

Reading and Mending the *Troy*  
*Book* in Renaissance Scotland  
By **Sebastiaan Verweij**

Sir John Sinclair, the County  
Agricultural Surveys, and the  
Collection and Dissemination of  
Knowledge 1793–1817, with a  
Bibliography of the Surveys:  
Part 1  
By **Heather Holmes**

Rosebery as Book Collector  
By **Brian Hillyard**

From the Archives: the Two First  
Books Printed in the Scottish  
Language  
By **E. Gordon Duff**

James ('Hamish') Seaton  
(1918–2012)  
By **Brian Hillyard**

Book Reviews

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## Notes on Contributors

EDWARD GORDON DUFF (1863–1924), bibliographer and collector, wrote several books in the field, including, *Early Printed Books* (1893), *Early English Printing* (1896), *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (1906), *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to 1557* (1912), and his magnum opus, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (1917).

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## Introduction

In our seventh number, Sebastiaan Verweij shows in startling detail how numerous readers in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Scotland engaged with and handed on two manuscripts containing the Troy Book poems. Brian Hillyard presents a revealing and attractive picture of the Earl of Rosebery as bibliophile, collector and reader. Heather Holmes describes the role of Sir John Sinclair in the first agricultural survey of Great Britain, and, in part one of her study, gives a bibliography of the ninety county reports published in the first phase, 1793–97. For our Archives feature, Robert Betteridge and Murray Simpson select from *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1890–95, E. Gordon Duff's 'The Two First Books Printed in the Scottish Language'. James ('Hamish') Seaton was a welcoming figure in the Society, where he served as Secretary and President. Brian Hillyard gives an account of Hamish's time at the EBS and the National Library of Scotland.

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# Reading and Mending the *Troy Book* in Renaissance Scotland

SEBASTIAAN VERWEIJ

## INTRODUCTION

In bibliographical and book-historical scholarship today, the history, practice and politics of reading have become a profitable subject for enquiry.<sup>1</sup> In support of this work, the evidence, on the part of actual readers and book owners, of their use and abuse of their books – marking, underlining, commenting, extracting, illustrating, indexing, repairing, and more – has come to take centre stage. Histories of reading in the British Isles in the early-modern period include not only accounts of well-known readers with specific readerly agendas (for example, John Dee or Gabriel Harvey),<sup>2</sup> but increasingly also of those early owners and readers who may be untraceable, who are relatively insignificant, and who have largely been forgotten by history, but whose reading practices (if not individually, then certainly collectively) may nevertheless contribute to a fuller understanding of the complicated dynamics between texts and their audiences. The history of reading also plays an important role in reception studies. For instance, Alison Wiggins's investigation of fifty-four 'Renaissance printed copies of Chaucer' allows for a variety of interpretative work on reading practice and on Chaucer's reception, including 'the use of Chaucer's works as sources of sententious wisdom; [...] the continuities and overlaps evident between print and manuscript cultures; [...] the household as a site of reading and annotation; and [...] women as participants amongst Chaucer's Renaissance readership'.<sup>3</sup> All such insights arise from Wiggins's meticulous attention to marginalia: the joint efforts of countless annotators that reveal how each reading experience is individual and deeply idiosyncratic, but also suggestive of more wide-ranging 'contemporary perceptions of Chaucer'.<sup>4</sup>

Scholars of medieval and renaissance Scotland have likewise not neglected reading practice. Recent studies have looked at, for example, the marginalia of one Scottish-owned manuscript of John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, the response of the 'first readers' and redactors of the *Scotichronicon*, or more wide-ranging issues such as female book ownership, or the responses of Scots readers to English books. Jamie Reid Baxter has discussed renaissance paratextual poetry, the liminary texts and spaces surrounding the main texts of a book which seek to crucially shape readerly expectation and response.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, many Scottish manuscripts and early printed books await further scrutiny. Two such manuscripts constitute the focus of this article: Bodleian

Library, MS Douce 148 (henceforth **D**), and Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30 (henceforth **K**).<sup>6</sup> Both **D** and **K** contain combined *Troy Books*: mostly featuring a text of John Lydgate's Middle-English historical romance, the *Troy Book*, but also some fragments of what is known today as the *Scottish Troy Book* (the two poems will be referred to below as, respectively, *LTB* and *STB*).<sup>7</sup> Both poems relate the history of the Trojan War, and both are translations from Guido delle Colonne's best-selling *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287).<sup>8</sup> In the early sixteenth century, manuscript **D** was owned by 'ane honourable Chaplane' Thomas Ewen (or Ewyn), who around this time commissioned the Edinburgh notary John Asloan to repair his manuscript (it was 'writtin & mendit', as noted in the manuscript's colophon, f. 336v). Asloan is better known for the important poetry anthology that bears his name, the Asloan manuscript (National Library of Scotland, MS 16500), and Asloan's scribal activities have been well documented.<sup>9</sup> **K** was owned, in the early seventeenth century, by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir (modern day Tibbermore, in Perthshire). The latter manuscript, like **D**, was also repaired: after it had come into Murray of Tibbermuir's possession, on '1612 3e 24 of Maij' he 'eikit addit & copeit out off ye print' to render his manuscript a more complete text. Neither manuscript is today in pristine condition; rather, both show obvious and active evidence of a great variety of use. If **D** is somewhat sparse in terms of marginalia or evidence of early-modern ownership, **K** is very lavishly annotated by scores of readers, and most prominently so by Murray of Tibbermuir. There is further evidence of Murray's reading and book-collecting habits, since he appended to his combined *Troy Book* many poems from his own day and age by diverse authors, such as Philip Sidney, Edward Dyer, Thomas Campion, Alexander Montgomerie, or King James VI/I. Murray also kept a record of his book collection. The latter document, with its special category for 'lent books', underscores just to what extent books were movable property, and how Murray of Tibbermuir as an early-modern book owner was clearly situated within a wider system of cultural exchange.<sup>10</sup>

There has recently been something of a flurry of critical activity concerning the several manuscripts and printed books of Lydgate (and other Troy-related materials) that are known to have been produced, owned, or read in Scotland. Over twenty-five years ago A.S.G. Edwards had already called for 'a reassessment of [Lydgate's] Caledonian presence',<sup>11</sup> and two recent Oxford DPhils have produced further reassessments, both of Lydgate's Scottish presence as well as of the related, now fragmentary, poem, *STB*.<sup>12</sup> Another crucial contribution to Lydgate studies in Scotland is Priscilla Bawcutt's above-mentioned article on a Scottish-owned manuscript of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (Boston Public Library, MS f. med. 94). Bawcutt quotes and so endorses the advice of M.R. James for a very comprehensive system of manuscript description: to record of each manuscript the 'names and scribbles on the flyleaves', which can help to locate 'the home of the book at a particular date' as well as relate 'the story of its wanderings'. Thus Bawcutt situates the *Siege* manuscript among

various bookish Scottish families: the Lyles in Renfrewshire, the Swintons in the Scottish Borders, and finally the Campbells of Glenorchy in Argyll. Generations of family members and their associates scribbled full the flyleaves of the Boston manuscript, thus illustrating, in Bawcutt's words, 'the persistent Scottish interest in Lydgate'.<sup>13</sup>

This article aims to pursue a similar line of thought, and will present and analyse the marginalia and ownership inscriptions of both *Troy Book* manuscripts, **D** and **K**, and so account for their 'wanderings' in early-modern Scotland. It should be stated at once that the manuscripts are typical rather than unusual for the way that their readers used blank margins for a variety of often relatively inconsequential annotations (especially pen trials); however, the sum of the complete set of annotations is much greater than its parts. Bergen has recorded a range of annotations in English manuscripts of *LTB*: for example, a sixteenth-century verse response to the death of Troilus by an anonymous (probably sixteenth-century) reader in Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.446 (ff. 112v, 131v), or the religious exhortations by another in British Library, MS Arundel 99 (ff. 34r, 159v). A seventeenth-century hand provided British Library, MS Royal 18. D. 2 with a list of contents. The Helmingham Hall (or Tollemache-Dysart) manuscript, now Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 876, reveals the ample annotations of 'various interested if sometimes indolent readers', whereas the scribe of Bodleian Library, MS Digby 230 was found guilty of 'numerous minor blunders' and 'gratuitous insertions'.<sup>14</sup> Bergen generally paid close attention to (and provided transcriptions of) the marginalia in his description of nineteen *Troy Book* manuscripts, but of manuscript **K** he contented himself with remarking succinctly that 'it has evidently been diligently read and re-read and has seen much hard usage. There are numerous trifling inscriptions scattered among the pages'.<sup>15</sup> Gisela Guddat-Figge was somewhat more generous, noting how **K** 'did not sit quietly on a book shelf but was well used', and that the numerous inscriptions 'might give information about the history of the MS'.<sup>16</sup> From Bergen's perspective, **K**'s geographical and chronological remoteness from Lydgate makes it a relatively unimportant *LTB* manuscript: however, for the purpose of this present article, these aspects make it possible to locate a much more geographically precise audience for the manuscript in Scotland, and are thus anything but trifling.

It is noted above how book repairs were a conspicuous feature of the textual history of the combined *Troy Book* manuscripts in Scotland. The notion of book repair is of great interest in the Scottish transmission history of the *Troy Book* poems. Books were obviously fragile items, and especially after heavy use over a prolonged period of time, they were occasionally in need of repair. To give an English example, John Thompson has written about the 'patch and repair and making do' of English historian and bibliophile John Stow (1524/5–1605), in relation to Stow's editing of 'the Chaucer literary tradition', involving a great deal of 'manuscripts and texts he is known to have consulted, annotated, copied, lent out, possibly dismantled, and certainly

sometimes repaired'.<sup>17</sup> Such repairs were often instrumental for early canon formation, as Thompson recognises in the case of Stow and Chaucer, and the former's suppression of Chaucer's Marian poem *An ABC to the Virgin*, which by Stow's time had come to seem excessively Catholic and on that account was effectively written out of the Chaucer canon. William Sweet has argued for John Asloan's role not simply as 'mender' of manuscript **D**, but also as its editor, and indeed the roles of editor and repairer often coincide. Concerning Scottish instances of the relation between book repair and canon formation, one recalls George Bannatyne's famous allusion (c. 1565–68) to the 'copeis awld mankit and mvtilait' that functioned as copytexts for his expansive verse miscellany (National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 1.1.6).<sup>18</sup> Although Bannatyne's motivations for compiling his great anthology are not altogether transparent, given that various considerations (political, cultural, devotional, aesthetic, antiquarian, entrepreneurial, and more) may have influenced the compiler, it is nevertheless a fact that by virtue of copying his manuscript Bannatyne engaged in the patching up of a group of possibly 'mankit and mvtilait' copy-texts. Thus the famous introductory verses to the Bannatyne manuscript speak meaningfully of the need to patch up old and damaged books so as to allow the contents a new or continued life cycle. It is impossible to know whether the intentions of the *Troy Book*'s owners and scribes were simply to repair a commodity for immediate use, or whether they conceived of themselves as safeguarding a literary tradition for present and future readers. Whatever may be the truth of this matter, the conservation of *Troy Book* manuscripts unambiguously comments on the perceived contemporary value of these books. Whatever form this value might have taken (monetary, literary, moral, educational, or even pleasurable), it lends to both *Troy Book* manuscripts a great deal of book-historical and literary-critical interest.

#### LYDGATE'S *TROY BOOK* (*LTB*) AND THE *SCOTTISH TROY BOOK* (*STB*)

This article deals primarily with the afterlives of manuscripts **D** and **K**, and so a full discussion of the convoluted textual histories of the combined Scottish *Troy Book* manuscripts is beyond the present remit. A brief introductory note is, however, in order, since neither manuscript presents a straightforward text of the combined *Troy Books*. Lydgate's *Troy Book* is well known. Not so the fragmentary *Scottish Troy Book*, which has been described as 'in some ways the most shadowy work in our corpus of medieval Scottish romances' and 'something of a "lost text" of Older Scottish Literature, doomed forever to be "the bits in the Lydgate manuscripts"'.<sup>19</sup> David Benson, in his *History of Troy in Middle English Literature*, suggests that '[t]he importance contemporaries attached to the complete history of Troy is perhaps indicated by the production of the so-called "Scottish Troy Fragments" to fill gaps in Scottish manuscripts

of Lydgate's *Troy Book*'.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that the fragments were perhaps never a complete poem, and secondly, that they were produced in the service of Lydgate. Both these points have now been contested, with a critical consensus leaning towards the understanding that *STB* was indeed once complete, and that even if the production of the poem may have occurred contemporaneously with Lydgate's writing of his *Troy Book* (1412–20), it was not necessarily influenced by it. Thus A.S.G. Edwards remarks that it 'does not seem particularly likely' that *STB* was written to 'fill lacunae'; and Rhiannon Purdie observes how metrical differences, *LTB*'s decasyllabic couplets versus *STB*'s octosyllabic lines, underscore the autonomy of the *STB*.<sup>21</sup> That Scotland produced its very own *Troy Book* is hardly surprising, since late-medieval and early modern Europe saw a proliferation of vernacular translations of Guido's *Historia*. Guido's modern English translator Mary Meek states that '[d]uring the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was translated several times into French, German, and English'; in addition, '[t]here are also versions in Spanish, Flemish, and Bohemian; one German version appeared as early as 1392, and an Italian one as late as 1665'.<sup>22</sup> In the British Isles alone, three fifteenth-century translations into Middle English verse were produced: the *Destruction of Troy*, the *Laud Troy Book*, and *LTB*, and other accounts also survive, in verse and prose, based on other sources.<sup>23</sup>

The 'shadowiness' of *STB* is the result of various complicating factors: only c. 3,500 lines remain of a poem that may have been much longer; no author can be firmly identified; no precise date can be advanced for its composition; and finally, on the basis of the two late surviving manuscript witnesses **D** and **K** the poem's textual transmission can only imperfectly be reconstructed.<sup>24</sup> Very few poems survive only as a subsidiary part to another work, and so this challenging situation may have obscured critical appreciation of *STB* as an autonomous poem with its own agenda.<sup>25</sup> A hypothetical reconstruction of the underlying shared exemplar for manuscripts **D** and **K**, and so a rationale for the bringing together of *LTB* and *STB*, was proposed by Angus McIntosh.<sup>26</sup> It is evident that neither **D**'s nor **K**'s original scribe was responsible for the joining of the two poems. As Henry Bergen suggested, and as McIntosh further substantiated, the original portion of **D** (before it was mended by Asloan), and section I of **K**, both ultimately derive from a common exemplar, now lost. This lost exemplar appears, in turn, to have derived its Lydgatean material from an ancestor of BL MS Arundel 99.<sup>27</sup> McIntosh argues for several stages of descent between **D**'s and **K**'s hypothetical exemplar (which he calls **C**) and a once-complete *STB*.<sup>28</sup> McIntosh postulates that *STB* was, at one time, a complete poem (**A**); that some time after composition a manuscript (**B**) of this poem was written by two scribes; and that this in turn became defective and was augmented in the middle with a rather poor version of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, resulting in **C**. This compound text (perhaps once more copied) formed the basis for both **D** and **K**, which in their turn became imperfect, and were subjected to a second round of mending by Asloan and Murray. This proposed textual history has largely been

accepted by Sweet, who suggests that various textual variants indicate that **D** and **K** probably had a common ancestor, but were not themselves copied from the same exemplar (nor from each other).<sup>29</sup> Emily Wingfield similarly accepts McIntosh's hypothesis, and further suggests that the Lydgate elements to **D** and **K**'s exemplar were paired down (stripped of their Lydgatean prolixity, and with the omission of several narrative elements) in order 'to create as seamless as possible a transition between the two texts'.<sup>30</sup> From this point of view, the *Scottish Troy Book* is in reference not only to the Scottish translation of Guido, but also to the *LTB* as redacted by Scottish scribes.

Work remains to be undertaken on the textual pre-history of **D** and **K** and the *STB*, but unless another, better manuscript of *STB* surfaces, this will remain exceedingly difficult. The surviving materials in **D** and **K**, combining two poems written out by four scribes, are so complex as to have solicited three visual, diagrammatical representations (McIntosh, augmented by Wingfield; and Sweet).<sup>31</sup> Though these diagrams may accurately represent the surviving sections of both poems and indicate the contribution of the respective scribes in each manuscript, they still only imperfectly capture the genesis of *LTB* and *STB* as a continuous work. If McIntosh's hypothesis of a complete *STB* augmented in the middle with a text of Lydgate remains possible, it is not perhaps very likely. Acephalous manuscripts are a common occurrence, but the same cannot be claimed for manuscripts losing most of their middle parts but not their beginning and endings. However, this conundrum will remain, for now, unsolved, since it is **D**'s and **K**'s afterlives that are the focus of this present article.

#### OWNERSHIP, CIRCULATION, AND READING HISTORY

Evidence for ownership and circulation of the two manuscripts is present in the form of signatures and ownership marks: this appears very sparingly in **D**, but very extensively in **K**. Nothing certain is known about **D**'s whereabouts between the period of Thomas Ewen's ownership in Edinburgh and its appearance in the collection of Francis Douce. However, one inscription has hitherto always been overlooked. This occurs on f. 193r, and has been scored out (most probably) by a later owner. Underneath the deletion these words can, however, just be made out: 'this his ye seg of troyze this buk pertens to iohn of murray'. Emily Wingfield has noted how, in the notarial protocol book of John Foular, a John Murray witnessed a legal transaction (dated 3 June 1527) with Thomas Ewen, **D**'s early sixteenth-century owner. The protocol book further records, in the company of Ewen, the names of a certain chaplain Sir James Huntar, as well as a Thomas and James Broune. These three latter names occur in the margins of manuscript **K** (see below), and thus allow the inference of a connection between the two manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> The appearance of another Murray-related owner of **D** is striking also in the light of an inscription in the Asloan



manuscript first noted by Catherine van Buuren: ‘per me Gulielmum Murray Manu Mea [...]’ (f. 40v).<sup>33</sup> Van Buuren suggests this is in an early-seventeenth century hand, and so contemporary with James Murray of Tibbermuir. I will return to the Murray association below.

In order of appearance, the following readers of **K** have left their names and various formulas in the margin (cropping has partly erased many inscriptions): ‘Jac. Murray’ (I f. 21v), ‘James scrimgeur’ and ‘James Ogilvy’ (I f. 59r), ‘Mr william [...ille?] commiser of santt anddros’ (I f. 68r), ‘thomas bla[ir]’ (I f. 81r), ‘Be me thomas hynderson’ (I f. 115v), ‘Thomas blair With my hand’ (I f. 119v), ‘James mvrray’ (I f. 133r), ‘Thomas henderson’ (I f. 141r), ‘hendricus broun’ (I f. 153r), ‘thomas blair manu propria et non [...]’ (I f. 154r), ‘Thomas blair with my hand’ (I f. 156r), ‘Henricus Broun’ (I f. 158r), ‘Jacobus Murravius me jure possidet in Tibbermure anno 302 [...]’ (written with tiny letters inside a red initial, I f. 168v), ‘Henricus Brown’ (I f. 169r), ‘Hendricus Brown with my hand’ (I f. 181r), ‘Per me Walterum’ (I f. 190r), ‘Thomas Gormak’ (I f. 193r), ‘per me Walterum ogillvy knyght of [...]’ (I f. 193v), ‘This buik pertins to hend[ricus] Broun’ (I f. 204r, cancelled and exceedingly faint), ‘Maister William Skeine llicenciat in ye llauis & commissar of saintt andros’ (I f. 206v), ‘Guilielmus dame manu sua propria’ and ‘Dauid Lyndesaye’ (I f. 209v), ‘Henricus broun’ (I f. 210v), ‘Thomas Blair man[u] propria’ (I f. 213r), ‘Thomas Blair’, ‘Adam Broun’, ‘Thomas Blair’, ‘Allexander blair’ (I f. 239r), ‘thomas blair’ (I f. 243), ‘William Broun’ (I f. 247r), ‘Thomas Blair with my hand’ and ‘Jacobus Huntar’ (I f. 250r), ‘Adamus Broun’ (I f. 254v), ‘Thomas Blair’ and ‘Addamus B[rown]’ (I f. 256r), ‘James Ogilvy of [...]’ (I f. 265v), ‘Henricus Broun’ (I f. 302v), ‘I M James Murray’ (I f. 307v), and ‘Thomas Blair’ and ‘Alexander Blair’ (I f. 321v).<sup>34</sup>

It is not a straightforward task to ascertain a chronology of ownership (let alone more fleeting acquaintance with the manuscript) among these many annotators, yet it is possible to tentatively trace **K**’s trajectory from the mid-sixteenth century until 1612, from St Andrews, to the area immediately east of Perth, and finally to Tibbermuir. The connection to St Andrews transpires from the mentioning of ‘Maister William Skeine llicenciat in ye llauis & commissar of saint andros’, and from other notes: that on I f. 68r quoted above, where the surname of a ‘commiser of santt andros’ is too difficult to read, and also from a scrap on I f. 25r in a decidedly early hand, in reference to the ‘Kirk of Sanctsalluater’. William Skene (d. 1582) studied at Aberdeen, but transferred to St Andrews in 1556 as a canonist. In 1564 he was appointed as a commissary (thus this is the earliest possible date for the inscription), and advanced to St Salvator’s College (taking its name from the chapel, or ‘kirk’), where, according to John Higgitt, ‘as commissary of St Andrews, he had a room [...] in which to keep his books since 1564’.<sup>35</sup> A record of Skene’s books (St Andrews University Library UYSS110/AP/2) survives and lists c. 200 titles; an impressive library, outnumbering, for example, the total number of books held institutionally by Aberdeen’s St Mary’s College.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately



there is no sign of **K** among Skene's booklist, nor of many other vernacular works of poetry, and his is a professional working library. Furthermore, **K** is not inscribed like some books that were certainly his, 'Ex Bibliotheca magistri Guilielmi Sken commissarii sancti Andree et amicorum'.<sup>37</sup> Thus Skene may, in principle, have had as passing a connection to **K** as did Mary, Queen of Scots (as named on I f. 183r, in a fragmentary legal snippet, or proclamation, see below); or, in other words, no personal connection at all. On the other hand, a Skene family association with the manuscript would be unsurprising, both for William Skene's own bookishness and that of his family. His brother Gilbert Skene was a physician, a professor of medicine at Aberdeen, and author of *Ane breve descriptioun of the peste*, Scotland's first printed plague treatise (Edinburgh, 1568). William's younger brother, Sir John Skene of Curriehill, was elected regent of St Mary's College (Aberdeen) in 1565 and rose to prominence as an advocate. In 1598 he arranged to have printed the Acts of Parliament and appended to this work his own *De verborum significatione*, a dictionary of Scots law.<sup>38</sup> The Skenes were scholarly and active book owners and producers, so William Skene's tentative connection to **K**, and that manuscript's circulation around St Andrews (perhaps until 1569, see below), may well account for the commissary's name.

On I f. 302v we find **K**'s first definite owner: 'Henricus Broun / this buk pertines to me / henrij brown of pawnishill \ [wr]yttin with my hand the xiiiiij / [...] of apryl Wpone ane / [...] Day anno domini / 1569' (cf. I f. 158r, 'Henricus Brown of paunshill / Induelles thair as I supoune / Leuke yat I say no wrang'). Sixteenth-century Perthshire was mapped out in astonishing detail by Timothy Pont between 1583–96, and on the latter's manuscript Map 26 there may still be found 'Paunishill'. Whether Pont sketched a settlement at this place is somewhat unclear, as the symbol (probably) signifying the settlement may equally belong to 'Goktoun' just north of Paunishill. Perhaps corresponding to this site, 'Pans Hill' is a present-day feature near Glen Carse (approx. 4 miles southeast of Perth, and north of the river Tay), but no settlement appears to have survived there. Moreover, just north of 'Pans Hill' survives 'Pawn Hill', now a wooded area adjacent to Balthayock Castle, a fourteenth-century keep in possession of the Blair family. Wherever 'Henricus Brown' lived exactly, Pont's lack of a symbol for a house of significant size suggests that this was a relatively small settlement, and thus a modest household; however, one that was in easy reach of larger estates.<sup>39</sup> On 19 October 1580 at Perth, a 'Henry Broun of Pawnishill' witnessed a retour (a record of the passing of rights) for the Ramsays of Bamff.<sup>40</sup> Other members of this assize included 'James Scrymgeour of Myris' (Myres Castle still survives, near Auchtermuchty in Fife), and two members of the Blair family (one being Alexander Blair of Brustoun). Henry Broun is almost certainly our manuscript owner, and the various members of the Broun and Blair families that left their marks in **K** will most likely have been known to Henry. In addition, in east Perthshire, as James Ramsey states, 'the indigenous Ogilvys abound'.<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to suppose

that Henry Broun lent his book, or perhaps took it around with him, and that the copious annotations of Blairs, Brouns, and Ogilvys provide evidence for the communal reading of **K**. Although we cannot dismiss the option that **K** may simply have provided wide margins and thus ample scrap paper (Henry Broun himself certainly used the manuscript for this purpose), at least one reader (Alexander Ogilvy) read **K** with great interest, as we shall see. The presence of ‘James Scrymgeour of Myris’ in the company of Broun gains in significance when we consider that James Murray’s father, John Murray of Tibbermuir, married as his second wife Helen Scrymgeour of Myres, daughter of a James Scrymgeour.<sup>42</sup> Thus we have a potential link between Henry Broun and the Murrays of Tibbermuir, and it is exactly by such cultural and familial networks that books often travelled.

#### READING THE *TROY BOOK*

What did these Scottish readers make of the *Troy Book*, and what evidence do we have for their interaction with the text? To accommodate reading, both manuscripts share an extensive collection of *notae*, and since these were added by the original scribes of **D** and **K**, it must follow that they were already present in their shared exemplar. Most typically, they provide a whistle-stop tour of heroic slaughter and valiant death (for instance, in **K**, ‘de morte Troyli’, I f. 271v; ‘de morte Achill’, I f. 276v). Other types of reading shortcuts include the ‘Nota proverbium’ (**K** I f. 303v; cf. **D** f. 289v), in reference to Lydgate’s proverbial wisdom (cf. Book IV l. 5275). Such notes are similarly a feature of English *LTB* manuscripts, for instance Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS poet. 144, which contains similar pointers to, for instance, ‘the dethe of Troylus’, or ‘the dethe of Achylles’ (ff. 297r, 302v). For a poem as vast as *LTB*, these short cuts would have provided readers with quick access to key scenes in the narrative.

Both manuscripts also feature the manicule, or hand with pointing finger, drawing attention to noteworthy sections of the *Troy Book*. Its three occurrences in **D** (on ff. 75r, 77r, and 85r) refer, respectively, to the good statecraft of Priam, well-endowed with ‘resouwne’ (cf. Book II l. 1129), to the discretion of Antenor, ‘astoynd neuer adule’ or ‘not at all confounded’ (cf. Book II l. 1323), and finally, in Priam’s speech before his parliament, on the necessity of Trojan brotherhood and ‘wnyte’ when attacking the Greeks (cf. Book II l. 1963). To this reader, the *Troy Book* was a fount of wisdom for good leadership and moral conduct – the very qualities often expounded in the advice-to-princes tradition so prevalent in Scottish writing of the period. In **K**, a set of four manicules appears on I f. 95v, and again a single one on I f. 103v. The first set points to the clinching argument in Troilus’ speech against his brother Helenus’ prophetic warning that the Trojans should not sail for Greece (cf. Lydgate Book II ll. 2908–3078): ‘Of right nought elles sett they

no other store' (cf. Book II l. 3020). 'They', here, denotes the priesthood, and 'right nought elles' refers to Troilus' complaint against his brother Helenus' professional defects: laziness, gluttony and covetousness. In the case of the other manicule, our reader's notable passage is one of outright misogyny: the finger points to 'hyr goyng furth such halowis for to sek', this line forming part of a longer diatribe against Helen and, more generally, female lustfulness as the root of men's misfortune (cf. Lydgate Book II ll. 3575–3632). Of particular note for this early reader of **K**, then, were the vitriolic arguments against priests and women, which were popular sentiments of the age. Such wholly typical antifeminist responses can once more be mirrored in English manuscripts. Early readers' appreciation of Lydgate's derision of women, for instance, is evident from Bodleian Library MS Digby 230 (manicules on ff. 39v, 41r, point out salient lines, whereas other marginal notes and ample underlining respond to 'the trwyffe [truth] of wemen', f. 106r). A series of manicules in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 144 (ff. 29r–v, 33r, 43r, 45r, 103v) highlights the actions of treacherous women.<sup>43</sup>

Further evidence for a lively and diverse Scottish readership of **K** may be found in the copious fragmentary notes (often legal), prayers, a verse, and other pen trials. On I f. 193r, underneath the name of 'Thomas Cormak' (or 'Gormak'), we find 'Marie be ye grace of god Quein of Scottis To our Louittis [beloved] in yat part *coniunctlie* and seuerlye *Speciallie* constitute greitting Forsameikyll as It Is [...]'. This pen trial is a snippet from a royal proclamation, or a warrant, deed, or other official or legal document. In similar fashion, on several folios reference is made to 'James be the grace of god king of Scottis', and 'our right trest King James' (I ff. 129v, 193v, and 227r). Another scribble (I f. 167r) is reminiscent of those Scottish poems and songs situating a speaker in the natural surroundings of a May morning, making a love lament, or 'monn'.

Intill ane mirthfull maij morning  
I went furthe myne alone  
Among thir flowers fresche & gay  
And this makand my monn.

Other inscriptions are familiar from Scottish printed books and manuscripts, for instance the ubiquitous 'In my defence god me defend / and bring my saull to ane guid end / The farest thing yat man can fall / Tho hir and sie and say nocht all' (appearing in full, or as fragments, on I ff. 59r, 153r, 154v, 214r, 237v, 247r). Bawcutt has traced the wide-spread popularity of a version of this prayer, perhaps a type of verbal lucky charm, throughout various sources, significantly also a 1494 print of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Troiana* (or *Historia Destructionis Troiae*), once owned by Colin Campbell, third Earl of Argyll.<sup>44</sup> Hands near contemporary with that of the first scribe took pleasure copying out selected phrases from the *Troy Book*, perhaps as pen trials. Several

Ovidian maxims also fill the margins (from *Tristia*, and the *Heroides*, I ff. 167v, 218v, 254v, 255v).

Of more interpretative interest are the annotations by one ‘Alexander Ogilvy’, who reveals his name on I f. 92v alongside a reversed six-line fragment that he recopied from *LTB*. Ogilvy (a name common to the manuscript, see above) annotated **K** at several points. On I f. 122v he simply copied another six lines from Lydgate. A more interpretative approach is evident from his later additions (though cropping has rendered some partially illegible). On I f. 169r, Ogilvy draws attention to the glamorous mustering of Hector’s men at the start of Book III, and notes how ‘heir the authoir reheris’ the ‘mony dywers and strang [...] armo[ur] / abeilyementis wsit amang [...] / warthe troians’. Not much later in the narrative (I f. 170r), our annotator intervenes again, in reference to the prudence of Hector: ‘The foirsicht discreition and [...] / awysitnes off this [...] / may be heir at lenthe [...] / onderstand’. Ogilvy draws attention to related themes in *LTB* three more times: on I f. 175v, where the annotator appears to praise the ‘guid necessair’ in a ‘prwdent [...] prince’ and ‘his pepill’ and their ‘bellicall essey’, or bellicose courage (this in reference to Agamemnon and his Greek warriors). On I f. 207v (near the end of the first day of battle, cf. Book III 3061–3102), ‘ye may haiff heir the / [...] inspectiwe Quhow the / [...] grekis was oft and / [dyw]ers tymis repulsit be ye / [...] full ancient troianis and / [...] destanie aganis quhome / [...] prince [...] haiff perduratiwe’ – stressing the necessity of a military leader’s infinite endurance. Ogilvy’s final note is on the martial exploits of king Priam who, in remembrance of his recently killed son Hector, wreaks carnage among the Greeks (Book IV, 343–491), so that on I f. 243r, we may ‘aspy adwert taik ten[t]’ of Priam’s ‘hardines’. Useful lessons were to be learned from reading *Troy Book*, and to Alexander Ogilvy, this historical romance was a mirror of chivalry and exemplary military leadership.

‘EIKIT ADDIT AND COPEIT OUT OFF YE PRINT’: RECONSTRUCTING  
THE *TROY BOOK*

James Murray of Tibbermuir acquired **K**, in rather incomplete state and already copiously annotated, probably towards the close of the sixteenth century or early into the next. Notwithstanding the efforts of earlier readers, Murray was to become **K**’s most assiduous user, providing all missing sections to produce, once again, a complete book. In order to fill all lacunae Murray drew extensively from Thomas Marshe’s 1555 printed *Troy Book*, a book which he may have owned or borrowed.<sup>45</sup>

In order to signpost his book, making for easier access to its vast contents, Murray provided catchwords from I f. 49 onwards, and foliation for the entire volume. In addition, he added running heads listing book and chapter, closely following Marshe’s text divisions; he also copied from Marshe the prose

summaries that head each chapter. Where the original scribe of **K** continues uninterrupted, Murray also provided chapter divisions, for instance on I f. 44v, where ‘CAP. vii’ is penned in the margin, and the prose summary fitted onto the top of the page. Where the original scribe did indicate a chapter division, as on I f. 48v (‘Quhow ye grekes past furst to siege troye’, Murray nevertheless copied the more extensive ‘argument off ye 8 cap.’ from Marshe (see also, for instance, I f. 129r).

The preliminary materials that Murray copied (now gathered in the ‘supply’) also closely follow Marshe: Murray’s title page (II f. 26r) is copied word for word from the print – even the shift from roman to black letter type in Marshe is reflected in Murray’s letterforms – until he runs out of space and must economise. In a modestly smaller hand, at the bottom of the page he makes his editorial intervention in the *Troy Book* explicit: after the title page proper, ending ‘By Ihone Lidgat Monk off Burye in Ingland anno 1451’, we find ‘Tibbermuir’, ‘James Muray’, and ‘1612 present’.

Murray’s ‘mending’ process can easily be reconstructed, largely based on his foliation. The first folio number now fully visible in section I is ‘fol. 18’, with folio numbers ‘16’ and ‘17’ just about discernible: it may be assumed that the first leaf of the manuscript (now badly damaged in the top-right corner) was similarly marked folio 15 (modern I f. 11). The ‘Epistle to ye Reider’ (II f. 27r–v), and ‘the Prolog’ (II ff. 28r–32v) remain unfoliated by Murray, as does the table of contents (II ff. 33r–34v; a separate bifolium), but the start of his ‘Lib. I’ (II f. 35r) is marked ‘foll. 1’ and runs until ‘Fol. 14’ (II ff. 48r). The final line on II f. 48v corresponds to Lydgate Book I l. 1052. At this point the supply appears to lack four leaves, as testified by four stubs. Considering that Murray fits 34 to 48 lines to the page (his hand varies significantly in size, here and elsewhere in his manuscript), a further eight pages could have accommodated another 300 lines or so – nearly enough to bring him into range of section I’s start of Lydgate’s Book I, l. 1689. An initial catchword on this final leaf of Murray’s supply, ‘larges expert manhood’, is indeed the start of the next line in the 1555 print, suggesting that material may have disappeared; however, a second catchword has been added here: ‘and Diomedes birdes thai var’. Murray may have copied more of Marshe; however, the second catchword connects directly to the first extant leaf of section I, and the foliation from 14 (II f. 48) to 15 (I f. 11) suggests that nothing is missing here. Although it had not reached the connecting point with *LTB*, Murray’s transcription from Marshe already in fact overlapped with the narrative action as presented by *STB*, as explicitly indicated by two flower symbols drawn in the margins of each respective text (*STB* I f. 11v, and *LTB* II. f. 48v) connecting these two corresponding sections. Murray most likely cancelled his initial catchword and replaced it with that of the first leaf of *STB*, having fulfilled the criterion of a continuing narrative.

**K** breaks off suddenly at I f. 323. The catchword on this final leaf is again in Murray’s hand and reads ‘To quhome’, corresponding to the first words of

Murray's supply now on II f. 51, 'To quhom acceptit vas this Anthenor'.<sup>46</sup> The transition is seamless, and Murray's copying of ll. 536–3612 from Marshe concludes the narrative from Lydgate's Book V. Murray must have decided not to include the Envoy, which follows immediately in Marshe; nor did he copy the 'verba translatoris ad librum suum'. In place of the omitted material we find the following colophon:

all Quhilk befor it vantet yis 40 yeiris ago now latlie  
eikit addit & copeit out off ye print ye beginning and end *yair* off  
yis holl storie as ye breik beareth be me James Murray  
with my hand in all hest that for ye present hes ye samyn of  
my father Jhone murry off Tibbermuir most Justlie  
anno 1612 ye 24 of Maij. (II f. 71r)

'[A]s ye breik beareth' means, presumably, 'as is evident from the break, or change of hand, in the text'. It also seems that Murray had little time to complete his emendations and additions, the manuscript being repaired 'in all hest', probably with Marshe on loan. Murray's slightly cryptic colophon suggests that the book had been deficient at least since 1572 ('40 yeiris ago' from the date of signing, 1612). *Troy Book* owners sometimes mark the age of their books, as another reader had a clear idea of the exact number of years separating his reading experience from the moment the poem was composed: 'Iohn lydgate munck of Bury was compiler of this booke made [...] The yeare of our lord .1412. to this present yeare. 1586. is. .174. yers past, sence this book was made' (Bodleian Rawlinson poet. 144, inside front flyleaf).<sup>47</sup> In Murray's case, the grammatically ambiguous phrase 'that for ye present hes ye samyn of my father' is perhaps most likely to be in reference to his father's name, 'off Tibbermuir'. Without an explicit object specified, it is also possible that what James Murray 'hes ye samyn of my father' is the book itself, an object in shared ownership perhaps for forty years. Finally, it may just be possible that 'yis holl storie [...] that for ye present hes ye samyn of my father' clumsily expresses that father and son owned two copies of the same 'storie': especially since in manuscript **D** there is a mark, as mentioned above, recording that 'this buk pertens to iohn of murray'. It is not unknown for families to have owned multiple copies of the same text: the Campbells of Glenorchy owned two manuscripts of Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*.<sup>48</sup> The evidence is simply too slim, however, to allow one to claim with any conviction that not one but two copies of the combined *Troy Book* manuscripts passed through the Murray of Tibbermuir family. A more constructive way of thinking about such elusive signatures is that the extended Murray family was a close-knit network: indeed, the Murrays of Abercairney, those of Tibbermuir, and various others, had entered into a Bond of Friendship with the head of their family, John Murray of Tullibardine, in 1586, and again in 1599.<sup>49</sup> The prosopographical context for the circulation of books at Tibbermuir is likely to have consisted of



family and friends, and as such these ‘Murray’ ownership inscriptions in a set of manuscripts that are so closely related (**D** and **K**, but also **D** and the Asloan manuscript on the basis of a shared scribe) merit further investigation.

