paris and Rouen supplied England with most of its bibles from 1450 to 1550,⁴⁶ and yet in Scotland Durkan and Ross have discovered only two Paris bibles, and none at all from Rouen. The passing of time, the fragility of paper and the enthusiasm of Protestant reformers cannot explain these absences and the supply side of the book trade of Scotland before 1560 was quite different to that of England. It seems those English bibles that propelled the Reformation in Scotland must either have been meticulously eliminated and replaced by the Geneva or Knox's version of Anglo-Scottish linkage is the exaggeration of an expert propagandist – most likely both explanations have some validity.

English government championing of Archbishop Parker's Bible of 1568, the 'Bishop's Bible', appears to have had even less impact on Scotland than the Great Bible of the 1530s.⁴⁷ The fact that Andro Hart and the Heirs of Henry Charteris imported an octavo Geneva Bible from Dort in 1601, and Hart himself printed his fine folio Geneva in 1610, suggests that until the King James 'Authorised Version' was published in 1611 the Geneva was overwhelmingly dominant.⁴⁸ But although the 'King James' was technically prescribed by canon law in 1636, it was never imposed by the Scottish Parliament or Scottish Privy Council.⁴⁹ The fact that not a single reference is made in any church court records to the command to use this edition shows that ministers used what they had, bibles still being in relative short supply, although equally

⁴⁶ Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 119-23; Clair, *European Printing*, 85.

⁴⁷ For a clear account of English bible printing see M.H. Black, 'The Printed Bible', from *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol.3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*. ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963), 408-76.

⁴⁸ J. Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1824), 48; R.B. McKerrow (ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (Oxford, 1910, reprinted 1968), 67.

⁴⁹ *Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical* (Aberdeen, 1636), xvi, 1, quoted in Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies*, 103-4.

that the ‘King James’ was broadly respected, and not the subject of any sustained attack. Nonetheless, one of the difficulties for Scottish Calvinists was the insistence with which English bibles, from Tynedale’s to the ‘Authorised Version’, included the ‘papistical’ Apocrypha. This explains why bibles printed in Scotland lacked the Apocrypha, and why Scotland was inclined to import the Geneva from Holland even after 1611. It says much for the quality and scale of seventeenth-century bible printing in England, and Scotland for that matter, that Joseph Athias of Amsterdam claimed in the 1660s and 1670s to have printed more than a million English language bibles.⁵⁰ F.S. Ferguson speculates that before Scotland’s first full bible printing, by Bassandyne and Arbuthnet in 1579, ‘English copies must have circulated ... in Scotland to the great profit of English printers’,⁵¹ yet there is little evidence for this generalisation. Great profit for English printers only came in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and even then the monopoly of Scotland’s royal printer stood in the way.

The contrasts of English and Scottish Bible experience also came down to book design. Following its Reformation, Scotland chose roman type for printing bibles in imitation of the Geneva Bible, rather than the textura or gothic look of Wittenberg and Lutheran texts adopted by England. William Laud, future archbishop of Canterbury, and other conservatives insisted that the ‘Authorised Version’ was printed in textura, and not roman as was Hart’s Scottish Geneva of 1610.⁵² Later, in 1637, Scotland’s reviled Book of Common Prayer appeared in gothic. Thus the typographical differences in Scottish and English bibles were a metaphor for the differences in religious character - Anglican conservatism versus Scottish Calvinism.⁵³ On the other hand in an expression of typographic antiquarianism Hart, having used roman type for most of his editions, adopted gothic for his reprints of Sir David Lindsay. Publishing genres evolved specific typographic languages.

English early modern governments and book traders were often ‘protectionists’. English bookbinders were protected by a 1533 statute against the importation of bound books. In 1534

⁵⁰ From a preface to a German language Jewish bible cited by Isaac le Long in *Boek-zaal der Nederduytsche bybels*, (Amsterdam, 1732), 858 and quoted in P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs: De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart* (Amsterdam, 1987), 108-11. Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 91-3.

⁵¹ Ferguson, ‘Relations Between London and Edinburgh Printers’, 148.