We must return to **K** for two final instances of editorial intervention where Murray’s reading experience of his *Troy Book* is most sharply thrown into relief. The first is a marginal gloss that appears on I f. 21v (cf. *LTB* I, ll. 1823–80). Here, Medea’s entrance into her father’s dining-hall and Jason’s subsequent enchantment with her sparks a long digression on female inconstancy. Following his source (and though later humorously rebuking Guido’s misogyny) Lydgate here dismisses Ovid’s ‘fables’ (l. 1794), probably in reference to Book 7 of the Latin poet’s *Metamorphoses*. Medea, in Guido, is an emblem of female inconstancy. In response to this, on I f. 21v Murray supplied more contextual information on the character of Medea, lifted, as it appears, from Ovid’s letter of Medea to Jason from the *Heroides* (note that Murray owned a copy of ‘Ovidis Epistles’ in translation, see his book list, II f. 2r). Medea’s potted narrative is followed by that of Ariadne writing to Theseus, and Murray’s marginal annotation concludes ‘Ovidius Epst hac Jac. Murray’. Murray’s pointed reference to this particular Ovidian paradigm, that of the spurned yet loyal female lover, is incompatible with Medea’s characterisation in *LTB* at this stage in the narrative – and so Murray’s commentary can only be read as a counter-argument against female deceit. Thus breaking with a long tradition of audiences appreciatively marking outbursts of misogynistic sentiment throughout the *Troy Book*, Murray’s offering bears refreshing witness to a counter-tradition.

Murray’s most striking addition to his manuscript occurs within the second sequence of *STB*, which he interleaved with an important passage from Lydgate, stretching over four pages. This is attested, again, by his foliation: between the modern consecutively numbered I ff. 318–19, Murray’s ‘fol. CCCVII’ and ‘CCCX’, were placed his ‘fol. CCCVIII’ and ‘CCCIX’ (now II ff. 49–50). A double catchword again illuminates Murray’s strategy here: the initial ‘and *yarfoir ye grekes*’ (I f. 318v) is replaced with ‘and *callet ye plece*’, the start of II ff. 49–50. This is a remarkable editorial intervention, and one that bears witness to Murray’s intimate knowledge of both poems. Added to *STB* here is Lydgate’s diatribe on idolatry (Book IV, ll. 6919–7108), where Troy’s fall is related on account of its sacrifices to false gods and idols. *STB* relates the narrative concisely, as after the account of the stoning and death of Hecuba the poet moves straight on: ‘The Auctor rehersed to ws / The deth of Thelamonyus / And Exiling of Eneas / And Anthenor bannyst was / Inne one & threty book folowand / Thyre seyde thinges determynand’ (I f. 319r; cf. Horstmann p. 261). Lydgate, however, finds opportunity for a long digression, which Murray faithfully copied and inserted into his book. If the argument that **D** was once owned by John Murray proves to be correct, then we may even speculate that James Murray was introduced to Lydgate’s idolatry section in **D**, where Asloan had to intersperse *STB* with 403 lines from Lydgate’s Book IV. This fragment

introduces but does not complete Lydgate's outburst on idolatry – so perhaps James Murray's appetite was whetted enough to seek out Marshe's print, and he subsequently repaired and interleaved his own manuscript.

We may wonder in what ways Lydgate's diatribe resonated for an early-seventeenth century Scottish reader – and why this, of all possible sections of Lydgatean prolixity, was selected by Murray. In post-1560s Scotland, after the decisive break with Catholicism, Lydgate's discourse of false idols, of 'Imagis [...] That forgeit be off silver and off gold' (II f. 49r) may have resonated particularly strongly. Scottish protestants suffered from a considerable paranoia concerning the activities of the Jesuits and of such native Catholic grandees as the Earls of Huntly and Errol. This anxiety was further enhanced by ever-increasing anti-presbyterian pressure from the king, whose re-imposition of episcopacy was suspected of heralding a return to Catholicism by the back door. Positions definitively polarised after James VI/I's 1617 state visit and the Five Articles of Perth in 1618; and when, in May 1637, the Scottish bishops attempted to impose Charles I's new Book of Common Prayer, the resulting 'anti-popery' riot in Edinburgh led directly to the National Covenant and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. We know little of Murray's religious persuasion, though the vernacular bibles, Buchanan's psalms, and the 'Institutiones Gallicorum', or Calvin's *Institutiones de la religion chrestienne*, on his booklist suggest that he was a good protestant; he also borrowed or lent a book which appears to have been called 'papists curs' (see II f. 2r). To an early-seventeenth century Scottish reader, then, a vivid reminder of the sin of idolatry, conceived in post-Reformation thinking as a particularly Catholic evil, would have seemed apposite. Ultimately we can only guess at Murray of Tibbermuir's motivation to interleave his manuscript at this point, yet there is a precedent for such a topical reading. A manuscript copy of another fifteenth-century poem, *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*, circulated among radical Scottish protestants at the end of the sixteenth century (the Cockburns of Ormiston), where this poem's criticism of royal favouritism in the appointment of bishops seemed to have been of particular appeal to its anti-episcopalian audience.<sup>50</sup> To a politically sensitive post-Union Scottish reader, Lydgate's chronicle of the fall of Troy, whose people worshipped false gods according to a blasphemous creed (in a city-state, moreover, that was ultimately bereft of its monarch) may have held uncomfortable words of warning.

‘WHO LIST TO REED IN BOOKES OF ELDER TYME, THE MATTER  
MARKE’

The back flyleaf of Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poet. 144, an *LTB* manuscript near-contemporary with **D** and **K**, contains a late-sixteenth century reflection in verse on 'Owld Inglishe bookes'.<sup>51</sup> Such books, apparently, 'shew littell artte', and Lydgate is found guilty of too strong a 'poets lycense'



resulting in ‘vayne discowrce, with lyes’. Regardless of Lydgate’s ‘rude phrases’, however, ‘yet dothe his paynes [...] Deserve dew prayse, & worthy recompence’. Stuffy and old-fashioned though Lydgate may have seemed to the author of this poem (who was more attracted to Golding, who made ‘Ovid [...] Inglish speake’), something could still be recovered from reading the *Troy Book*. Indeed, as the opening lines to this poem state, ‘Who list to reed in bookes of elder tyme / The matter marke, but care not for the ryme’. This counsel is then reiterated: ‘but mark the substance of this book’. ‘Mark’ is ambiguous here, meaning in the first instance ‘recognise’ or ‘notice’, but given the extensive evidence of ‘mark’ as ‘annotate’ in early-modern book culture, this is also a reminder of how important the physical marking of books was to a conceptualisation of the early-modern reading experience. To properly engage with a text and to come to know it, and so to mark it in the metaphorical sense, one must mark it first in the literal sense.

Reading marks in **D** and **K**, as well as the careful repairs to both manuscripts, demonstrate a keen appreciation of, and engagement with, the combined *Troy Book*. The Scottish communities that evidently owned and read these manuscripts, from the Edinburgh chaplain Thomas Ewen, to William Skene (and perhaps others) at St Andrews, and the various owners and readers in the Perthshire region such as Henry Broun, underline the geographic and demographic variety of audiences in Scotland. Lydgate in his Prologue reveals his poem’s royal genesis: the original translation was undertaken for Prince Henry (later Henry V), and it was Henry’s ‘entencioun’ ‘that of the story þe trouth we nat mys (Prologue, ll. 118, 116). Readerships of the *Troy Book* would soon expand beyond that of princes and magistrates, however, and in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland, the combined *STB* and *LTB* circulated among the educated middling classes and even the country-houses of rural Perthshire. The long afterlives of **D** and **K** fulfilled some of Lydgate’s wish for his poem, namely that ‘to hyghe and lowe / The noble story openly wer knowe’ (Prologue, ll. 111–12).

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> For general accounts see, for instance, William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, ‘“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past & Present*, 1990, 30–78.

<sup>3</sup> Alison Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their

Printed Copies of Chaucer?', *The Library*, 9 (2008), 3–36.

<sup>4</sup> Wiggins, 'Renaissance Readers', 35.

<sup>5</sup> Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The Boston Public Library Manuscript of John Lydgate's Siege of Thebes: Its Scottish Owners and Inscription', *Medium Aevum*, 70 (2001), 80–94; Sally Mapstone, 'The Scotichronicon's First Readers', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 31–55; Priscilla Bawcutt, "'My Bright Book": Women and Their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17–34; Priscilla Bawcutt, 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 14 (2001), 1–12; Jamie Reid Baxter, 'Liminary Verse: The Paratextual Poetry of Renaissance Scotland', *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3 (2008), 70–94.

<sup>6</sup> For **D**, see Francis Douce, *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esquire, to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), 25; **K** is described in Henry Bradshaw, 'On Two Hitherto Unknown Poems by John Barbour, Author of the Brus', in *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, ed. Francis Jenkinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), pp. 58–68; Bradshaw also updated the CUL catalogue entry in the "Corrigenda" section of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Charles Hardwick and Henry Richards Luard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956–67), V, 600–3; both manuscripts are also summarily described in *Lydgate's Troy Book*, ed. Henry Bergen (London: EETS, 1906–35), IV, pp. 46–50; See also Gisela

Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (München: W. Fink, 1976), 105–107 for **K**, 261–62 for **D**.

<sup>7</sup> Bergen, *Lydgate's Troy Book*; Carl Horstmann, *Barbour's Des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung: Nebst Den Fragmenten Seines Trojanerkrieges*, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881–82).

<sup>8</sup> Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936); Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, trans. by Mary Elizabeth Meek (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> Catherine van Buuren, 'John Asloan, an Edinburgh Scribe', *English Studies*, 47 (1966), 365–72; Catherine van Buuren, 'John Asloan and His Manuscript: An Edinburgh Notary and Scribe in the Days of James III, IV, and V (c. 1470–c.1530)', in *Stewart Style 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1996), pp. 15–51; *The Buke of the Seyvne Sagis*, ed. Catherine van Buuren (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1982); I.C. Cunningham, 'The Asloan Manuscript', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 107–35.

<sup>10</sup> Constrictions of space do not allow for discussion of the remainder of Murray's manuscript. In relation to a single poem in the later supply, see Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Sir Lamwell in Scotland', in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 83–93. On a series of ten sonnets, see Sebastiaan Verweij, 'Ten Sonnets from Scotland: Text, Context and Coterie Writing in Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.30', *English Manuscript Studies*

<sup>11</sup> A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Lydgate’s Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research’, in *Manuscripts and Their Readers in Fifteenth Century England*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1983), pp. 15–26.

<sup>12</sup> William Sweet, ‘Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans’ (unpublished DPhil, University of Oxford, 2010); Emily Wingfield, ‘The Manuscript and Print Contexts of Older Scots Romance’ (unpublished DPhil, University of Oxford, 2010). I am grateful for the opportunity of discussing the findings in this article with Drs Sweet and Wingfield.

<sup>13</sup> Bawcutt, ‘Boston Public Library Manuscript’, 80–94.

<sup>14</sup> Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, IV, pp. 2–54.

<sup>15</sup> Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, IV, p. 50.

<sup>16</sup> Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, p. 107. See also footnote 34.

<sup>17</sup> John J. Thompson, ‘Patch and Repair and Making Do in Manuscripts and Texts Associated with John Stow’, in *Studies in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Texts in Honour of John Scattergood*, ed. Anne Marie D’Arcy and Alan J. Fletcher (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 354.

<sup>18</sup> *The Bannatyne Manuscript Writin in Tyme of Pest 1568*, ed. W. Tod Ritchie (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1928–34), II, 1; *The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland MS 1.1.6*, ed. Denton Fox and William A. Ringler (London: Scholar Press, 1980), 59.

<sup>19</sup> Rhiannon Purdie, ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’, in *A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry*, ed. Priscilla Bawcutt and Janet Hadley Williams (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 173.

<sup>20</sup> C. David Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature*

(Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), 164.

<sup>21</sup> A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Contextualising Middle Scots Romance’, in *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on the Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen, Alasdair A. MacDonald and Sally Mapstone (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), p. 67; Purdie, ‘Medieval Romance in Scotland’, 173.

<sup>22</sup> Colonne, trans. Meek, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, xi.

<sup>23</sup> R.M. Lumiansky, ‘Legends of Troy’, in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050–1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs et al, 10 vols (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences, 1967), I, pp. 114–16, 274–77.

<sup>24</sup> Bradshaw’s claim of John Barbour’s authorship was successfully challenged: P. Buss, ‘Sind Die Von Horstmann Herausgegeben Schottischen Legenden Ein Werk Barbere’s?’, *Anglia*, 9 (1886), 493–514; E. Koeppel, ‘Die Fragmente Von Barbour’s Trojanerkrieg’, *Englische Studien*, 10 (1887), 373–82.

<sup>25</sup> A literary-critical appreciation of the surviving fragments, noting the *STB* poet’s divergence from Lydgate’s poetic aims, is presented by Sweet, ‘Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans’.

<sup>26</sup> Angus McIntosh, ‘Some Notes on the Language and Textual Transmission of the Scottish Troy Book’, *Archivum Linguisticum*, 10 (1979), 1–19; John Farish, ‘Some Spellings and Rhymes in the Scots Sege of Troy’, *English Studies*, 38 (1957), 200–06.

<sup>27</sup> Bergen, *Lydgate’s Troy Book*, IV, pp. 50, 84–85, 91.

<sup>28</sup> McIntosh, ‘Some Notes’, 8–12.

<sup>29</sup> Sweet, ‘Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans’, 180.

- <sup>30</sup> Wingfield, 'Older Scots Romance', 283.
- <sup>31</sup> McIntosh, 'Some Notes', 11; Wingfield, 'Older Scots Romance', 284; Sweet, 'Lydgate and Scottish Lydgateans', 177.
- <sup>32</sup> Wingfield, 'Older Scots Romance', 275; cf. *The Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–1528*, ed. Marguerite Wood (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1953), part III, no. 835.
- <sup>33</sup> van Buuren, *The Buke of the Sevyne Sagis*, 31–32; see also Cunningham, 'The Asloan Manuscript'.
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 107. She lists some these inscriptions, but also misreads several: the scribble on I f. 140r is the start of a formulaic phrase, 'James be ye grace of', not a nonsensical proper name 'James Ceyegrare'. The reader on I f. 213r is 'Thomas Blair', not 'Thomas Blen'; and that on I f. 239r is 'Adam Broun', not 'Adam Bloim'.
- <sup>35</sup> John Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Libraries (London: British Library, 2006), 320; on William Skene more generally, see William Forbes Skene, *Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene* (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1887), 92–93; J.K. Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547–1574 – The Second Foundation', in *In Divers Manners: A St Mary's Miscellany*, ed. D.W.D. Shaw (St Andrews: St Andrews College, 1990), pp. 43–57.
- <sup>36</sup> Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, 316–66.
- <sup>37</sup> This book in question is Nicolaus Tudeschis's *Questiones et disputationes* (now Edinburgh University Library, \*E.15.26), see Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries*, 321.
- <sup>38</sup> Forbes Skene, *Memorials of the Family of Skene*, 106–11; Athol Murray, 'Skene, Sir John, of Curriehill (c.1540–1617)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, online edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25669>> [accessed 14 January 2012].
- <sup>39</sup> I am grateful to Dr Jeffrey Stone for advising me on reading Pont's maps. On the maps see *The Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland: Sixteenth Century Origins of a Blaeu Atlas*, ed. Jeffrey C. Stone (Tring: Map Collectors Publications, 1989); *The Nation Survey'd: Timothy Pont's Maps of Scotland*, ed. Ian C. Cunningham (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006). Map 26 may more easily be explored in digital form on the website of the National Library of Scotland: <<http://www.nls.uk/pont>>.
- <sup>40</sup> *Bamff Charters A.D. 1232–1703*, ed. James H. Ramsay (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), 127.
- <sup>41</sup> Ramsay, *Bamff Charters*, vi.
- <sup>42</sup> For a genealogical overview of the Murrys of Tibbermuir see Gordon A.C. MacGregor, *The Red Book of Perthshire* (n.p.: Perthshire Heritage Trust, 2006), II, 648–52; on an earlier forebear John Scrymgeour of Myres, James IV's Master of Works, and scribe of National Library of Scotland MS Adv. 31.5.2, see *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1994), I, lxiii–lxx.
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. Bergen, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, IV, pp. 29, 52.
- <sup>44</sup> Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The Commonplace Book of John Maxwell', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England, & Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 59–68 (pp. 64–65).
- <sup>45</sup> For comparisons between Murray

and Marshe I have used the following copy: Cambridge University Library Peterborough E.1.5.

<sup>46</sup> Murray's foliation here is confused: his 'CCCXIII' (modern I f. 323) should logically be followed by CCCXV but instead reads 'fol. CCCV' (modern II f. 51); hence he forgot to write the X, but never noticed and finished foliating his manuscript from CCCV until 'CCCXXIII' (II f. 71), also erroneously repeating 'CCCXXIII'.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Bergen, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, IV, p. 52.

<sup>48</sup> Bawcutt, 'Boston Public Library Manuscript', 82.

<sup>49</sup> See Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 394, 399.

<sup>50</sup> On this poem and its renaissance readers, see Sally Mapstone, 'The *Thre Prestis of Peblis* in the Sixteenth Century', in *A Day Estivall: Essays on the Music, Poetry, and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished*, ed. Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 124–42.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Bergen, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, IV, p. 52, who prints the poem in full.

# Sir John Sinclair, the County Agricultural Surveys, and the Collection and Dissemination of Knowledge 1793–1817, with a Bibliography of the Surveys:

## Part 1.

HEATHER HOLMES

The stature and importance of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (1754–1835), has been recognized by a number of historians. Alex McCallum calls him ‘the outstanding figure in Scottish, indeed in British, agriculture at the end of the eighteenth century’.<sup>1</sup> James E. Handley refers to him as ‘the greatest individual force in the advancement of Scottish agriculture’.<sup>2</sup> Rosalind Mitchison, in her biography *Agricultural Sir John*, acknowledges his important role in ‘improving’ the Highlands (especially Caithness and his home town of Thurso), his work in promoting agriculture and better farming practices and methods, his role as an influential member of Parliament, and as the originator of and the first President of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement (1793–1823).<sup>3</sup> Sinclair was an extensive author. As Handley notes, at the time of Sinclair’s death, he had published ‘10 books – one of four volumes and four of two volumes each – and 368 pamphlets. ... over and above his own writings he was editor for more than a hundred volumes’.<sup>4</sup>

This paper examines the role of Sinclair in one of the most important of his series of publications: the first national agricultural survey of Great Britain undertaken between 1793 and 1817, and provides a bibliography of the survey reports. The surveys were published in volumes which generally had the title *General view of the agriculture of x: drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture*, with ‘x’ being a specific county. They are also known as the ‘county surveys’. Sinclair referred to the surveys as ‘*improved local histories*, or statistical accounts, of the various districts in the United Kingdom’.<sup>5</sup> They recorded information on the agriculture, rural economy and political economy of each county in Great Britain. They brought together ‘every fact or observation known in this country, connected with the improvement of the soil, or the stock it maintained’.<sup>6</sup> They also ‘inquire[ed] into the means’ to promote agricultural improvement in general or in particular districts.<sup>7</sup>

The county surveys were an ambitious and challenging undertaking. As Sinclair noted in his address to the Board of Agriculture on 29 July 1794, ‘such a plan had never been formerly attempted in any country; and many doubts

were entertained whether it would be possible to effect it even in Great Britain, in any reasonable space of time'.<sup>8</sup> He continued to emphasise the magnitude of the project. In 1808 when the project was well underway, he asserted that it was 'the greatest undertaking ever attempted by an institution'.<sup>9</sup> Two years later in 1810, he also, however, added that it was 'by far the most laborious' task conducted by an institution.<sup>10</sup> For a man whose 'favourite object' was the 'collecting of useful information', this is an important admission of the difficulties faced in undertaking that work and bringing it to a successful conclusion.<sup>11</sup>

#### THE PLACE OF THE COUNTY SURVEYS WITHIN SINCLAIR'S PUBLICATIONS

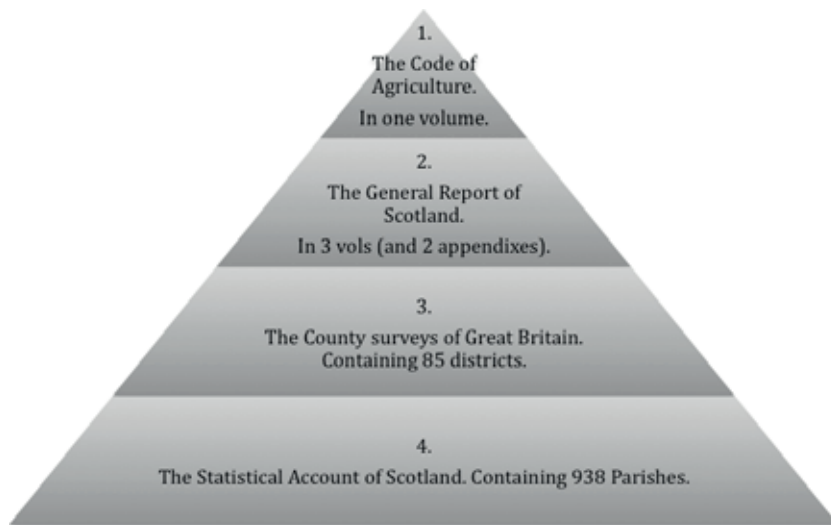
The county surveys are one of four layers of publications relating to agriculture and rural affairs that Sinclair initiated and managed (and also wrote for) during his extensive writing and publishing career. The *Statistical Account of Scotland*, a survey of each of the 938 parishes throughout Scotland, was published in twenty-one volumes between 1791 and 1799 (**Figure A**). The parish accounts were largely written by their ministers. The basis was their answers to some 160 questions, which were later added to as Sinclair identified gaps in his original scheme. These questions were to 'elucidate "the Natural History and Political State of Scotland"'<sup>12</sup> and ascertain 'the quantum of happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants and the means of its future improvement'.<sup>13</sup> They asked for detailed information on many aspects of parish life in Scotland. The resultant accounts were to show, for Sinclair, the 'advantages to be derived, from minute information, communicated from a variety of quarters'.<sup>14</sup> The *Statistical Account of Scotland* is perhaps the best-known of all Sinclair's works.

The county surveys were published between 1793 and 1817. The first appeared as work was ongoing on the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Sinclair undertook the surveys under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture; he was its founder and President from 1793 to 1798 and 1806 to 1813. As noted, they focus on a wider geographical area: the county. However, as '*improved local histories*',<sup>15</sup> they also contain a great deal of evidence of local circumstances. As William Singer observes: 'local observations naturally intermingle'.<sup>16</sup> Many of the subjects dealt with in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* are also to be found in the county surveys. Most of the reports were commissioned, though Sinclair surveyed and wrote one report, that of the Northern Counties of Scotland.

*The General Report of the Agricultural State, and Political Circumstances of Scotland* was published in five volumes in 1814. Also drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture, it synthesises the information in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* and the Scottish volumes of the county surveys, in order to 'reduce Agricultural Knowledge into a regular system, at



least to ascertain what is already known, and what is still wanting'.<sup>17</sup> The report is 'of a size similar to the larger County Reports, or the Statistical volumes'. It is also organized according to its subject headings.<sup>18</sup> Sinclair wrote for this series, though much of the work was commissioned to authors, who included a number who had undertaken county surveys.



**Figure A:** The pyramid of Statistical Inquiries. From 'Description of an engraving, entitled, the pyramid of agricultural inquiries; explanatory of the codean system of literature', in Sir John Sinclair, *The Code of Agriculture; including Observations on Gardens, Orchards, Woods, and Plantations*, London: printed for Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817, p. 491.

*The Code of Agriculture* was printed in one volume in 1817, after all the county surveys were published. It combines all the enquiries carried out by the Board into one code 'for the purpose of rendering, a general knowledge of the principles of husbandry, more easily accessible'.<sup>19</sup> It also uses the subject headings in the county surveys and *The General Report*. Sinclair wrote this Volume.

These four layers of publications form part of one great work, 'the pyramid of agricultural enquiries'. This examines 'the *existing* agricultural state of England and Scotland respectively, and the means by which each might be improved'.<sup>20</sup> It uses an innovative methodology which Sinclair calls the 'codean system of literature'.<sup>21</sup> In 1817 Sinclair refers to it as 'a new system of literary investigation, "*that of making extensive inquiries, the basis of condensed information*"'.<sup>22</sup> Its function was to bring together 'the information and talents of many intelligent individuals' into one 'great work' so that '*useful knowledge*' is 'rendered more complete'<sup>23</sup> and 'more generally accessible'.<sup>24</sup>



At each level of the pyramid, information from a wider geographical area of Scotland – the parish, the county and the nation as a whole – is brought together within an increasingly narrower compass.<sup>25</sup> Sinclair completed the four layers of the pyramid for Scotland. However, only one layer – the county surveys – was completed for England and Wales. Although he planned a Statistical Account for England as early as 1793,<sup>26</sup> and set out plans for a *General Report* of Britain in 1802,<sup>27</sup> the practical difficulties of undertaking these projects ensured that they were not conducted.

#### THE COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SURVEYS THE FIRST PHASE OF SURVEYS

The county surveys were undertaken in two phases. The ‘original surveys’, were completed between 1793 and 1797. Most of the ninety surveys, including the Scottish ones, were printed in 1794 and 1795.<sup>28</sup> Each dealt with thirty-five points (**Table 1**). These focused on matters such as the soil and climate in a district, the manner in which the land was used, the rotation of crops, the types of ploughs, carts and other implements used, the advantages of inclosing land, the impact of inclosures on the population, the extent of waste lands, the nature of the leases ‘commonly granted’, the presence of agricultural improvement societies, ways to excite a spirit of improvement, the improvements that could be made to the livestock or husbandry in a district and the obstacles to improvement and how they could be removed.<sup>29</sup>

The surveys were printed and then ‘very generally circulated, in the counties to which they respectfully relate, previously to their being published’. This enabled additional information to be gathered, so that ‘no important fact, or even useful idea, would escape notice’;<sup>30</sup> any inaccuracies could be corrected and the surveys could be brought ‘to a state fit for publication’.<sup>31</sup> These roles were reflected in the appearance of the surveys: they were printed as quartos with wide margins around the text which allowed readers to insert comments.<sup>32</sup> Each survey generally had less than 100 pages.

The status of the original surveys changed during the period of their production and also in the immediately following years thereafter. This appears to have been caused by their poor reception. Arthur Young, the Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, reflected on how they ‘were too severely criticized’.<sup>33</sup> Lord Carrington, one of the Presidents, commented on the ‘prejudices excited by some of the early publications under the authority of the Board’.<sup>34</sup> In July 1795 when the majority of the surveys had been published, Sinclair referred to them as ‘the rough draft of the Survey of each County’,<sup>35</sup> which were ‘circulated merely as a foundation for procuring additional information’.<sup>36</sup> He also stated that ‘the Board has resolved to re-print the Survey of each County, as soon as it seemed to be fit for publication’.<sup>37</sup> His language suggests that the Board was starting to distance itself from the surveys, an action that it

continued to pursue with increasing intensity in following years. In 1797, Sinclair referred to the quarto surveys as ‘the original Sketches of the County Reports’<sup>38</sup> which had been ‘merely as printed manuscripts’ that were ‘never meant for publication or sale’.<sup>39</sup> Again, in 1803 Lord Carrington stated that they had been published ‘merely as hints and conjectures’. He noted, for the first time, that the Board ‘expressly disclaimed all responsibility as to the particular opinions advanced’.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 1.** Subject areas in the original surveys.

Subject	Subject	Subject
Soil and climate	Seed time and harvest	Price of provisions
Land ownership	Inclosures	State of roads
Occupation of land	Advantages from inclosing land	State of farm houses and offices
Land use	Size and nature of inclosures	Nature of leases
Grass cultivation; species of stock; status of breeds	Impact on inclosure on population	Extent of commerce or manufactures in the district
Watering of land	Common fields	Practices in the district applicable to other districts
Types of grains cultivated	Difference in rent common fields/inclosure	Societies for the improvement of agriculture
Rotation of crops	Extent of waste lands	Spirit of improvement and its excitement
Fallowing	Wage rates; price of labour; work hours	Improvements to be undertaken in livestock or husbandry
Use of manures	Draining of land	Obstacles to improvement
Ploughs, carts and other implements	Paring and burning	The most active farmers who could correspond with the Board of Agriculture
Use of oxen and horses	Woodlands	

Source: ‘Plan of the Agricultural Surveys’. In Sir John Sinclair, *Account of the Origin of the Board of Agriculture, and its Progress for Three Years after its Establishment*. By the President (London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., 1796), pp. 47–48.

By 1806, when surveying and publishing the surveys had been going on for over a decade, Sinclair could observe that ‘the nature and object of the County Reports are now much better understood than was originally the case’.<sup>41</sup> However, he further distanced himself from the original reports, commenting that they ‘were merely intended for private circulation’,<sup>42</sup> though in July 1794 he had maintained that they were to be extensively circulated.<sup>43</sup> He declared

that they were ephemeral documents that were ‘never intended to be preserved’ when the second phase of reports were completed: only ‘a few copies alone’ were to be kept ‘as a matter of curiosity’.<sup>44</sup>

THE SECOND PHASE

The second phase of reports, published between 1795 and 1817, were known as the ‘corrected’ or the ‘reprinted’ surveys.<sup>45</sup> There were eighty-three, of which thirty-two dealt with Scotland. In many cases they had little resemblance to the original survey reports. The geographical area of some of the survey areas had changed (**Table 2**): counties that had been dealt with in a number of surveys (such as Perthshire) were brought together within one; conversely, a number of counties that had been dealt with in one survey (such as that of the north of Scotland, surveyed by Sinclair) were each treated separately.

**Table 2.** Difference in the geographical scope of the original and the revised surveys in Scotland.

Changes in geographical area	original and revised surveys
Same survey area	Aberdeen, Angus, Ayrshire, Banffshire, Berwickshire, Clackmannan, Dumbarton, Dumfries, East Lothian, Kinross, moray, Fife, Galloway, Hebrides, Mearns, Clydeadale, Midlothian, Tweeddale, Renfrew, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Stirling, West Lothian
Counties and parts of a county brought within a survey area	Argyll and the Western Coasts of Inverness – (Argyll) Nairn and eastern part of Inverness – (Nairn) Monteath and Strathern in Perthshire, Interior districts in the Highlands and Carse of Gowrie – (Perth)
A group of counties given their own survey	Northern counties – (Ross-shire, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney Isles, Shetland Isles)
New survey	Bute

For the ‘original’ surveys, see Bibliography 1 below. The revised surveys are listed in Part 2 of this article, in *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, number eight, 2013 (forthcoming).

Most of the surveys in the second phase were conducted by different men (**Table 3**). In Scotland only four of the twenty-three surveyors of the original surveys undertook one of the corrected surveys; in England the corresponding figure was thirteen of forty-two, with a further one, Arthur Young, also making an additional survey of Norfolk. The surveyors made varying use of the original surveys. Some did not refer to them, while others such as George Skene Keith’s Aberdeenshire survey (1811) included extensive quotations and drew heavily on them.

**Table 3.** Surveyors of the ‘original’ and ‘reprinted’ surveys.

Surveyor	Scottish survey	Surveyor	English survey
John Naismith	Clydesdale	John Bailey and George Culley	Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland
George Robertson	Midlothian	John Boys	Kent
James Trotter	West Lothian	John Holt	Lancaster
James Robertson	Part of Perthshire/ Perthshire	Nathaniel Kent	Norfolk
		Robert Lowe	Nottingham
		John Billingsley	Somerset
		William Pitt	Stafford
		Arthur Young	Suffolk
		Thomas Davis	Wiltshire
		John Tuke	North Riding of Yorkshire
		Messrs Rennie, Shirreff & Broun	West Riding of Yorkshire

The corrected surveys made greater use of the systematic collection of information. They were ‘drawn up according to one uniform model’<sup>46</sup> which would enable the reader ‘to find out at once, where any point is treated of, to which he may direct his attention’.<sup>47</sup> Initially, the model had seventeen chapters with numerous subdivisions, a conclusion and appendixes.<sup>48</sup> (Table 4). These included all the ‘headings’ which Sinclair thought were ‘necessary to notice in an Agricultural Survey’.<sup>49</sup> That model was revised in 1806: it was made ‘on a larger scale’,<sup>50</sup> and encouraged the surveyors to ‘inquire into new or peculiar practices’ in their county.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the surveyors closely followed the two models. However, some made minor changes which allowed them to note particular circumstances in their districts, or omitted headings that were not relevant to them.<sup>52</sup> As the models included ‘a great variety of topics’,<sup>53</sup> some of the surveyors commented on the difficulties they had in ensuring that their work did not extend to massive volumes.<sup>54</sup> In many cases the survey reports were extensive, with some, such as those of Ayrshire, Inverness and Perth having over 500 or more pages;<sup>55</sup> some of the English surveys were considerably longer, with those of Essex and Derbyshire expanding to two and even three volumes.<sup>56</sup> They were printed as octavos, the most common form for the production of books, including scholarly ones, intended for popular sale.<sup>57</sup>

**Table 4.** Plan of the revised reports.

Chapter no.	Chapter heading	Chapter no.	Chapter heading
	Preliminary observations	10.	Woods and plantations
1	Geographical state and circumstances	11.	Wastes
2.	State of property	12.	Improvements
3.	Buildings	13.	Live stock
4.	Mode of occupation	14.	Rural economy
5.	Implements	15.	Political economy, as connected with or affecting agriculture
6.	Inclosing – fences – gates	16.	Obstacles to improvement
7.	Arable land	17.	Miscellaneous observations
8.	Grass		Conclusion
9.	Gardens and orchards		Appendix

Sinclair, ‘Plan for Re-printing the Agricultural Surveys’. In George Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Midlothian* (Edinburgh: for G. Nicol, Pall-Mall, London), 1795, pp. viii–ix.

SINCLAIR’S ROLE

Sinclair was instrumental in the development and completion of the county surveys. He proposed that a Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement should be established (and was appointed as its first President); this was the vehicle that enabled him to undertake and complete his vision. He also set out the objectives of that Board, whose first task was to collect agricultural knowledge and information; a function that was achieved through the surveys. He also planned their development and how they should be conducted, as well as the timetable for their completion.<sup>58</sup> He appointed at least some of the surveyors of the original surveys, a job that he started before the Board held its first meeting. From at least 1800 he also supervised the undertaking and the completion of the Scottish surveys.<sup>59</sup>

Sinclair’s role in the surveys is clearly seen in the progress that was made to complete them during the time of his presidency of the Board. In his first session as President, between 1793 and 1798, all the ninety original ones were completed and circulated. In addition, the first fifteen of the eighty-three corrected surveys were published or were in the press.

Although the surveys continued to be progressed after Lord Somerville was appointed as President in 1798 and until 1806, when Sinclair was again re-elected, their rate of production was slow, with only a further fifteen being published. During this period, the Board faced a number of difficulties that had a significant impact on their progress. These primarily related to the availability

of resources to undertake and complete them. The first was ‘finding persons with sufficient ability and inclination to undertake this work’.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, some of the surveyors still had not been appointed by 1806. The second was the state of the Board’s finances and its ability to pay the surveyors, the printers, engravers and booksellers for their work.<sup>61</sup> Without paying them, the Board could not make any progress. Sinclair’s zealousness to complete the surveys as quickly as possible had led to significant financial difficulties or ‘embarrassments’ for the Board.<sup>62</sup> After Somerville became President in 1798 the Board had to carefully manage its limited finances and pay its debts.<sup>63</sup> It had also to decide on the priorities for its activities. As Somerville pointed out: it had ‘to decide on the propriety of carrying on, at a heavy expense, its voluminous detached publications as before’.<sup>64</sup>

Sinclair’s second term from 1806 to 1813 was an especially important period for the surveys. His ‘Address to the Board of Agriculture’ on 22 April 1806 emphasised his desire ‘to complete that undertaking’ as ‘a point of the highest national importance’.<sup>65</sup> By 1808 he could assert that ‘it is at last in a fair way of being happily accomplished’, though it was to be another nine years before the last survey was published.<sup>66</sup> Sinclair took steps to ensure that the work was completed: he put in place arrangements to ease the heavy financial burden of publishing the surveys and to make sure that they were properly and effectively marketed.

Between 1806 and 1813, a total of forty-two surveys (twenty-four English and eighteen Scottish) were completed and published, with most of the Scottish ones being published from 1811 onwards. After Sinclair resigned in 1813, only eight surveys had still to be published.

#### THE COLLECTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE COUNTY SURVEYS

Through the county surveys, Sinclair could ensure that the Board could secure the development of agriculture and the prosperity of the country. He did this through the collection of knowledge and through the dissemination of that knowledge. He wanted to find out about ‘all the past skill and experience of which the country was possessed, in matters of husbandry’ and political economy.<sup>67</sup> This information would act as ‘the true foundation’ for all of the Board’s activities and measures.<sup>68</sup> It could do this in three ways. First, it would allow the Board to ascertain the ‘actual state’<sup>69</sup> of agriculture and ‘how the present state’ of any district could be improved.<sup>70</sup> Second, it would also ‘point out the measures which the Legislature might take for promoting Agricultural improvements’ and enable ‘all discouragements to rural industry’ to be removed and for ‘encouragements’ to develop agriculture.<sup>71</sup> Third, the Board could develop theories and systems of agriculture – such as those noted in *The Code of Agriculture* – for further developing agriculture and political economy.

Sinclair noted that the original surveys were inspections of a county or particular area. This is reflected in his proposal ‘for the sake of making such Surveys as easy as possible, that each person, who may undertook them, shall have a district that may be gone over in five or six weeks’.<sup>72</sup> Surveyors went on a tour. For example, Macdonald’s survey of the Hebrides (1811), was ‘the result of seven voyages and journies [sic] in different periods since 1793, among these isles, and particularly of a journey ... in the months of May, June, July, August and September 1808’.<sup>73</sup> Some collecting evidence in this way indeed wrote them in the form of ‘tours’.<sup>74</sup>

Information was gathered from a wide variety of sources. Some of the surveyors were assisted and supported by ‘many persons’.<sup>75</sup> The Board instructed and requested its Honorary Members and others to assist the surveyors. They were to provide contacts, as well as evidence.<sup>76</sup> Sinclair also encouraged the surveyors to correspond and engage in discussions with farmers, landowners and other persons in their counties. A number of these exchanges were extensively quoted or reprinted in Annexes, as in Robertson’s Midlothian survey (1795).<sup>77</sup> Some sought out their informants in a systematic manner. William Singer, the surveyor for Dumfries (1812) noted that ‘cards were left, with sets of queries adapted to circumstances, in the hands of those gentlemen who appeared most likely to communicate proper answers’.<sup>78</sup> Surveyors also corresponded with and met public officials for statistical information on agriculture, especially for the chapter on political economy. Many of the Scottish surveyors also drew on, sometimes extensively, the parish reports in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

For the revised surveys, Sinclair noted that the surveyors were to use the original surveys and the manuscript comments as their basis. However, they made varying use of them. Some made no reference, while others included extensive quotations or made many comparisons. In his survey of Argyll, John Smith referred to thirty previous surveys,<sup>79</sup> while James Macdonald, writing on the Hebrides, referred to seventeen others.<sup>80</sup> By the time that some of the revised surveys were being written, the information in them was becoming dated and these surveyors had no choice but to start afresh (and the new model also made this necessary).

Just as Sinclair was challenged in his management, so too were the surveyors in undertaking his visionary project. Their investigations had to be undertaken sometimes in unfavourable conditions, and at times that had to fit in with their working lives. They had to collect information on a very wide range of subjects, some of which were beyond them. As William Singer, the surveyor of Dumfries, pointed out:

In order even to make the nearest practical approach towards a correct and complete report, it would be necessary for a writer to have a degree of knowledge of

the county in the statistical department, such as very few indeed, if any at all, can pretend to possess.<sup>81</sup>

Attempts to collect information were not always successful. Enquiries were not answered and for some subjects the surveyors were not able to gather anything.<sup>82</sup> In some cases information was not made available until after a survey was published.<sup>83</sup>

Probably the most problematical question was that of 'expense and profit' in the chapter 'Mode of Occupation'.<sup>84</sup> The complaint of many was echoed by Robert Somerville, in his survey of East Lothian (1805), when he observed that 'it is obvious that no surveyor, be his abilities what they may, will ever be able to procure information sufficiently accurate to meet the public eye'.<sup>85</sup> Surveyors also experienced problems collecting statistics on the size of a county, the extent of waste lands,<sup>86</sup> the soil and situation of a county,<sup>87</sup> meteorological conditions,<sup>88</sup> the amount of rent paid,<sup>89</sup> 'the usual' price of articles,<sup>90</sup> the number of births, deaths and marriages,<sup>91</sup> the extent of the value and export of manufactures,<sup>92</sup> and the prices of products compared with expenses.<sup>93</sup> It was not uncommon for surveyors to note the extensive efforts that they had made and how they had obtained 'the best information' that was available.<sup>94</sup> Many were critically aware of the information they had collected and frequently commented on its limitations and reliability.

#### THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The second function that the Board undertook was the printing and circulation of the information.<sup>95</sup> So important was the dissemination of 'useful knowledge', especially where it was 'brought into a condensed form',<sup>96</sup> that Sinclair thought that 'the power and prosperity of a country depend' on it.<sup>97</sup> Individuals would 'be instructed by the practice and experience of others' in different districts<sup>98</sup> and would adopt new methods. There would be a spirit of excitement for improvements to be undertaken.<sup>99</sup> Information would ensure that 'every farmer in the kingdom would contribute his mite to the general benefit of his profession',<sup>100</sup> and that private individuals would contribute to the improvement of the nation as a whole.

#### THE DISSEMINATION OF THE COUNTY SURVEYS

Sinclair ensured that the original surveys were printed and circulated as draft reports.<sup>101</sup> They did not have a price printed on them, and the advertisements did not record one. The Board appears to have distributed them 'as much as possible, in the counties to which they relate',<sup>102</sup> a task that was 'attended with considerable difficulties and expence'.<sup>103</sup> However, they were also circulated over a wider geographical area than the one which Sinclair suggests. Copies



were sent to 'the members of both Houses, on application to the Board'.<sup>104</sup> Further ones were sent (together with any manuscript comments) to the surveyors who were to undertake the reprinted reports, not all of whom lived in the counties that they surveyed. Extracts were also extensively quoted in newspapers and journals (including agricultural ones), and other printed matter.

The circulation of the original reports was an extensive. Sinclair reported that 80,000 'papers' or copies of surveys had been sent out by 29 July 1794, well before all the surveys were completed and printed.<sup>105</sup> By that time 'about 100 Reports had been already received back, the margins of which were filled with many valuable hints and observations'.<sup>106</sup> In the following year, 1795, Sinclair noted that 'in consequence of that circulation, a great mass of additional valuable information has been obtained'.<sup>107</sup> However, after this date the Board did not publish any further statistics on the number of returns it had received, nor did it comment on the success of its efforts to secure additional comments and amendments to the surveys. This is probably due to the Board focusing on the revised surveys, rather than the original ones.

The revised surveys were also to be widely distributed and sold, but as finalized publications rather than draft reports. The size of some of their print runs suggests that the Board intended they should be purchased by a modest number of readers. Those published in the late 1790s, such as Roxburgh and Selkirk,<sup>108</sup> Argyll,<sup>109</sup> Clydesdale, Berwick,<sup>110</sup> Perth,<sup>111</sup> and the West Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>112</sup> each had a print run of 300 copies. However, that number appears to have been inadequate, as some of the surveys sold out and had to be reprinted. A small number of them were also revised and a second edition printed. These included the surveys of Argyll, Clydesdale and Perth, all which had a second edition in the late 1790s. The Board reviewed the size of the print runs and increased them extensively. In May 1805 it resolved that 'each edition of all Reports be 1500'.<sup>113</sup>

If the surveys were to be as beneficial to the development of agriculture and political economy, it was important that they were made available within the reach of farmers and other agriculturists to purchase. In 1794 Sinclair proposed that:

Every individual may have in his power to purchase, on reasonable terms, either the account of his own particular county, or the reports relating to all the different counties, or the General Report on the state of the Kingdom at large, as he may find most desirable.<sup>114</sup>

He considered that the Board should adopt a policy 'not to print books for reference, but books for use'.<sup>115</sup> In May 1805 the Board resolved 'that the selling price of the present and future publications ... should as little as possible exceed the prime cost to the Board'.<sup>116</sup> It also resolved to print the

price of the surveys on their title pages, a step that ensured that each copy of a survey sold at the same rate.<sup>117</sup>

The price of the surveys ranged from four shillings for the first edition of James Naismith's Clydesdale (1798), to £2 14 0 for John Farey's three volume survey of Derby (1811, 1815, 1817). The lowest priced surveys, which ranged from 4s to 7s each, were generally published before 1805, though some were later. The majority of the surveys were priced at between 8s and 16s, with those at 9s, 12s and 15s being especially numerous. Most of them were published between 1805 and 1813 when the Board undertook much of its publishing work. Some of the most expensive surveys, costing 18s or more, were published after 1811.

#### THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE REVISED SURVEYS

The imprints on title-pages show the revised surveys were distributed and sold over a wider geographical area than the original. Between 1795 and 1817 the surveys were often sold through the major bookselling centres of London, Edinburgh and Dublin, ensuring their availability throughout Britain and Ireland. For example, at least nineteen of the first editions of the Scottish surveys were sold in London and twenty-three in Dublin. Twenty-five of the English surveys were sold in Edinburgh, and twenty-three in Dublin.

The booksellers included influential firms. In Edinburgh, Archibald Constable and Co, has been described as 'Scotland's premier publisher in the early nineteenth century'.<sup>118</sup> That company undertook publishing work for a number of societies such as the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Caledonian Horticultural Society.<sup>119</sup> Constable was the publisher of the successful *The Farmer's Magazine*, published from 1800 to 1825, the major Scottish agricultural periodical of its day. William Creech published and sold some of the most important Scottish agricultural books from the 1770s onwards, and in 1798 and 1799 described himself as 'bookseller to the Board of Agriculture'.<sup>120</sup> His publications included Sinclair's 21 volume *Statistical Account of Scotland* of 1791 to 1799. In London, George Nicol became bookseller to the King in 1781, a post he held until he relinquished it in 1820.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, imprints on surveys that were published between 1795 and 1814 note that his business was as 'booksellers to his Majesty'.<sup>122</sup> Further imprints from 1798 and 1805 denote that he was also bookseller to the Board of Agriculture.<sup>123</sup> Richard Phillips was a vigorous publisher of books. Graham Pollard records his character in 1806: 'the extensiveness of Mr Phillips concerns is, we believe, almost incalculable; certain it is, that he is now the first publisher in London: he sells only his own publications, for which so great is the demand that his numerous servants are in continual employment'.<sup>124</sup> Pollard suggests that 'Phillips dealt mainly in books

of popular information'.<sup>125</sup> He published a large number of cheap elementary textbooks and manuals, many of which he compiled himself.<sup>126</sup>

The imprints of the surveys especially the English ones published from 1805 onwards, show extensive distribution to local booksellers within the county, or a neighbouring one, where a survey was undertaken. For example, William Mavor's survey of Berkshire (1809), was sold by booksellers in four towns in Berkshire, one in Oxford and one in Gloucester.<sup>127</sup> William Pitt's survey of Worcester (1810), was sold by booksellers in two towns in Worcester, three in Berkshire, two in Oxford and a further two in Gloucester.<sup>128</sup>

The use of local booksellers was also found in Scotland, but on a much smaller scale, as for the sale of five surveys published for the first time between 1808 and 1811. More widely used in Scotland, was the use of booksellers in the populous centres: Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness. The second edition of the survey of Clydesdale (1806), together with those of East Lothian (1805) and Roxburgh and Selkirk (1798) were sold in Aberdeen. The surveys of East Lothian (1805), Inverness (1808), and Roxburgh and Selkirk (1798) were also sold in Glasgow.

The bookselling networks changed significantly. Between 1795 and 1804, the surveys were primarily sold by booksellers in London, Edinburgh and Dublin. Their imprints do not, however, record the use of regional or local booksellers. The only exception is the reference to two Glasgow booksellers, Mundell & Son and J. Mundell, College, Glasgow, who held the copyright for the survey of Argyll (1798).

Between 1805 and 1811 the Board took steps to market the surveys more effectively, and in 1807 sold its stock and the remaining unpublished surveys to the London bookseller Richard Phillips, who had held the copyright of a number of them from 1805 onwards. He published and marketed the surveys until early 1811, a few months after becoming bankrupt.<sup>129</sup> The surveys were now sold by a larger number of booksellers than earlier. The second edition of the survey of Argyll (1805) was marketed by ten booksellers and could also be bought from 'all other booksellers'. The survey of Inverness (1808), was sold by fifteen booksellers. The location of booksellers became more extensive. The numbers in Edinburgh, London and Dublin increased. The survey of Inverness (1808), was sold by four booksellers in London; that of Clydesdale (1806) by six booksellers there. The surveys also started to be sold in regional centres such as Glasgow, Inverness, Aberdeen, Dundee, Stirling and Ayr. Three of them – Inverness, Glasgow and Stirling – were used as local places for the sale of three surveys: Inverness (1808), Clydesdale (1806), and Ayr (1811). The phrase, sold by 'all other booksellers', was sometimes used. The regional centres were especially noted for the sale of surveys conducted in the north of Scotland: Moray and Nairn (1811), Banff (1812), Caithness (1812), Sutherland (1812), and Ross and Cromarty (1813), as also the survey of Bute (1816). The

survey of Renfrew (1812) was distributed by five booksellers, including two in Renfrewshire (at Paisley and Greenock) as well as one in Glasgow.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYS BY MEANS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Two of the Scottish surveys Peebles and Fife were published by subscription, which was contrary to the Board's usual publishing policy that they should be public documents. Charles Findlater's survey of Peebles (1802), was printed in Edinburgh and distributed by booksellers there and in London. Its subscription list shows that the 443 persons were from a wide range of places, not only within the county of Peebles. A significant number were from adjoining counties, with some thirty from Lanarkshire, twenty-six from Edinburgh, and sixty-six from East Lothian; only a handful were from counties to the east. Others came from Fife, Elgin, Inverness, Perthshire, Ayr, Glasgow, Renfrew, Clackmannan and Dumfries. There were also thirty-two subscribers from England: twelve from Yorkshire, six from Stafford, seven from Northumberland, three from Lincolnshire and two from London. This distinct pattern in England suggests the deliberate targeting of subscribers in specific geographical areas and social classes.

#### THE PURCHASERS OF THE SURVEYS

In 1793 Sinclair noted that the original surveys were to be circulated to 'every farmer and gentlemen in the district',<sup>130</sup> and to 'the members of both Houses, on application to the Board'.<sup>131</sup> Sinclair's words are important as they state the intended recipients of the surveys: farmers, landowners and MPs. They were key players who could provide additional information on the farming practices, rural affairs and political economy that was contained in the surveys. But, importantly, they could also carry out and effect agricultural changes and improvements and bring about a spirit of excitement and improvement that the Board wanted to encourage.

Findlater's survey of Peebles (1802) shows the majority of the 443 subscribers were of the kind Sinclair expected. They included seventeen from the landed classes while a further 148 had the social designation 'esq'. They ranged from the largest landowners of regional and national importance to the smallest ones who were influential within their parish or village. Farmers, residing at 101 farms across the country, represented 22% of the subscribers. Some were from extensive farms, and the major farming families in a district, and others were smaller tenant farmers. Three subscribers were Members of Parliament, including the local members,<sup>132</sup> as well as Sinclair himself.<sup>133</sup>

But other groups also subscribed. Some had a close connection with the project. There were honorary members of the Board – among them the most

significant landowners in Britain – and also a number of the surveyors,<sup>134</sup> such as George Buchan Hepburn of Smeaton and Robert Somerville of Haddington, who surveyed East Lothian, and Thomas Johnston, who undertook the original survey of Peebles.

Others were noted agricultural writers, and those in agricultural education such as Dr Coventry, Professor of Agriculture at the University of Edinburgh. Professionals, some of whom were also landowners, were a significant group: they were from the law (advocates, Writers to the Signet, and other solicitors), medicine, education (from the universities to local schools), the military, and the ministry. Other occupations are represented by a saddler, land surveyor, and a seedsman.

Subscribers also included public officials. They held a range of posts within their respective counties (including key ones) and throughout Scotland: provosts past and present, sheriffs, lord-lieutenants, a collector of tax, the Commissioner of His Majesty's Customs for Scotland, and the Lord Advocate for Scotland. Other subscribers were merchants, an accountant, a banker, and an insurance-broker.

#### THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SURVEYS

The Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement published 193 volumes, as well as some further issues, second and even third editions, in two stages. The bibliography of the original surveys is set out below, with that of the revised ones being found in Part 2 of this article in the 2013 *Journal*.

The bibliographies are based collections of surveys in Edinburgh University Library, the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, at Ingliston House, Ingliston. All copies have been examined. There are some gaps there, especially in the surveys of English counties and further issues.

These holdings were augmented by electronic resources. The ESTC provides a bibliographical description. Full texts are found in ECCO, which contains nearly all the original surveys, including further issues. The Making of the Modern World has also been consulted.

Entries are arranged geographically – Scotland, England and Wales – and within each country are in alphabetical order. They give author, title, imprint details, ESTC number, location of copies in EUL, NLS and RHASS and electronic ones on ECCO. They also indicate a variant imprint.

The original surveys were published as quartos, and were intended for circulation rather than sale; they were not advertised in newspapers. The imprints record the printer but not the bookseller-distributor, and do not show price.

The imprint usually has the year of publication. The section called 'to the reader', tells how to submit 'any additional Remarks and Observations

which may occur on the perusal, written on the Margin, as soon as may be convenient'. Although the surveys were intended as 'draft reports', nine state they were entered at Stationers' Hall.

Further issues are shown for twelve surveys, most of them of English counties, with Middlesex having three, reflecting its relation to London and to the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement itself. In all cases they were made by the original printer in the same year.

A relatively small numbers of printers were involved, in Edinburgh, London and Brentford. In Edinburgh, where nine printers produced twenty-one surveys, the most prolific was John Moir with eight, including Welsh ones (nos. 12, 77, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88). John Paterson printed four (nos. 2, 4, 15, 16) and Adam Neil & Co. three (nos. 27, 29, 58). The others in Edinburgh printed one each.

Colin Macrae printed the largest number at London, nineteen (nos. 21, 22, 32, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 48, 49, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 70, 90). William Bulmer & Co., and W. Smith printed nine each (nos. 26, 28, 31, 37, 45, 62, 74, 75, 76 and 3, 10, 33, 39, 41, 63, 65, 80, 81 respectively), John Nichols eight (nos. 23, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 69) and B. McMillan five (nos. 6, 20, 25, 73, 84). The only printer outwith Edinburgh and London was T. Norbury of Brentford who printed five surveys (nos. 9, 51, 56, 64, 86). Only two of the printers of the original reports, William Bulmer & Co. and B. McMillan were to become involved in printing the second phase of reports, as well as undertaking further work for the Board of Agriculture.

Seventeen Scottish surveys were printed in England, usually London (nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 28, 29). However, only two English surveys were printed in Scotland (nos. 58, 71). James Donaldson, who surveyed Northampton, also worked extensively in Scotland, having written on Banff (no. 5), Elgin or Moray (no. 13), Kincardine (no. 17), Nairn (no. 20), Carse of Gowrie (no. 22), and the Southern Districts of Perth (no. 23). Andrew Pringle (no. 71) wrote the Westmoreland survey. Seven Welsh surveys were printed in Scotland, of which six, as noted, were printed by John Moir (nos. 77, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY I: THE ORIGINAL SURVEYS

CM	Caledonian Mercury
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
MoMW	Making of the Modern World
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RHASS	Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland
SM	Scots Magazine

## Scotland

1. James Anderson, *General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the County of Aberdeen with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By James Anderson, LLD &c. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Edinburgh: [s.n.] M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40592. ECCO CB3327928722. MoMW U3602516058. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated May 1794.
2. Rev. Mr Roger, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus or Forfar: By the Rev. Mr. Roger. Drawn up, under the Direction of George Dempster, Esq. of Dunnichen; For the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*. Edinburgh: printed by John Paterson, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40610. ECCO CW3309367593. MoMW U3602521812. EUL. NLS. Advertisement, undated.
3. James Robson, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Argyll, and the Western Part of Inverness-shire. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By James Robson. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40596. ECCO CB3330689041. MoMW U3602521758. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
4. Colonel William Fullarton of Fullarton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Col. Fullarton, of Fullarton. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Edinburgh: printed by John Paterson, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40612. MoMW U3602471287. EUL. RHASS. Advertisement, undated.
5. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Banff, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement, by James Donaldson, Factor for the Honourable William Ramsay Maule of Panmure. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement*. Edinburgh: printed by Thomas Ruddiman, M,DCCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40613. ECCO CW3307567172. MoMW U3602517696. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated June 1794.
6. Alexander Lowe, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Berwick, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Alexander Lowe Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by B. Millan, printer



to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, M,DCCC,XCIV [1794]. Entered at Stationers' Hall. ESTC T40615. ECCO CW3303617074. MoMW U3602519637. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated July 1794.

7. Mr [William] Marshall, *General View of the Agriculture of the Central Highlands of Scotland: With Observations on the Means of their Improvement*, by Mr. Marshall. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by T. Wright, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40609. ECCO CW3308305038. MoMW U3602520381. NLS (microfilm). RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
8. John Francis Erskine, esq, of Mar, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clackmannan; And Some of the Adjacent Parishes, Situated in the Counties of Perth and Stirling*. By John Francis Erskine, Esq. of Mar. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Edinburgh: printed by H. Inglis, 1795. ESTC T040621. ECCO CB3326325425. MoMW U3602628561. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, undated.
9. John Naismith, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clydesdale. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By John Naismith. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Brentford: Printed by P. Norbury, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40622. ECCO CB3327928906. MoMW U3602520550. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, March 1794.
10. Rev David Ure, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Dumbarton; with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By The Rev. David Ure, Preacher of the Gospel. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: Printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40603. ECCO CB3330334644. MoMW U3602522254. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated, March 1794.
11. Rev Bryce Johnston, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumfries: with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Bryce Johnston, D.D. Minister at Holywood. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: Printed by T. Wright, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. Entered at Stationers' Hall. ESTC T40626. ECCO CB3330688883. MoMW U3602519086. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated June 1794.



12. George Buchan-Hepburn, *General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of East Lothian. With Observations on the Means of their Improvement. By George Buchan-Hepburn, Esq. of Smeaton. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Edinburgh: Printed by John Moir, 1794. ESTC T40588. ECCO CB3326387501. MoMW U3602518670. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated June 1794.  
  
12.1 Another issue. Edinburgh: Printed by John Moir, 1794. ESTC T40589. ECCO CW3309399264. To the reader, dated June 1794.
13. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Elgin or Moray, Lying between The Spey and The Findhorn; Including Part of Strathspey, in the County of Inverness. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By James Donaldson, Factor for the Hon. Wm. Ramsay Maule of Panmure. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by C. Clarke, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40628. ECCO CW3307567016. MoMW U3602517744. EUL. NLS (microfilm). RHASS. To the reader, dated February, 1794.
14. Robert Beatson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Fife. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Robert Beatson of Pitteadie. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Edinburgh: printed by Alex. Chapman and Company, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40630. ECCO CB3329773127. MoMW U3602516533. EUL. NLS. RHASS. Advertisement, not dated.
15. James Webster, *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway, Comprehending the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Shire of Wigton. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By James Webster, Farmer at Fowlis Easter, County of Perth. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Edinburgh: printed by John Paterson, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40604. ECCO CB3329554260. MoMW U3602522695. EUL. NLS. Advertisement, not dated.
16. Robert Heron, *General View of the Natural Circumstances of those Isles, Adjacent to the North-West Coast of Scotland, which are Distinguished by the Common Name of Hebudæ or Hebrides: Of the Various Means which have been Employed to Cultivate and Improve Them: - And of Some other Means, which are Humbly Proposed, as Likely to Contribute to their Farther Improvement. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal*

*Improvement. By Robert Heron.* Edinburgh: printed by John Pater-  
son, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40705. ECCO CW3308305101.  
MoMW U3602518833. EUL. NLS. No Advertisement.

17. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kincardine; or, the Mearns: With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By James Donaldson, of Dundee. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed at the Philanthropic Reform, St. George's Fields, M,DCC,XCV [1795]. Entered at Stationers' Hall. ESTC T40641. ECCO CW3307567055. MoMW U3602546392. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated, 16 June 1795.
18. David Ure, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kinross. By the Reverend David Ure, Minister of Uphall. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Edinburgh: Printed by Mundell and Son, Royal Bank Close, 1797. ESTC T40642. ECCO CB3329554303. MoMW U3608913847. NLS. To the reader, undated.
19. George Robertson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid Lothian with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By George Robertson, Farmer at Granton near Edinburgh. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Edinburgh: Printed by J. Anderson, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40655. ECCO CB3326387662. MoMW U3602470822. NLS. RHASS. Advertisement, undated.
  - 19.1 Another issue. Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ander-  
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CB3326422890. MoMW U3602470822. Advertisement,  
undated.
20. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Nairn, the Eastern Coast of Inverness-shire, and the Parish of Dyke, and Part of Edenkeillie, in the County of Elgin, and Forres. By James Donaldson, Factor for the Hon. William Ramsay Maule, of Panmure. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by B. Millan, Printer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40656. ECCO CW3307567107. MoMW U3602517783. EUL. NLS (microfilm). RHASS. To the reader, dated, March 1794.
21. Sir John Sinclair, *General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland; Including the Counties of Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, and the Islands of Orkney and*

*Shetland. With Observations on the Means of their Improvement. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1795. ESTC T40694. ECCO CB3326994307. MoMW U3602551093, U3602548281. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated March 1795.

22. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the Carse of Gowrie, in the County of Perth. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Mr. James Donaldson, Factor for the Honourable William Ramsay, Maule of Panmure. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40607. ECCO CW3307567136. MoMW U3602517660, U3602522974.

22.1 Another issue. London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40608. ECCO CW3307867606. NLS (microfilm). RHASS. To the reader, dated March 1794.

23. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture in the Southern Districts of the County of Perth. With Observations on the Means of their Improvement. By James Donaldson, D.D. Minister of Callander in the County of Perth. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40601. ECCO CB3330334753. MoMW U3602521552. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.

24. Alexander Martin, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Renfrew, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Alexander Martin, Farmer, of Salton, in Mid Lothian. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by C. Clarke, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40669. ECCO CB3326325291. MoMW U3602520446. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated January 1794.

25. David Ure, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Roxburgh, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By the Rev. David Ure, of Glasgow. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by B. Millan, Printer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. Entered at Stationers' Hall. ESTC T40670. ECCO CB3330689149. MoMW U3602522357. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated August 1794.

26. Thomas Johnston, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Selkirk, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Mr. Thomas Johnston. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Bulmer & Co, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40673. ECCO CB3329554370. MoMW U3602519244. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated July 1794.
27. Robert Belsches, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Stirling, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. Prepared by R. Belsches, Esq. of Greenyards, in that County. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Edinburgh: Printed by Adam Neill and Company, M,DCC,XCVI [1796]. ESTC T40677. ECCO CB3326433662. MoMW U3602571913. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated September 25 1796.
28. Thomas Johnston. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Tweeddale, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Mr. Thomas Johnston. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40682. ECCO CB3329554421. MoMW U3602519292. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
29. James Trotter, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of West Lothian, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. By James Trotter, Farmer at Newton, County of West Lothian. Edinburgh: printed by Adam Neill and Company, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40684. ECCO CB3326325387. MoMW U3602522040. EUL. NLS. RHASS. Advertisement, not dated.

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30. Thomas Stone, *General view of the Agriculture of the County of Bedford; with Observations on the Means of Improvement*. By Thomas Stone, Land Surveyor, Gray's-Inn. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by E. Hodson, Bell-Yard, Temple-Bar, 1794. ESTC T40614. ECCO CB3329506666. MoMW U3602521863. EUL. NLS. RHASS. Entered at Stationer's Hall. To the reader, dated, July 1794.

31. William Pearce, *General View of the Agriculture in Berkshire, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By William Pearce. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40593. ECCO CB3326325311. MoMW U3602520989. EUL. NLS. RHASS. Advertisement, undated.
  
32. William Malcolm. *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Buckingham, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Messrs. William, James, and Jacob Malcolm, of Stockwell, near Clapham. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40618. ECCO CW3310448703. MoMW U3602520228, U3602523074. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated May 1794.
  
33. Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Cambridge; With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Charles Vancouver. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40597. ECCO CB3330689239. MoMW U3602522447. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated June 1794.
  - 33.1 Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Cambridge. Prospectus. Sketch of a Proposal to Make an Actual Survey and Publish an Accurate Map of the County of Cambridge*. By Charles Vancouver. Names of Subscribers will be Received by Mr John Carey, Map Engraver, no. 181, Strand; Mr Marshall, Bookseller, of Lynn, and Mr Lunn, of Cambridge. [1793/1794?] ESTC 200493. ECCO CB127023994.
  
34. Thomas Wedge, *General View of the Agriculture of the County Palatine of Chester. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Mr. Thomas Wedge. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40688. ECCO CB3330689486. MoMW U3602522799. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated March 1794.
  
35. Robert Fraser, *General View of the County of Cornwall. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Robert Fraser, AM. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: Printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794].

ESTC T40701. ECCO CB3326324964. MoMW U3602518104. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated May 1794.

35.1 Another issue. London: Printed by C. Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40702. ECCO CW3305992899. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated March 1794.

36. John Bailey and George Culley, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cumberland. With Observations on the Means of Improvement. By Mr. John Bailey, of Chillingham, and Mr. George Culley, of Fenton, in Northumberland. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40624. ECCO CB3326324809. MoMW U3602516416, U3602523135. RHASS. To the reader, dated January 1794.
37. Thomas Brown, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Derby, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Thomas Brown, of Luton in Bedfordshire. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co., M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40625. ECCO CW3310367921. MoMW U3602516927. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated July 1794.
38. Robert Fraser, *General View of the County of Devon. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Robert Fraser, A.M. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40703. ECCO CB3330688733. MoMW U3602518170. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated March 1794.
39. John Claridge, *General View of the Agriculture, in the County of Dorset, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement, by John Claridge, of Craig's Court, London. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40598. ECCO CB3326324453. MoMW U3603776169. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, undated.
40. Joseph Granger, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, Particularly that Part of it Extending from the Tyne to the Tees: With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Joseph Granger, Land-Surveyor, Heugh, near Durham. Together with the Preliminary Observations of Sir William Appleby. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40627. ECCO

CB3330688806. MoMW U3602518243. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated July 1794.

41. Charles Vancouver, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Essex; With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Charles Vancouver. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCV [1795]. ESTC T40599. ECCO CB3326325600. MoMW U3602548793. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1795.
42. George Turner, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By George Turner, of Dowdeswell. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by J. Smeeton, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40633. ECCO CB3330689095. MoMW U3602522200. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, [ ] 1794.
  - 42.1 Another issue. London: printed by J. Smeeton, 1794. ESTC T40632. ECCO CB3326387853. To the reader, dated February 1794.
43. Abraham and William Driver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hants, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Abraham and William Driver, of Kent Road, Surrey. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40634. ECCO CB3326324890. MoMW U3602517898. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated July 1794.
44. John Clark, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hereford. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By John Clark, of Builth, Breconshire. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40635. ECCO CB3327397502. MoMW U3602517314. NLS. To the reader, May 1794.
45. D. Walker, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hertford, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By D. Walker, No. 14, Upper Marybone Street, London. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., M,DCC,XCV [1795]. Entered at Stationers' Hall. ESTC T40636. ECCO CB3330943578. MMW: U102549021, U3602549022. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated January 1795.



46. George Maxwell, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Huntingdon. And Observations on the Means of its Improvement. With an Appendix; Containing an Account of the Advantages to be Derived from an Improved Outfal at the Port of Lynn; and Answers to the Objections which it is Supposed will be Urged Against that Measure. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. By George Maxwell, of Fletton, near Stilton.* London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40637. ECCO CB3330688691. MoMW U3602470448. EUL. RHASS. To the reader, undated.
47. Thomas Stone, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Huntingdon. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Thomas Stone, Land-Surveyor, Gray's-Inn, London. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40638. ECCO CB3326324503. MoMW U3602470945. Advertisement, undated.
48. Mr Basil Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man, with Observations of the Means of its Improvement. By Mr. Basil Quayle, Farmer at the Griggains, near Castletown, in the Isle of Man. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40690. ECCO CB3329554221. MoMW U3602521375. EUL. NLS. To the reader, February 1794.
49. Rev Mr Warner, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Wight, (forming a part of Hampshire.) with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By the Rev Mr Warner. And a Postscript to the Survey of Hampshire. In a Letter to Sir John Sinclair, Bart, MP. President of the Board of Agriculture, from the Secretary to the Board.* Included within Abraham and William Driver, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Hants, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Abraham and William Driver, of Kent Road, Surrey. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by Colin Macrae, 1794. ESTC T40634. ECCO CB3326324890. MoMW U3602517898. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated July 1794.
50. John Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By John Boys, of Betshanger, Farmer, Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* Brentford: Printed by P. Norbury, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40639. ECCO CW3308088408.



MoMW U3602516820. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated January 1794.

51. John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lancaster. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By John Holt, of Walton near Liverpool. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40643. ECCO CB3329739583. MoMW U3602518973. EUL. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, February 1794. CM, 29 February 1796.
52. John Monk, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Leicester. With Observations on the Means of their Improvement. By John Monk, (late 19<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons) of Bears-Combe, near Knightsbridge, Devon. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40646. ECCO CB3327397581. MoMW U3602520465, U3602523186. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, February 1794.
53. Thomas Stone, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Thomas Stone, Land-Surveyor, Gray's Inn, London. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by John Nichols, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40648. ECCO CW3308769690. MoMW U3602521931. EUL. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
54. Peter Foot, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Middlesex, with Observations on the Means of their Improvement. By Peter Foot, Land-Surveyor, Dean-Street, Soho. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: Printed by John Nichols, 1794. ESTC T40653. ECCO CW3302449851. MoMW U3602517973. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
55. Thomas Baird, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Middlesex. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement. By Thomas Baird. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.* London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40649. ECCO CW3308695197. Advertisement, undated.
  - 55.1 Another issue. London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40650. ECCO CB3326387752. To the reader, undated.

- 55.2 Another issue. London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40651. ECCO CB3326387802. To the reader, undated.
- 55.3 Another issue. London: printed by J. Nichols, M,DCC,XCIII [1793]. ESTC T40652. ECCO CW3310053096. MoMW U3603776118. To the reader, undated.
56. John Fox, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Monmouth, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Mr. John Fox. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Brentford: Printed by P. Norbury, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40654. ECCO CB3329981574. MoMW U3602518062. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, undated.
57. Nathaniel Kent, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk. With Observations on the Means of Improvement*. By Nathaniel Kent, Esq. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40657. ECCO CW3308344382. MoMW U3602519468. RHASS. Advertisement, undated.
- 57.1 Another issue. London: printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40658. ECCO CW3307623124. Advertisement, undated.
58. James Donaldson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northampton, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. To which is Added, an Appendix, Containing a Comparison between the English and Scotch Systems of Husbandry, as Practised in the Counties of Northampton and Perth. By James Donaldson, Dundee. Edinburgh: printed by Adam Neill and Company, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40661. ESTC CW3307567219. MoMW U3602517812. NLS. Advertisement, undated.
59. John Bailey and George Culley, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northumberland, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Mr. John Bailey, of Chillingham, and Mr. George Culley, of Fenton, in Northumberland. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: Printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40662. ECCO CW3310451697.
- 59.1 Another issue. London: Printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T220522. ECCO CW3309028040. MoMW

U36002516466. NLS. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.

60. Robert Lowe, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Nottingham, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Robert Lowe, Esq. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: Printed by C. Macrae, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40664. ECCO CB3326325166. MoMW U3602519776. NLS. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated March 1794.
61. Griggs of Kelveden, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Nottingham, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By Griggs of Kelveden. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by C. Clarke, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40629. ECCO CW3310052968. MoMW U3602517456. EUL. NLS. To the reader, dated March 1794.
62. Richard Davis, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Oxford, with Observations on the means of its Improvement*. By Richard Davis, of Lewknor in the Said County, Topographer to His Majesty. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Bulmer and Co., M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40666. ECCO CW3309376787. MoMW U3602517456. NLS. NLS. RHASS. Advertisement, undated.
63. John Crutchley, *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Rutland, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By John Crutchley, of Burley, in the County of Rutland. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. London: printed by W. Smith, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40671. ECCO CB3326324858. MoMW U3602517424. NLS. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, dated February 1794.
64. J. Bishton, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Salop. With Observations on the Means of its Improvement*. By J. Bishton, of Kilsal, Shropshire. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement. Brentford: printed by P. Norbury, M,DCC,XCIV [1794]. ESTC T40672. ECCO CB3326143070. MoMW U3602516769. EUL. NLS. NLS. RHASS. To the reader, undated.
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- <sup>93</sup> Graham, p. 342.
- <sup>94</sup> Douglas, p. 17.
- <sup>95</sup> ‘Substance of Sir John Sinclair’s Speech in Parliament, on the 15th of May 1793’, p. 298.
- <sup>96</sup> Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the 9th of March, 1813: Detailing the Advantages, of Making Extensive enquiries, the Basis of Condensed Information* (London: printed by B. McMillan [1813]), p. 4.
- <sup>97</sup> Sinclair, *Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the 9th of March, 1813: Detailing the Advantages, of Making Extensive enquiries, the Basis of Condensed Information* (London: printed by

B. McMillan [1813]), p. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on the First Day of its Being Assembled', p. 307.

<sup>99</sup> 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795', p. 346.

<sup>100</sup> Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Speech in Parliament, on the 15th of May 1793', p. 301.

<sup>101</sup> Sinclair, 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed'. In Sinclair, *Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects*, p. 330.

<sup>102</sup> 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed', p. 330.

<sup>103</sup> Robertson, *Midlothian*, p. xiv.

<sup>104</sup> Sinclair, 'Arrangement of the Agricultural Surveys, and the Persons by whom they were Respectively Undertaken'.

<sup>105</sup> Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 338.

<sup>106</sup> Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 338.

<sup>107</sup> Sinclair, 'Plan for Reprinting the Agricultural Surveys', p. ii.

<sup>108</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BXIII, 24 May 1799.

<sup>109</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798.

<sup>110</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798; Board of Agriculture, BXIII, letter 276 of 12 June 1798.

<sup>111</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVI, 21 January 1800.

<sup>112</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, Board of Agriculture, BI, 25 May 1798; Board of Agriculture, BXIII, letter 276 of 12 June 1798.

<sup>113</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, 28 May 1805.

<sup>114</sup> Sinclair, 'Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the Twenty-Ninth of July, 1794', p. 339.

<sup>115</sup> Sinclair, *Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday, the Twenty-Fourth of May, 1796*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>116</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, Board meeting, 28 May 1805.

<sup>117</sup> MERL, Board of Agriculture, BVII, Board meeting, 28 May 1805.

<sup>118</sup> Raymond N. Mackenzie, 'Archibald Constable & Co.'. In James K. Bracken and Joel Silver, *Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol 154, The British Literary Book Trade, 1700–1820* (Detroit, 1995), p. 49.

<sup>119</sup> Raymond N. Mackenzie, p. 50.

<sup>120</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 February 1798, 3 May 1798, 23 March 1799.

<sup>121</sup> *DNB*, s.q. George Nicol (1740?–1828).

<sup>122</sup> Robertson, *Midlothian*, Andrew Whyte and Duncan Macfarlane, *Dumbar-ton*, David Souter, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Banff* (Edinburgh: printed by Mundell, Doig & Stevenson, 1812), John Henderson, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Caithness* (London: printed by B. McMillan, 1812), Graham, *Stirling*, Henderson, *Sutherland*, Graham, *Clackmannan*.

<sup>123</sup> Surveys of Clydesdale (1798), Argyll (1805), East Lothian (1805).

<sup>124</sup> Graham Pollard, 'The English Market for Printed Books', *Publishing History* 4



(1978), p. 35.