⁵² For Laud’s views on typography, see British Library MS add. 23112 Register of the Secretaries of State for Scotland f.5r (dated 15 Sept. 1635).

⁵³ M.H. Black in his review of S.H. Steinberg’s *Five Hundred Years of Printing* in *The Library*, 5th ser., xiv (1959) 300-2, accuses the author of failing to emphasise fully the typographical impact of the Geneva Bible over Wittenberg Bibles. Had Steinberg given greater emphasis to the Geneva Bible no doubt Scotland would have featured more prominently in his work.

an English act was passed which forbade trade by alien printers and booksellers, though not foreign wholesalers some of whom were very wealthy London merchants. There is no evidence of Scottish legislative xenophobia of this kind, beyond the local town councils ensuring burgesses and freemen were the sole legitimate traders in Scottish burghs. Certainly from Chepman and Myllar onwards disputes between Scottish book merchants arose from time to time and some sensitivity to outsiders, often Englishmen, can indeed be found in disputes before Edinburgh Town Council in the 1580s and 1590s, although unfree trading was the apparent offence.⁵⁴ Dutch and German printers even suffered some abuse and physical attack in the few years leading up to the revolution of 1688/9 though accusations of ‘popery’ were the usual context. Also in 1681 the Scottish Privy Council did take action to protect domestic bookbinding but by granting immunity to import duties for imported editions in sheet form. In Scotland ‘the carrot was preferred to the stick’.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the irony of England’s robust national and institutionalized protectionism, as exercised by the London Stationers’ Company, was that for so much of its technology, paper and Latin supply England still depended on the Continent. Scotland’s smaller book trade, and its governments through their regulation of the press, harboured few illusions that excessive protectionism would be beneficial.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English printing remained under the strict control of the Company of Stationers, a body which, after its charter of 1557, took powers to restrict entry into the trade, to limit the number of presses per printer, and even to ration paper.⁵⁶ English provincial presses at Oxford and Cambridge survived only because of royal charters, while by 1560 the Stationers’ Company had halted all other provincial presses.⁵⁷ In Scotland, although printing did not commence in Aberdeen and Glasgow until the seventeenth century, no government or centralised limitation was placed on the proliferation of presses, and local town councils were demonstrably authorised to license the activity of the press within their burghs. In spite of some legal disputes between the king’s printers and their competitors after 1671 - these involved the royal incumbents Andrew Anderson and his widow

⁵⁴ 25 Henry VIII, c.15; Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 13-14; *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, [EBR], 4, 177-8; 233-4; 559; EBR, 5, 58; 80; EBR, 6, 182-3.

⁵⁵ RPC, iii, 7, 103. Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 138.

⁵⁶ For a summary of patent monopolism in the Stationers’ Company see Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 97-8. There are numerous histories of the Stationers’ Company but C. Blagden, *The Stationers’ Company, 1403-1959* (London, 1960) is a good start point.

Agnes Campbell and were especially heated - the first presses at Aberdeen and Glasgow were established, in 1622 and 1638 respectively, with no sign of serious protest from the magistrates and burgesses of Edinburgh.⁵⁷ The relative liberalisation of trade in Scotland encouraged growth within and without Edinburgh while the larger scale of the English book trade made it feasible for it to flourish in a more closed commercial environment. Nevertheless, in Scotland limits on both press proliferation and monopoly exploitation were more economic than philosophical.

England did export expertise. The seventeenth-century royal printers Robert Young, Evan Tyler and Christopher Higgins were Englishmen. This was not a novelty, given that in the sixteenth century Thomas Vautrollier, an Anglo-Huguenot, and the Englishman Robert Waldegrave both printed in Scotland, the latter as king's printer to James VI. However, Young, Tyler and Higgins had become involved with Scotland for a particular reason - to prevent cheap Scottish books entering the English market. All three were representatives of the Stationers' Company in London, and the Company was especially anxious to prevent Scottish printed bibles entering England, and European English language bibles seeping into England via Scotland, in breach of the English ban on importing bound books and existing bible patents. The activities of the Scottish printer and publisher Andro Hart were the problem. Hart and John Norton, a wealthy London bookseller who set up a bookshop in Edinburgh in 1587, acquired in 1589 a Scottish patent to import books into Scotland free of customs.⁵⁸ This enabled them to exploit the trade in continental printing. From 1601, using the Dort press of Isaac Canin, Hart, Robert Charteris and John Norton commissioned the printing of English bibles to undermine the patent and monopoly of the English bible printer Robert Barker. It was the failure of an agreement with Andro Hart and his son John - such that the English printers would supply the Harts with bargain bibles - which led to efforts by the Stationers' Company to purchase from the crown the gift of king's printer in Scotland, culminating in the