<sup>125</sup> Pollard, p. 35.

<sup>126</sup> Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775–1800. A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Folkeston: Dawson, 1977), p. 176.

<sup>127</sup> These bookselling centres were Abingdon, Newbury, Reading, and Windsor in Berkshire, Oxford in Oxford and Gloucester in Gloucester.

<sup>128</sup> These bookselling centres were Evesham and Worcester in Worcester, Newbury, Reading and Windsor in Berkshire, Abingdon and Oxford in Oxford and Gloucester and Tewksbury in Gloucester.

<sup>129</sup> Surveys of West Lothian (1811), Hebrides (1811). For example, Hebrides (1811), West Lothian (1811), Wiltshire (1811), Huntingdon (1811), Cambridge (1811) were being printed for Phillips.

<sup>130</sup> Sinclair, 'Plan of the Agricultural Surveys as Originally Proposed', p. 330.

<sup>131</sup> 'Arrangement of the Agricultural Surveys, and the Persons by whom they were Respectively Undertaken'.

<sup>132</sup> R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790–1820, vol IV* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 23; J. L. Brown, and I. C. Lawson, *History of Peebles, 1850–1990*, p. 538.

<sup>133</sup> R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790–1820, vol II: Constituencies* (London: Published for the History of Parliament Trust by Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 525.

<sup>134</sup> Board of Agriculture, *List of the Members of the Board of Agriculture* (London: printed by B. McMillan, 1803), 9–33.

# Rosebery as Book Collector

BRIAN HILLYARD

It is particularly appropriate to write for this journal about the fifth Earl of Rosebery, who was ‘one of the original members of the Society’.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have attended no meetings, but G.P. Johnston, in the published version of his account of the first twenty-five years of the Society, named Lord Rosebery alongside other eminent Scottish bibliographers or book collectors such as William Cowan, Walter Blaikie, Harry Aldis, and John Scott, and commented: ‘You may have been surprised at my mention of the late Lord Rosebery’s name among the members who constituted the strength of the Society, as few knew of his lordship’s having any rather special interest in it. But he had vicariously; for I obtained several hundred additions to the List from his collection of rare early printed Scottish books and tracts, now, I am happy to say, by Lord Rosebery’s generosity, in the National Library of Scotland.’<sup>2</sup>

The *Oxford DNB* entry, describing Rosebery as ‘prime minister and author’, has no mention of him as a collector of anything except pornography.<sup>3</sup> This does seem an extraordinary omission for somebody that Leo McKinty, in his 2005 political biography, *Rosebery: Statesman in Turmoil*, refers to as ‘one of the most prolific collectors of his age’.<sup>4</sup> It is surely part of Rosebery’s biography that he was elected a member of the Roxburghe Club in 1884 and indeed was its President from 1908 until his death,<sup>5</sup> and there is no doubt that collecting books was important to Rosebery. Visitors to the National Library of Scotland’s exhibition ‘The Private Lives of Books’ in late 2004 saw the boxed books that had formed part of Napoleon’s library on St Helena.<sup>6</sup> This was acquired at Sotheby’s on the day of Rosebery’s maiden speech as Prime Minister, 12 March 1894.<sup>7</sup> This juxtaposition is a good example of what Rosebery himself describes in his essay ‘Statesmen and bookmen’, an address he delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution on 25 November 1898 when opening his first session as president in succession to William Gladstone.<sup>8</sup> In it he says that in his belief ‘nowhere in history ... is there an instance of so intensely bookish a man as Mr. Gladstone, who was at the same time so consummate a man of affairs’, and he adds that by bookishness he means not the mere collection of libraries but ‘the general love of books – reading, buying, handling, hunting them’. Gladstone ‘loved collecting, buying, handling books. It was a joy to him to arrange with his own hands the books in the library he had founded in memory of St. Deiniol. It was a sport to him to hunt down books in sale catalogues.’ As it happens this can be nicely illustrated from a copy of John Skinner’s *Amusements of Leisure Hours: or Poetical*





**Figure 1:** Photograph of Lord Rosebery from shortly before 1900, published in Jane T. Stoddart, *The Earl of Rosebery K.G.: an Illustrated Biography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900), p. 126. NLS: S.143.b.

*Pieces, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh, 1809) that was presented to Rosebery by Gladstone in October 1886, with a Latin inscription testifying to their shared collecting interests (**Figure 2**):<sup>9</sup>

Amicissimo Comiti de Rosebery D. D. Gul. E. Gladstone  
gaudens, exantlatis frustra multis laboribus, hunc libellum  
tandem invenisse bibliothecae illustri et congruum et  
nunquam antehac adscitum. Hawarden Oct 22. 1886.

‘Is not the true life of the politician’, Rosebery asks, ‘the balance of action and study – study not merely as a preparation for action, but of literature as a recreation? Among the great men of action we recall Frederick’s love of letters and Napoleon’s travelling library. Among statesmen we think of Pitt’s sofa with its shelf of thumb’d classics; and of Fox, a far more ardent lover of books, exchanging them and his garden for the House of Commons almost with tears; and of Gladstone’s Temple of Peace [as he called his study].’ When Rosebery acquired Napoleon’s ‘travelling library’, in a way he was underlining his own membership of this club of bookish statesmen.

So who was Rosebery? As McKinsty says in the introduction to his biography, ‘During most of his lifetime Rosebery was one of the most celebrated figures in England, a statesman of enormous glamour, wealth and influence.’ The song *Burlington Bertie* includes the line ‘Nearly everyone knows me, from Smith to Lord Rosebery’, and at the marriage of Rosebery’s daughter Peggy in Westminster Abbey in 1899 H.H. Asquith’s wife, Margot, wrote ‘When the Prince of Wales went up the aisle, he was a nobody compared to Rosebery.’<sup>10</sup> Archibald Philip Primrose, later the fifth Earl of Rosebery, was born on 7 May 1847 the son of Lord Dalmeny, the eldest son of the fourth Earl. (Lord Dalmeny is the eldest son’s courtesy title.) His childhood was spent first at the family seat at Dalmeny near Edinburgh, and then, after his father died in 1851 and his mother married the Duke of Cleveland, also at one of the Cleveland houses, either Castle Raby in County Durham or Battle Abbey in East Sussex. After Eton College and Christ Church, Oxford – while an undergraduate his grandfather died and he succeeded him in the earldom – Rosebery became an active supporter of the Liberal Party, and he made his maiden speech in the House of Lords on 10 February 1871 when Lord Granville the Liberal leader in The Lords persuaded him to second the Address at the opening of Parliament. One of the earliest major events in his political career was the first Midlothian Campaign of 1879–80, when William Gladstone regained a seat in the House of Commons after a campaign in which Dalmeny House became his campaign headquarters and Rosebery his campaign manager. For anybody who wants to read it, the story of Rosebery’s subsequent career is a long and complex one of a man who for a bewildering array of sometimes conflicting reasons turned down more jobs than he accepted, but still rose to the top: Under-Secretary (with special responsibilities for Scottish business) at the Home Office in 1881;

entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal in 1885; Foreign Secretary in 1886; the first Chairman of the newly founded London County Council in 1889; back to the Foreign Office in 1892; and Prime Minister on 5 March 1894, a post from which he resigned on 21 June 1895.

Not only was Rosebery a statesman: he was seriously wealthy. After he succeeded his grandfather, it has been estimated that his annual income was over £30,000.<sup>11</sup> On leaving Oxford he took a house in Mayfair at 2 Berkeley Square, and soon after that bought The Durdans, a country house in Surrey.<sup>12</sup> In 1878 he married Hannah de Rothschild, the only child, and heiress, of Baron Meyer de Rothschild. After her father's death in 1874 she is said to have been the wealthiest woman in England, and it has been estimated that Rosebery's annual income then rose to about £140,000.<sup>13</sup> In practice, he could afford to buy whatever he liked.<sup>14</sup> Through this marriage he also acquired another home: Mentmore Towers with its Rothschild treasures, about which more below. Hannah died tragically young, in November 1890. This was an event that had a huge impact on Rosebery, for it is a common view that she provided much of his political ambition.<sup>15</sup>

Rosebery is reputed to have boasted in his youth that he had three ambitions: to marry an heiress, win the Derby and become Prime Minister.<sup>16</sup> This may be apocryphal, but it certainly draws attention to his enthusiasm for horse-racing that went back to his Oxford days: in fact, it was Rosebery's insistence on owning a racehorse in defiance of the authorities that led to his leaving the University early, without a degree, in March 1869. This interest also explains why he bought The Durdans: it adjoins Epsom racecourse. He did go on to win the Derby on three occasions, 1894, 1895, and 1905. He was the first Prime Minister to have a Derby winner while in office, and is regarded as one of the dominant figures in British racing history, winning no fewer than eleven classics.

But this paper focuses on Rosebery's libraries. In his British Academy obituary John Buchan wrote: 'His chief pleasure was his books. He had a noble library scattered throughout his many dwellings – the great Scots collection at Dalmeny and Barnbougle; the French memoirs and illustrated books at Mentmore; and his marvellous little library at the Durdans, so full of rarities that the casual visitor could scarce believe them genuine.'<sup>17</sup> It will be useful to review these and other Rosebery houses where he maintained libraries. The number of his libraries, and the natural tendency to transfer books between houses as well as keeping duplicate copies in several houses, adds to the difficulties.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE DURDANS

Rosebery bought The Durdans in the early 1870s.<sup>19</sup> Eva Rosebery, wife of his son, the sixth Earl, states that the larger part of his library was kept there.<sup>20</sup>

Rosebery's daughter Lady Sybil Grant inherited the house and its contents, and she sent a selection of books to auction in 1933, in three parts: The Sporting Library on 26 June, the General Library on 27–30 June, and the Napoleon Collection on 24–25 July, a total of 1,658 lots, which realised £49,033.<sup>21</sup> Following this sale, in 1935 typescript shelflists of books in the house were compiled: at a very rough estimate there were then between seven and eight thousand volumes.<sup>22</sup> When Lady Sybil died in 1955, some of these books came to the National Library of Scotland by bequest, forming the Durdans Collection of nearly 3,000 volumes (further described below).<sup>23</sup> There are various bookplates, labels and stamps identifying books as having been in the library at The Durdans: see **Figure 7**.

### 38 BERKELEY SQUARE

Rosebery moved to 38 Berkeley Square in April 1888, having previously rented Lansdowne House, a magnificent Adam house also in Berkeley Square. When the family sold 38 Berkeley Square, Christie, Manson & Woods held an on-site auction of its library, on 20 March 1939.<sup>24</sup> The catalogue may describe the books as 'valuable', but it seems to have been more like a house-clearance operation. There were 229 lots, 'sold not subject to collation'. Place and date are frequently omitted, and unfortunately there is an almost total lack of provenance or any other copy-specific description, resulting in our learning very little about Rosebery's collecting except the bare details of books he owned. Although there were so few lots, I calculate that there were between five and six thousand volumes: lot 208 consisted of 512 volumes of Palmer's *Index to The Times* for 1790–1920; lot 56 was a set of the *Nouvelle biographie universelle* (Paris, 1852–1866); and lots 153–155 comprised 216 novels.<sup>25</sup> There were some bibliographical works, such as lot 62, A-A. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 3rd edition, 4 vols (Paris, 1872); lot 195, J-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 5th edition, 6 vols (Paris, 1860–1865); and lot 206, a large-paper copy of Edward Arber, *Term Catalogues 1668–1709*, 3 vols (London, 1903–1906). However, the bulk of the books auctioned were nineteenth- or early twentieth-century books on history, politics and topography, especially relating to London. Two earlier books in this last category were lot 88, James Howell's *Londinopolis* (London, 1657), and lot 94, William Dugdale's *The History of St Pauls Cathedral* (London, 1658).<sup>26</sup> There were books of personal interest: many copies of his own various speeches and biographies; as many as seven copies of his mother the Duchess of Cleveland's book, *The Battle Abbey Roll*, 3 vols (London, 1889) (lots 129, 132, 138 [two sets], 139, 148, 215); and, included in lot 176, three volumes of 'Roseberiana', articles written by Rosebery. Finally, there were some rarities: for example, lot 212 (14 items) included John Morfitt, *The Woodmen of Arden* ([Birmingham, 1788?]), recorded by ESTC only for the British Library; *Ode*

to a Friend, on our Leaving, Together, South-Carolina (London, 1783), of which ESTC records only one copy in the UK, at the British Library; and T.S. Whalley, *Verses Addressed to Mrs Siddons* (London, 1782), one of only three copies in the UK recorded by ESTC.<sup>27</sup>

#### MENTMORE

Mentmore Towers – later known simply as Mentmore – is a vast house in Buckinghamshire designed for Hannah Rosebery's father, Baron Meyer de Rothschild, by Joseph Paxton, perhaps best known as the architect of The Crystal Palace built to house the Great Exhibition of 1851. The treasures that the Rothschilds had accumulated there included books, though we have very few details about them except from the 2009 'English Library' sale in which eleven lots are described as being of Baron Meyer provenance.<sup>28</sup> Eva Rosebery says that 'it was there that he sent many of his purchases of 18th-century French books and fine bindings'.<sup>29</sup> There seem to have been some books from William Beckford's library (discussed below) kept at Mentmore, and in her 1965 article Eva Rosebery refers to Mentmore books having been 'recently' transferred to Scotland: the Beckford books were subsequently sold by Sotheby's in 1975.<sup>30</sup> Following the death of the sixth Earl in 1974, death duties forced the sale of the house in 1977 and in the same year there was also a massive Sotheby's sale of some of its contents, as described in a five-volume catalogue.<sup>31</sup> Books were excluded from that sale. Some of them were transferred to Scotland, and of these some have been sold subsequently.<sup>32</sup> The less valuable part of the library, it seems, was auctioned off by Sotheby Beresford Adams in Chester on 22–23 July 1980.<sup>33</sup> There were 271 lots but many of these were multiple-item lots and I calculate that 6,300–6,400 volumes were sold; it should also be added that some 153 of these volumes contained a total of some 1,110 pamphlets. The books auctioned were predominantly nineteenth- and twentieth-century, and many of them fairly standard: for example, 182 volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine* (lot 509), 83 volumes of *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine* (lot 472), 294 volumes of the *Cornhill* and other magazines (lot 472), 87 volumes on field sports (lot 491), and 198 volumes, 1769–1966, of the *Racing Calendar* (lot 623).<sup>34</sup> However, there were also some more interesting, and in some cases earlier, items, such as lot 604 containing approximately 310 pamphlets in 51 volumes, mostly eighteenth-century, collected by the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan, the Irish politician and Westminster MP who died in 1820 but whose library was sold in 1888, and lot 605, 171 French pamphlets, 1789–1795, and lot 615, 239 works on French politics, 1814–1815. There were some rare individual items too, for example, W.H. Lyttelton, *Some Account of Napoleon Bonaparte's Coming on Board H.M.S. the Northumberland, August 7, 1815* (London: privately printed, 1836), which is not held by the British Library or the National Library of Scotland: Rosebery's was a presentation copy, inscribed

by the author (lot 601). The catalogue introduction states that ‘many of the volumes are heavily annotated in pencil in Lord Rosebery’s hand’, and there were also books with his mother’s bookplate and books owned by Hannah, such as lot 582, approximately 245 pieces of sheet music, ‘some inscribed by the composers to Hannah de Rothschild’ and including some pieces dedicated to her entitled ‘Dalmeny Valse’, ‘Primrose Polka’ and ‘Rosebery Polka’. **Figure 7** shows an example of a Mentmore stamp on an 1878 French book, though the same volume also has a Durdans bookplate, not to mention yet another non-location-specific Rosebery bookplate.<sup>35</sup>

#### DALMENY HOUSE

Dalmeny House, which is open to the public and has an informative website, was completed in 1817, when the family moved there from nearby Barnbougle Castle which was becoming too ruinous to be habitable.<sup>36</sup> Eva Rosebery wrote that Dalmeny ‘contained the conventional Scottish gentleman’s library, to which Lord Rosebery merely added a few contemporary books, mainly biography and history, along with some collected editions of his favourite novelists, Scott, Jane Austen, Stevenson, and so on.’<sup>37</sup> As a family library it cannot date back to before the second Earl (the first Earl’s library was sold, after his death, in 1724; see further below), but it may have included books acquired by the second and third Earls and, particularly, the fourth Earl, on the evidence of some books sold in the Sotheby’s 1995 sale (details below). Rosebery certainly developed the library there: we know from correspondence that in 1880–1881, while Rosebery was at Mentmore, James Donaldson, a distinguished scholar who at that time was Rector of the High School in Edinburgh (1866–1882), and had been Rosebery’s mentor since he left Oxford, worked through Rosebery’s ‘Scotch library’ at Dalmeny, advised on making arrangements for Dalmeny to be supplied with ‘all the new books that are published on Scotch subjects’, and covered the Edinburgh sale rooms, where he seems to have had a free hand, though Rosebery would telegraph if very high prices were involved.<sup>38</sup> After the renovation of Barnbougle was completed in April 1882, the majority of new acquisitions would have gone straight there and parts of the existing Dalmeny Library would also have been transferred there. There seems to be no Dalmeny-specific bookplate.

#### BARNBOUGLE CASTLE

Barnbougle Castle lies about a half-kilometre from Dalmeny House. Abandoned by the fourth Earl as unfit to live in, it was virtually rebuilt by Rosebery. It is inaccessible to the public but there is a description of it by Eva Rosebery:<sup>39</sup>



Barnbogle has one very large and several tiny rooms on each of its floors. The principal room on the first floor, complete with musicians' gallery, contains the famous full-length portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, bought from Lord Lansdowne. ... In this saloon, besides many historic relics and Napoleonic furniture, are four bookcases, two of which are devoted to Burnsiana (letters, manuscripts and printed books), a third to Scottish manuscripts and a fourth to copies of modern books presented to Lord Rosebery by their authors. On the same floor a smaller room contains four cupboards, three of them full of volumes from William Beckford's library ... The other rooms on the ground and second floors are full of Scottish books.

As this description implies, Barnbogle was designed primarily as a library, though there were living quarters for Rosebery himself.<sup>40</sup> Catalogues of its library were privately printed in 1885, 1901 and 1923, and there was also a two-volume catalogue in manuscript, with printed title pages dated 1903, of Scottish pamphlets.<sup>41</sup> This library came to be associated with Scottish books, as mentioned in the title of the 1923 catalogue, but that was not originally the case and never became exclusively so. In 1927 Rosebery presented to the National Library of Scotland the Scottish pamphlets and a selection of about 1,000 other early 'Scottish' books and bindings: I estimate about 12,400 items in all. The main purpose of Eva Rosebery's article 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbogle Castle' in *The Book Collector* was to explain that the sale of the library from The Durdans did not account fully for Rosebery's library, and she describes books remaining at Barnbogle after the 1927 presentation to NLS. Some of the books that she mentions have subsequently been sold, but some others have not, such as the books that have been lent for National Library of Scotland exhibitions over the years: Napoleon's box of books already mentioned; the Bible bound by the Edinburgh bookseller and bookbinder Alexander Ogstoun for his own marriage in 1680;<sup>42</sup> and the proof copy of *L'Ami du peuple*, 1789–1792, the French revolutionary newspaper of Jean Paul Marat with corrections in his own hand.<sup>43</sup> The copy of Guillaume Paradis, *Cronique de Savoie* (Lyon, 1552), with the arms of Mary Queen of Scots and included in a 1573 list of items from her library, was selected for the 'Treasure Houses of Britain' exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington in 1985.<sup>44</sup> In her later article, 'Books from Beckford's Library now at Barnbogle', Eva Rosebery describes how, following the transfer of some of them from Mentmore, over 550 Beckford books (900 volumes) were housed at Barnbogle: it seems to have been all of these that were sold by Sotheby's on 27–28 October 1975.<sup>45</sup> There were also other sales by Sotheby's of books from Barnbogle: six incunables and an early sixteenth-century book on 23 June 1975; nearly 550 items with Eton



Amicissimo  
Comiti de Rosebery  
D.D.  
Gul. E. Gladstone  
gaudens,  
Excursibus frustra multis laboribus,  
Hunc libellum  
Tandem invenisse  
Bibliothecae illustri  
Et congruum  
Et nunquam antehac adscitum.

Awarden Oct 22. 1886

**Figure 2:** Presentation inscription to Rosebery from William Gladstone, in John Skinner, *Amusements of Leisure Hours* (Edinburgh, 1809). NLS: Ry.IV.f.8.

Backgrd Sale 1883

Dut. 866.

3 travels in dream 7.

Neediness of Rodoni 23. 70. 78. 94

Flones to D of York 47 & 73.

F won't take his medicine 51

F an old carcass 72

The times (1786) dangerous to Republics! p 77.

The Doctor & the Cham. 89.

Mon here 97

Rescue William I. 104

F's day 111.

Locusts 1149.

cause of F's problems 166.

Vestris the kind of them first men 179.

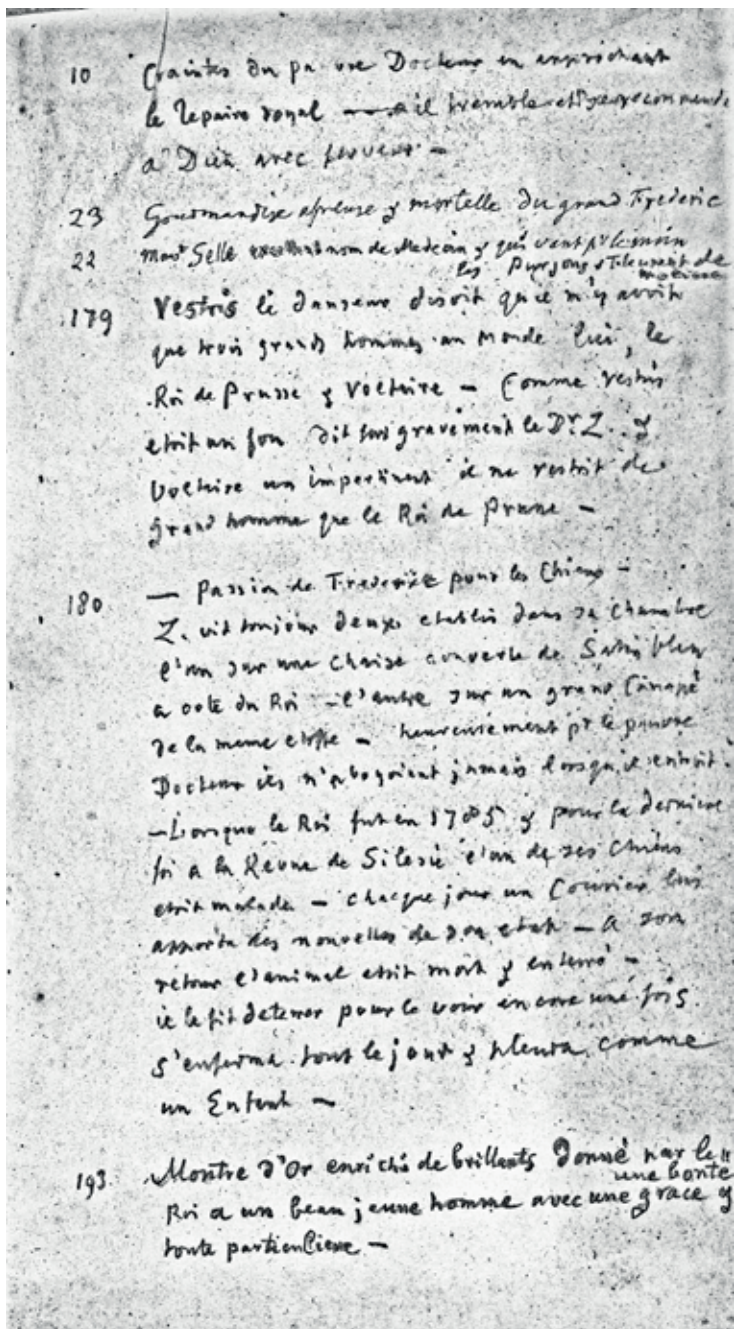
F's love of dogs 181

Prussian sturgeon 185

Feeling an improved pulse in the dark 186.

F's unbelief 209.



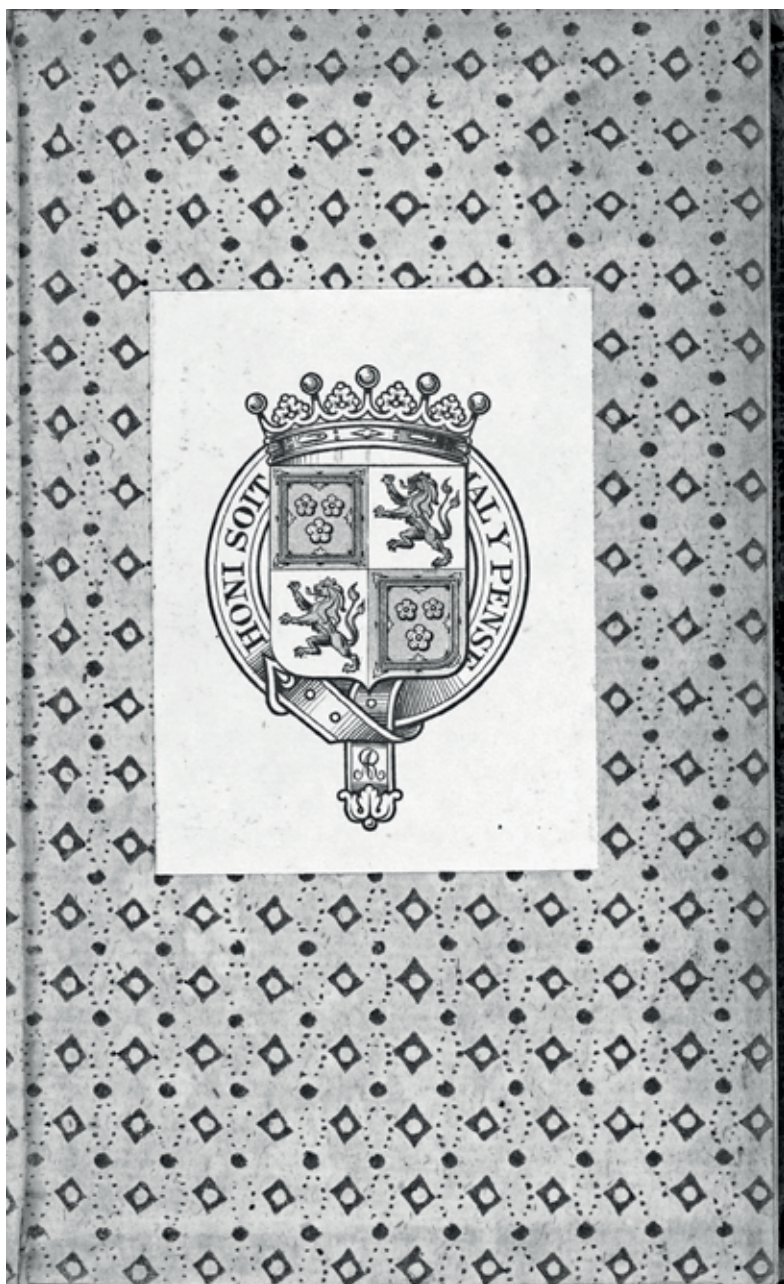


**Figure 3:** Notes by Rosebery, left-hand page, and by William Beckford, right-hand page, in Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Sur Frédéric le Grand* (Lausanne, 1790), NLS: Dur.866.





**Figure 4:** Bookplate of Charles James Fox, with one of Rosebery's bookplates opposite, in Virgil, *Opera* (Paris, 1745), presented to Rosebery by Lady Holland in 1863 when he was sixteen. NLS: RB.s.1913.





- FERDINAND III., Regis Castille—Acta Vite. [Papebrochii.] 1684
- FERGUSON (DAVID, *Minister of Dunfermline*)—Tracts by, 1563-1572. Edited by David Laing. 8°. [Bannatyne Club, 116.] 1860
- FERGUSON (ROBERT)—A JUST AND MODEST VINDICATION OF THE SCOTS DESIGN FOR THE HAVING ESTABLISHED A COLONY AT DARIEN. 8°. 1699
- FERGUSON (ROBERT)—POEMS. Both parts. *First Edition. Calf, richly gilt, contemporary Scottish binding.* 12°. Edinburgh, 1773-79
- From the library of David Laing. MS. Inscription:—"To the Honble. Alexander Murray, Esq., of Murrayfield, as a small mark of gratitude for his patronage and beneficence, the following juvenile productions are respectfully presented by his much obliged humble servant.—R. FERGUSON, 14th January 1773." The autograph of the poet is of excessive rarity.
- Another Copy, both parts in 1 vol. 1773-79
- Other Two Copies of the First Part issued. Edinburgh, 1773
- Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1782
- Third Edition. (Two copies.) Morrison, Perth, 1788-89
- Another Edition. By David Irving. Glasgow, 1800
- Another Edition. Illustrated by Bewick. 2 vols. 12°. Alnwick, 1802
- Another Edition. Edinburgh, 1805
- Another Edition. By Bannington. London, 1809
- Another Edition. Glasgow, 1821
- Another Edition. Edinburgh, 1821
- Another Edition. By A. B. Grosart. (Two copies.) Edinburgh, 1879
- AN EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION OF MEMORANDA, consisting of Leaflets, Newspaper Cuttings, MS. Notes and Extracts, Portraits, and other Matter, relating to the Life and Works of Robert Fergusson, being the original materials from which Dr Grosart drew the materials for his edition of the Poet's Works. 2 vols. Half rusia. 4° and royal 8°. N.D.
- LIFE OF. By Thomas Somers, *Burgess and Freeman of Edinburgh, and His Majesty's Glassier for Scotland.* 12°. Edinburgh, 1803
- The above is a complete collection of the various editions of Fergusson's Poems.
- See also under BURNS.
- FERGUSON (R. MENZIES)—RAMBLING SKETCHES IN THE FAR NORTH, AND ORCADIAN MUSINGS. 8°. London, 1883
- FERNIE (JOHN)—HISTORY OF THE TOWN AND PARISH OF DUNFERMLINE. 8°. Dunfermline, 1815
- FERRERI (J.)—Historia Abbatum de Kynloss. [Bannatyne Club, 63.] 1839
- FERRIER (MISS)—NOVELS: Destiny, Inheritance, Marriage. 6 vols. 8°. London, 1882
- FIFE—A Day's Excursion, &c. Dedicated to the Reformers of Fife. [See Top. Col., Maidment, Fife, Vol. 2.] 1842
- Eminent Men of. By Matthew [Conolly.] 1866
- Fox-Hounds—Col. [Babington's] Records of. 1883
- Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of, 1611-1687. [Abbotsford Club, 8.] 1837
- FIFESHIRE—See *Scottish Topography*.
- FINDLATER [EARLDOM OF.] [Maidment, 28.] 1855
- FINDLAY (JOHN RITCHIE)—HATTON HOUSE. Illustrated. 4°. Privately printed, Edinburgh, 1875
- Presentation copy, with autograph inscription from the author.
- FISHER (ROBERT, *Dunfriess*)—POETICAL SPARKS. 8°. Glasgow, 1881
- Presentation copy, with autograph letter from author inserted.
- FLANDERS—Journey to Paris by. By W. [Jones.] 1777
- Tour through. By S. W. [Stevenson.] 1817
- FLETCHER (JOSEPH S., *Dartford*)—SONGS AFTER SUNSET. 12°. London, 1881
- FEDERA—Thomas Rymer. [Public Records,] 1869-73
- FORBES FAMILY—GENEALOGY OF, from the Account of Matthew Lumsden of Tullicherne, written in 1580. 8°. Inverness, 1815
- FORBES (BISHOP)—Lives of Saint Ninian and Saint Kentigern. [Historians of Scotland, Vol. 6.] 1874
- Translation of Adamnan's Life of St Columba, Founder of Hy. [Historians of Scotland, Vol. 7.] 1874

Figure 5: Catalogue of the Library at Barnbogle Castle (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 53, showing Rosebery's collection of editions of Robert Fergusson's poetry. NLS: RB.m.445.

connexions, including three seventeenth-century Eton imprints, on 20 May 1980; ‘the Continental Library’ on 25 May and 2 June 1995; and most recently ‘the English Library’ on 29 October 2009.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to say how many books there were at Barnbougale at the time of Rosebery’s death. Barnbougale books sometimes have a ‘Barnbougale Castle Catalogue’ stamp (**Figure 7**), though some of the NLS books from the 1923 catalogue do not have this stamp but do have other non-location-specific bookplates (**Figure 8**).<sup>47</sup>

#### VILLA ROSEBERY, NAPLES

Rosebery had described the Villa Delahante in Posillipo, overlooking the Bay of Naples, as ‘the dream of my life’ as early as 1879, and bought it in 1897, but in 1909 he gave it to the British government.<sup>48</sup> This house, which was later known as the Villa Rosebery, is worth mentioning here because there are books inscribed ‘duplicate from Naples’, though we do not know how many books were kept there and what became of most of them.<sup>49</sup>

#### 10 DOWNING STREET

Rosebery was Prime Minister only from March 1894 to June 1895, but he did have his own 10 Downing Street bookplate (**Figure 7**). As he retained his London house at 38 Berkeley Square, it would be rash to conclude on the evidence of this bookplate that he maintained a library as such in Downing Street. The examples of the bookplate known to me are all on books he acquired – or might have acquired – during his period of office.<sup>50</sup>

How did Rosebery come to be such an avid book collector? There were book collectors in his family. One was his great-great-great-grandfather, the first Earl (1664–1723), a prominent politician who in his youth had travelled abroad and served in the imperial army in Hungary.<sup>51</sup> The British Library holds the only known copy of the catalogue of his library when it was auctioned in Edinburgh in December 1724.<sup>52</sup> While Rosebery is likely to have known about this catalogue, there is no evidence that he owned a copy.<sup>53</sup> There were 1,085 lots. The greater part of this library comprised late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century books that he would have bought as new, but some interest in collecting older books is shown by a significant number of sixteenth-century books, especially Italian, and one Italian incunable, Solinus, *Polyhistor* (Venice: N. Jenson, 1473).<sup>54</sup> A copy of this same incunable edition was sold ‘from the collection of the 5th Earl of Rosebery at Barnbougale Castle’ in 1975 and, given that Rosebery did not buy huge numbers of incunables it seems highly likely that he had bought this one knowing that it belonged to the first Earl; the description of it as having Buccleuch arms makes it plausible that it had an earlier Scottish provenance.<sup>55</sup> The first Earl’s collection had two features which



we shall see also characterised the fifth Earl's collections: books by earlier Primroses and volumes of pamphlets.<sup>56</sup> Both men also collected pictures; the first Earl's were auctioned in London, probably in 1724 or 1725.<sup>57</sup> Little is known about the second and third Earls, but the fourth Earl, Archibald John Primrose (1783–1868), Rosebery's grandfather, another politician but also a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of other learned institutions,<sup>58</sup> was responsible for building Dalmeny and also seems to have had a taste for books. The 1995 'Continental Library' sale contains five lots with that provenance: two lots of mainly Elzevir editions; Machiavelli, *Opere*, 6 vols (Florence, 1782–1783); Rousseau, *Oeuvres*, 18 vols (Paris, 1793–1800), in a fine French binding; and Voltaire, *Collection complète des oeuvres*, 30 vols (Geneva, 1768–1777).<sup>59</sup> He had a London house at 139 Piccadilly, and there survives a copy of an Italian guidebook, Niccolò Pagni, *Itinéraire d'Italie*, 2nd edition (Florence, 1801), in which Rosebery has noted 'An old guidebook from Rosebery – brought from 139 Piccadilly – no doubt that used by my grandfather'.<sup>60</sup> Rosebery's father, Archibald Lord Dalmeny (1809–1849), was a Liberal politician who did publish a book on the value of physical education, *An Address to the Middle Classes on the Subject of Gymnastic Exercises* (1848), but is not known to have been a collector himself. However, we shall see that his mother, while not known as a collector, was interested in books and did encourage the young Rosebery.

As recorded by his son-in-law the Marquess of Crewe, in 1911 Rosebery wrote to Sir George Trevelyan that at Christmas 1858 he came across Macaulay's *Essays* in Chevening House library and beginning with Milton 'read no other book till I had finished the three volumes. And at the New Year my mother, seeing my absorption, gave me a copy. There was much, of course, that I could not really understand. But I delighted in the eloquence, the grasp and the command of knowledge, the irresistible current of the style. And to that book I owe whatever ambitions or aspirations I have ever indulged in.' His son-in-law also records a copy of Adolphe Thiers, *History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon* (London, 1850) inscribed 'Dalmeny, March 7, 1859' and containing a later note dated 1885 'This book I bought when in quarantine at Mr. Lee's school after the measles. I read it right through. – R. 1885.'<sup>61</sup>

He moved to Eton in 1860 and quite soon seems to have become a collector as well as a reader, encouraged no doubt by his tutor, William Johnson (later known as William Cory), who wrote, on 9 February 1862, to the influential Cambridge bibliographer Henry Bradshaw: 'My friend Dalmeny is looking forward to making your acquaintance, with the natural eagerness of a budding bibliomaniac. I took him last week to Lilly's, and he forthwith inquired for rare tracts printed by his ancestor Primrose. We went on to Evans's, and there he picked out a print representing another Primrose of the seventeenth century, preacher to the French Church in London. At Holloway's he bought autographs ...'.<sup>62</sup> His interest in his Primrose ancestors is worthy of note: by the time of

the 1923 Barnbough catalogue it had grown into four pages of books written or owned by early Primroses.<sup>63</sup> But he bought more widely than that when at Eton: for example, we know of an eighteenth-century autograph manuscript essay on Roman law by the comte de Mirabeau containing Rosebery's note 'bought when I was at Eton'.<sup>64</sup> We can also see something of the bibliophile in his arranging to have a volume of his own verse – containing 'The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis' and 'Two Efforts in Blank Verse' – privately printed at Eton in 1862, of which his son-in-law says he sent his uncle Lord Stanhope a copy 'gorgeously bound in green morocco'.<sup>65</sup> Henry Bradshaw was not his only bibliophile acquaintance while at Eton, for he overlapped with Edward Hawtrey, Headmaster and then Provost until his death in January 1862, who was a renowned collector, particularly of illustrated books and early classical texts. His library was sold in several parts, July and December 1853, and June 1862, and the National Library of Scotland has a volume containing both 1853 catalogues inscribed 'given me when I was at Eton by my tutor W. Johnson, but bound at my cost at Eton – no light matter!'.<sup>66</sup> Rosebery had a life-long devotion to Eton, and never stopped acquiring books with Eton associations: nearly 550 such items – including three Eton imprints of 1610–1613 – were sold in 1980, and there were others.<sup>67</sup>

Also dating back to his schooldays was Rosebery's association with Edward Cheney (1803–1884), an art collector and also one of the original members of the Philobiblon Society founded in 1853.<sup>68</sup> Cheney may not have influenced his collecting, but he provides evidence for Rosebery's interests. Among the correspondence between them surviving for the period 1862–81 is an undated letter from Cheney in which he writes 'I did not observe a Baskerville Virgil in your collection – I beg you to accept one'.<sup>69</sup> This book, inscribed 'Dalmeny from his affectionate friend E.C. L. 1863 Aug. 7', is now in the National Library of Scotland, as also is an imperfect copy (lacking title page) of the *De imitatione Christi* ([Lyons?, 1653?]) inscribed 'To dear Edward from his affectionate friend Dalmeny. Eton Oct 24. 1863'.<sup>70</sup> Also belonging to 1863 there is a letter from Cheney saying 'I asked Lady Holland to send you her photograph which she does with her love, I told her I was sure you would value it. I have also a very pretty Virgil in three small volumes that belonged to Mr. Fox which she has sent for you – it contains an inscription from her & Mr. Fox's book plate – very few of his books have his name or any remarks of his – I selected this as the volumes I thought you would prefer – I will send them to you'.<sup>71</sup> (These volumes are now in the National Library of Scotland: see **Figure 4**.)<sup>72</sup> This shows that Cheney was aware that Rosebery would be interested in this copy's association with 'Mr. Fox' who was the statesman Charles James Fox (1749–1806) as well as Lady Holland's husband's great-uncle. He judged correctly: in his biography of Rosebery, the Marquess of Crewe remarked 'Her gift to him of Charles Fox's Virgil had a permanent place on his personal bookshelf', and we recall that in his 1898 address Rosebery said that Fox 'in a real love of books approaches most nearly to Mr. Gladstone'.<sup>73</sup> An 1867 letter

from Cheney is also evidence of an earlier interest in both old books and their associations: 'I hope you will accept an Aldine Lucretius as a memorial of my brother. It is, I believe, a rare edition & I gave it to him some five and twenty years ago. If you preserve your taste for old books you may like it for its own sake – if you have lost that taste I know you will value it as a remembrance of true friends'.<sup>74</sup> When, following his death, Cheney's library was sold in June 1886, Rosebery made a number of purchases, but the provenance is likely to have been a secondary consideration.<sup>75</sup>

From Eton, in 1866 Rosebery went up to Christ Church, Oxford, but, as already mentioned, left early without taking a degree, at Easter 1869. However, his studies continued: in her biography published in 1900 Jane Stoddart writes that James Donaldson 'could tell how the hardest studies of his life were carried on between the years 1868 and 1878. He read history, politics, biography, classics, making up by the steadiness and regularity of his work for any slackness he had shown at school and college'.<sup>76</sup> One proof of this work is his address 'The Union of England and Scotland' delivered to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution on 3 November 1871, which also demonstrates the part played by his collecting, and reading, of the contemporary printed literature.<sup>77</sup>

From the press of Scotland the announcement of the Union produced a shriek of real or simulated indignation. Piles of these dreary publications have been preserved, and some have a quaint character of their own. Two tracts, for instance, almost illegible in their blurred type, appeared in the Aberdonian dialect .... Then there is a tract called the "Testamentary Duty of the Parliament" .... Then there is a patriotic pamphleteer who compares himself to the dumb son of Croesus .... Then we have a lay sermon, attributed to Sir David Dalrymple .... Then there is "The Smoaking Flax Unquenchable" .... Then there is the protest of the "United Societies of the witnessing remnant of the anti-Popish, anti-Prelatick, anti-Erastian, anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church" against "this land-ruining, God-provoking, soul-destroying, and posterity-enslaving and ensnaring Union"; and scores of others which have unfortunately escaped the butterman and trunk-maker.

Following this highly successful address, Rosebery was elected an Honorary Member of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution; subsequently he was elected an Extraordinary Director (March 1874) and finally President (June 1898), an office he held until his death.<sup>78</sup> When at Dalmeny in the 1870s Rosebery would have enjoyed the advice not only, as already mentioned, of

James Donaldson but also of other Edinburgh book-lovers. One of these, the eminent Edinburgh bibliographer and Librarian of the Signet Library, David Laing (1793–1878), to whom on 24 October 1871 Rosebery wrote ‘an eloquent acknowledgment of Laing’s learning and helpfulness’, seems not to have had any role in the Philosophical Institution.<sup>79</sup> However, Rosebery may well have met others at the Institution. Donaldson had served on the Board of Directors since the session 1865–1866.<sup>80</sup> James T. Gibson Craig, from whose library Rosebery was to buy heavily, had been an Extraordinary Director since 1868.<sup>81</sup> Later, William Cowan joined the Board of Directors in the session 1890–1891.<sup>82</sup> William Carfrae was Librarian from 1866–1867 till his death in 1890–1891, when he was succeeded by Harry G. Aldis as Secretary and Librarian, a post he held until he resigned in June 1899 to take up a post at Cambridge University Library.<sup>83</sup> Carfrae and Aldis provide a link to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society of which we have seen Rosebery was a founder member.<sup>84</sup>

The National Library of Scotland’s collections allow us to document some purchases of both Scottish and English books from this period: for example, John Johnston, *Inscriptiones historicae regum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1602), Robert Bruce, *Sermons Preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1591), and *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1637), all with his characteristic note ‘AR 1872’, and Jeremy Sharp, *The English Rogue*, 8th ed. (London, 1776) and Ferdinand Farquhar, *The Relicks of a Saint* (London, 1816), both acquired in 1871.<sup>85</sup> He might have bought some or all of these from London booksellers, but we do know that he visited Edinburgh bookshops.<sup>86</sup> We can also document books he bought when abroad as it was his habit to inscribe them with notes of both place and date of acquisition: for this period the National Library’s collections have examples from 1870 (Nice), 1871 (Paris), 1873 (Salt Lake City, two from Venice), and 1875 (two from Cincinnati).<sup>87</sup> The journal of his North American trip of 1873 records his visits to Appleton’s and Bouton’s bookshops in New York.<sup>88</sup>

The period between his marriage in 1878 and his wife’s death in late 1890 was a busy time in politics – except for a break when he and Hannah went on a world tour in September 1883–March 1884<sup>89</sup> – but his collecting continued apace. We have already seen how in 1880–81, while Rosebery was at Mentmore, James Donaldson was making additions to the library at Dalmeny, and also visited Mentmore, where in 1882 he was completing a catalogue of the books there. When the restoration of Barnbogle Castle was completed that April, Donaldson may have helped in the transfer of books there from Dalmeny, though it was the Edinburgh bookseller John Grant who compiled the first Barnbogle catalogue of 1885. If Grant was employed to carry out this job, it is not impossible that he helped with other tasks, as we shall see Bain helped at The Durdans.

The 1885 catalogue is a very useful piece of evidence because it documents the speed and nature of Rosebery’s collecting. In a letter to J.T. Clark, Keeper of the Advocates’ Library, he wrote: ‘I would gladly give you a copy of my

Catalogue but that I am not very proud of it. It was made strictly for utilitarian purposes – to prevent the purchase of duplicates. But it is by no means my idea of a Catalogue – nor does it represent above two-thirds of my present library. ... Could you in any way assist me to a good cataloguer, as I would rather lend you a new Edition than the present one. ... Mr Grant did very well – but the plan was not rightly planned’.<sup>90</sup> This catalogue (182 pages) is so full of cross references that it makes a quantitative assessment difficult, but it displays his interests: early Scottish and French books, fine dedication copies, private printing, unusual provenances, proof impressions of plates, original early bindings, and fine modern bindings. He already owned many important items such as the Kilmarnock Burns (two copies) as well as the first American edition of Burns; a copy of Robert Ferguson’s *Poems* with the author’s inscription (from David Laing’s library), which along with other editions formed ‘a complete collection of the various editions of Ferguson’s *Poems*’ (**Figure 5**); a copy of a 1637 quarto edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* with alterations and additions by Charles I, with a note from the King saying that these alterations are to be followed in what came to be the folio edition called Laud’s Liturgy. The Beckford books are there, too, of course, with notes drawing attention to Beckford’s manuscript annotations. Rosebery was also bulk-buying Scottish material: from the sale of James Maidment’s library came thirteen volumes of chapbooks, two volumes of union tracts, thirty-three volumes of tracts relating to the various counties of Scotland, and eleven volumes of trials. As on 6 October 1880 James Donaldson wrote to Rosebery ‘I have also Maidment’s Catalogue and the auctioneer will tell me who were the purchasers’, it seems that bids were not placed for Rosebery at the Maidment sale, which was in May 1880, but that the books came indirectly.<sup>91</sup> Donaldson’s mention on 28 September 1880 of ‘making an inspection of the books in reference to future purchases’ suggests that it was only in late 1880 that building the library collection began in earnest.<sup>92</sup> The implication of Donaldson’s writing on 15 November 1880 ‘I think that, if you would like all the new books that are published on Scotch subjects to go down to Dalmeny, Douglas and Foulis would be on the whole the best to deal with, as Douglas has his eye on everything new in that department, whether publicly or privately printed’ is that the idea of comprehensively collecting new Scottish books was a recent one.<sup>93</sup>

Useful further information about the Beckford purchases – and Rosebery’s methods in general – comes from the account of Bain’s bookshop in the Haymarket published in 1940 by James Stoddart Bain, who did not join the business until 1886 but had access to the notebooks of his uncle James Bain (1829–1894).<sup>94</sup> For 9 December 1881 (Rosebery was at the Home Office August 1881–June 1883) these notebooks record ‘Today Lord Rosebery observes in passing, “This is a convenient house of call on my way to and from my office, but it costs me my official salary.”’<sup>95</sup> When William Beckford died in 1844 his fantastic library was inherited by his son-in-law the tenth Duke of

Hamilton, whose grandson, the twelfth Duke, sent it to auction in four parts in June 1882–November 1883: it fetched a total of £86,000. Bain has information about this, following a nice anecdote that relates to a slightly later period (the two girls were born September 1879 and January 1881):<sup>96</sup>

In my very early days I can remember Lady Rosebery calling at the Haymarket, on her husband's behalf, accompanied by her two daughters, then quite little girls. One of them said rather querulously, "This isn't a toyshop, Mother", to which Lady Rosebery replied with a smile, "It is your father's toyshop, my dear." Earlier he had always had the first choice of the books bought at the Beckford Sale for the business, and each day the previous day's purchases used to be laid out for him to see, and from them to choose any he wanted to possess. At other times, too, if anything especially choice or rare came into the hands of the business, from whatever source, it was always the custom to give Lord Rosebery the first refusal, which in most cases signified an acceptance.

A further comment from Bain is also useful for the light it throws on how booksellers helped Rosebery with the running of his libraries:<sup>97</sup>

To his servants and employees, in fact to anyone who did any work for him, he was always studiously courteous and considerate. Whenever an assistant of the business went to the Durdans to arrange the library and to insert bookplates into the most recent purchases, he was sure to be met at Epsom Station by one of Lord Rosebery's carriages and driven up to the house.

Beckford was not the traditional kind of collector but was attracted by bibliographical rarities, fine bindings and provenances.<sup>98</sup> Eva Rosebery calculated that her father-in-law bought over 726 Beckford books for which the price paid at auction (not the price he paid Bain and other agents) was £1,848.<sup>99</sup> The extent of this buying suggests that Rosebery shared some of Beckford's collecting interests. Beckford had a propensity for writing comments, sometimes critical, in the margins and, in particular, on the fly-leaves of his books.<sup>100</sup> Rosebery shared this habit, as shown in **Figure 3** taken from a book containing both Beckford's and Rosebery's comments on facing pages. The superficial resemblance in the way they wrote their comments could be taken as an indication that Rosebery was influenced by what he saw in Beckford's books, but this would be difficult to prove or disprove.<sup>101</sup>



Beckford's was only one of the notable sales of the late 1870s and 1880s from which Rosebery stocked his libraries. Other sales which fed his collections were those of the libraries of David Laing (December 1879, April and July 1880, February 1881), James Maidment (May 1880), Hamilton Palace (May 1884),<sup>102</sup> Michael Wodhull (January 1886), Edward Cheney (June 1886), James T. Gibson Craig (June to July 1887, March to April and November 1888), James Wyllie Guild (April 1888) and Robert Samuel Turner (June and November 1888). But he also bought abroad, for example the volumes of Marat mentioned above were acquired at auction in Paris in 1885, and as a well-known collector he was offered books both by Bernard Quaritch and other dealers and received many gifts of books from private individuals, including those seeking favours. One such gift was *The History of the Works of the Learned; or, An Impartial Account of the Books Lately Printed in All Parts of Europe. For the Month of April, 1699* (Edinburgh, 1699), presented by W.T. Dobson with an accompanying letter, 20 October 1887, in which he asked for Rosebery's support in his application for the post of Reference Librarian in the New Public Library at Edinburgh.<sup>103</sup>

If we now return to Rosebery's various libraries, that at The Durdans, where he was said to have kept his most precious books, is perhaps the best documented because we can call upon the evidence of both the 1933 sale catalogue and the Durdans Collection in the National Library of Scotland. The 1933 sale certainly included many of those 'rarities' to which John Buchan referred: lots 1113–16, a set of the first four Folios of Shakespeare, including an entirely complete and perfect First Folio that had cost him £3,000 in 1908; lot 284, the holograph MS of Disraeli's *Vivian Grey*; lot 907, a copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, first edition, second issue (London, 1667), inscribed 'This was Lord Beaconsfield's [*i.e.* Disraeli's] copy, bought by me from the Executors. He kept it in the Dresden Cabinet which I also bought. R. 1881.'; lot 268, a manuscript of Jane Austen's *Lady Susan*; lot 736, a very fine copy of the first printed Homer (Florence, 1488); lot 347A, a copy of the Cambridge Greek New Testament (Cambridge, 1628), inscribed by the 1st Viscount Bolingbroke to Alexander Pope; lot 922, the first edition of More's *Utopia* (Paris, [c. 1517]); lot 945, the first edition, first issue, of Newton's *Principia* (London, 1687); lot 449, one of three copies on vellum of Catullus edited by John Wilkes (London, 1788), this being Wilkes's own copy with his bookplate, from Wodhull's library (lot 449); lot 775, an entirely uncut copy of Johnson's *Dictionary* (London, 1755); lot 670, Gladstone's pocket Dante (Venice, 1827), with his marginal pencil notes on nearly every page; lot 425, a copy of William Baxter's *Horace* (London, 1725), given to Lord Byron by C.S. Matthews four days before he drowned in the River Cam; lot 107, J.F. Herring's *Portraits of the Winning Horses of the Great St. Leger Stakes* (London, [1829]), with fifteen coloured aquatints, one of few copies recorded with so many plates; lot 346, a 'fine, large and complete copy' of the Polyglot Bible (Alcala, 1513–1517); and lot 351, a marvellously fine copy, from the library of Henry Huth, of the King



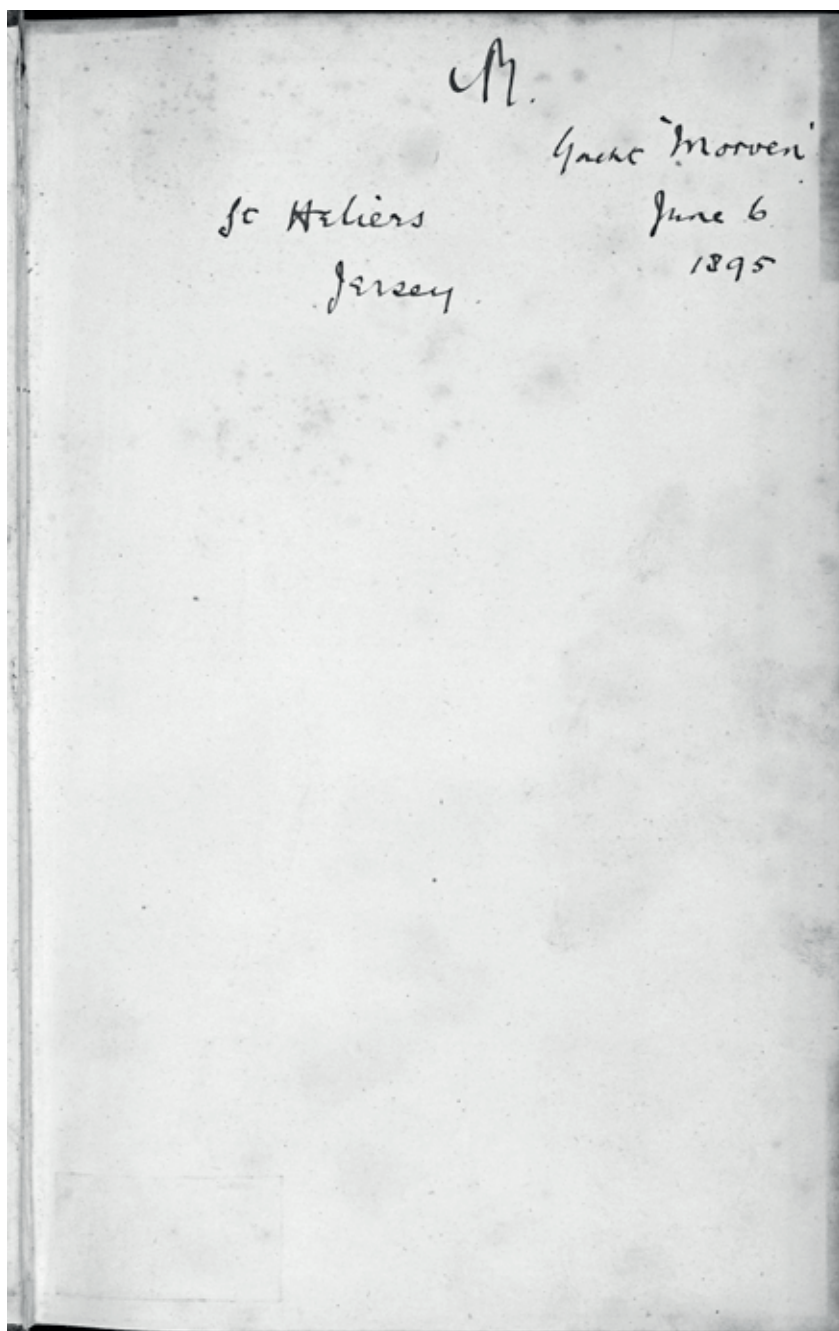
James Bible (London, 1611), acquired by Hugh Sharp and now in the National Library of Scotland's Hugh Sharp collection.<sup>104</sup> Another Durdans book (lot 737) now in the National Library of Scotland is a copy of the 1756–58 folio Foulis Homer in Greek which had been presented to William Pitt the Elder by the University of Glasgow, then belonged to Sir Robert Peel, and was bought by Rosebery at the Peel Heirlooms Sale in 1900.<sup>105</sup> As Rosebery had already owned, since 1884, a fine copy of this book presented by Glasgow University Senate to the Duke of Hamilton,<sup>106</sup> he can only have bought this second copy for its association with these two earlier Prime Ministers, both heroes of his. He would have been interested to know that in 1933 it was purchased by Ramsay MacDonald, by whose bequest it came to the National Library of Scotland in 1937 – a copy thus owned by four Prime Ministers.

It is worth noting that there were very few incunabula sold from The Durdans in 1933. It seems unlikely that this is because they were excluded from the sale: rather, unlike his contemporaries such as the 25th and 26th Earls of Crawford, Rosebery seems to have had no special interest in incunabula as such and collected them in a very limited way. The only examples known to me from dispersals are: Bessarion, *Adversus Platonis calumniatorem* (Rome: Sweynheym & Pannartz, [before 13 September 1469]), a presentation copy inscribed by Bessarion, acquired at the R.S. Turner sale, 19 June 1888;<sup>107</sup> Solinus, *Polyhistor* (Venice: N. Jenson, 1473), almost certainly a copy from the library of the first Earl of Rosebery, as argued above; the first edition of Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi* (Augsburg, 1473);<sup>108</sup> Dante, *La commedia* (Florence: Nicolaus Laurentii Alamanus, 1481), 'the first edition of the *Commedia* with Landino's commentary, conceived as one of the most monumental illustrated editions of the fifteenth century',<sup>109</sup> the first edition of the Greek text of Homer (Florence, 1488);<sup>110</sup> Dante, *La commedia* (Venice: Petrus de Plasiis, 1491), a later edition with Landino's commentary and different illustrations;<sup>111</sup> the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493);<sup>112</sup> the first edition of Theocritus (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1495), which was from Beckford's library;<sup>113</sup> Jordanus Nemorarius, *Elementa arithmetica* (Paris, 1496), which contains in its colophon the earliest reference in a book to a Scot associated with the printing trade, David Lauxius of Edinburgh, acquired by Rosebery from the 1905 sale of John Scott's library, and now in the National Library of Scotland;<sup>114</sup> the first complete edition of Petrarch (Basel, 1496);<sup>115</sup> Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo, *De claris mulieribus* (Ferrara: Laurentius de Rubeis, de Valentia, 1497), claimed to be the first printed book to contain real portraits, and with a presentation inscription of 1818 from Richard Ford to the Edinburgh collector David Constable;<sup>116</sup> the first edition of Aristophanes (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498);<sup>117</sup> Aristotle, *Opera*, vol. 5 (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498), in what is probably its original binding and with an eighteenth-century Scottish provenance (gifted by Duncan Forbes to the Marquis of Annandale), bought by Rosebery at the Hopetoun House Sale, 25 February 1889, and now in the National Library of Scotland;<sup>118</sup>

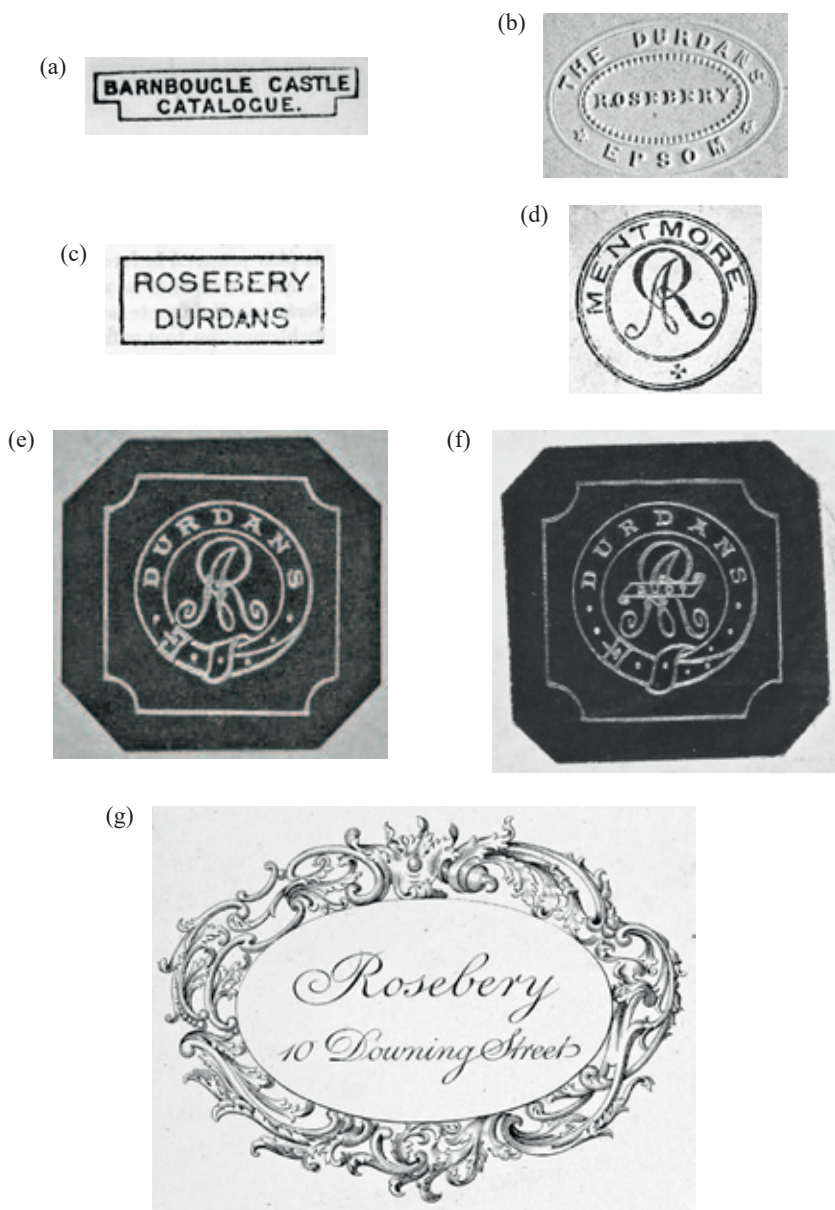
Dur. 1144.



LE LIEVRE BROS.  
BOOKSELLERS.  
STATIONERS AND PRINTERS.  
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JERSEY.



**Figure 6:** Rosebery's "10 Downing Street" bookplate and inscription, right, in Edward Durell, *An Account of the Island of Jersey* (Jersey, 1837). From NLS Dur.1144.



**Figure 7:** Rosebery's library-specific bookplates, book-labels and book stamps. From NLS sources: (a) Ry.II.f.14, "Barnbougle Castle Catalogue" stamp. (b) Dur.364, oval embossed Durdans stamp. (c) Dur.83, "Rosebery Durdans" stamp. (d) Dur.1553, circular "Mentmore AR" stamp. (e) Dur.121, circular "Durdans AR" label (black; also printed on other colours). (f) Dur.405, circular "Durdans AR QUO" label (red; also printed on other colours). (g) Dur.1144, 10 Downing Street bookplate.





**Figure 8:** Rosebery's non-library-specific bookplates and book-labels. From NLS sources: (a) Ry.II.f.37, bookplate with shield, coronet and buckle below. (b) Ry.II.f.22, bookplate with shield, coronet and "garter" star below. (c) Ry.II.a.4, similar to (a) and (b) but with "Archibald Philip Earl of Rosebery" below. (d) Dur.39, yellow "Archibald Philip Earl of Rosebery" label. (e) Dur.1553, small shield, coronet and AR.

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Pigeon-shooting 251

Origin of Westminster Bards 268

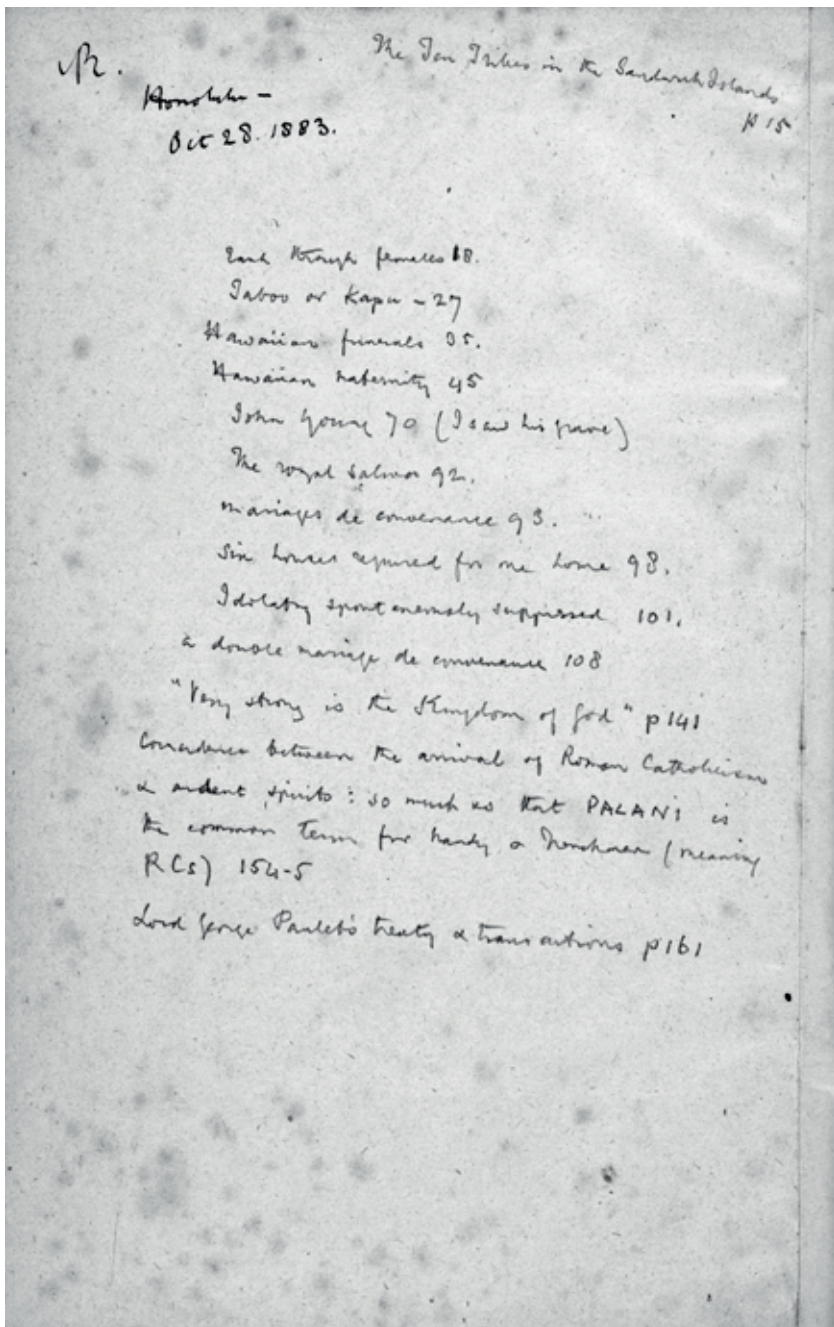
Surf abstractions & Newmarket courses 273.4

E.O. 274

George III 275

Handy caps 305

Lord Barrymore 313



**Figure 9:** Rosebery's reading notes from, left, *The Sporting Magazine*, vol.1 (London, 1792), NLS: Dur.2404, and, right, James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 4th edition (Honolulu, 1872), NLS: Dur.1648.



and the famous *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), complete except for the errata leaf.<sup>119</sup> What this list strongly suggests is that Rosebery was attracted to first or important editions of famous texts or to books with important historical associations, though this does not explain why he never purchased a Gutenberg Bible. At that same Hopetoun House Sale (above) there was a copy of the Gutenberg Bible available, which Quaritch bought for £2,000.<sup>120</sup> In 1889 there could not have been a financial impediment in Rosebery's way.

The selection of books from The Durdans that came to the National Library of Scotland contains no outstanding items of the kind mentioned above as sold in 1933, but in some ways they are more interesting and some are perhaps not widely known. Rosebery was no stranger to the royal family, and had received from the King a copy of the October 1901 issue of the Scottish Nationalist magazine *The Fiery Cross* with a letter saying: 'My dear Rosebery, If you have not seen enclosed publication it may perhaps amuse you. Yours very sincerely Edward R.' The King has marked passages such as the one which claimed that as King of Great Britain he must be Edward I not Edward VII.<sup>121</sup> Moving on from royalty, Rosebery's career was heavily entwined with Gladstone's, and this is the source of several interesting items. In 1891 – the year after Hannah Rosebery's death – Mrs Gladstone gave Rosebery a copy of *Memorials of William Henry Gladstone* (he was her son, who died that year from a brain tumour) inscribed 'From Catherine Gladstone to Lord Rosebery – one who in community of sorrow knew how to soothe & sustain'.<sup>122</sup> Rosebery also had Mrs Gladstone's prayer book, given to her by her uncle Thomas Grenville (the politician and book collector) in its year of publication, 1843, but in which she has copied out 'verses by my own husband' of May 1836.<sup>123</sup> There are also four books with Rosebery's own '10 Downing Street' bookplate, all acquired in Guernsey or Jersey in early June 1895 when he was cruising in the Channel after his second Derby victory: one of them is Edward Durell, *An Account of the Island of Jersey* (Jersey, 1837), inscribed 'St Heliers Jersey Yacht 'Morven' June 6 1895' (**Figure 6**).<sup>124</sup> Considering that he resigned on 21 June, he moved fairly fast to get the bookplate on: of course he might have put it on afterwards. There are also many rare items without any special associations: for example, the first translation of any of Smollett's novels, *Peregrine Pickle*, in French (Amsterdam & Leipzig, 1753); a copy of the first printing, first edition of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris, 1857), containing the six poems later suppressed; the original publication of Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* for July 1890; Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery* (London, 1747); and Georg Winter, *Tractatio nova et auctior de re equaria* (Nurnberg, 1703), an illustrated treatise on horses and horse-breeding in German, Latin, French and Italian, that is very rare outside Germany.<sup>125</sup>

Baudelaire's poems and a few other items from the Durdans Collection could be classified as *erotica*: for example, some issues (September to October) of *The Night-walker: or, Evening Rambles in Search after Lewd Women*,

with the *Conferences Held with them* (London, 1696); John Davenport, *Curiositates eroticae physiologiae; or, Tabooed Subjects Freely Treated. In Six Essays* (London, privately printed, 1875); *Glossarium eroticum linguae Latinae* (Paris, 1826); René Maizeroy, *Cas passionnels*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1892); *Garçon et fille : hermaphrodites vus et dessinés d'après nature par un des plus célèbres artistes et gravés avec tout le soin possible pour l'utilité des studieux* (Paris, [1773?]); Charles Aubert, *Les nouvelles amoureuses*, 20 parts (Paris, 1883–1885).<sup>126</sup> Rosebery may have had more books of this kind than are known to us: a letter of 1 November [1929] written to the Marquess of Crewe, when he was collecting materials for his father-in-law's biography, by Paul Dana of New York, includes the following: 'One night on board the yacht Vesta, chartered by Mr. Keene, whose Foxhall died at Mentmore, Mr. Ward talked at some length of his adventures to a couple of us not long out of college. He closed with telling us that since he was growing old he had given his erotic library to Lord Roseberry [sic].'<sup>127</sup> The American Sam Ward, the so-called 'King of the Lobby', died in May 1884, aged 70, and Dana was born in 1852: this suggests the gift belongs to the late 1870s.<sup>128</sup> None of the above-mentioned books carries any trace of having belonged to Ward, and in any case some of them date from after Ward made his gift. If the story is true, the extent and nature of this 'erotic library' will have to remain a mystery until further information comes to light.<sup>129</sup>

For Rosebery's library at Barnbogle we can draw on the 1923 catalogue, Eva Rosebery's article 'Unfamiliar Libraries' article in *The Book Collector*, and the Rosebery Collection in the National Library of Scotland. In addition to the incunabula from the Rosebery Collection mentioned above, there are books such as the very rare *The New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament Maid be James the Fift Kyng of Scottis. 1540* (Edinburgh: T. Davidson, 1542), the first printing of any Scottish act of parliament;<sup>130</sup> Michel de l'Hospital, *Epistolarum seu sermonum libri sex* (Paris, 1585), in a vellum binding with the stamp of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, offered for £20 by Quaritch, 23 February 1886;<sup>131</sup> a rare copy of Walter Scott's first published work, his legal thesis *Disputatio juridica, ad tit. XXIV. lib. XLVIII. Pand. de cadaveribus damnatorum* (Edinburgh, 1792);<sup>132</sup> John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* ([Geneva], 1558);<sup>133</sup> George Buchanan, *Franciscanus et fratres* ([Heidelberg], 1594), in a binding with the arms of Jacques Auguste de Thou and his wife, offered by Quaritch for £10 10s in a letter of 10 February 1899, 'thinking that the historical provenance might interest you';<sup>134</sup> King James's own copy of his *Workes* (London, 1616);<sup>135</sup> William Drummond of Hawthornden's copy of Jacopo Sannazaro, *Opera omnia* (Lyon, 1603);<sup>136</sup> and a fine copy of Hector Boece, *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine* (Paris, 1527) in a binding done for Jean Grolier.<sup>137</sup>

This interest in books related in any way to the history of Scotland takes us back to the 1871 lecture on The Union, the first output stemming from his deep interest in history on which Winston Churchill commented when he

wrote in his *Great Contemporaries* (London, 1937), ‘the Past stood ever at his elbow and was the counsellor upon whom he most relied’. The fact that Rosebery’s role in the Scottish History Society was more prominent than that in the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, or indeed in the Roxburghe Club, illustrates well how it was the historical evidence provided by books and manuscripts that mattered most to him. The Scottish History Society had its origins in a letter he published in the *Scotsman* on 3 February 1886 in which he said:

We should have a Society in Scotland for printing the manuscript materials for Scottish history, especially social history, which are believed to exist in such abundance among us. I do not allude to charters, which gratify but few. I am thinking rather of letters or diaries of the seventeenth, eighteenth, or early nineteenth centuries.