⁵⁷ Before the Stationers' Company was formed printing had begun in Oxford, St. Albans, York, Cambridge, Tavistock, Abingdon, Ipswich, Worcester and Canterbury, but by 1559 all were extinct, though Cambridge revived in 1583 and Oxford in 1585. H. Aldis, *The Printed Word* (Cambridge, 1951), 20.

⁵⁸ The Anglo-German Edward Raban in Aberdeen and General Assembly printer George Anderson in Glasgow. See Aberdeen Charter Room, Manuscript Records of Aberdeen Council, Council Register, [ACR], 51, 20 (20 November 1622) and Glasgow City Archives, Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow [GCA], C. 1.1.11 (4 January, 1640) recording payment for printing from May 1638. Both printed briefly in Edinburgh immediately before.

⁵⁹ *RPC*, i, 4, 35.

appointment of Robert Young as printer to Charles I in 1632.⁶⁰ If the Scottish book trade was indeed peripheral to English commerce at this time, it was an extraordinary irritant to the monopolists of London. The Stationers' Company, however, finally abandoned Scotland in 1670 due to the impracticalities of controlling an Edinburgh press from London.

The relationship between Scotland and England was patently intellectual as well as commercial. Clear parallels can be drawn between English and Scottish reading tastes. The dominance of theology is obvious in the known Scottish libraries in the sixteenth century, such as the library of the advocate Clement Little which he bequeathed to the Edinburgh College in 1580.⁶¹ However, entering the seventeenth century the general nature of religious works began to shift.⁶² Printed Humanism had declined in relative terms, the language of religious debate was now increasingly English not Latin, and the piety of the Latin theologians and reprints of the church fathers was replaced by a stream of religious tracts and pamphlets, opinionated, bilious and politico-religious in character. Nonetheless, the period from the 1560s to 1620s was one of mixed publishing and book use as the celebration of vernacular Scottish literature existed alongside the provision of liturgy and school books. A new age of theology and scripture then developed from the 1630s to 1660. Just as entertainment and practical non-fiction began to find a readership, they were supplanted by a new wave of theology, church politics and the first continuous wave of scripture printing in Scotland. To this was added a vast increase in the importation of bibles from Holland. Thereafter, and especially from the 1670s, a new secular *livre universel* proliferated on subjects such as medicine, science, law, current affairs, practical guides and polite *belles-lettres*. For the first time in Scottish book history secular works outnumbered the religious as seen in the output of the Scottish press and in the inventories of booksellers. The most popular press products of the post-Restoration

⁶⁰ See E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, iv, (London, 1875-96), 35.

⁶¹ Note in addition to Durkan and Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries*, see 'Further additions to Durkan & Ross', *Bibliothek*, x (1981), and 'Addendum to additions to Durkan & Ross', *Bibliothek*, xi (1982). J. Guild and A. Law, *Edinburgh University Library, 1500-1980: A Collection of Historical Essays*, especially J. Kirk 'Clement Little's Edinburgh', and C. P. Finlayson, and S.M. Simpson, 'The History of the Library 1580-1710', (Edinburgh, 1982). See also C.P. Finlayson *Clement Little and His Library* (Edinburgh, 1980). Full library listed in *Maitland Club Miscellany*, i, (1833/34), 285-301.

⁶² H.S. Bennett in his analysis of Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue, 1475-1640* (Oxford, 1926, since revised 1976, 1986, 1991) calculates, up to 1640, the same 50% religious output for the English as does M.A. Bald in her analysis of bookseller stock, royal libraries and college libraries in Scotland from 1500-1625. See H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers: i, 1475-1557* (Cambridge, 1952); *ii, 1558-1600* (Cambridge, 1965); *iii, 1603-1640* (Cambridge, 1970), and M.A. Bald, 'Vernacular Books imported into Scotland', *ante*, (1926), 254-67.

period - almanacs, newspapers from the 1690s and chapbooks from the early eighteenth century – emphasised this trend. Though the output of religion continued to expand it was as a declining proportion of total press output. The changes in Scotland's reading tastes were reflected in changes in domestic press output but in harmony with demand for external stock imported from England and the Continent.⁶³

The extent of intellectual dialogue between authors and readers reflected the philosophical preoccupations of the early modern period. For example, the publication of John Napier's *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* by Andro Hart in 1614, or Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687 had a profound impact on both sides of the border. Products of their age, these great mathematicians were also deeply concerned with questions of individual salvation. Each became preoccupied with calculations based on biblical texts relating to the end of the world. Napier's millenarian *A Plaine Discovery* (1593) became a popular piece translated into several languages, and his calculations were much used and believed by English Puritans in the 1640s. Even though the seventeenth century saw a broad trend from the religious to the secular God was ever-present.

Contemporaneous with the seventeenth-century arrival of printed jurisprudence was a greater engagement of courts and lawyers in the law of the book. The legal basis of book publishing, censorship, licensing and copyright, before the international conventions of the modern period, often reflected national circumstances. Book patents had the simultaneous advantage of providing commercial prospects for printer and publisher, and of course for lawyers, and also a means of censorship for the State. For early modern England the embodiment of state control, working through the officers of the Stationers' Company, was the King and King-in-Parliament, and in Scotland it was the King and Privy Council working to a legislative framework provided by Parliament. In Scotland local licensing bodies existed in the form of the town councils of the printing burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow, sometimes with the advice of bishops, presbyteries and academics. In most countries early modern censorship became synonymous with punishment after the fact, the great expansion of the press making individual licensing of each printed item increasingly impractical.⁶⁴ But each nation developed its own particular response to the problems of controlling the book. Any

⁶³ Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 215-18 and 228; R. L. Emerson, 'Scottish Cultural Change 1660-1710 and the Union of 1707' in J. Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire* (Cambridge, 1995), 142-3.

⁶⁴ For a general analysis of censorship see Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 163-91

differences and potential friction between the Scottish and English systems of press control were likely to be exaggerated after 1603 and 1707. The case of copyright law is especially of interest.

A comparison of the copyright history of England and Scotland reveals two fundamental contrasts, the first practical, the second theoretical.⁶⁵ Firstly, individual book licences in Scotland were granted for a limited number of years, either a specific period, most commonly nineteen years, or the lifetime of the licence holder. In Scotland there was no notion of perpetual copyright which was in England the basis of all copyrights registered with the Stationers' Company. English practice can be illustrated with the extreme example of William Lily's *Grammar* - this was written in 1513 and published in its final form in 1542, and yet as late as the eighteenth century Thomas Longman acquired the profitable patent.⁶⁶

The second aspect which differentiated copyright in the two kingdoms was the legal philosophy behind the nature of intellectual property. While Roman law, the basis of Scots law, allowed for the concept of 'incorporeal' property, Scottish interpretation seems to have rejected property rights in mere ideas. Therefore, in order for property to have a legal basis it had to have real, physical existence. A manuscript or a printed book were legal property, but not apparently the text or ideas. Meanwhile, in England the author created property when he wrote a text and English common law confirmed perpetual copyright as long as no statute removed or qualified that right.⁶⁷

However, the union of 1707 and the subsequent introduction of British statutory copyright in 1710,⁶⁸ brought to a head the separate legal interpretations in Scotland and England. From the 1730s, following the expiry of the first licences granted by the 1710 act, numerous Anglo-Scottish legal disputes arose. Scottish book merchants wished to trade with the large English market while England's book trade protested at what it perceived as 'Scotch pirate editions'. Finally in 1769 a test case involving the Edinburgh bookseller Alexander Donaldson was mounted in both Scotland and England. The different legal philosophies of the

⁶⁵ For copyright in early modern Scotland see Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 95-125 and for a general summary, Mann, 'Scottish Copyright before the Statute of 1710' in *Juridical Review* ii (2000), 11-25. The only other useful but slim survey is W.J. Couper, 'Copyright in Scotland before 1709', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, (1931) ix 42-57.