When the Society was formally constituted at a meeting held in the Signet Library on 21 April 1886, Rosebery accepted office as President of the Society, and he retained this office until his death. In 1889 he presented to the Society *A List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion, Transmitted to the Commissioners of Excise by the Several Supervisors in Scotland in Obedience to a General Letter of the 7th May 1746*, edited from a manuscript in his possession and with a preface by himself. In his account of the first fifty years of the Society, W.K. Dickson wrote that ‘From the beginning Lord Rosebery took an active part in the work of the Society and gave us of his best. In the early years of the Society he presided when possible at the Annual Meeting and reviewed the year’s work.’<sup>138</sup>

In terms of his own later writing Rosebery was most drawn towards biographies of former statesmen that he admired: his major publications, the majority of them written after his premiership, were *William Pitt the Younger* (London, 1891), *Napoleon: the Last Phase* (London, 1900), *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906), and *Chatham: his Early Life and Connections* (London, 1910), and also long essays on Sir Robert Peel and Oliver Cromwell (both London, 1899). This is in keeping with the view he expressed about biography when H.H. Asquith spoke on ‘Biography as a form of literary art’ at the inaugural meeting of the 1901–1902 session of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. Rosebery was presiding and ‘confessed his personal regard for biography as by far the most fascinating and attractive form of reading that existed.’<sup>139</sup> His interest in people’s characters is also well illustrated by the comments he wrote on the fly-leaf of the *Letters of Lord Althorp*, a privately-printed collection of letters of the third Earl Spencer put together by his nephew, who gave Rosebery a copy on 22 November 1881: ‘There is a clean pure atmosphere about this book in which one sees the living portrait of an absolutely straight man. The puzzling thing about him is that he is always so

short of cash, having married a reputed heiress, while his father was spending fabulous sums in buying rare books.<sup>140</sup>

While this paper is about Rosebery's book collecting, it is worth drawing attention to the way in which – with virtually unlimited financial resources at his disposal – he sought to acquire biographical material of all kinds – not only books, but also portraits, furniture and other objects – relating to characters who interested him.<sup>141</sup> This can be seen most clearly for Napoleon. Part III of The Durdans 1933 sale comprised books (lots 1315–1490) and autograph letters and historical documents (lots 1491–1657), to which should be added material in the NLS Durdans Collection and material in more recent sales. For paintings and other objects, visitors to Dalmeny House can see what the house website describes as the most important Napoleonic collection outside France: as well as numerous paintings, there are, for example, Napoleon's throne as First Consul, his shutters, desk and chair when in exile on St. Helena, his shaving stand, and the pillow on which his head rested after his death.<sup>142</sup>

But it was books that undoubtedly took up a lot of Rosebery's time. It is said that Beckford read almost every book he owned.<sup>143</sup> So many of Rosebery's books show signs of having been read that one is inclined to say the same about him. Some books, typically novels, are simply annotated with a date (and occasionally a place) at the end of the text: for example, Fortuné Du Boisgobey, *Le Plongeur (Scènes de la vie sportive)*, (Paris, 1889), 'Hohenschwangau Sept 2 / 89'; Richard, Viscount O'Monroy, *Dix minutes d'Arrêt!*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1897), 'Aug / 97'; Edouard Estaunié, *L'Empreinte* (Paris, 1900), 'March 23. 1901'; and Max and Alex Fischer, *L'Amant de la petite Dubois* (Paris, 1910), 'Aug / 10'.<sup>144</sup> In these cases at least, comparison of publication and reading dates suggests a habit of reading books soon after acquiring them. Other books do not have reading dates but do have general comments such as that in *Letters of Lord Althorp* mentioned above. Examples of more critical general comments are Emile Gaboriau, *La Corde au cou* (Paris, [1873?]), 'The art of printing has never sunk lower than in this book. Nor is the story worthy of any better print', and Wolf E.H.E. von Baudissin, *Gens de la haute* (translated from the German by J. Schroeder and P. Bruck-Gilbert) (Paris, [1905]), 'Heaven only knows why Bain has enshrined this twaddle so sumptuously'.<sup>145</sup> Then there are also books with reading notes, especially on the fly-leaves, of the kind already illustrated in **Figure 3** taken from a biography of Frederick the Great. These notes are found in a wide range of books and cover a wide range of details: some relate to family history, Eton and other places that were important to him, horse-racing, and to the biographies of men who interested him, but others simply to what he found worthy of note. **Figure 9** shows examples from *The Sporting Magazine*, vol.1 (London, 1792) and James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 4th edition (Honolulu, 1872), purchased in Honolulu on 28 October 1883.<sup>146</sup> Obviously a number of the comments in *The Sporting Magazine* refer to horse-racing, but note also the reference to the origin of Westminster Bridge (p. 268) and to E.O. (p. 274), an eighteenth-century pre-

cursor of roulette in which E (even) and O (odd) were marked around the circumference of a wheel. The comments from the *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, are mostly of anthropological interest. The text behind the reference of 'The royal saliva' reads: 'The saliva of the king was carefully preserved in a spittoon, around the edges of which were set the teeth of his ancestors. If his enemies got possession of any of it, they were supposed to have the power to occasion his death by sorcery and prayer.'

As well as the notes that he wrote in books, Rosebery also made separate notes in a series of notebooks some at least of which are held in the National Library of Scotland, Acc.8365.<sup>147</sup> Some are thematic – for example, Naples (8365/11), Thackeray (8365/17), Horace Walpole (8365/18), and Epsom (8365/20) – and may have been compiled over a period of many years, while others contain a series of notes from books he was reading at the time. As an example, this is the inventory description of 8365/2:

Notebook 5" x 7½" of c. 200 leaves filled in Rosebery's MS with notes and excerpts from his reading of c. 320 books including: Foreign Office Sketches, Life of Shelley, Carlyle, Macaulay, Parkinson's Tour in America, Vathek, Frankenstein, Fawcett's Free Trade, Bird's Sandwich Islands, Pilgrim's Progress, Smith's Wealth of Nations, Town Life in Australia, Our Australian Cousins, Dante, Trollope's Australia, Daniel Deronda, Don Quixote, Sporting Magazine &c &c, with some notes on The Durdans and other family matters, 1876–?

There are no clear dates showing the span of use of each of these notebooks. Analysing their contents would be an interesting, though very painstaking, research project that would itself contribute a huge amount of data on the history of reading.<sup>148</sup> This data might be enhanced if any of the entries in the notebooks could be related to Rosebery's copies of the books concerned, but it is not clear how many of these books could be traced (many of them, for example, would have been included in the books from Mentmore sold at Chester, as mentioned above).<sup>149</sup> But what is clear is that these notebooks contain notes on literally thousands of books.

Rosebery was a great supporter of libraries. He played an important role in the founding of the National Library of Scotland, to which as already described he subsequently, in his lifetime, gave a large selection of marvellous books from Barnbougle Castle (the Rosebery Collection).<sup>150</sup> He was frequently asked to open new libraries, and at the opening of the Library at Bishopsgate he said: 'There is no excuse for any man who has not his own private collection of books, and I appeal to every person in this assembly to say whether his own little shelf of books, even if it be merely a shelf, is not infinitely dearer to him than the whole collection of the British Museum.'<sup>151</sup>

His own private collection comprised tens of thousands of books. He was a man of vast intellectual capacity and of wide-ranging – though particularly historical – interests. We have already seen how he himself traced virtually his whole career back to the experience of reading Macaulay's *Essays* at the age of eleven, and we have seen plenty of evidence for how throughout his life acquiring and reading books was important to him. While there is also plenty of evidence to show his passion for collecting books and his appreciation of books as objects, nonetheless it is easy to agree with what Buchan wrote in his obituary of Rosebery: 'He was always a bibliophile and collector, but he was far more a reader, and there can have been few men of our time who ranged over such wide domains of literature.'<sup>152</sup>

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> So described in the report of his death (21 May 1929) given at the Society's AGM on 14 November 1929 as recorded in the *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* for 1929–1930. The present paper is an amended and enlarged version of one read to Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on 26 January 2012. I am grateful to Murray Simpson and Bill Zachs for their comments on an earlier draft.

<sup>2</sup> Johnston's paper, read on 8 March 1928, before Rosebery's death, was printed in the *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society 1930–1935* (Edinburgh, 1935), pp. 77–86; reprinted as G.P. Johnston, 'From the Archives: The Story of Edinburgh Bibliographical Society', *The Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1 (2006), 109–117. The 'List' refers to the first edition of H.G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* (Edinburgh, 1904). Johnston had a close knowledge of Rosebery's collections, having compiled two catalogues of books at Barnbougle Castle (footnote 41).

<sup>3</sup> John Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip, fifth earl of Rosebery and first earl of Midlothian (1847–1929)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004);

online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35612> [accessed 24 Jan 2012]: 'If Rosebery was a Scottish Calvinist he was an unusual one, who collected pornography and ran a racing stable' in response to a remark by John Buchan in an obituary that Rosebery was 'the Calvinist of seventeenth-century Scotland'. On the collecting of pornography see below in text.

<sup>4</sup> McKinsty, *Rosebery: Statesman in Turmoil* (London: John Murray, 2005), p. 181. Earlier biographical accounts used in writing this paper are: Jane T. Stoddart, *The Earl of Rosebery K.G.: an Illustrated Biography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900); Marquess of Crewe, *Lord Rosebery*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1931); R. R. James, *Rosebery* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.roxburghclub.org.uk/membership/>. In 1896 he presented *Notes which Passed at Meetings of the Privy Council between Charles II and the Earl of Clarendon, 1660–1667*, edited by the Rev. W. D. Macray. Rosebery's son was a member 1932–1974. See also Nicolas Barker, *The Roxburghe Club: A Bicentary History* ([s.l.]: The Roxburghe Club, 2012), especially pp. 135, 144, and 160.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.nls.uk/media/22630/>



private-lives-handlist.pdf. These books were kindly lent by the Earl and Countess of Rosebery.

<sup>7</sup> Sotheby's, London, 12 March 1894, lot 767.

<sup>8</sup> Lord Rosebery. *Miscellanies Literary & Historical* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921), II.208–228; W. Addis Miller, *The "Philosophical": A Short History of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution and its Famous Members and Lecturers 1846–1948* (Edinburgh: Cousland, 1949), p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> NLS Ry.IV.f.8. 'To his very great friend, the Earl of Rosebery, William E. Gladstone makes this gift, rejoicing that after much labour has been expended in vain, at last he has found this little book which is both suitable for an illustrious library and has not previously been acquired for it.' This dates from when Gladstone, following Rosebery's Foreign Office success, had described him as 'the man of the future' and saw him as his successor: see McKinstry, p. 160.

<sup>10</sup> McKinstry, pp. 1–2. Needless to say, he was celebrated in Scotland as well as England.

<sup>11</sup> James, p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> 1872 is the year given by Eva Rosebery, 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbogle Castle,' *The Book Collector*, 11 (1962), 35–44 (at p. 36), and James, p. 54, but McKinstry, p. 50, says that he paid £25,000 for The Durdans in May 1874, and a local history website says very specifically that he bought it from the cousins and heirs of Sir Gilbert Heathcote's son, Arthur, on 13 May 1874: see <http://www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk/Durdans.html>

<sup>13</sup> James, p. 84, note 1.

<sup>14</sup> On 6 April 1878 – while they were on their honeymoon – J.M.W. Turner's

'Modern Rome: Campo Vaccino' was bought on their behalf at auction in London for 4,450 guineas: see the catalogue description, Sotheby's, London, 7 July 2010, *Old Master and Early British Paintings*, lot 57.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. McKinstry, p. 200.

<sup>16</sup> See McKinstry, p. 43; James, pp. 86–87.

<sup>17</sup> John Buchan, 'Lord Rosebery 1847–1930 [sic!],' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 16 (1930), 392–409 (at p. 401).

<sup>18</sup> See NLS MS.10009, fol. 41–42, Rosebery's friend, Lord Randolph Churchill, wrote to him on 9 October 1892 urging him to buy special copies of his recent *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (London, 1892) 'for your various residencies'. We do not know if Rosebery complied; NLS Dur.1293 is a copy inscribed by Churchill. There must have been many cases of duplicates acquired for different houses, but also some cases of books transferred between houses. NLS Dur.1200 is a rare example of a book marked 'Duplicate from Dalmeny'.

<sup>19</sup> See above, with note 12.

<sup>20</sup> Eva Rosebery, 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbogle Castle,' p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Sotheby's, London, 26–30 June and 24–25 July 1933, *Catalogue of the Well-known and Very Valuable Library Formed at The Durdans, Epsom, by the Late Rt. Honble. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T. Sold by Order of his Daughter Lady Sybil Grant ... The First and Second Portions [The Third and Final Portion]*.

<sup>22</sup> NLS Dur.2449–2655: 'library' (212 pages), 'billiard room' (17 pages), 'black bookcase at entrance to billiard room' (18 pages), 'small library upstairs' (40 pages), 'upstairs gallery' (25 pages), 'Turkish bathroom' (7 pages), and 'gallery' (49 pages). The majority of entries in these

lists lack place and date of publication and comprise author and title only.

<sup>23</sup> See *The Rosebery Collections: An Exhibition Held in the National Library of Scotland, 26 August–30 September 1958* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1958). This pamphlet describes the Durdans Collection as ‘the collection of 2,783 books and pamphlets selected from the Library at the Durdans, which Lady Sybil Grant ... bequeathed to the National Library on her death in 1955’ (p. 12), but it has not yet been possible to find any details about the selection process. The collection has not yet been systematically compared against the 1935 shelflists.

<sup>24</sup> Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 20 March 1939, *Catalogue of Valuable Books the Property of The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Rosebery, D.S.O., M.C. at 38, Berkeley Square, W. 1*. There was a separate sale of pictures (148 lots): Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 5 May 1939, *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Pictures the Property of The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Rosebery, D.S.O., M.C.*

<sup>25</sup> The numbers of volumes given adds up to a total of 4,599, to which needs to be added five lots described as a ‘parcel’, eleven as ‘a quantity’ and two as ‘a stack’. There were many lots that were copies of his own publications, and lots 168–170 were Roxburghe Club volumes. These were most likely copies of the 1896 volume he presented: his son was elected a Club member in 1932 and it seems improbable that he would have sold the complete set of publications.

<sup>26</sup> Rosebery had owned another copy of Dugdale’s book, with Christopher Wren’s signature: Sotheby’s, London, 28 June 1933, lot 575 (the signature is illustrated).

<sup>27</sup> ESTC T210, ESTC T199119, ESTC T9017.

<sup>28</sup> Sotheby’s, London, 29 October 2009, *Books and Manuscripts from the English Library of Archibald, 5th Earl*

*of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T.*, lots 14, 34, 40, 43, 73, 75, 85, 86, 92, 102, 124. Lot 85 refers to *Catalogue of the Books at Mentmore* (Privately printed, 1866), but I cannot trace any copy of this. Eva Rosebery, ‘Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnboug Castle,’ p. 36, says that Rosebery had no catalogue made for Mentmore, but this is incorrect because in a letter dated 28 August 1882 (NLS MS.10013, fol. 167v) James Donaldson writes ‘I intend to go tomorrow to Mentmore to finish the catalogue’: this catalogue has not yet been traced.

<sup>29</sup> Eva Rosebery, ‘Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnboug Castle’, p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Eva Rosebery, ‘Books from Beckford’s Library now at Barnboug Castle’, pp. 324–325; Sotheby’s, London, 27–28 October 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books Formerly in the Library of William Beckford the Property of the Rt Hon. the Earl of Rosebery (from the Collections of the 5th Earl of Rosebery at Barnboug Castle)*.

<sup>31</sup> Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, 18–26 May 1977, *Mentmore*. 5 vols.

<sup>32</sup> Sotheby’s, London, 25 May 1995, *The Continental Library of Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T.*; 2 June 1995, *Printed Books and Maps Including Books from the Signet Library, Edinburgh*, lots 379–432; 29 October 2009, *Books and Manuscripts from the English Library of Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T.*

<sup>33</sup> Sotheby Beresford Adams, Chester, 22–23 July 1980, *Catalogue of Printed Books Comprising The Property of The Estate of the Late 6th Earl of Rosebery and his Family ... [and others]*, lots 419–690 (on Day 2).

<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that there were also copies of the *Racing Calendar* at The Durdans, now NLS Dur.2220–2312 (92 volumes).

- <sup>35</sup> Le Duc de Broglie, *Le secret du Roi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1878), NLS Dur.1553–1554.
- <sup>36</sup> www.dalmeny.co.uk.
- <sup>37</sup> Eva Rosebery, 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbogle Castle', pp. 35–36.
- <sup>38</sup> NLS MS 10013, *passim*.
- <sup>39</sup> Eva Rosebery, 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbogle Castle', pp. 36–37.
- <sup>40</sup> He used a small bedroom on the very top floor: see James, p. 126.
- <sup>41</sup> *Catalogue of the Library at Barnbogle Castle* (Edinburgh, [s.n.] 1885); *Catalogue of the Library at Barnbogle Castle* (Edinburgh: [s.n.], 1901) (10 copies printed; NLS holds only a microfilm of a copy at Harvard); *Catalogue of the Early and Rare Books of Scottish Interest in the Library at Barnbogle Castle* (Edinburgh: For private use, 1923; 12 copies printed). *Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Library at Barnbogle Castle*, 2 vols ([Edinburgh: s.n.], 1903) (unique copy in NLS at SU.37).
- <sup>42</sup> *The Eye of the Mind: The Scot and his Books* (Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1983), p. 56 (item 110); Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *The Gibson Craig Library. First Portion*, 27 June 1887, lot 252 (with illustration facing), bought for Rosebery by Bain for £63.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Eye of the Mind*, p. 102 (item 218).
- <sup>44</sup> Gervase Jackson-Stops, ed., *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 403 (item 334), with illustration facing; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *The Gibson Craig Library. Second Portion*, 10 April 1888, lot 3260 (with illustration facing), bought for Rosebery by Quaritch for £265.
- <sup>45</sup> Eva Rosebery, 'Books from Beckford's Library now at Barnbogle', p. 325; Sotheby's, London, 27–28 October 1975: *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books Formerly in the Library of William Beckford the Property of the Rt Hon. the Earl of Rosebery (from the Collections of the 5th Earl of Rosebery at Barnbogle Castle)*. There were also four Beckford books in the Sotheby's 1995 sale, and there are about 50 in the NLS Durdans Collection.
- <sup>46</sup> Sotheby's, London, 23–24 June 1975: *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lots 52–58, The Property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosebery (from the collection of the 5th Earl of Rosebery at Barnbogle Castle); 19–20 May 1980, *Catalogue of Printed Books Including a Collection of Books and Pamphlets by Jonathan Swift and his Contemporaries*, lots 436–460 (the 17th-century books are STC 12346, 14622, and two copies of 26065); 25 May 1995, *The Continental Library of Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T.*, and 2 June 1995, *Printed Books and Maps Including Books from the Signet Library, Edinburgh*, lots 379–432; 29 October 2009, *Books and Manuscripts from the English Library of Archibald, 5th Earl of Rosebery and Midlothian, K.G., K.T.*
- <sup>47</sup> B.N. Lee & I. Campbell, *Scottish Bookplates* (London, 2006), p. 100, illustrates **8(a)**, the arms within the Garter, pointing out that this cannot be earlier than 1892 when he became a knight of the Garter. Of course, the presence of this bookplate in a book should not be used as evidence for an acquisition date of 1892 or later.
- <sup>48</sup> Marquess of Crewe, II, 546; McInstry, pp. 352–353, 367–368.
- <sup>49</sup> NLS Dur.1189, a copy of Marquis d'Hervé de Saint-Denys, *Histoire de la révolution dans les Deux-Siciles depuis 1793* (Paris, 1856), inscribed 'Naples Feb. 1891', contains his note 'Duplicate from

Naples', as do some other volumes in the NLS Durdans Collection.

<sup>50</sup> Four examples in the NLS Durdans Collection: Dur.404, *Life of William Pitt* (Philadelphia, 1806), inscribed as presented to Rosebery in [18]95(?), and also with a 'Rosebery Durdans' stamp; Dur.411, *The Post-captain; or, The Wooden Walls Well Manned*, 5th ed. (London, 1811), with a 'Rosebery Durdans' stamp; Dur.1144; and Dur.1244, F.B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick, with Occasional Notices of Jersey*, 2nd ed. (Guernsey, 1876), inscribed 'St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, June 8, 1895'. Dur.1066–1067 is inscribed 'St. Heliers June 6 1895 in the yacht Morven' but does not have a Downing Street bookplate. Other Downing Street bookplates are recorded in Sotheby Beresford Adams, 23 July 1980, lots 456, 577 (W.W. Stephens, *The Life and Writings of Turgot* [London, 1895], with letter from the author), and 685; and Yale University Library 53 P68 C35, *Supplément au ministère de Mr. Pitt* (Cologne, 1766), which also has a Durdans stamp.

<sup>51</sup> T. F. Henderson, 'Primrose, Archibald, of Dalmeny, first earl of Rosebery (1664–1723)', rev. Philip Carter, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22794> [accessed 6 April 2012]

<sup>52</sup> *A Catalogue of Valuable Books, Belonging to the Late Earl of Roseberry, Consisting of Divinity, History, Law, Architecture, Husbandry, Gardning, Travels, &c. with a great many Volumes of Curious Pamphlets* (Edinburgh, 1724). ESTC T28853, recording only British Library 11903.bb.8; available in ECCO.

<sup>53</sup> Stoddart, pp. 5 and 7, describes and illustrates what is now BL 11903.bb.8. This copy has James Maidment's bookplate but appears to have been sold to the British Museum by Maidment himself

in 1874, i.e. before his death in 1879 and the subsequent sale of his library in 1880. I am grateful to the British Library's Rare Book Reference Team and Corporate Information Management Unit for this information.

<sup>54</sup> Lot Folio 230, 'Julii Solini de situ & Memorabilibus orbis Capitula. Venice, 1473.' (the incipit) = ISTC is00615000, Gaius Julius Solinus, *Polyhistor; sive De mirabilibus mundi, sive Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (Venice: N. Jenson, 1473).

<sup>55</sup> Sotheby's, London, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lot 58

<sup>56</sup> Lots Quarto 33, David Primrose, *A Treatise of the Sabbath* (London, 1636); Quarto 124, 'Primrose on the Sabbath. Lond, 1646', presumably another edition of the same work but not otherwise traced; Quarto 55, James Primrose, *De febribus* (Rotterdam, 1658); Quarto 56, James Primrose, *De mulierum morbis* (Rotterdam, 1655); Octavo & infra 614, James Primrose, *Enchiridion medicum* (Amsterdam, 1654); Octavo & infra 88, Gilbert Primrose, *La trompette de Sion* (Bergerac, 1610). David and James were sons of Gilbert Primrose (1566/7–1642), a minister in the French Reformed Church, who was the son of the son of Gilbert Primrose (c.1535–1615) of Culross, Perthshire, principal surgeon to James VI. In addition to lots described simply as 'Pamphlets', note Octavo & infra 665 comprising twenty-three volumes of pamphlets and Quarto 130 comprising eight volumes.

<sup>57</sup> *A Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Fine Pictures, of the Right Honourable Archibald, Late Earl of Roseberry*. ESTC N27682. Only copy in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York. The title page gives the date of the sale as Wednesday 24 February which perhaps suggests 1725 rather than 1724 (ESTC).

- <sup>58</sup> T. F. Henderson, 'Primrose, Archibald John, fourth earl of Rosebery (1783–1868)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22795> [accessed 6 April 2012]
- <sup>59</sup> Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1995, lots 85–86, 284, 342, 373.
- <sup>60</sup> NLS Dur.677.
- <sup>61</sup> Marquess of Crewe, I, pp. 13–14. Chevening House was the home of his mother's father, the fourth Earl Stanhope.
- <sup>62</sup> *Extracts from the Letters and Journals of William Cory*, pp.75–76.
- <sup>63</sup> *Catalogue of the Early and Rare Books of Scottish Interest in the Library at Barnbogle Castle* (1923), pp. 212–215. See also Stoddart, p. 3, on the presentation to Rosebery by the Hawick Archaeological Society of a bronze mortar inscribed 'Gilbert Primros, Chirurgien, 1569'.
- <sup>64</sup> McDowell & Stern Ltd, Catalogue 28 (May, 1984), item 325a.
- <sup>65</sup> Marquess of Crewe, I, 20–21; I can trace no copy of this book, not even at Eton (I am grateful to Rachel Bond, Eton College Library, for answering my enquiry). His mother also had books privately printed as presents: for example, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 25–26 and 28–30 June 1886, *Catalogue of the Choice Library of the Late Edward Cheney, Esq.*, lots 463–464, for two books she gave to Cheney.
- <sup>66</sup> S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson. *Catalogue of the First Division of the Larger Portion of the Valuable Library of the Rev. Dr. Hawtrey*. [London, 1853]. Sold from The Durdans in 1933; now NLS AB.4.83.9, acquired in 1982.
- <sup>67</sup> McKinstrey, p. 30. Sotheby's, 20 May 1980, lots 436–460; the Eton imprints are STC 12346, 14622, and 26065 (2 copies). There are books relating to Johnson/Cory at NLS Dur.550 (copy of his *Lucretius* with manuscript notes copied from those of the author) and Dur.1196 (an obituary notice and Memorial address). Rosebery also noted references to Eton, as in his copy of Anstey's *New Bath Guide* at NLS Dur.419 (4th ed., London, 1767; reference on p. 119).
- <sup>68</sup> Charles Sebag-Montefiore, 'Cheney, Edward (1803–1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37277> [accessed 6 April 2012].
- <sup>69</sup> NLS MS 10071, fol 88.
- <sup>70</sup> Dur.690; Dur.17. It is not known how the latter was re-possessed by Rosebery.
- <sup>71</sup> NLS MS 10071, fols 65–66, 18 September 1863.
- <sup>72</sup> Virgil, *Opera* (Paris, 1745), now NLS RB.s.1913, purchased from Sotheby's, 1995, lot 370.
- <sup>73</sup> Marquess of Crewe, I, 20; Lord Rosebery, *Miscellanies Literary and Historical*, II, 219.
- <sup>74</sup> NLS MS 10071, fol 199, 11 March 1867. His brother, Henry, died in 1866. This book, the 1515 edition, inscribed 'Lord Dalmeny from E.C. March 11, 1867', was sold at Sotheby's, 1933, lot 812; its current location is unknown.
- <sup>75</sup> Fifteen books sold at Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1995, have Cheney provenances: lots 8, 14, 15, 41, 57, 62, 64, 121, 173, 181, 212, 284, 347, 356, 360. The same applies to the earlier sale of Cheney's pictures in 1885: three pictures sold from 38 Berkeley Square in 1939 had Cheney provenances (Christie, Manson & Woods, 5 May 1939, lots 27, 136–137), and Rosebery may have had others.

<sup>76</sup> Stoddart, p. 28.

<sup>77</sup> *The Union of England and Scotland: an Inaugural Address Delivered at the Opening of the Session of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, 1871–72* (Edinburgh, 1871). Reprinted in Lord Rosebery, *Miscellanies Literary and Historical*, II, 71–105; the quotation is from pp. 92–94.

<sup>78</sup> Edinburgh Central Library qY AS 122 P56, ‘Philosophical Institution Minute Book 1861–1878’, for 18 January 1872, 31 March 1874; *Report by the Directors of the Philosophical Institution to be Submitted to the Fifty-second Annual Meeting of the Members to be Held on Tuesday the 25th Day of October 1898* (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 4; Miller, *The “Philosophical”*, p. 43.

<sup>79</sup> For the letter see G.Goudie, *David Laing, LL.D.: A Memoir of his Life and Literary Work* (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 242. Unlikely though it seems, Laing is not indexed in Miller, *The “Philosophical”*, and is not apparently to be found in any of the printed papers bound together as NLS R.251.e ‘Edinburgh Philosophical Institution Reports &c. 1846–1867’.

<sup>80</sup> Miller, *The “Philosophical”*, p. 22.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Philosophical Institution Minute Book 1861–1878’, 31 March 1868.

<sup>82</sup> Miller, *The “Philosophical”*, p. 39.

<sup>83</sup> Miller, *The “Philosophical”*, pp. 24, 37, 39, 44.

<sup>84</sup> On these links see also R. Ovensen, ‘H.G. Aldis (4 March 1863–24 February 1919)’, in *Nineteenth-Century British Book-Collectors and Bibliographers*, ed. by William Baker and Kenneth Womack, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 184 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale, 1997), pp. 3–9.

<sup>85</sup> NLS Ry.II.c.1, Ry.II.h.12, Ry.III.g.36–37, Dur.197–199, 263.

<sup>86</sup> See Stoddart, p. 28, writing about

Rosebery in his twenties: ‘In the bookshops of Edinburgh he was then, as now [*i.e.* 1900], a familiar figure. Sometimes he would walk all the seven miles from Dalmeny and back again in order to see an old volume or curious manuscript.’

<sup>87</sup> NLS Dur.254, 585, 71, 605, 1687, 608, 2152.

<sup>88</sup> *Lord Rosebery’s North American Journal – 1873*, ed. by A.R.C. Grant with Caroline Combe (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1967), pp. 84 (Bouton’s, ‘buying a little’, 13 November), 100 (‘I bought books at Appleton’s’, 26 November), 101 (‘concluded my purchases at Appleton’s and ordered the parcel to be sent off’, 28 November), and 123 (Bouton’s, 13 December).

<sup>89</sup> NLS Dur.451, San Francisco, 6 October 1883; Dur.1648, Honolulu, 28 October 1883; Dur.1030, Melbourne, 1884.

<sup>90</sup> Letter in NLS copy at RB.m.445, 25 September 1888, replying to a request for a copy.

<sup>91</sup> NLS MS. 10013, fol. 22.

<sup>92</sup> NLS MS. 10013, fol. 15.

<sup>93</sup> NLS MS. 10013, fol. 41.

<sup>94</sup> James S. Bain, *A Bookseller Looks Back: The Story of the Bains* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1940).

<sup>95</sup> Bain, p. 140.

<sup>96</sup> Bain, p. 177.

<sup>97</sup> Bain, p. 178.

<sup>98</sup> S. de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530–1930) and their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 84–87; V.T. Bemis, ‘William Beckford (29 September 1760–2 May 1844)’, in *Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, ed.



by William Baker and Kenneth Womack, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 213 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale, 1999), pp. 26–27.

<sup>99</sup> Eva Rosebery, 'Books from Beckford's Library now at Barnbougle', pp. 324–327

<sup>100</sup> H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven & London, 2001), pp. 38–41, 246–247.

<sup>101</sup> Rosebery's notes in James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, likely to have been written soon after its acquisition in Honolulu on 28 October 1883, would be a good example of Beckford's possible influence but does not constitute proof. To disprove the theory it would be necessary to find Rosebery's comments in a book published and acquired before June 1882, but even then there might be no certainty that the comments dated from before that time, though there is evidence to suggest that Rosebery often read a book quite soon after acquiring it (see below in text).

<sup>102</sup> The library collected by the tenth and eleventh Dukes of Hamilton, which had been kept separate from Beckford's library.

<sup>103</sup> NLS Ry.IV.f.4. Work on the New Public Library began in July 1887; It was opened, by Rosebery, in June 1890.

<sup>104</sup> NLS H.S.385.

<sup>105</sup> NLS F.6.d.21–24; Robinson & Fisher, *The Peel Heirlooms*, 13 June 1900, lot 449. See Brian Hillyard, 'The Glasgow Homer', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 2. Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800*, ed. Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 70–80 (especially at p. 74).

<sup>106</sup> Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Hamilton Palace Libraries: Catalogue of the Hamilton Library*, 6 May 1884, lot

1028, 'presentation copy to George James Duke of Hamilton from the Glasgow Senate, with Latin inscription'; *Catalogue of the Library at Barnbougle Castle* (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 72, with same description.

<sup>107</sup> Sotheby's, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lot 53.

<sup>108</sup> The Durdans, lot 799.

<sup>109</sup> Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1995, lot 11.

<sup>110</sup> The Durdans, lot 736. Among a small number of books 'from the collection of the 5th Earl of Rosebery at Barnbougle Castle' offered at Sotheby's, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lots 52–58, was a copy (lot 55) of this same edition with an almost identical description. The explanation is provided by Eva Rosebery, 'Unfamiliar Libraries VII: Barnbougle Castle', p. 40: 'it did not fetch its reserve and was later presented by Lady Sybil Grant to the Jewish Relief Fund Sale when it was bought by the present Lord Rosebery.'

<sup>111</sup> Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1995, lot 12.

<sup>112</sup> The Durdans, lot 1099.

<sup>113</sup> Sotheby's, London, 28 October 1975, lot 442.

<sup>114</sup> NLS Ry.III.c.17 = Inc.270, from the library of Eugène Yéméniz and so identifiable as the copy in Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the Late John Scott, Esq. C.B., Halkhill, Largs, Ayrshire*, 30 March 1905, lot 1116. It was purchased by Quaritch for £68–0–0 (marked up copy of the sale catalogue at NLS L.C.1065). It was sold together with a copy (one of only 20)

of Scott's pamphlet on the subject: now NLS Ry.III.c.16. Scott had a collection of books and manuscripts relating to Mary Queen of Scots (lots 1312–1703) of which many were purchased by Quaritch, presumably for Rosebery.

<sup>115</sup> Sotheby's, London, 25 May 1995, lot 36.

<sup>116</sup> Sotheby's, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lot 56.

<sup>117</sup> Sotheby's, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lot 52.

<sup>118</sup> NLS Ry.II.a.5 (also recorded as Inc.199.5), inscribed 'Hunc Librum Nobilissimo D. D. Jacobo Marchioni Annandiae Donavit vir eruditissimus ac Causarum Patronus, disertissimus Dun[c]anus Forbes'. This can be identified as Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *The Hopetoun House Library. Catalogue of the Library of The Right Hon. The Earl of Hopetoun*, 25 February 1889, lot 232, purchased by Bain for £2–17–0. Bain purchased only around 18 lots in this sale, including several volumes of Scottish tracts, some books on hunting and a book on Naples – all probably for Rosebery.

<sup>119</sup> Sotheby's, 23–24 June 1975, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Historical Documents and a Russian Manuscript*, lot 54. The source of this copy is not known: it was not Cheney's copy, described as the largest and finest copy known (Sotheby's, 29 June 1886, lot 1441), nor Beckford's (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 5 July 1883, Part III, lot 873, in 'old Venetian red morocco' whereas Rosebery's copy was in a Rivière binding).

<sup>120</sup> Lot 269, now in Cambridge University Library.

<sup>121</sup> NLS Dur.1891.

<sup>122</sup> NLS Dur.466.

<sup>123</sup> NLS Dur.689. As Mrs Gladstone (d. 1900) would not have given away her own prayerbook, this probably came from her daughter Mary Drew, who in May 1918 sent Rosebery a printed copy (they were never published) of letters sent to her by her friend Alfred Lyttelton, now NLS Dur.2787.

<sup>124</sup> NLS.Dur.1144. The other examples known to me are listed in footnote 50.

<sup>125</sup> NLS Dur.220, Dur.623, Dur.1581, Dur.1879, Dur.2505.

<sup>126</sup> NLS Dur.752; Dur.1233; Dur.1573; Dur.1961; Dur.2778; Dur.2761–2764 and 2765–2775, two copies, both imperfect, the first bound in three vols, the second in original parts as issued.

<sup>127</sup> NLS MS 10195, fol. 238–240. The year is missing from the date of the letter, but as Dana died on 7 April 1930, it must be 1929, though McKinstrey, p. 489, endnote 38, gives 1930. McKinstrey further states that Ward's collection included illustrations for the Marquis de Sade's work, but is not clear about the source for this information.

<sup>128</sup> Foxhall, an American-bred racehorse owned by the Wall Street stock broker James R. Keene, died on the stud farm at Mentmore in 1904, but this has been brought in from the association with Rosebery and is not relevant to the date of the conversation being reported.

<sup>129</sup> The Durdans shelflists (above, footnote 22) throw no light on this problem.

<sup>130</sup> Ry.II.a.7.

<sup>131</sup> Ry.II.a.15, with letter from Quaritch loosely inserted. Ry.II.a.8 is another copy of this book, in a fine sixteenth-century binding with the arms of the Hurault family, probably Philippe Hurault, Chancellor of France, bought at auction

by Quaritch in March 1905.

<sup>132</sup> Ry.IV.c.27.

<sup>133</sup> Ry.III.g.40.

<sup>134</sup> Ry.IV.f.37(1), with letter from Quaritch loosely inserted.

<sup>135</sup> Ry.III.a.11; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *The Hamilton Palace libraries. Catalogue of the Hamilton Library*, 1 May 1884, lot 1072.

<sup>136</sup> Ry.II.h.7.

<sup>137</sup> Ry.II.a.11; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *The Gibson Craig Library. First Portion*, 27 June 1887, lot 298 (with illustration).

<sup>138</sup> W.K. Dickson, *Scottish History Society: Fifty Years, 1886–1936* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1936). Dickson refers in particular to the review of November 1897 printed in Lord Rosebery, *Miscellanies Literary and Historical*, II, 64–70, which reflects on the value of the Society's publications.

<sup>139</sup> Miller, *The "Philosophical"*, p. 46.

<sup>140</sup> NLS Dur.1167.

<sup>141</sup> According to McKinstry, p. 182, Margot Asquith wrote in her diary that A.J. Balfour 'had no sympathy for collectors of the kind that Rosebery was. He hated people who collected the hair or toothbrushes of great men.'

<sup>142</sup> <http://www.dalmeny.co.uk/visiting/napoleon.htm>. Rosebery also bought, in 1882, the full-length portrait 'The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries' by Jacques-Louis David (1812), commissioned by the tenth Duke of Hamilton (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington).

<sup>143</sup> V.T. Bemis, 'William Beckford (29 September 1760–2 May 1844)', p. 28.

<sup>144</sup> NLS Dur.1947, Dur.1944, Dur.1942,

Dur.1945. For his travels in autumn 1889 see Marquess of Crewe, I, 348.

<sup>145</sup> NLS Dur.1943, Dur.375.

<sup>146</sup> NLS Dur.2404, Dur.1648.

<sup>147</sup> NLS Acc.8365; inventory at <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/cnmi/inventories/acc8365.pdf>

<sup>148</sup> See, for example, the UK Reading Experience Database (RED) at <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php> [accessed 7 May 2012]. There is no entry for any book annotated by Rosebery.

<sup>149</sup> Where, for instance, is Rosebery's copy of Otto Donner, *A Brief Sketch of the Scottish Families in Finland and Sweden* (Helsingfors, 1884)? He refers to page 36 of this in NLS Acc.8365/2 (entry 704): 'Hans Primrose, of Scottish descent, was merchant in Stockholm. His son Henric, major of infantry, was ennobled in 1653, but died in 1669 without male issue.'

<sup>150</sup> Iain F. Maciver, 'The Making of a National Library', in *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library 1689–1989*, ed. by Patrick Cadell and Ann Matheson (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1989), pp. 215–265 (especially at p. 235–236 and 251–252).

<sup>151</sup> Marquess of Crewe, II, 645.

<sup>152</sup> Buchan, p. 401. See the earlier appraisal by William Roberts, *The Book-Hunter in London: Historical and other Studies of Collectors and Collecting* (London, 1895), p. 304: 'A considerable number of the members of the Roxburgh Club come in the category of book-lovers rather than book-collectors. The Earl of Rosebery is understood to possess many valuable books and manuscripts relating to Scottish literature, particularly in reference to Robert Burns; but beyond this he has no fixed rule regarding additions to his library, "except his course of reading for the moment".' The quotation is not attributed.

# From the Archives: The Two First Books Printed in the Scottish Language\*

E. GORDON DUFF

In 1503, or thereabouts, two books were issued at Paris which have, or should have, the greatest interest to us as Scotchmen, since they are the two earliest books printed in the Scottish language. That they came from a French press is a matter for no surprise, when we consider the intimate relations of the two countries at that time; and again, we know that our first printer, Androw Myllar, obtained his knowledge as well as his printing materials from France. The advantages in obtaining education had attracted many Scotchmen to Paris, nor, as we well know, were they the least eminent sons of a foreign university; while others had gone to the French metropolis purely from the expectation of success in business.

The learned paper of Mr Scott [John Scott, 'The *Arithmetica* of Jordanus Nemorarius, Paris, 1496', *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1890–95, no. 5] has traced for us the career of David Lauxius, the Edinburgh press corrector in Hopyl's office, who, beginning in the printing office, the refuge of learned men in a foreign country, left it to become the schoolmaster of Arras. He was doubtless a learned man, otherwise he would hardly have gained the friendship of Badius Ascencius, the versatile editor of the early sixteenth century.

The translator of the two following books must have been a man placed in somewhat similar circumstances – living in Paris, knowing Latin and a certain amount of French. Unfortunately, we have absolutely nothing to give us a clue as to who he may have been. The extreme rarity of the two books I am about to describe makes it quite possible to hope that there may be others of the same class still lying hid in some unexplored library which may contain some fuller information on the subject.

But let us now come to the books themselves, and take first the least interesting of the two – *The Art of Good Living and Good Dying*. It begins on the recto of the first leaf:

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\* 2012 note: The original printing, in the *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 1890–95, no. 14, was accompanied by three facsimiles, which have not been reproduced here. Only one of these was referred to in the text, and that reference has been omitted. 2012 comments have been made within square brackets, and square brackets in the original have been changed to round brackets. Otherwise, punctuation is as the original, as is capitalisation.

The book Intytulyd The art  
of good lyvyng & good deying;

and on the verso of the same leaf is a cut of St George and the Dragon.

The recto of the second leaf contains the cut of a man presenting his book to another man, who is sitting in a large seat; under this the text begins:

Our god impera- | tor et makar of | hewen et erth and | in  
the begynnyng | of tyme and of al | thīgys of noth wyth  
out ony | mater lying tharto. And ar al | the said thynges  
maid cōtenit | en fowr thyngys the qwich ar | ewyn yat is  
to say a thyng et | of a age in the quhyche shyn- | nys. The  
soweraine myth of | owr makar. The said forthyn- | gys ar  
the Ewyn Empre na- | ...

This is the text of the first page, and it gives a good idea of the language of the rest of the book, a language not always too clear. The book ends as follows (on ii. 7 recto):

Et thys suffycys of the ioys of paradys & consequently |  
of al the traytte the qwych as beyn translatyt in | parys the  
xiii. day of franch in englysh oon | thowsand v.  
hondreth et. iii. zears prayant the | reyddars that y<sup>t</sup> playsyt  
them that they vold | mend the fawlt<sup>9</sup> of the trāslator & to  
pray for | the saowllys of the actor trāslator and that | he  
wold fynaly bryng them in the glory et ioy | aboue sayd  
and al other good crystyn men | Amen. | ¶ Heyr endyth  
the traytte of | god lyuyng and good deying et | of paynys  
of hel et the paynys | of purgatoyr the traytte of the |  
cummyng of the ante cryst the xv. | syngys goyng afor  
the iugemēt | general of god the ioyses of pa- | radys and  
the iugement gene- | ral imprentyt in parys the xxx | day  
of the mowneth of May.

On the verso of this leaf is Verard's device. On the recto of the last leaf is the same cut as occurs on the first, while the verso of the leaf is blank. Collation a–z. &. aa–gg<sup>6</sup> hh–ii<sup>8</sup>; 202 leaves (1–202), thirty-three lines to the page, two columns. The finest copy known is in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It is in very good condition and quite perfect. There are three other copies known, all more or less imperfect, in the Libraries of Lincoln Cathedral, the Bodleian, and the British Museum.

This book seems to be very similar to Andrew Chedsey's *Passion of Christ*, with the *contemplacions* translated out of French into English; but I have never seen a copy of that book, and only know it from odd leaves discovered

in bindings. The originals are: *Of the Art of good living and Dying*, *L'art de bien vivre et de bien mourir*, in its turn translated from the *Ars bene vivendi et moriendi*. The *Comynge of Antichrist* is translated from the *Traité de l'avenement de l'Antechrist et des 15 signes précédens le jugement et des joyes du Paradis*, 1492; and from *L'Eguillon de crainte divine pour bien mourir; ou Traité des peines d'Enfer et de Purgatoire*, printed by Gilles Cousteau et Jean Menard for Antoine Verard, fol. 1492.

A translation of the same collection was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1505, entitled *The craft to live well and to dye well*. Copies of this book are in the John Rylands Library and in the library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat. The *Ordinary of Christian Men*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502 and 1506, is a similar compilation.

The second book is one of much more general interest, and is the first – let us say British – translation of the well-known *Kalendrier des Bergers*. On a1 recto is the title which is not printed from type, but is struck from a woodcut thus:

The kalendayr of  
the shyppars.

Below this are twenty-five lines of type, giving a list of the contents of the book. On the verso of the first page is a picture of a man, with several companions behind him, presenting his book to another person seated in a large chair. On the recto of the second leaf is a cut of the shepherd gazing at the stars, and below this the text begins:

Oon shyppart kepant hys sheyp in the feyldys qwych was  
| not clerk et had no wnderstondyng of wrytys bot oonly  
| be hys naturel wyt et wnderstondyng sayd. How weeyl  
| that leywyng et deyng to the playsyr et wyl of owr lord  
etc.

The book ends on the verso of leaf 95 with the following colophon:

Heyr endyth the kalendar of shyppars  
translaytyt of franch in englysh to the lowyng  
of almyghty god & of hys gloryows mother  
mary and of the holy cowrt of hywyn pren-  
tyt in parys the .xxiii. day of myng oon thow-  
sand .cccc. & . iii.

The last leaf is not known, but is almost certain to have contained Verard's device.



Throughout the book are numbers of cuts, none of them specially made for the edition, but taken from various other books. The larger and more important cuts had already been used in the editions of *L'art de bien vivre et de bien mourir*, issued by Verard in 1492, 1493, and 1496; and after having been used in this *Calendar* of 1503, they came over to England, and were used by Pynson in his edition of 1506, and they are found also in many of the later editions. Collation a–m<sup>8</sup>; 96 leaves (1–96), one column, 40 lines to the page.

Two copies are known, one belonging to the Duke of Devonshire (bought in 1810 [or rather 1812] from the Roxburghe Sale for £180), which wants the last leaf, and another in the John Rylands Library, wanting sixteen leaves. [The Duke of Devonshire's copy was acquired by the British Museum on 12 April 1958. With thanks to Simon May of the British Library for this information.] A fragment of two leaves is amongst the Douce fragments at Oxford.

There is very little doubt that this book was printed by or for Anthony Verard. Unfortunately, the last leaf is wanting in both copies, so that we cannot tell whether it contained a printer's device. As the earlier book contains no notice of a printer or publisher beyond Verard's device on the last leaf, it is hardly an unjust surmise if we consider it probable that had the present book a last leaf it would contain Verard's device.

But there is one point especially to be noticed about the book, and that is that the type in which the greater part is printed is not known to have been used for any other book. When I say this I mean that no other book is known in this type; but I found some years ago a leaf, and, lately, fragments of some more leaves in the same type, and these fragments form portions of a book which is also very strongly linked with the history of Scottish literature. The leaves are from what is probably the first edition of Barclay's translation of Gringoire's *Chateau de Labour*, and I have very little doubt that the edition was printed under Barclay's eye at Paris before he returned to England and took orders. As he is supposed to have returned about 1505, we may place these fragments about 1503–04, which brings them into the same period as the other two books. Barclay's work, however, is not written in the Scottish tongue, or any approach to it, so that we may at once dismiss absolutely any idea that he was connected in any way with the other two books. His language was always un-provincial, and, indeed he gives us so very slight a clue to his nationality that, had it not been for the very painstaking and careful work of Mr Jamieson [T.H. Jamieson, *Notice of the Life and Writings of Alexander Barclay* ... (Edinburgh) 1874], he would probably by this time have been claimed for England.

Both these books are clearly the work of one man, and he was evidently a Scotchman; and when in 1508 the book was reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, we have a preface from his translator and corrector, Richard Copland, who had a great knowledge of French, and there we find:

.... ¶ Not long tyme passed I beyng in my chambre  
where as were many pamfletes and bokes whiche in

avoydyng ydlenes moder of all vyces I ententyfly behelde; thynkyng to passe the longe wynters nyght, and sodeynly there came to my hand one of the sayd bokes of the shepeherdes kalendar in rude and scottysse language, whiche I redde, and perceyvyng the mater to be ryght compendious, and remembryng howe the people desyre to here and se newe thynges I shewed the sayd boke unto my worshypful mayster Wynkyn de worde, at whose commaundement and instygacyon I Robert Coplande have me applyed dyrectly to translate it out of frensshe agayne in to our maternall tongue after the capacitye of myne understandyng accordyng to myne Auctoure.’

What I have just quoted is from the third edition, and I have put it first because it plainly declares the language to be Scottish; but the translator or reviser of the second edition, printed by Richard Pynson in 1506, was doubtful about the language of the first edition, though he does not definitely say what he considered it to be. He says: ‘Here before tyme thys boke was printed in parys in to corrupte englysshe and nat by no englysshe man wherefore these bokes that were brought into Englande no man coude understande’. Now, if we can take this sentence as truthful ‘in substance and in fact’, it shows us two curious things – first (though this is only implied), that the editor did not know that the version of 1503 was in Scottish, and secondly, that English people could not understand it.

As to the personality of the translator we have little to guide us. At the end of the *Kalendar of Shepherdes* he has added a chapter on the ‘Ten Christian Nations’, not found in the French original, and says in the introduction to it: ‘I pretend in thys lytel traytte to speyk of maynay nacyons crestyens the qwych ar dywydyt in .x. queyr of I shal declayr after ys (this?) I have fond be wryt in the latyn tong and shal translayt in englysh after the capycyte of my lytel wnderstondyng and doyand thys yf I ar that yf pleyes to at translators to excus my zowtheyd (youth?) in the qwych I am and amend my fawltres, for yf I haue faylltzyt I put me to al amendyng’. This passage, so far as it is possible to understand it, seems to show that the translator was young. His knowledge of French was certainly very poor; for instance, he translates ‘Combien que vivre et mourir soit au plesir et volonte de nostre seigneur si doit’, etc., by ‘How weeyl that leywyng et deyng to the pleasyr et wyl of owr lord shold man lyue’, etc. One small point in the book shows, I think, conclusively that the translator was a Scotchman. Speaking of the Latin nation, and mentioning the kings of Europe, he puts the King of Scotland first.

A facsimile of the *Kalendar* has lately been published with “prolegomena”, by Dr Oskar Sommar. His remarks, though voluminous, do not much advance our knowledge. He concludes thus:

‘Bearing in mind the existence of these intimate relations between the two countries [France and Scotland], we cannot be at all surprised to hear that, besides those young Scotchmen who went to Paris to pursue or to complete their studies, there were others who came over to learn a profession as, *e.g.*, printing. It is more than probable that the translator of the *Traytte* and the *Kalendayr* was a young Scotchman of this description, who came into contact with Antoine Verard, the declared publisher of the *Traytte*, who most likely also published the *Kalendayr*. Verard had certainly no idea of the difference of English and Scotch, or he would never have ventured a speculation with so doubtful a success as the publication of these two books.’

Dr Sommar seems to me to look at the matter in quite a wrong light. I do not for a moment suppose that the books were intended for sale in England. They were printed in the Scottish language for sale in Scotland.

Again, the excessive number of misprints, often of the most careless and stupid description, and the rendering of “&” by “et”, surely point to the fact that the book was set up by Frenchmen, and that there was no Scotchman in the office either to assist in printing or to correct the proofs. We know from the colophon of the *Traytte* that the translator was in Paris in May 1503; beyond this we have no information.

James Robert Seaton  
2 April 1918–18 August 2012



**Figure 10:** Hamish Seaton in 1966.

James ('Hamish') Seaton, who died earlier this year, aged 94, was perhaps the longest surviving member of the Society. The Society's Minute Book first records him at a meeting on 25 March 1948 when he was welcomed to the Annual Business Meeting as a guest, and by the time of the next (ordinary) meeting on 18 November 1948 he had become a member. At that time the Society's meetings were normally held in the Edinburgh Central Library, and Hamish, who worked in the National Library across the road, was a regular attendee. He went on to do valuable service as a Society officer. At the Annual Business Meeting of 2 April 1953 he was elected one of two Hon. Secretaries, and signed minutes as Jt. Hon. Secretary until the meeting of 17 November 1960 when he began signing as the sole Hon. Secretary. He continued in this office, being re-elected every year, until the Annual Business Meeting of 17 March 1977 when Ian Cunningham was elected to succeed him. Hamish followed this up by serving as President for the sessions 1980–1981, 1981–1982, and 1982–1983. The two papers he gave to the Society show his wide bibliographical interests. On 20 March 1969 he spoke on 'John Waen, a Scottish Bookseller in Louvain in the Sixteenth Century' (it may not be a coincidence

that, as reported in the obituary by Ann Matheson printed in *The Scotsman*, 31 August, he spent part of his military service billeted in Gerardsbergen, in Belgium, learning the language so well that local friends commented ‘Hamish speaks Flemish without blemish’), and on 17 November 1983, while President, he welcomed twenty-four members to his home at 40 Great King Street to address them on a 19th-century topic. The Minute Book records:

Mr Seaton gave a short talk to introduce his collection on the First Afghan War (1838–42) and the Indian Mutiny (1857–8). Both wars had stimulated a large literary output in this country. Mr Seaton’s interest had been aroused by the gift from the late Major John Macnaughton of Thomas Seton’s book *From Cadet to Colonel*. His collecting had begun with the many biographies, autobiographies and histories, and led on to novels, prints, maps and even sheet music. Members had been welcomed by the recorded strains of the ‘Battle March of Delhi’ and were later able to browse among Mr Seaton’s treasures, those on the Mutiny being displayed appropriately, according to their owner, in the room usually occupied by his sons.

Hamish’s work for the Society went hand in hand with a distinguished career in the National Library of Scotland, where his work was always underpinned by a keen personal interest in books. After graduating from Glasgow University with 1st Class Honours in Classics and then serving (1939–1946) in the Royal Artillery, he joined the staff of the Library in August 1947. Apart from a spell as Secretary of the Library (1960–1966), he spent his whole career in the Department of Printed Books. He served as Assistant Keeper (1948–1964), Deputy Keeper (1964–1966), Keeper (1966–1974), and finally Principal Keeper of Printed Books (1974–1983), the most senior post in the Department. The Annual Report for 1983–1984 noted: ‘It can be said that most of the changes in recent years that have given the National Library a central and effective role in the national library service in Scotland bear the mark of his influence.’ He was awarded the OBE in 1979.

Brian Hillyard

## Book Reviews

**Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall eds, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 2. Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012). 666 pp. ISBN 978-0-7486-1912-2. £150.00.**

This volume has been a long time in the making but it has been well worth the wait. It is a long, beautifully produced, and unfortunately, enormously expensive volume, the work of forty-two authors and two superb editors, Stephen Brown and Warren McDougall, who have collectively delivered a notable contribution to a scholarly field which Bill Bell has recently described as being ‘still in ferment’.<sup>1</sup> The volume addresses the classic questions of book history; how do books come into being, how do they reach readers, and what do their readers make of them. The setting is provided by the rapidly-moving history and historiography of post-Union Scotland, and focussed on the consequences of the Union for the Scottish print industry, the epic Anglo-Scottish rivalries that shaped the industry’s development, and the activities of those remarkable entrepreneurs who were able to exploit rich authorial resources in propagating and even shaping the course of Scotland’s extraordinary enlightenment. The volume ends, perhaps somewhat peremptorily, in 1800, before the Scottish print industry had faced up to the challenges provided by the boom in periodical reviewing precipitated by the birth of the *Edinburgh Review* and the extraordinary career of Sir Walter Scott, in what Henry Cockburn might have called ‘the last purely Scotch age’ of Scottish publishing.

The first two chapters, which deal with the history of the print industry and the expansion of the book market, provide the book’s backbone. Warren McDougall’s account of the long-running and often acrimonious litigation between the London (and often London-Scots) and the Scottish book trade over copyright laws is authoritative and of fundamental importance to understanding the development of the Scottish business. It is also a fascinating case study of the impetus that post-Union patriotism could give to entrepreneurs attempting to exploit the business opportunities the Union offered. However, as McDougall’s account of the development of the Edinburgh book trade shows, rivalries of this sort were seldom allowed to stand in the way of profitable collaboration between Edinburgh and London booksellers when the occasion arose. These two chapters tell a story of competition and collaboration which was characteristic of an emerging, post-Union sense of ‘Britishness’. These foundational essays are supplemented by shorter pieces on different aspects of

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<sup>1</sup> Bill Bell ‘Symposium: What was the history of the Book?’, Introduction. *Modern Intellectual History*, 14:3 (November 2007), p. 491.



the printing business and on the special problems involved in book-binding, map production, illustration and so on, and are followed by a substantial chapter on the development of the market. Stephen Brown's note on the development of the paper industry – it is too short to be called an essay – is particularly valuable for sketching a story that deserves to be told in detail. It is important to be reminded that while Scottish printers were obliged to import nearly all the paper they needed in the 1700s, they were able to rely on a paper industry that had become a net exporter by the 1790s. As Brian Hillyard shows in an excellent essay on the Foulis edition of the works of Homer (1765–68), it was a comment on the current state of the paper industry that this most self-consciously prestigious and luxurious of productions had to be printed on imported paper. Chapter 2 deals with the development of the market for Scottish publications in Scotland and elsewhere. Richard Ovenden, Michael Moss, Ian Beavan and Richard Sher contribute important essays on the trade in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and London, respectively and William Zachs contributes an illuminating case study of the workings of the Edinburgh-based business of Bell and Bradfute. These essays emphasise the importance of specialised local needs in underpinning local printing businesses; in the case of Edinburgh, it was printing government, Court of Session, and Church papers and an interminable supply of theses that underpinned the city's print business, apparently amounting to around 75% of the total in the course of the century. Presumably that proportion grew substantially in the latter decades of the century as the business of the Court of Session expanded massively. Moss's pioneering discussion of the print business in Glasgow makes the fascinating and important point that, in Glasgow, the equivalent ballast was supplied by the lively demand for pietistic literature in that most sectarian of cities.

These two first chapters are the most tightly organised and cogent sections of the volume and are sure to be regarded as the point of departure for future book historians of the period. The remaining chapters deal with 'Intellectual Exchanges and Scottish Authors Abroad' (Ch. 3), 'The Popular Press and the Public Reader' (Ch.4), 'Publishing the Enlightenment' (Ch.5) and 'Scottishness and the Book Trade' (Ch. 6). The scholarship in evidence in the essays contained in these chapters is formidable but one is left with the impression that they work best when they are most closely geared to the concerns of the first two chapters. In the case of Chapter 3, it was interesting to learn about Scottish texts read in Germany, the fortunes of Hume's *Political Discourses* in France, Ossian's *Poems* in Europe, and the book purchases of a handful of Scottish grand tourists in Italy and it is equally interesting to learn what Scottish authors made of Russia and Asia and what the American Founders thought of various Scottish political writers. But for this reader, these essays seemed anecdotal and contrasted awkwardly with the focussed and important essays about the Scottish market for French books, (Stephen Brown), the Scottish-Dutch book trade in the early decades of the century (Esther Meijers) and the Scottish-American and the Scottish Canadian book trades (Warren McDougall

and Fiona Black respectively). Meijer's fascinating essay incidentally throws important light on the vexed question of how the young David Hume managed to lay hands on the works of Pierre Bayle which exercised such a profound influence on his sceptical philosophy; Charles Mackie, the professor of civil history, and a Scottish bookseller living in Holland planned and seems to have launched a subscription edition of Bayle's works for the Scottish market in 1722.

Chapter 4 deals with the popular press and with broader questions about the role of libraries in expanding access to a burgeoning print industry. Murray Simpson and K. A. Manley write authoritatively about the expansion of public and private libraries in the course of the century as does Stephen Brown writing about the development of the newspaper and periodical press. But the cutting edge of the chapter is provided by Alexander Murdoch's excellent survey of the vexed debate about the extent of literacy in eighteenth century Scotland. Murdoch emphasises the complexity of the reading habits of men and women from the peasantry and artisan classes and raises questions about John Crawford's influential observation that by the end of the century, the reading habits of working people had moved from being 'intensive' in the sense of being confined to the close reading of a few, usually devotional texts, to having become 'extensive', and devoted to reading a wider range of texts only once. As Murdoch and Manley suggest, it is easy to exaggerate the scale of this development. Circulating and subscription libraries did not begin to expand in numbers until the end of the century and were in any case confined to the more substantial towns with large artisan and substantial peasant farmers like Paisley and Dumfries, towns in which it was also easier to gain access to the Edinburgh periodical press and to papers like the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Scots Magazine*. It is now more or less conventional to notice that Scottish working people were beginning to be introduced to literature written in English rather than in the vernacular and were being subtly anglicised in the process. It is also worth noting that this process of diffusion involved extending the cultural reach of Edinburgh, now firmly establishing itself as the focal point of the cultural and political life of post-Union Scotland.

Chapter 5 raises the elusive question of the quality of the Scottish 'reading experience' in the age of the Enlightenment, a subject opened up with notable circumspection by Mark Townsey who rightly stresses the limitations of currently fashionable attempts to open up the subject by relying on the textual annotations and commonplace books of a handful of individuals. For the rest, Chapter 5 is devoted to essays on the production of religious tracts and sermons (Ann Matheson), books on political economy (Richard Sher), medicine (Fiona Macdonald), agriculture (Heather Holmes) archaeology (an odd essay on the problems an eccentric archaeologist had in getting into print in the early years of the century), the novel (Peter Garside) and a superb chapter on the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* by the editors. The book history of works on moral philosophy, belles-lettres and that most lucrative of contemporary

genres, history are sadly lacking. The essays in this chapter are generally pretty sharply focussed on publishing history. Matheson is particularly interesting on the market for evangelical and moderate works on the art of sermon writing, Garside on the curious lack of interest in publishing and promoting Scottish fiction, Holmes on the lively market for review articles and pamphlets on agricultural improvement, and Sher on the equally lively market for often enormous treatises on commerce and agriculture in the second half of the century. David Shuttleton's essay on the journalistic career of the blind poet Thomas Blacklock tells a well-documented story of the problems of literary journalism in a late enlightenment city. The editors' essay on the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* highlights the extraordinary history of a work which so far from being a Scottish attempt to ape the *Encyclopaedie* was projected as a work which would be continually revised and updated, a commercially speculative venture in launching what was in effect an entirely new sort of periodical.

The volume ends with a chapter on Scottishness as a theme and characteristic of eighteenth century publishing. With the notable and obvious exception of Burns, this becomes a story of early patriotic exercises in republishing and repackaging Scotland's older literature (essays by Alastair Macdonald and Christopher MacLachlan), and, fascinatingly, the story of Gaelic secular literature – notably in the wake of Ossian (Ronald Black). The better-known and transformational career of Burns as a poet in search of publication and as an editor is discussed by Ross Roy. Marina Dossena discusses concerns with Scotticisms but rather surprisingly misses the opportunity of taking account of Charles Jones' important work on the lively market for pronunciation manuals which were designed to propagate a standard Scots rather than an anglicised pronunciation.

In the course of its relatively short disciplinary life, book historians have generally been anxious to emphasise the interdisciplinary and non-prescriptive character of the enterprise and *Enlightenment and Expansion* is a genuinely interdisciplinary work of scholarship which calls on the talents of a commendably wide range of scholars from different disciplines. However one is left with the feeling that it is time to draw some disciplinary boundaries. This collection worked best when authors took books as their point of focus and dealt with the business of publication and the changing market for texts. Essays which were focussed on the histories of particular authors or on reader responses seemed out of place because they raised questions which belonged to different sorts of discourse and were probably better left to intellectual historians or historians of ideas. For all its manifold strengths, this volume leaves one with the thought that it is time for book historians to trim their sails and to ask themselves where they are going.

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**Thomas Tanselle, *Bibliographical Analysis: A Historical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). vii, 167 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-75762-1 paperback. £16.99**

Although bibliography may require an introduction, Thomas Tanselle needs none to its practitioners. Based on his 1997 Sandars Lectures at Cambridge University, this brief volume (88 pages of text plus notes and a substantial set of bibliographies and indices, including a very helpful arrangement of the books cited listed by subject) will be required reading for students and contains much enlightening and thought-provoking material for anyone with an interest in the study of text and its material manifestations.

The first chapter narrates the history of bibliography, starting in a familiar place with Henry Bradshaw and his ‘catalytic role’ (p.10) in developing what he first called ‘palaeotypography’ at the end of the 19th century. But there is no reference to the Scottish circle which met in the same period and was to form the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in 1890, two years before the Bibliographical Society was founded in London, which Tanselle, does, however, refer to: one hopes that only reasons of space forced this omission from the text. As may be expected, Tanselle handles the story of the transition from Bradshaw, Proctor and the concern with dating the earliest printing to Pollard, Greg, McKerrow and the development of the New Bibliography with ease, conveying well the sense of what exactly was so exciting about the discoveries each generation embarked upon. What he does not do is interrogate this narrative: did Greg’s resolute focus on one particular method to construct one particular aspect of a book’s history, with reference to one particular period of book production, really not have any distorting effects on the discipline of bibliography as it developed? This presumption in favour of the key players in the story of bibliography lasts until the entrance of D.F. McKenzie, who is given due credit for the new ideas he brought to the field, but almost always in qualified terms: McKenzie’s famous article ‘Printers of the Mind’, for example, may be ‘momentous’, but has a ‘troubling flaw’ in its reliance on archival documents to tell the truth (p.27). Here it must be said that a history of bibliography which omits, as this book modestly does, any discussion of Tanselle’s own role in its development in recent decades, will always be somewhat lopsided, though it is possible to reconstruct it somewhat from the expansive footnotes. CUP should have insisted on more substantial prefatory note than the three lines of authorial biography included.

The second chapter, on the analysis of ‘clues’ found in the ‘physical details that readers were not meant to notice’ (p.1) and what they can reveal about the making of a book, usefully explains the work of bibliography in the best possible way, by giving a real sense of the thrill of the chase for the bibliographer-as-detective. Tanselle gives beautifully clear technical descriptions of subjects such as casting off copy and unsurprisingly shows an impressive grasp of printing from the beginning of the handpress to the end of the machine age.

In the process he tells some fascinating stories about how bibliographers past and present have cracked methodological problems and run elusive printers, paper stocks, and other issues to earth. Inevitably in Anglo-Saxon bibliography there is a slight tilt towards the study of the printing of serious literature, which never formed the bulk of printers' work, from which Tanselle is not immune, though he does draw attention to this weakness.

The most innovative section is the final chapter: bibliography as the study of design, requiring a 'psychological, cultural, and aesthetic' approach (p.88). Tanselle's first justification for including this aspect of the physical appearance of books is one of balance: if traditional bibliography is the study of what a reader is *not* normally meant to register (dropped letters, chain lines, offset, etc.), analysis of design is the study of what is deliberately selected and arranged to attract their eye (choice of fonts, use of white space, illustration techniques, etc.). His second one, which I heartily echo from experience, is that the input of experts is needed in the discussion of these subjects, because so often people interpret them unaware of how much they are affected by the limitations of the cultural, technological, economic and personal circumstances in which they were chosen.

Thus, in this book, Tanselle performs the important task of wresting bibliography into a new territory. Just as in 1927 R.B. McKerrow penned an 'introduction to bibliography for students of literature', Tanselle offers an introduction to bibliography for cultural historians, providing a model for them of how to approach the book as object. His work here also suggests, perhaps equally importantly, how the teaching of bibliography could expand out of its traditional home in literature departments into courses aimed at students of design.

But will the neophyte be daunted by the discovery of the array of skills and complex technical knowledge Tanselle's analytical bibliography demands? Bradshaw complained in 1870 about 'palaeotypography' being studied in 'such a *dilettante* manner': bibliography as presented in this book seems a discipline which can only be undertaken by fearsomely erudite men (I specify the gender deliberately), embedded in institutions at the heart of Anglo-Saxon culture. Must one have the intellectual self-confidence of a Greg to begin the study? How would the more unassuming Pollard fare, were he to be starting out in 2011? As Tanselle himself notes, 'it is to be hoped that the increased demands... will not discourage bibliographers from pursuing the work' (p.41). Tanselle's is only one of several introductions to bibliography and book history which have appeared in recent years that prompt these questions. The answer his book gives, I think, is that those who find themselves challenged by the clues books contain about how they were made will, like their predecessors as related here, put their minds to work and do everything possible to find the answers to their problems, pushing the field forward in the process.

Finally, while this book is 'for all who use books', I note with interest that it is available in Adobe eBook Reader and Mobipocket eBook formats as well

as the more traditional hardback and paperback. It is a pleasant thought that this 'historical introduction' will be accessible to the future generations for whom academic study through the medium of the printed word is fast fading into history itself.

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**John Hinks and Matthew Day eds, *From Compositors to Collectors: Essays on Book-Trade History*. (Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2012). pp. xviii, 382. ISBN: 978-1-58456-301-3 (OK) 978-0-7123-58729 (BL). £45.00.**

'General, very tedious, often trifling' begins the title of one of the essays in this, the eleventh volume in the well established Print Networks series on the History of the British Book Trade. Fortunately, the contents are nothing of the kind, offering detailed and interesting reading.

The previous ten volumes reproduced papers given at a single annual Print Networks conference. This volume, the first to be published since 2009, is a selection of papers given at the annual conferences held between 2006 and 2009. They were chosen, according to Matthew Day's Introduction, 'to shed light on the book trade's impact on three main aspects of textuality: creation, circulation and reception'. (It is a minor curiosity of this volume that the editor, John Hinks, does not make any appearance as a joint signatory or contributor). As with some other volumes in this series, the Editors must have had trouble thinking up a title which reflects the very miscellaneous contents. *From Compositors to Collectors* is a good alliterative title. However, that there is only one article about what went on in a print shop and that there is only one article on the legal status of commercial libraries does stretch the concept of 'collectors' to breaking point. *Books and Readers from 1661 to 2007* or *From Printer's Workshop to the Battlefield* could have just as easily have described the contents.

Out of the nineteen papers, Scotland gets far more than is strictly necessary under the Goschen formula. Six have significant Scottish content. The first, by Stephen W. Brown, examines the unhappy Transatlantic fate of William Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*, which first appeared in Edinburgh in 1790. Almost inevitably, unauthorised editions appeared in Dublin and the United States. Decades later, in 1824, there appeared under the editorship of Harvard medical professor John Ware a revised edition more suitable for the American youth. This took out references to sex and comparisons between humans and other animals. After the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* Ware further edited Smellie's text, turning it into a creationist work, an ironic



fate for a work, which originally, if briefly, speculated about evolution. In all, thirty-five American editions, including an embossed edition for the blind, were produced until 1872.

Brian Hillyard looks at Thomas Ruddiman, not just in his familiar role of Librarian of the Advocates Library, but outlines his life a schoolmaster and discusses his private collecting. Most space, and detail, is devoted to Ruddiman's work as a printer, particularly of theses of new advocates from 1716 until 1756, the year before his death.

Also of Scottish interest, is Inverness-shire born James Fraser (1645–1732), whose career is recorded by Iain Beavan. As a private tutor, Fraser's foreign travel allowed him to develop a sideline in buying and selling books, at first buying in France and the Netherlands to sell in England in the 1680s. Late in life, in the 1720s, he was still trading. Although a High Tory who received the sinecure of Secretary of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, he survived under the new order, becoming licenser of the press under William and Mary. While he was in London he did not forget his roots, donating many theological and other volumes to the Inverness Kirk Session. His donations to King's College Library, Aberdeen – which amounted to about a third of its stock – were carefully chosen to avoid duplication. At the time of his death he still owned 2,000 books.

Eighteenth-Century Scottish Masonic songbooks are the subject of Stephen Brown's second contribution. Surprisingly, the content of such popular works included ribald material, mostly of an ephemeral nature. Few copies survive of these once popular works.

Lindsay Levy's title poses the question Was Sir Walter Scott a Bibliomaniac? Concluding a short essay on his Abbotsford library, she cautiously suggests he was, and cites the fact that Scott continued buying books even when he was desperately working to pay his debts. The final Scottish article by Joseph Marshall concerns the library assembled by a Dublin Franciscan collector who, mysteriously enough, despite his vow of poverty, managed to assemble a large collection of books. These were intended to be bequeathed after his death (in 1873) to the abortive new Catholic University in Dublin. As this never got off the ground they arrived at Fort Augustus Abbey a decade later. In recent years, most of Cassidy's collection was deposited at the National Library of Scotland. Marshall concludes by describing some of the highlights of the collection.

Four articles deal with the often fraught relations between publisher and author. Rob Allen discusses the emergence of the young Charles Dickens from the shadow of his pseudonym Boz in the 1830s. Jim Cheshire describes how even a figure such as Tennyson in his prime had battles about how his public image was promoted. The case of the publishers of *The Graphic*, altering the ending of Wilkie Collins's serialised novel *The Law and the Lady* on the grounds of good taste is discussed by Catherine Delafield. Bringing the volume bang up to date is Rachel Bower's study of Fadia Faqir's third novel *My Name is Salma*. This 2007 English language book, from the Jordanian novelist has

already been published in thirteen languages. The manner in which it has been marketed in different countries (particularly with regard to the use or non use of Islamic symbolism on the cover) has sometimes irritated the author.

Articles less easy to categorise include a search by Mariko Nagase for the printer of Thomas Middleton's 1661 play *The Mayor of Quinborough*. By dint of examining the paper, the ornaments and a single damaged letter he confidently attributes the printing to John Macoke. Matthew Day discusses how publishers of eighteenth-century travel collections promoted their wares by openly criticising earlier efforts in the field. Daniel Cooks looks at the long career of John Nichols, an early editor of the works of Jonathan Swift, who was perhaps over enthusiastic in his attributions.

Libraries, personal and institutional, come under the microscope. Daniel Starza Smith looks at the formation of the Second Viscount Conway's (1594–1655) library while William Noblett describes the dispersal of the books belonging to the deceased politician and antiquary James West in 1773. Maureen Bell discusses the collection of books assembled by a Derbyshire parish clerk and schoolmaster; the inclusion of books on penmanship reflect his dual role. S. C. Arndt looks at the early acquisitions of Belfast's Linen Hall Library. K. A. Manley examines the doubtful status of twopenny lending libraries. Uncertainty over their legal status was serious enough for the question to be raised in the House of Lords in 1935.

The final essay by Helen Smith deals with books that were definitely not intended to be collected. These were the USA Armed Services Editions, of which 123 million copies of 1,322 titles were produced between 1943 and 1947 for the benefit of American military personnel. Cheapness was the watchword: they were printed on very cheap paper so that they could safely be read to pieces without recipients getting into trouble for damaging military property. The lofty aims of the Council of Books in Wartime of building 'a free library for a free people' are quoted, but it would have been useful to learn what, if any, titles were deemed unsuitable for inclusion in the series. Needless to say, such volumes have, with the passage of time, attracted a niche collecting market.

The book is generally well supplied with relevant illustrations which have also been clearly reproduced. In two cases, the lack of illustrations is a serious drawback. Bower's discussion of the various covers used by different publishers of Faqir's novel should have been illustrated; they should not have been merely referred to by a footnote to Faqir's personal website. The very rarity of surviving copies of the Masonic songbooks suggests that it is important that they should be illustrated. The two tables illustrating Ruddiman's printing activity, although usable, could perhaps have worked better as graphs.

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**John Kucich and Jenny Bourne Taylor, eds, *The Oxford History of the Novel in English. Volume 3: The Nineteenth-Century Novel 1820–1880* (OUP, 2012). Xxxii, 548pp. ISBN: 978 0 19 956061 5. £85 cloth.**

*The Nineteenth-Century Novel 1820–1880* is a very substantial book in several senses (xxxii, 548 pages), with two editors assembling a total of thirty contributors from both sides of the Atlantic, with an excursion to Japan. What it can do, with that format, is to offer a series of very well-informed and in general very well-written essays which do two things. One, they introduce the reader to the major, and a very large number of the minor works of the chosen period, with compressed introduction and plot summary, juxtaposing the familiar (often valuably interpreted with fresh inflection) with novels many readers will be coming to for the first time, at least in detail. And second, the editors have shown skill in grouping the essays in wide categories which make a cover-to-cover reading of the book very satisfying. Briefly, these are: *Novelists, Readers and the Fiction Industry, Varieties and Genres, Major Authors in Context, Narrative Structures and Strategies, the Nation and its Boundaries*, and *Contemporary Contexts*, with substantial bibliography and indexes.

Few readers will approach a book like this without some predisposition to a favoured author or mode of criticism. The book anticipates this with the width of coverage and the variety of critical hands brought to the task. Expectation, for instance, that the dates chosen might squeeze out an author like Scott turns out to be very wide of the mark with an illuminating discussion comparing Scott with Thackeray on their treatment of the later days of the Stuart family (p. 65) and the challenging conclusion that ‘the historical novel’s transplantation from Scotland to England marginalized it, but also, inadvertently, made it a free zone: a protected (because peripheral) site for experimentation and play’ (p. 75). Again, Carlyle makes a very welcome appearance in a book like this, in his stance on authors and their inspiration in *Heroes* (p. 323), and in his relation to the Victorian novel’s conclusions on social mobility (pp. 348–9) where ‘his fascination with social hybridity introduced into the novel both narrative and rhetorical energies that had many other political potentials’.

Experimentation, play and potential are words which aptly describe many of the treatments accorded to individual authors from the period. The work lists, for instance, forty novels centrally describing authorship and the act of publication (p. 49): money, income, royalties, the more sordid details inevitably fill many of the pages, echoing Thackeray’s ironic comment ‘the men of letters, and what is called genius, are to be exempt from the prose duties of this daily bread-winning, tax-paying life, and not to be made to work and play like their neighbours’ (p. 49). The number of those earning their living this way – ‘authors, editors, journalists’ – rose from 1,673 to 5,771 between 1861 and 1891, a factor of 3.5 (p. 45). No one can read this survey without acknowledging the enormous output which changes in production, printing,

distribution, readership and sales made possible: these emerge in the course of the individual sections. One of the book's intriguing and valuable side-benefits is to illustrate the unexpected and the quirky as individual authors fought their way to success. They escaped from easy categorisation to originality and success: they made labels difficult to stick. As Richard Altick notes, no sensational device in the novels of the time with that label, 'found its way into novels that had not already appeared in local newspaper and weekly magazines during the 1850s and 1860s'. Moreover, as Altick noted, 'respectable people were responsible for these crimes (p. 148).