⁶⁶ J. Feather, *A History of British Book Publishing*, (London, 1988), 21

⁶⁷ Feather, *History of British Publishing*, 80-83 and Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London, 1994), 10-36.

⁶⁸ 8 Anne, c.19.

two systems came sharply into focus - the Scottish judges ruling for Donaldson and rejecting perpetual copyright, the English judges ruling for perpetuity. In the end in 1774 the case was put before the House of Lords and a judgement was made in favour of Donaldson.⁶⁹ For the first time an 'English' court concluded that the monopoly of the London booksellers and copyholders was not in the public interest and actually resulted in higher book prices. In turn the Court of Session now had a clear ruling that 'incorporeal' property could be copyrighted. The courts had proved that the English and Scottish book trades were interdependent not independent in spite of divergent traditions over the legal basis of book publishing. There was a fascinating postscript to the Donaldson case. William Collins, the Scottish publishers, opened an office in London in 1858 and, in defiance of the English bible patents, did a roaring trade in Scottish bibles. Collins then gained much public support for beginning a price war which halved bible prices within a year.

The greatest challenge to typographic design is the apt arrangement of the smallest island of type in the largest sea of blank page. The title page is seen as the acid test of graphic design. This could be a metaphor for the problems of assessing the scale of the book trade of early modern Scotland based as it is so often on the slim evidence of surviving printed matter. The less evidence we have the more we admire the bold conjectures of those who 'fill in' historical detail. The past century of bibliographical archaeology, of antiquarian 'fragmentism', has not helped the development of a trade overview. Moreover, the discovery of minute printed fragments has led to an emphasis on domestic printers and not booksellers. The thirst for physical evidence has distorted our view of the scale of the Scottish book trade in the early modern period. This is especially unfortunate as in small nations the business of bookselling is more likely to be a motor for literacy and book dissemination than a relatively small domestic press output.

The detailed study and accumulation of references from testaments, inventories, wills, council registers and burgess and apprentice rolls, supplemented with existing bibliographical and biographical data, has enabled estimates of the numbers of book traders active in the period. Estimates for activity levels can be made for printers, booksellers and all book traders,

⁶⁹ For Scottish and English perspectives see R. S. Thompson, 'Scottish judges and the birth of British copyright', *Juridical Review*, i (1992), 18-42 and J. Feather, 'The publishers and the pirates: British copyright law in theory and practise, 1710-1775', *Publishing History*, xxii (1987), 5-32. For a bibliography concerning the case, see Mann, 'Book Trade', 169.

excluding from this last category those duplications where a printer was also a bookseller (see table).⁷⁰ Using this detailed approach it can be estimated, following the Restoration boom from the late 1660s to 1680s, that the number of Scottish printers more than doubled from twenty to forty-five, while over the same period the number of booksellers rose from about forty-two to sixty-seven. The number of printers was slight before the 1650s but bookselling, whether by printers or specialist vendors of books, was obviously well established. The 1650s represented an interesting watershed. While this was a period of contraction in the book trade of Edinburgh, we see from the 1650s the expansion of bookselling into the corners of the kingdom. The Cromwellian recession was based in the capital as far as the book trade was concerned. New booksellers were to be found in many burghs reaching a high-point in the 1670s. They were operating in the likes of St. Andrews and Perth, and for the first time appear in Dundee, Ayr, Dumfries, Lanark and Kilmarnock, and even Banff and Forres in the north. The spread of domestic bookselling, along with slowly increasing literacy, was the great catalyst for the demand side of the book trade of Scotland when the domestic press could not meet the needs of the Scottish reader. This all sounds very promising from a commercial point of view, and yet the activity figures show that the recession of the 1690s hit the book trade throughout Scotland and in both printing and bookselling, even though a recovery set in after the union of 1707.