Change runs through the description of the period, through the novels' subjects, and through the evolution of fictional devices. In a fine summing up, Jenny Bourne Taylor writes that '... like Dickens, Gaskell, and Collins at mid-century, Hogg was fascinated by the unstable working of the mind and the fragility of the self that it suggested' (p. 245), a theme which recurs: Cora Kaplan's description of gender and race as 'dangerously fluid' in the Gothic mode (p. 518), Michael Davis' discussion of George Eliot's realist project tied to 'a fundamental unpredictability about the self, in both its internal processed and relationship with its environment' (p. 503). George Eliot recurs in these discussions, a theorist with an agenda, and also a novelist of abundant courage in experimentation in her description of the human potential. 'More than any other writer of her generation,' writes Dinah Birch, 'she demonstrated that fiction could be animated by new ideas, without losing its hold over the reader's imaginative and emotional life'. She presents George Eliot as an author with a 'project of writing novels that could draw on the resources of contemporary thought' (p. 235), and it is an apt crystallisation of much that is in these pages on culture, on science, on religion, on society as the novel changes through the decades. The quantity of material, as well as the range of the historical period, is challenging, bringing into juxtaposition (as Nicholas Dames writes) 'the interest in readers, in connecting the banal or just material facts of production (railway bookstalls) to the workings of stories themselves' (p. 295). Take Margaret Cohen's bold synthesis: 'Balzac's interlocking novels of *La Comédie humaine* begun in 1829 and continued throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and like the novels of Dickens, update Scott's tales of the mythic origins of the British nation contemporary history' (p. 417). The pleasure of the continual challenge of the contributors to the reader who works through all the essays, counterbalances the absence of a single authorial voice – which would have required superhuman labour.

Readers of these pages will appreciate the fact that the *British* novel here goes much further than acknowledging the centrality of Scott; there is a good coverage of Galt and Hogg (though not, oddly, of Lockhart), there is really adventurous discussion of Carlyle in the disputed territory of his relevance to 'fiction', and Oliphant – though it just stops short of the chance to place Stevenson in the wide locations of this discussion. Lauren Goodlad foregrounds a dimension of the discussion as relevant today as it was in the

1850s: ‘... Dickens’s novels of state present still other challenges. An author whose staunch defence of the poor often takes a paternalistic, almost Tory-like turn, Dickens laments the modern diminution of individual agency as much as Mill ... capturing a paradox of liberal governance that still haunts is today, novels like *Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit* seem to ask how simultaneously to govern and liberate, as liberalism’s differing imperatives appear to demand’ (p. 460). It is characteristic of this collection that questions from the Victorian novel in all its variety continue to challenge from the page.

The scholarship at the end is well grouped; the two indexes are compact and thoroughly usable; the collection is handsomely produced, and though expensive will serve as a permanent source of reference as well as an introduction, and re-introduction, to a wide field. A very welcome addition to the series.

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**Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters*. (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011). xii, 129 pp. 16 col. plates. ISBN: 978-0-8020-9760-6. (Studies in Book and Print Culture) [\$55.00 Canadian].**

Declared by the author to have ‘been in the making for almost a decade’, this slim volume (only seventy pages of actual text), argues that the coming of print in the mid fifteenth century did not mark a complete change in the making and use of texts. In the course of the first three chapters Mak discusses the design or, as she refers to it, the architecture of the page. The first chapter, also called ‘Architecture of the Page’, is a rapid survey of the development of the page starting with papyrus scrolls and the coming of the codex before summarising her chosen text by Buonaccorso da Montemagno. However, she provides no explanation of why she has chosen this particular work, a Latin humanist text. The second chapter, ‘Reading the Page’, explores how changing page design alters the meaning of the text. The third, ‘The Paratext and the Page’, which is closely related, deals with the paratext and stresses that minor features can significantly affect the interpretation of the text. In the fourth, ‘Reading the Library’, she follows the texts into the library. In the fifth, ‘The Digital Page’, the impact of digitised versions on our understanding of the texts is considered.

Mak has undertaken this lofty task through an examination of the manuscript and incunabula printings of a single work, the *Controversia de nobilitate* by Buonaccorso da Montemagno. Readers of the *Journal* should not feel embarrassed if the author or his work does not immediately ring any bells. He is a clearly a very obscure figure to the general reader, else a figure that is known to a few specialist academics of the early fifteenth century. While he

has a short Wikipedia entry ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buonaccorso\\_da\\_Montemagno](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buonaccorso_da_Montemagno)), which records that he was ‘highly esteemed for his public orations’, he does not feature in *Encyclopædia Britannica* nor in the extensive *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (1988). The main biographical source cited is an article from the *Giornale storico della letteratura Italiana* for 1907. A Florentine humanist, Montemagno wrote his *Controversia* around 1428. Written in debate form, it discusses whether or not nobility was a virtue which could only be handed down through wealthy families. After the first ancient Roman speakers assert this view, he follows it with another view that the nobility is not an inherited virtue but has to be striven for transmitted by heredity. This more meritocratic view prevails with the victor contrasting his ownership of a personal library to the ancestral jewels of his opponent. The use of an obscure text has its advantages and disadvantages: it does have the advantage that, as an unknown text, the reader can focus on matters relating to design matters without the possibility of distracting knowledge about the significance of the text. However, had a better known text which had a longer life been examined, the reader could have seen how a small text could find its way into a larger volume with explanatory footnotes or made more accessible to less educated audiences centuries later.

National and local traditions of book production will unconsciously affect the design of book production, perhaps more than Mak allows for. Babylonian myths originally written on clay tablets, Greek philosophy recorded on scrolls, mediaeval theology written on a parchment codex, hand press printed Enlightenment political economy and machine printed Victorian serial fiction all look broadly alike when they appear in the Penguin Classics series. This is due to the work of designers, past and present, who have established a house style which makes various ancient texts accessible to modern readers. Arguably, such standardisation degrades such texts when sacred scriptures appear in the same format as ancient bawdy poetry. A Penguin Classic English translation of Goethe printed in black letter to match the original would irritate rather than inspire the typical modern reader. The changes that Mak records are almost inevitable: a manuscript copyist will make a better job adapting a design to his own style than making a mechanical copy of a style he, and his readers are not at home with.

In her chapter ‘Reading the Library’, Mak discusses the design of the library of Federico of Montefeltro whose collection includes a copy of the *Controversia* dedicated to his father. Less fruitfully, she looks at the placing of the various copies of the *Controversia* in the modern *Bibliothèque nationale de France* which simply deplores that various copies are separated by the traditional manuscript and print divisions. It is not really surprising that the BNF treats various copies differently. After all, nobody packs first editions into their holiday suitcase.

The final chapter on the how digitisation affects our understanding of *Controversia* makes some valid points about the electronic media. However,



modern readers coming to this text will have very different motives for reading it to those who read it in the fifteenth century and will not be interested in the merits of the arguments advanced. They will read it largely because it was written and used in particular historical and geographical contexts, and hopefully, be aware of possible shortcomings of the reproductions such as the inability to distinguish between the original text and later amendments. *Controversia* appears in Early English Books Online simply because Caxton printed a translation of it. It is highly unlikely to be consulted by someone seeking to use it to support or defend the removal of hereditary peers from the House of Lords.

Just how important is page design in the understanding of a text? Good page design is important for poetry and drama. The relationship between text and illustrations or tables is important though less so for fiction or narrative texts history where only even minimal standards of printing are no barrier to understanding. In the newspaper press the accidental juxtaposing of a report of an air crash with an advertisement for cheap flights can be embarrassing.

Even allowing for this being a specialist academic text to be read by the mythical 'general reader' or contemporary book designers, Emperor Joseph II's alleged remark that Mozart's opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* had too many notes holds true here. There are too many footnotes, many references to works which are mentioned as the source of minor uncontested information or to ideas which are mentioned in passing but not deemed worthy of extensive debate.

Arguably the Internet has brought the scroll back. Most websites have introductory pages which are effectively electronic scrolls or banners rather than the sort of page used in this journal. Pages, in this sense, are often only encountered further into a website or to keep in print older material. On screen, this is very useful, but infuriating when the necessity to preserve a useful part generates a twelve page print run mostly destined for the waste paper basket after an unnecessary use of £4,000 a gallon toner.

As is only to be expected in a book devoted to the importance of the design, and in a series devoted book history, the book is elegantly designed. The illustrations are of high quality, but not integrated into the text as in the fifteenth century originals. To do that, without losing legibility, the book would need to be much larger, and at a greater expense. Readers with a specialist interest in the transition from manuscripts to the printed book will find this volume of interest, but perhaps its more general lessons are debatable.

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**G. Thomas Tanselle, *Book-Jackets Their History, Forms, and Use* (Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2011). 288pp. ISBN 978-1-883631-13-0. Hardback. \$60.**

G. Thomas Tanselle brings together a great breadth of scholarship in his *Book-Jackets Their History, Forms, and Use*. The book comprises three articles published over nearly forty years of investigation and collection together with an updated list of pre-1901 British and American publishers' printed book-jackets and other detachable coverings. Some readers could argue whether there is a need to reprint these articles in a single work, especially as they are easily accessible in major bibliographical journals: *The Library* (1971) and *Studies in Bibliography* (2006 and 2010). For Tanselle, the three articles present 'a concise history both of publishers' detachable book coverings (primarily British and American) and of the attention they have received from scholars, dealers, collectors, and librarians' (p. ix). But they also provide a history of book-jackets as their modern history is developing: the significant period between the first and second articles (some 25 years) reveals exactly how far the scholarship and appreciation of book-jackets has developed; the period between the second and third articles reports further developments during a time of increased interest in book history in its widest sense. The three articles also complement one another. As Tanselle observes, 'whenever the same ground is covered in more than one essay, the accounts differ in scale and in the examples cited' (p. ix). This approach allows Tanselle to examine and develop new insights over time and to bring fresh perspectives to the subject. The amalgamation and updating of the three lists of pre-1901 examples of British and American publishers' printed book-jackets, boxes, and other detachable coverings, also provides an easily accessible and workable list of all the examples which Tanselle has discovered through his extensive research and collection. It is unlikely that the unpicking and re-writing of his three articles into a revised study would have provided as effective a book.

Tanselle notes that the subtitle of his book was 'borrowed' from 'D. B. Updike's classic work, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use* (1922)' (p. ix). While he proposes that 'this tripartite formulation captures what I am attempting here' (p. ix), his book does exactly that. His focus is on book-jackets and other similar forms before 1901, but also includes more recent developments. He examines a broad range of subjects such as the critical history of the subject from the late 1920s to the 2000s, the interest and work of the most significant collectors (and their collections), especially in America, but also England, the value of book-jackets and other forms for research, the different methods to record and describe them, and the attitudes of different disciplines towards their preservation (the contrast between librarians and art historians is particularly noticeable).

Tanselle identifies a number of trends in the history of the book-jacket and other forms. His early findings are reinforced by his continued work over forty

years. As he notes, 'but the general outline remains the same' (p. 63). Early developments took place in the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, with the use of sheaths on literary annuals, gift books and pocket diaries. In the 1820s (or even before) printed paper wrappings were sealed to cover the edge of books, 'a style that persisted at least through the 1860s, simultaneously with the growing dominance of jackets with flaps' (p. 64). Printed paper jackets 'of the present kind' were used since 'at least the middle years of the nineteenth century' (p. 4). At the end of the nineteenth century, popular novels, classics and travel books started to be marketed in boxes with open sides (but were also generally supplied with jackets 'commonly made of cloth backed with stiff paper and printed only on the spines') (p. 76). While early examples carried little printing and even artwork, advertising and illustrations started to become more predominant. By 1913 artistry and verbiage had become growing marketing tools. In the 1920s, 'many publishers thought of jackets rather than bindings as the place for striking designs ... from then on, the history of book-jackets is primarily the story of shifting trends in graphic design and in advertising style, rather than of changes in form or function' (p. 76).

Tanselle suggests that book-jackets provide important evidence on a wide range of subjects. Importantly, he sets out that 'no one would claim that most jackets are major documents, but surely they constitute a significant aspect of modern book production' (p. 30). He recognizes that 'collectively they form a reservoir of information that bibliographers have scarcely begun to tap' (p. 30). He notes their use for literary study (such as 'locating a previously unknown review in an obscure journal') (p. 19), evidence of authors and their comments, publishing history (for recording, for example the dates of successive impressions, and the number of thousands printed), and as a source of biographical information, particularly about minor writers (they include a 'great mass of biographical data much of which is not available elsewhere') (p. 22). He also points out that other disciplines have examined the book-jacket for a range of purposes such as the study of art, the work of particular artists and to show noteworthy examples of artistic design: 'there has emerged a considerable interest in jackets as a significant medium of graphic art' (p. 17).

While Tanselle focuses on book-jackets that exist (while noting the scarcity of early examples), he considers ways to identify further ones. Especially important are publishers' archives which can reveal policies as well as attitudes and evidence of them (he notes the link between particular publishing houses and the use of book-jackets and other covers). The papers of Thomas Nelson and Sons in the University of Edinburgh Library include a scatter of references to book-jackets, box sets, and other types of coverings. For Scottish book-jackets, these papers may be a useful starting point for identifying the practices of a major Scottish – and also British – publisher.

The list of pre-1901 book-jackets and other covers extends to 134 pages. Tanselle prefixes it with the statement that it 'does not attempt to be a census

of all surviving examples; it is simply a record of those that have come to my attention during a period of more than forty years' (p. 103). It is a very impressive list which draws on a wide range of sources in both the public and private arena (the collections of collectors, dealers and auction houses is particularly important). Tanselle suggests that 'a great many more [jackets] certainly exist' (p. 103), and proposes that there may be 'unquestionably many hundreds more' (p. 65), as 'modern-style flapped jackets, dominant by at least the mid 1860s, came to be as commonly used by publishers during the last quarter of the nineteenth century as they were during the twentieth century' (p. 74). Tanselle's list may in fact represent the tip of the iceberg.

Tanselle's list is weighted to American books, especially those published in New York. However, the 'British (London)' publishers and series in his 'Index to the list' includes 109 entries, though his 'British (other than London)' section includes only twenty publishers. Of these, eight are Scottish; one of them (A. and C. Black) is cross-referenced with an entry in the 'British (London)' list. That 'British (London)' list also includes three Scottish publishers – Blackie and Son, Thomas Nelson and W. and R. Chambers – who all had offices in London. Their London-published books record titles that are not readily associated with Scotland, such as Charles MacFarlane and Thomas Thomson's *The Comprehensive History of England* (London: Blackie, 1857). For Tanselle 'British' really means 'English', with a few stray references to Scottish material (Scottish libraries are also missing from the list of libraries in the 'Index to the List'). Tanselle does refer to book jackets in 'England' in his first article (p. 8), but to 'British' ones elsewhere. Scottish readers will therefore be disappointed at the small number of references to Scottish book-jackets in the list. They should therefore consider Tanselle's list (and also his book as a whole) as a wider context for the book-jacket, a magnificent one at that.

Tanselle's list of 1,888 examples is clearly set out: it is arranged by year, and within each one, alphabetically by publisher. While he notes that the amount of detail in the entries varies 'considerably, depending on what was available in my sources and notes' (p. 104), the level of information is helpful. His list invites numerous ways of analysis: by year (or a series), publisher, author, title, genre, type of cover, provenance, place of publication, etc. The 'Index to the List' allows readers to easily identify broad themes and trends as well as specific books.

The book has extensive footnote references which are impressive in their scholarship. Their position at the bottom of the page makes them easily accessible. While they include a substantial number of bibliographical references, a separate bibliography would have been helpful. There are twenty-four plates which provide an excellent pictorial history of the jackets and other covers and their different design elements, from very plain covers to highly ornate ones.

Tanselle is passionate about book jackets and other covers. His book aims to encourage their appreciation and encourage the reporting of pre-1901 ones

(but also recognizing the need to preserve and catalogue twentieth- and twenty-first century ones). This book, a milestone in book-jacket history, will certainly inspire others to recognize their value, the need for their wider recognition and preservation, and further study. While written by a bibliographer for bibliographers, there is much in this book to interest readers from a wide range of disciplines as well as practitioners and enthusiasts. Indeed, for anyone interested in book-jackets, this book is a must-have. It is also a very readable one.

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**Nicolas Barker, *The Roxburghe Club: A Bicentenary History* ([London]: The Roxburghe Club, 2012). 347 pp. ISBN 978 1 901902 11 2. 8vo., original Roxburghe style red boards, spine lettered in gilt, purple endpapers; full- colour portrait frontispiece, 6 full-colour plates, 24 pages of black and white members portraits. Limited edition of 300 copies of which 200 copies are for sale at £95.00 (+ppi)**

The Roxburghe Club first met at a dinner held on 17 June 1812, the day of the anticipated highlight of the auction of the library of the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe (1740–1804): the sale of the Valdarfer Boccaccio (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, Venice, 1471), which in the event fetched £2,260, a record price for a single book not exceeded until 1884.

To mark the Club's two hundredth anniversary Nicolas Barker, a member elected in 1970 and the author or editor of a number of its publications including *The Publications of the Roxburghe Club 1814–1962* (1964), has written this very readable book. It is a narrative history which records the election of members (also listed in order of election on pp. 283–301) and the publication of books (also listed in order of publication on pp. 303–330). I was particularly interested to have the opportunity to read this book because recently, in the course of checking the membership details of the 5th Earl of Rosebery, I consulted the Club's website (<http://www.roxburgheclub.org.uk/>), which is useful, but not error-free. When accessed on 23 July 2012, it had a different, and confusing, account of the formation of the Club:

The Club came into existence on 16 June 1812 when a group of book-collectors and bibliophiles, inspired by the Revd Thomas Dibdin, panegyrist of Lord Spencer, the greatest collector of the age, dined together on the eve of the sale of John, Duke of Roxburghe's library, which took place on the following day.

Quite apart from making it sound as if the Roxburghe sale was a one-day affair rather than running for forty-two days from 18 May 1812 and a further four days from 13 July 1812, this seems to refer to a different dinner of bibliomaniacs after which, in discussion of the following day's sale, Dibdin suggested dining together the following evening to commemorate the sale of the Boccaccio (see Barker, *Publications*, p. 1). The website also holds lists of members and of publications. Both of these are clearly related to Barker's lists as both slip up in showing Earl Gower's membership dates as 1821–1861 when in fact he was one of those at the 1812 dinner (p. 30) and in having 'Inventions' in place of the correct 'Invention' in the title of the 1965 publication, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue, from the Invention of Printing to A. D. 1800*.

Many of the Club's earlier members can be traced in the *Oxford DNB* or in other biographical sources such as volumes of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, as well as in the earlier Club history, Clive Bigham's *The Roxburghe Club: its History and its Members 1812–1927* (1928). Understandably, Barker is not here concerned with providing biographical notices (and does not normally give any references), but confines himself to a few salient points about each person, sometimes enlivening his brief descriptions with interesting details that might not be generally known (not known to your reviewer anyway): so, for example, Michael Sadleir added an 'i' to his surname to distinguish himself from his father; Albert Ehrman and his wife Rina each gave a Spitfire to the RAF; and the 1967 dinner given by the Duke of Wellington at Apsley House 'was served on the silver plates given to the 1st Duke of Wellington by the Prince Regent of Portugal in 1816 and the Roxburghe toast drunk in Madeira acquired by the Marquess Wellesley while Governor-General of India in 1797–1805' (p. 238). Readers of the present journal may be particularly interested to know that John Scott, the Greenock ship-builder elected in 1896, added 'Walter Chepman, the earliest Scottish printer' to the toast given at the annual Club dinner.

Barker also brings out how the make-up of the membership has changed over the two centuries. Initially, members came from the land-owning aristocracy and inherited their libraries, which they then passed on to their heirs who also became members. Scottish families provide good examples of this, also showing that it remains a Club characteristic: the 5th Duke of Buccleuch was a member 1835–1884 (President 1848–1884), the 6th Duke 1886–1914, the 7th Duke 1915–1935, the 8th Duke 1951–1973, the 9th Duke 1977–2007, and the present 10th Duke 2008–. Likewise the 26th–29th Earls of Crawford (and Balcarres) have been members from 1877 to the present day with only similarly short interludes. As time passed, more scholars were elected (there is a whole chapter devoted to M.R. James, elected 1909) and more people who owed their wealth to trade rather than land, such as Charles Dyson Perrins, elected 1908, whose family fortune came from Lea & Perrins's Worcestershire Sauce. The first bookseller elected was William Rees Mogg, in



1982. Lady Eccles (Mary Hyde) was the first lady member, elected in 1985, proposed by her husband, a member since 1966.

The Club's publications fall into two categories: those initiated by members who organise them and pay all the costs involved and then 'present' their finished books to the Club, and those initiated by the Club itself. As well as being listed on the website, except for nos. 229–, all the Club's publications have been described before in Barker's *Publications*. In the present narrative (his earlier book has a similar narrative), Barker brings out some larger themes. From the beginning, many Club publications were facsimiles of early printed books or manuscripts and so illustrate well the technical developments in the making of facsimiles. Barker draws attention to *The Solemnities and Triumphes doon and made at the Spousells and Marriage of the King's Daughter the Ladye Marye to the Prynce of Castile, Archduke of Austrige*, a facsimile of a tract printed by Richard Pynson presented to the Club by John Dent in 1818, as one of the first productions of Ackermann's lithographic press; and later to *The Apocalypse of St John*, printed in 1876 under the supervision of H.O. Coxe, as the precursor of the Club's modern series of manuscript facsimiles, and to *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, presented in 1885 by John Malcolm of Poltalloch, as the first modern Roxburghe book: the reproduction of a complete manuscript in photo-facsimile with a transcription and edition of the text.

The early Roxburghe books were printed in small editions, one copy for each member, with that member's name printed in red in the list of members at the front of the book; the copy for the Chairman was on vellum. This changed fairly soon because writing about the 1860s Barker says: 'The books published by the Club in editions that still did not exceed 100 continued to find their way on to the shelves of members, to those of their friends and relations, and, still in small numbers, on to the shelves of institutional libraries, such as those of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the House of Lords' (p. 110). In 1887 the Library of Congress was added to the list of public libraries receiving copies; and Barker notes from the Club's minutes that 'In 1891 copies of all earlier Club books were added'. It would be interesting to know more about the distribution of books to 'institutional libraries' and whether the Club helped other libraries to fill their gaps. In the case of the set held by the National Library of Scotland, the earliest volumes have been acquired more recently (many of them in 1937 or 1944) having passed through the libraries of several members: so no. 1, presented in 1814, was Dibdin's copy (his name in red) and later belonged to Henry Gibbs, the first Lord Aldenham, who was elected a member in 1863. The earliest books acquired on publication by the Advocates' Library, and transferred to the National Library of Scotland on its foundation in 1925, appear to be no. 44, a donation from George Watson Taylor who 'presented' it to the Club; no. 45, which presumably (it contains no inscription) was given by Walter Scott who 'presented' it to the Club; and no. 46, printed for the Club in 1828 (the very first 'Club book'), inscribed by the President, 'Presented by G. J. Earl Spencer to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. March: 1829.'

Even in 1945 the print run was only 100, but gradually the Club did respond to pressure. Barker commented: ‘The rapid growth of American libraries in number and in size in the years after the war meant that there was a solid nucleus of customers who bought every book as it came out’ (p. 242). In 1965 the limitation of *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue, from the Invention of Printing to A. D. 1800* to 150 copies brought criticism that such an important book could not be more widely distributed. But print runs were not greatly increased. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, written by Nicolas Barker and presented in 1977 in memory of the 28th Earl of Crawford, was quite exceptional because the Club acceded to the family’s request to waive the normal limitation and 500 copies were printed, and exceptionally again the following year the Club permitted a corrected reprint of 300 copies. It was not until the anniversary meeting in 2000 that the Club’s rules were amended to allow 500 copies to be printed. Even then, it is not clear that so many copies ever were printed, because according to the Club website:

Roxburghe Club publications are produced in two states. Each member of the Club receives a copy bound in half calf. In the list of members of the Club, each recipient’s name is printed in red ink. Normally, not more than 42 copies are printed in this form. Additionally a member can print up to 300 copies of the title usually bound in cloth. These are available for sale ...

which is also in line with the limitation stated in, for example, *Holkham Library: A History and Description* (2006): ‘300 copies of this special edition have been printed of which 200 are for sale’. The website, which lists twenty-eight books for sale in all, says that there are 200 copies of the ordinary edition of this book, in full green library buckram, at £160.00, and thirty-nine copies of the special edition, in quarter green niger with library buckram sides, at £400.00. The Club’s books are certainly more widely available now than they used to be, and I hope that they are better known as they deserve to be.

The book is not error-free (in addition to the errors already mentioned I noticed that on p. 22 ‘looks out at it you’ must be a slip for ‘looks out at you’), but – I have been loaned a member’s copy – it is beautifully printed and bound.

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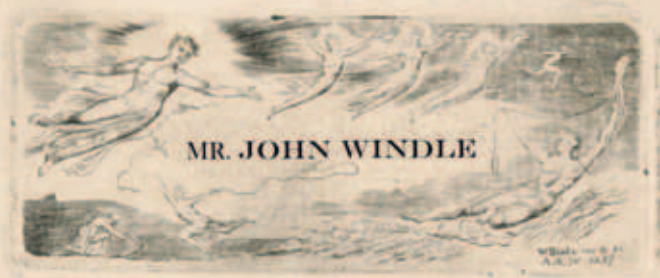
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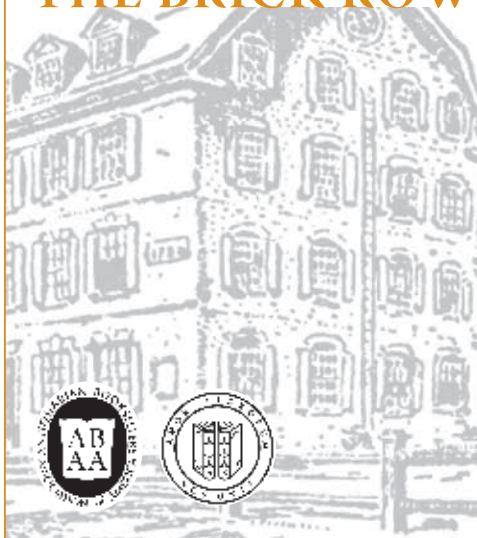


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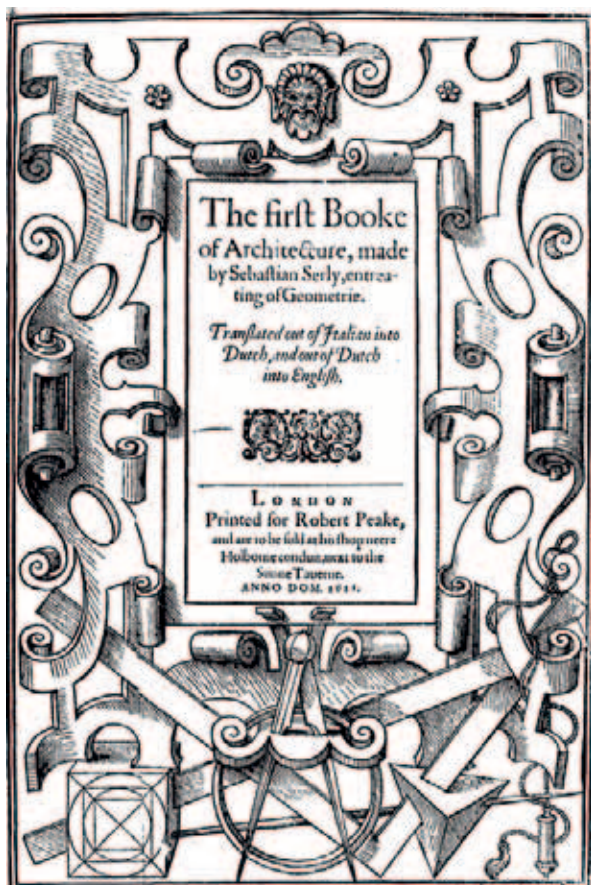
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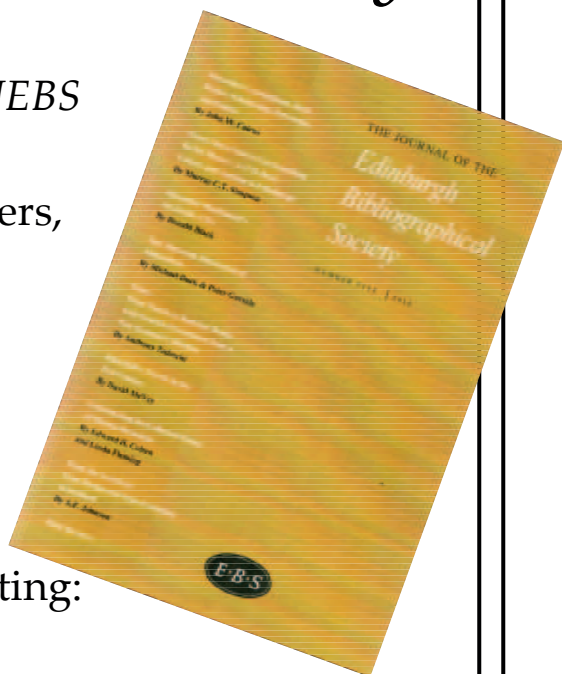
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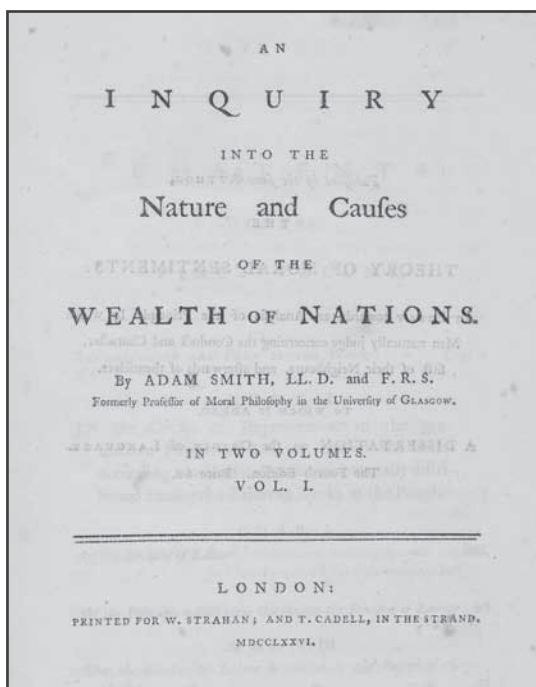
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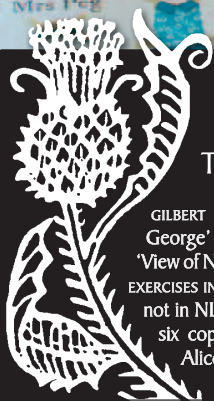
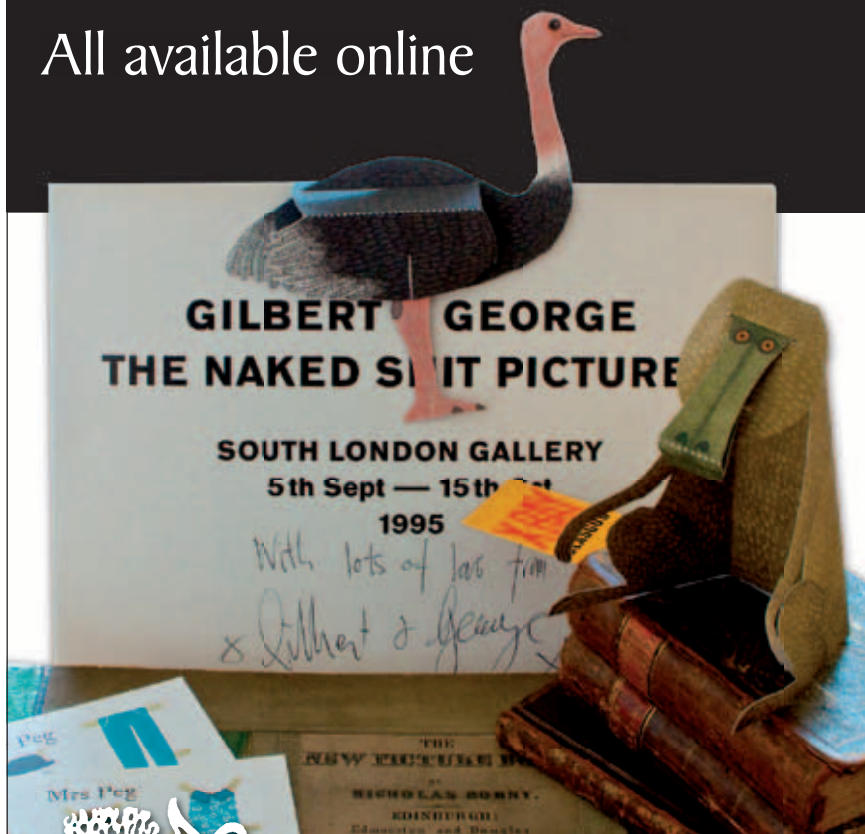
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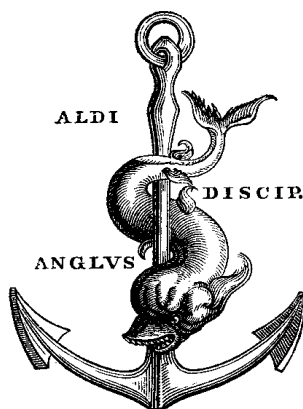
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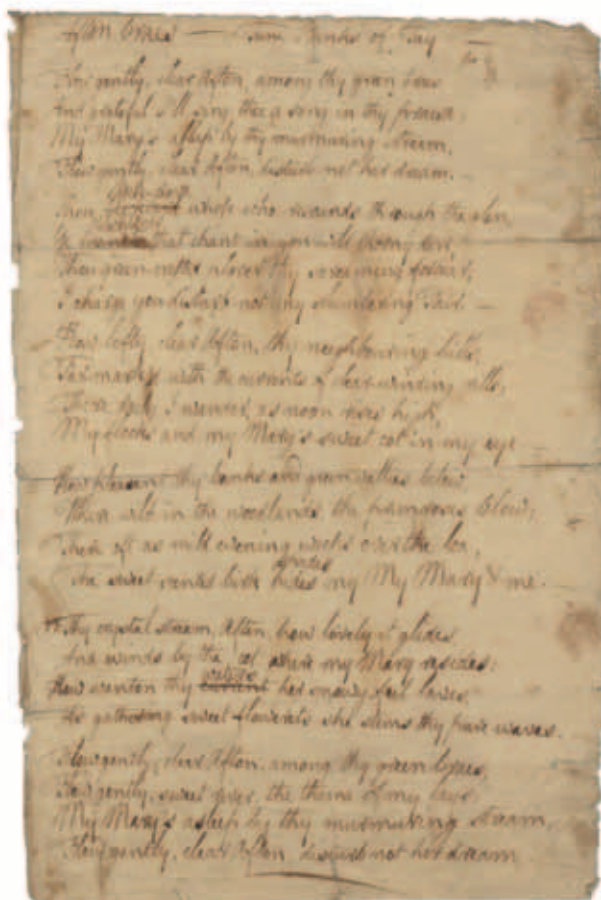
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**John Lowery** ——— ***The Parliament Site***

**Patricia Andrew** ————— ***The Mound***

**Richard Rodger** — ***Edinburgh's Colonies***

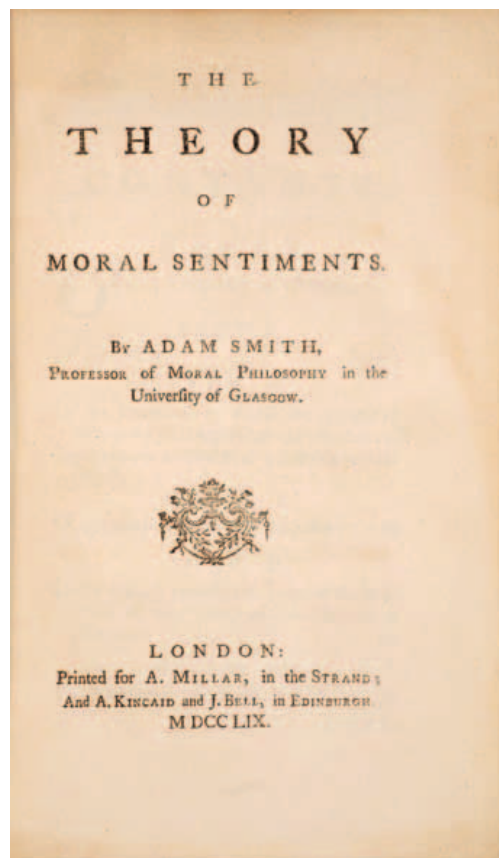
**Iain G Brown** — ***The Old Edinburgh Club***

**Admission free**



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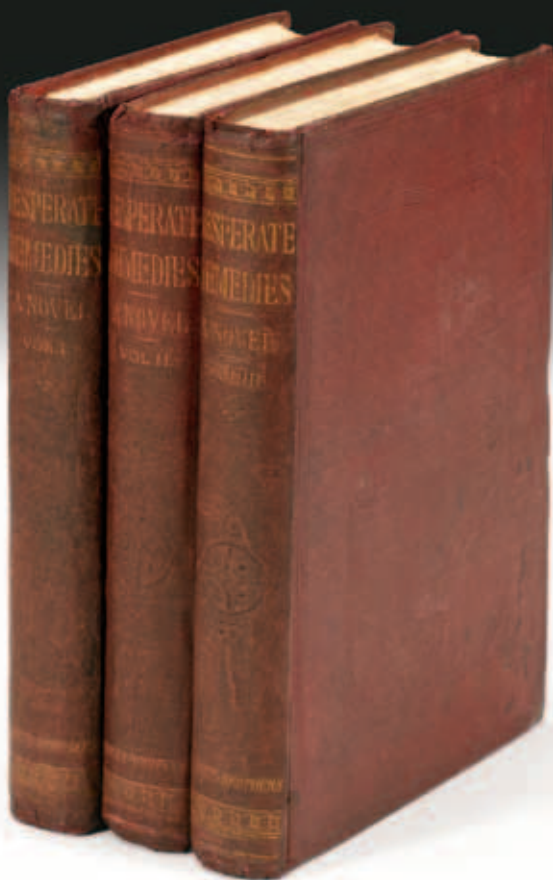
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