Estimated Numbers of Active Book Traders

	<u>Printers</u>	<u>Booksellers</u>	<u>Total Book Traders</u>
1600	7	18	23
1610	5	13	17
1620	3	20	22
1630	7	21	27
1640	10	27	35
1650	17	27	41
1660	20	42	56
1670	31	63	85
1680	45	67	104
1690	25	61	80
1700	29	54	75
1710	26	60	76
1720	50	81	120

⁷⁰ For details of sources, method and a more detailed analysis see Mann, 'Book Trade', 367-88 and appendices iv and v; Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 214-24.

These figures prove that the scale of the Scottish book trade was much greater than we might have expected. In fact in total over 200 printers and press partnerships and 500 booksellers and bookbinders were active from 1500 to 1730.⁷¹ Activity levels suggest that the Scottish book trade of 1707 was about four times the size it was in 1603, while surviving editions recorded by Aldis show press output to have increased by perhaps eight times, a factor exaggerated by the poorer survival rate of earlier productions but also resulting from increased productivity. Certainly the growth of the book trade was of such a level as to suggest that *all* the opportunities for book traders - the internal Scottish market, Anglo-Scottish trade and Scotland's trade links with Europe - were exploited.

The old argument that Scotland was mostly on the periphery of the English sphere of influence, deployed by many from contemporary English propagandists justifying Scotland's 'incorporation' into Great Britain to modern historians from Trevelyan to Conrad Russell, rests on the incidence of English interference in Scottish affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷² The major historical events of the period, from the Scottish Reformation to Scotland's 'constitutional subjugation' through the union of 1707, nevertheless depended, to a greater or lesser extent, on 'the English factor'. Geo-politics and the sufficiently common religious agenda after 1560 made convergence in political, social and economic fields all the more likely. Of course, for Scotland there were certain difficulties in this 'special relationship', particularly after 1603 when it lost full control of foreign policy. Traditional economic ties with France and the Low Countries were repeatedly fractured by English declarations of war and English trade protectionism which, as much as the succession issue, created the political crisis for which 1707 was the solution. Nonetheless, the period from 1560 to 1745 is remarkable for broadly harmonious relations between the national governments which promoted social and commercial interaction. Contemporary English historians and 'literati', such as Sir Henry Spelman and William Atwood who in 1604 and 1705 argued the superiority of England over Scotland as Anglo-Scottish union was debated, made the grand claim of English cultural superiority through the success of the English language, but essentially Scotland chose English

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 219

⁷² For example G.M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England* (Harmondsworth, 1959), 353-62.

two hundred years before it chose England.⁷³ The common language was an essential motor for the shared revolution of the press, and the correct historiographical discourse for book historians today should reflect partnership in the face of an unstoppable force and not resentment at cultural imperialism. In the early modern British Isles some competing propagandists and book trade monopolists found it less easy to comprehend the common interests of expanding literacy and education.

Scotland, nonetheless, showed the value of borrowing and manipulating wide cultural and technical developments to give added value of domestic relevance. Cultural fashions, English or European, were re-moulded in the light of enduring national traditions in religion, education and law - in the longer term the result would be the Scottish Enlightenment. The custom of overseas education, as well as practicalities like presses from Holland and England, paper from France, Spain and the Low Countries, and technicians from all manner of European countries including England, reflected an open and outward-looking approach. The Scottish book printing trade in its first two hundred years played but a small though significant part in the book history of Europe, with highlights provided by the works of a few authors, divines, poets and academics. However, Scotland did establish its own relationship to the business of print – trade regulation, licensing, copyright, technology, design and much else adopted a national character. In spite of its peripheral geography, Scotland participated in the wider print revolution, that extraordinary process of permanent, accelerating renaissance with its interplay of medium and message, of authority and anarchy.

⁷³ For Spelman see B. R. Galloway and B.P. Levack (eds.), *The Jacobean Union* (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1985), 160-84 and for Atwood his *The Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England, over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland* (London, 1705), which was banned in Scotland the same year.